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One of the many heartening aspects of the lute revival has been an increase in the number of potential journal articles crossing the desks of your editors in the past year or so. The time was (fortunately before the present editors found themselves responsible for its contents) when the *Journal* was compelled to expend much of its energy simply soliciting contributions in an attempt to achieve quality and variety. Today we are offered more material than we can use. For this we are grateful and hope the trend continues. Even such material as can not be used is of interest. Contributions are the life breath of a periodical such as this and always welcome. It is reassuring to see so much good research being done. We look forward to being able to continue offering a wide range of views and subjects to our readers.

The present issue provides considerable variety. Continuing our policy of offering quality translations of important source material, we are publishing a translation of Hans Newsidler’s instructions of 1536 by Marc Southard and Suzane Cooper. As the authors remark, Newsidler was one of the first to offer a systematic discussion of lute fingering. Fingerings, however, frequently have an importance that transcends mere pedagogical considerations. In her article, Susan Sandman, assistant professor at Wells College, shows that left hand fingerings, such as those given in Thomas Robinson’s *Schoole of Musicke*, may have important phrasing implications.

There has been considerable interest in the reports on specific instruments that have appeared in past issues of the *Journal*. Douglas Alton Smith, who is currently doing research in Munich under a German fellowship, offers here a fine study of the little-known lutes in the Bavarian National Museum. Readers should also be interested in the article by Mark Lindley of Washington University, St. Louis. The author is gaining a considerable reputation for his research into Renaissance acoustical theory and here offers evidence that Luis Milán was an early advocate of meantone temperament. Our final article is from Joseph Weidlich, a guitarist active in the Washington, D.C. area. Currently a student of Robert Strizich, Mr. Weidlich has prepared a number of guitar transcriptions for De Camera Publishing Company. To all our contributors and to future contributors yet unknown, the editors extend sincere thanks.
A TRANSLATION OF
HANS NEWSIDLER’S
EIN NEU GEORDENT KUNSTLICH
LAUTENBUCH . . . (1536)

BY MARC SOUTHARD AND SUZANA COOPER

Hans Newsidler was born in Bratislava, Hungary (now Czechoslovakia)\(^1\) in 1508 and by around 1530 had settled in Nuremberg, where he was active as a lutenist, composer, luthier, and teacher until his death in 1563. *Ein Newgeordent Künstlich Lautenbuch . . .*\(^2\) was the first of a series of nine lute books published by Newsidler between 1536 and 1549 which were generally organized in order of increasing difficulty. Much of the technical information and some of the didactic exercises and pieces from the first volume found their way into the subsequent ones, but Newsidler’s first book remains his basic and most complete didactic text. It contains information on reading German lute tablature, on tuning, and on fingering for both the left and right hands. Sadly lacking is any concrete information regarding the playing positions of the hands, ornamentation, and general matters of interpretation.

In many ways Newsidler’s manner of presentation is more important than the actual information itself. The typical procedure in sixteenth-century lute tutors was to give a more or less detailed prose explanation of the basic elements of technique (which may or may not be illustrated by musical examples), and then to proceed immediately to music designed to be played by already-competent lutenists. Newsidler, in contrast, devotes his prose text primarily to a discussion of the correct interpretation of the various symbols employed in the musical portion of his book, and then presents the technique of lute playing through a collection of graded exercises and pieces—a uniquely forward-looking procedure.

\(^1\)Bratislava is the same city known in Germany as “Pressburg.”

\(^2\)The work was published in facsimile by Institutio pro arte testudinis in 1974.
His first exercise (excepting musical examples contained within the main body of the text) is a single-line study designed to teach thumb/forefinger technique on all six strings. The second and third exercises, in two parts, are designed to teach the principle of holding some notes while others are played. (Each of these beginning exercises is given once with right-hand fingerings and is then repeated with left-hand fingerings.) The fourth exercise, in three parts, is a more extended study of the material already presented. These four exercises are followed by twenty song arrangements and dances in two parts, and then by nineteen three-part pieces. The remainder of the book consists of pieces for “those with experience and skill in this art.”

Newsidler’s book had been preceded by two other German lute tutors: Hans Judenkünig’s Utilis & compendiaria introductio . . . (Vienna, 1517) and its German-language revision entitled Ain schone kunstliche unterweisung (Vienna, 1523) and the first edition of Hans Gerle’s Musica teusch (Nuremberg, 1532). The lute tutors of Judenkünig, Gerle, and Newsidler contain the earliest extensive body of information concerning lute technique, and present a remarkably uniform picture of the practices of German lutenists of the first half of the sixteenth century. Of the three, Gerle presents by far the most extensive and detailed verbal information. Newsidler’s principal contributions were the development of a convenient system of dots used to indicate left-hand fingering, and more importantly, his extensive use of musical examples and didactic pieces to illustrate (and frequently to clarify and elaborate) his prose descriptions of technical points.

In our translation, we have tried to retain the essence of Newsidler’s language without sacrificing clarity. When a technical term is used, it appears in brackets following its English translation. Two of his terms, however, deserve further clarification: Lauflein (in


5 Three other works should also be mentioned as sources of early sixteenth-century lute technique. Each of the lute books published by Ottaviano dei Petrucci at Venice (of which the earliest surviving is Francesco Spinacino’s Intabolatura de Lauto . . . Libroprimo, 1507) contains a very brief explanation of the basics of lute technique and of Italian tablature. The Newberry Library’s Capriola Lute Book (MS, ca. 1517, edited and translated by Otto Gombosi, *Composizione di meser Vincenzo Capriola*, Neuilly-sur-Seine: Société de Musique d’Autrefois, 1955) contains far more extensive information based on the teachings of Vincenzo Capriola. Pierre Attaignant’s Très breve et familière introduction . . . (Paris, 1529, edited by Daniel Hertz, *Preludes, Chansons, and Dances for the Lute*, Neuilly-sur-Seine: Société de Musique d’Autrefois, 1964) contains information similar to that found in the Petrucci volumes.
various spellings) and Coloratur seem to be used with both specific and more general meanings. Specifically, they refer to runs composed of notes played four to a beat (tablature sign $\text{\texttt{4}}$ ) and runs composed of notes played eight to a beat (tablature sign $\text{\texttt{4}4}$ ), respectively. They appear also to be used in a more general sense of figural embellishment, which we have translated as "runs and embellishments." Paragraph divisions are editorial.

The music is given in a facsimile of Newsidler's original German tablature as well as in a parallel French transcription for easier playing.

We would like to thank Professor Otto Best of the University of Maryland for several helpful suggestions in the translation of the privilege.

**EIN NEWGEORDENT KÜNSTLICH LAUTENBUCH**

A Modernized Artistic Lute Book

divided into two parts. The first shows beginning students, who need to acquire the proper fundamental skills without a master to guide them, where to stop [greffen] with each finger, according to the tablature, through a simple system using these dots $\ldots \ldots \ldots \ldots \ldots$ Furthermore, it shows how one may thoroughly learn and understand tablature as well as mensuration and fingering.

The second part includes many select pieces, such as fantasias, Preambeln, psalms, and motets; which are highly prized by the most famous and outstanding organists, and have been composed and embellished [colorirt] with great diligence in the manner of organists [Organistisch art], so that those with experience and skill in this art may reproduce them on the lute. This material has never been in print before, and is now being made public by myself, Hans Newsidler, lutenist and citizen of Nuremberg.

[The letter granting Newsidler the privilege to publish his work, and which we are translating in full, was issued by Ferdinand I (1503-64), younger brother and eventual successor of the Holy Roman Emperor Charles V. The document is quite specific in outlining the terms of the privilege and the penalties for violation thereof.]

We, Ferdinand, Roman king by the grace of God, expander of the Empire in Germany, Hungary, Bohemia, Dalmatia, Croatia, and Infante in Spain, Archduke of Austria, Duke of Burgundy and

$^6$This is probably in reference to the figuration which Newsidler has added to some of the pieces. A large amount of often stereotyped figuration was typical of German organ music of this period; apparently in Newsidler's view it was not yet typical of lute practice.
Wirtemberg and Count of Tirol openly acknowledge with this document and proclaim to all subjects that at this time Hans Newsidler, loyal subject of the Empire, humbly submits that he received and collected from experienced and knowledgeable musicians a number of pieces suitable for lute or other stringed instruments and which had not yet seen the light of day.

He is of the opinion that these pieces should be printed and distributed to be of assistance to our youth and to all the lovers of this art. Considering that these pieces might be printed by others for their own use and to their advantage, which would constitute no small loss and damage to him, he has humbly asked us to graciously assist him in case of need; for which reason we have considered his humble petition as well as the effort he spent on his musical compositions. Because of said reasons, in the name and on behalf of the Imperial Roman Majesty our dear brother and Lord, we have granted the aforementioned Newsidler this privilege, which is duly conferred herewith by virtue of this document. This signifies that he may publicly issue, sell, and distribute the compositions in question in printed form. Likewise, no one shall be permitted either openly or in secret to reprint, distribute or sell these compositions neither here nor elsewhere during the period of five consecutive years.

Therefore, in the name and on behalf of the aforesaid Roman Imperial Majesty, we solemnly decree the above to every citizen of the Holy Empire as well as everyone in our kingdom, principality, and provinces—officials, subjects, residents and obedient servants, and in particular all book-sellers and printers, and ordain that these compositions shall not be reprinted, either openly or in secret, within the next five years, or if reprinted, that they shall not be distributed and sold, under pain of an irrevocable payment of ten Marks gold, half of which is to go into our treasury and that of the Holy Empire and the other half to the aforementioned Newsidler.

Such action should not be undertaken by any man lest he incur the displeasure and punishment of His Imperial Majesty, as well as the aforesaid penalty, together with the loss of those printed compositions or books, which circumstance the abovementioned Newsidler honestly wishes to prevent.

We solemnly state this. In witness thereof in our city of Vienna on the fifteenth day of the month of May in the fifteen hundred and thirty-fifth year of our Roman Empire and the ninth year of the other.

To the kind reader happiness and prosperity

Dear reader, I do not wish to deny that in past years a number of lute books have appeared in print, some of which (as they
indicated) made expressly for the beginning student. Any importance or suitability these books may have is conferred to them by the grace of God, who bestows all gifts. It stands to reason, then, that I too should be permitted to perform my service in this art and to impart that knowledge which I have received from God to my good friends and students, who have requested it of me. I admit, then, that disregarding the foolish who would reproach me for my industry and judgment, I have ventured to bring forth a little handbook on the art of the lute. It is written with the greatest simplicity for the sake of our flourishing youth who desire to play the lute.

I have succeeded to such an extent in my endeavors that any person of average intelligence who knows how to read and diligently applies himself to learning the marked [fingering] dots can learn the art of the lute himself, without the aid of a teacher.

I have also earnestly endeavored to put into tablature artistic and masterful pieces, such as fantasias, Preambeln, songs, psalms, and motets, either in the fashion of the lute or organ. These have been transcribed in such a way that one can play [schlagen] them correctly once the proper fingering has been learned, something which has never been done before, as can easily be ascertained. This book is divided into two parts. The first shows how to play the lute. It includes ten pieces in two voices and ten in three voices especially suited to the lute. Furthermore, it shows in an easy-to-learn fashion, by means of dots, how to place the fingers. In the second part masterful and artistic pieces (psalms, motets, and other good pieces) with runs and embellishments [mit leufllein und Coloraturen] are arranged and presented as indicated. Therefore, [this book] can be used to suit the pleasure of either the student or the person already trained in the art. On behalf of all lovers of the lute, I could not in good faith keep such a book from seeing the light of day.

*How one should first approach the lute and learn the designated [tablature] letters*

Whoever wishes to learn to play the lute according to the

7 Newsidler is no doubt referring to the works of Gerle and Judenkünig mentioned above.

8 This is apparently a reference to the use of dots to indicate left-handed fingering in some of the pieces. Newsidler's pride in this innovation is justified; left-hand fingering was customarily treated in lengthy and cumbersome prose descriptions prior to the late sixteenth century.

9 Actually the correct numbers are twenty two-voiced pieces and nineteen three-voiced pieces which are fingered alternately for the left or right hand.
fundamentals of music by following the tablature must begin with careful study of the fingerboard [lautenkragen], on which three types of letters are inscribed. [See Figure 1.] The first type appear lengthwise under the sixth course [dem grossen Brummer] all the way to the last fret [pundt]. On each fret there is a capital letter: A on the first, B on the second, C on the third . . . and on the eighth fret H, making eight capital letters for the first type. The second type is made up of small letters, using the entire alphabet, one letter following another up to [the Latin abbreviation] 9 (con). Notice that 9 resembles the numeral nine; however, it should not be considered a numeral but rather a letter in the alphabet like the [et, not the number 7]. These letters are disposed in a different manner from the capitals. The capitals go lengthwise on the fingerboard, whereas the lower-case letters go crosswise along the frets, as can be seen. For the third type, one can see letters of a different sort on the fingerboard. These have little lines over them, e.g. a b c d e f etc. These letters go crosswise along the frets like the lower case letters.

To end with, there are six numbers below on the soundboard [dach] which are placed underneath the strings, and which serve to name them: 1 2 3 4 5. The first line which is crossed by a shorter line lies under the sixth course [dem aller grösten Brummer] and is called the “big One” [gross Eins]. Underneath the fifth course [ander Brummer] there is also a line that looks like this: 1. That is called the “small One” [klein Eins]. Under the fourth course [dritten kleinen Brummer] is the number 2, under the third course [mittel saiten] the number 3, under the second course [gesang saiten] the number 4, and under the first course [Quint saiten] the number 5, as can be seen in the cut of a lute, together with a description and information concerning the tablature. Particularly those who do not yet understand the tablature should look at it carefully.

How one should learn tablature

Observe now how one should learn to recognise and understand tablature, and what the fingerboard with its letters shows. Note that one stops all letters, whether they be capitals or lower case, but that the numbers cannot be stopped, only pinched [gezwickt]. They [the notes indicated by numbers] agree with the letters with their own voice without being stopped.10 And if you have a piece before you,

10 In other words, all letters indicate stopped notes and therefore require the use of both hands; numbers indicate open strings and therefore require use of the right hand only. Newsidler uses the verb zwicken (“to pinch”) in describing the action of the right hand, where elsewhere he uses schlagen (“to strike”). Apparently, “pinch” refers to the closing motion of the hand when playing two or more notes simultaneously.
Figure 1. (The diagram above shows alternative ways of notating the sixth course.)
see carefully what lies uppermost, letter or number. If you see a p, stop the p; if you see an o, stop the o; if you see two or three letters over one another, stop them all [simultaneously]. If you see any numbers, whether few or many, pinch them neatly with the fingers of the right hand. Take the numbers and letters together as they appear in the pieces. You must look for what is before you on the fingerboard until you find it, be it letter or number, after which you have to follow the above indications; i.e. all letters, capital or lower case, should be stopped and all numbers should be pinched. There follows an example for you to practice and to learn to understand tablature.

On tuning the lute

If one wishes to learn to tune the lute, one should first set the first course neither too high nor too low, but just as high as the string will stand. After setting the first course, stop k, and as k sounds, tune 3. When 3 is tuned, stop n, and as n sounds tune 1. When 1 is tuned stop f, and as f sounds, tune 4. When 4 sounds stop o, and as o sounds, tune 2. When 2 is tuned stop g, and as g sounds tune the [open] sixth course. That is the best and most thorough way of all, but one has to tighten the strings often, because they tend to slacken and become flat, and foremost one should avoid false strings.

Figure 2. Newsidler's tuning procedure in French tablature.

A test of the strings:
Another test:

Lemander prob.
\[
\begin{array}{c|c|c|c|c}
3 & 4 & 5 & 6 & 7 \\
\hline
3 & 4 & 5 & 6 & 7 \\
\end{array}
\]

\[
\begin{array}{c|c|c|c|c}
\ \\
\hline
\ \\
\end{array}
\]

How to finger and stop properly

We shall now discuss the fingering [Application], by which is meant how one should stop [greiffen] each letter correctly with one's [left-hand] fingers. This will be shown in simple fashion by means of an outstretched hand with dots on each finger, and should be understood without difficulty by anyone who can read. The dots on the hand will tell you where to place each finger, i.e. the first finger has one dot, the second two dots, the third three dots... the fourth four dots... This is easy to comprehend. Pieces will be marked in orderly fashion in tablature, with all the letters, capitals and small, as well as the dots [which indicate left-hand fingering].
Now one will have to match the dots above the letters with those on the fingers. If you see one dot above a letter, stop [that letter] with the finger that has one dot on it. If you see two dots above a letter, use the finger that has two dots on it. If there are three dots above a letter the finger to be used is the one with three dots on it, and if there are four dots over a letter one uses the finger with four dots on it. Please note how one is to understand the dots on the fingers in the illustration.

Notice the following model (that is, the tablature) [which] is also marked with dots, from one to four as are the fingers. Pay attention to the dots, for one must make the ones on the fingers agree with the ones on the tablature or on the letters. One goes with one, two with two, three with three, and four with four. This way you cannot go wrong when stopping with the left hand.  

There are a number of two- and three-part pieces in this book that have been marked with the dots. These are very suitable for learning and practicing. The other pieces, however, will not be marked in this fashion. There follows the piece with the dots. Make sure that you put things together properly: one and one, two and two, three and three, four and four, as you see them in the twenty pieces that are marked with the dots. The pieces that follow will also have dots, but only single ones [einem einigen tüpflein], such as this ·, in order to help you recognize which finger of the right hand is to go downward or upward [abertz oder übersich]. Furthermore, you will find a small cross + next to a letter, indicating that that letter has to be held still [by the left-hand finger] until the following letters (the runs and embellishments) [of another voice] have been played. More will follow about the single dots and the cross. They will be more clearly indicated and will both be before your eyes next to and above the letters, to enable us to perform [the pieces] with more ease.

\[\text{Mein fleiss und mü[h]}\]

\[
\begin{array}{c}
\text{Finis. Mein fleiss} \\
\text{völlig.}
\end{array}
\]

11 Actually, the example is printed at the end of this section; it has been moved here for better continuity. The dots have been replaced by numbers to avoid confusion with right-hand fingering dots.
Concerning mensuration

I shall now explain to the reader in detail what is meant by mensuration. You could say, as you see these long lines \( | \), hooks [hacken] \( \Uparrow \), ladders [leitterlein] \( \Uparrow\Uparrow\Uparrow\Uparrow \) and half ladders \( \Uparrow\Uparrow \) over the letters: But what is one to do with them? Please note that mensuration is the highest and greatest art in the playing of the lute and of all instruments. Where it is not kept exactly, all learning is for naught. Stated simply, mensuration signifies that everything gets its proper measure, neither too much nor too little, neither too long nor too short. That is the meaning of the hooks and lines.

You will have to submit to learning and to maintaining the mensuration. A long line like this \( | \) means that you must stop [the note(s)] for the same length of time as the clock or bell strikes in the
church steeple, or for as long as one counts money leisurely, saying 1-2-3-4. This long line is called a beat [schlag]. The hook is only half as long as the line and is called a half beat. Since it equals half of the long line it has to be stopped much faster, so that it will sound half as long as the [time indicated by the] line. Two hooks equal one line. And now a word about the long ladders: . When you see one of these in a piece it is called a little run [gantz lailein], and has to be struck very rapidly with the [right-hand] thumb and forefinger alternating. A whole ladder equals a long line in duration, and a half ladder equals a hook . But in the old way or method the ladder is thus indicated and the half ladder thus . The ladders and the lines with two hooks are one and the same; there is no difference other than that the ladders are easier to see in the tablature and are more in accordance with the new style than the two hooks. This constitutes the new usage.

There is one more line with three hooks which is played quite fast, eight to a beat, and is called Coleratur, or "the very agile run." These are too rapid for beginners; they only come through long practice. No one should venture to undertake them until he has learned ten good pieces and can play the leüflein and the ladders neatly and with precision.

There follows another sign—a half circle , as you will see it over the letters. It indicates that one must let the strings of the lute vibrate until no sound is heard anymore, and when the strings cease to vibrate one has to pause. This is the sign which follows a half circle between the letters instead of between the lines [e.g. placed in line with the tablature letters rather than above as are the other rhythmic signs]. Here you must say "one" just as you count as the clock strikes. Every now and then one sees a hook in the middle of the lines all by itself. It indicates a suspiri ["sigh"] and is half as long as the pause referred to above. This one cannot count or say; instead one draws one's breath much as if one were drinking soup from a spoon.

In other words, this rest (which always follows the "half circle") equals the duration of the "long line."
On the dots over the letters

Let us now set aside for the moment the outstretched hand with dots on the fingers and the dots from one to four marked over the pieces, and deal with the aforementioned single dots which show how to strike alternately [umbeinander] with the thumb and forefinger of the right hand in laiflin. These single dots teach you to strike thumb and forefinger in proper order one after the other. Each time you see a dot as in the illustration, strike upward with the forefinger, making certain you lift the thumb first.  

The thumb goes downward and the forefinger goes upward. This constitutes the greatest art in learning to play; otherwise the mensuration cannot be kept. Take note of the dots, such as these

so that you do not strike two or three times in succession with one finger, but always [with] one finger after another, as indicated by the dots.

The purpose of the dots is to keep one from going wrong in leiflein, otherwise the beginning student would not know which letter to strike with an upward or downward motion—they always go upward when the forefinger is indicated. If there are three voices, as in this case

or else

13 Newsidler's direction to lift (anheben) the thumb before striking with the forefinger is unique among sixteenth-century lute tutors. It seems to imply that his right-hand position placed the thumb and forefinger either directly opposite one another, or else with the thumb striking "over," or nearer the rose than the forefinger.
one might well ask if one is to use the forefinger twice in succession in the three voices. It is true that it has to go upward twice in succession even though it has been said that one only moves upward when there are single dots. I shall now explain the reason why. When there are three voices on top of one another [in a chord], or even if there are only two, one must pinch the two fingers [thumb and forefinger] together. Therefore it is necessary for the forefinger to go upward twice in succession. One cannot do otherwise but follow the single dots diligently and note that they always go upward [with the forefinger], whether there are a few or several in succession.

Enough has been said about the single dots. There follows a discussion of a little cross such as this + which is placed next to the letters. Whenever it is found one must keep the fingers still on those letters until the next leüfflein or hooks are struck, or for as long as one can hear the string. Frequently there occur passages in which one hardly has the time to strike [the held note] but one has to release the little cross if one is to complete the passage. This is acceptable. There follows an untitled piece that illustrates all the runs [lauff] upward and downward, and should prove useful to the student and sounds at once charming and artistic.

Once more take note of the aforementioned hand with the little dots, because now it is time to match the dots on the fingers with the dots on the letters.

*Here follows the first principle of the lute*

There is a long run that is arranged in such a fashion that a beginning student will learn to strike the thumb and forefinger of the right hand alternately. The thumb lifts and moves downward and the forefinger simply goes upward. This only happens in runs, as one will see and understand later; one has to alternate striking these fingers, one down and the other up until the run is completed. Note this, because it is the greatest art in the playing of the lute, and if someone does not understand it right away it is no matter, things will fall into place eventually. Only twenty pieces are marked with dots like these . . . . . . . . ; the following ones will only have the single dots like this:
And when there are single dots, whether few or many, that means that one should play the letters and numbers over which they are placed with an upward stroke with the forefinger, as indicated before. This is the meaning of all the dots, and every student should take note. I have also shown how to use the little cross that is placed next to the letters. If you seek knowledge, instruction, and indications read this little book and see what you need, for this has been conceived as a complete tutor for the lute.

The first study, which is a fundamental of the lute.

[Die erst regel]
The second study, of another type.

[Die ander regel]
The third study, of yet another type.

[Die drit regel.]

There follows another study that is much more artistic, but somewhat more difficult than the first.

[Ein anders fundament]
THOMAS ROBINSON’S INTERPRETIVE LEFT-HAND FINGERINGS FOR THE LUTE AND CITTERN*

BY SUSAN G. SANDMAN

Thomas Robinson wrote separate instruction books for the lute and for the cittern: the School of Musicke was printed in 1603, and the New Citharen Lessons six years later, both during the high point of English lute playing.¹ Whereas the text in each treats left-hand fingerings in only an elementary and cursory way—the general rule Robinson gives in the lute tutor says only “for every fret omitted in a passage leave a finger out, too”—both books contain teaching pieces with very instructive left-hand fingerings written underneath the tablature in the manuscript.² The fingerings often require the performer to make small breaks between some notes of the phrase, and are thus interpretive, i.e. the articulation of the music is in part dictated by the breaks between the notes that the fingerings require. These teaching pieces and the articulation they imply are the central focus of this paper.

It is perhaps significant for this presentation that Robinson mentions fingerings (although not explicitly left-hand fingerings) in the complete title of the School of Musicke, the first part of which reads: “The Schoole of Musicke, wherein is taught, the perfect method, or true fingering of lute, Pandora, Orpharion, and viol da


²Pieces in the Schoole of Musicke with left-hand fingerings (numbered according to the Lumsden edition): (1) The Queen’s Good Night and (2) Twenty Waies Upon the Bells and (3) A Plaine song for two luttes (lute duets); (3) Row well you marriners and (4) Galliard (lute solo); (35) Sweet Jesus who shall lend me wings, (36) Psalm, (37) O Lord of whom I do depend, and (38) O Lord that art my righteousness (hymns set for viola da gamba).

Pieces with left-hand fingerings in New Citharen Lessons (for four course cittern): (7) A Jigge for 2 Citharens (duet) and (8) The 1st Lesson (solo).
Gamba. . .”3 No separate instructions however, are included for the pandora or orpharion, and only very elementary instructions appear for the voice and viol. Besides a brief instructional text written in the form of a dialogue between a student (a Knight seeking to learn the lute so he may teach his children) and the teacher (Timotheus), Robinson’s tutor includes 38 pieces for lute (32 for solo lute, six lute duets) and five pieces for voice and viola da gamba. The lute pieces include the expected assortment of types: arrangements of popular songs—including “Goe from my window” and “Robin is to the Greenwood Gone”; dances—including a galliard over a passamezzo ground; fantaisies, toys and entabulations of psalms.

The text in the New Citharen Lessons too, is written in a dialogue form, this time between “Master and Scholler.” It contains 48 pieces for four course cittern, and six pieces for 14 course cittern. These include two duets for two citterns and one piece each for cittern and viol, and cittern and voices. The assortment includes the same types of pieces printed in Robinson’s lute tutor: arrangements of currently popular songs—including Dowland’s “Frog Galliard” and “Can She Excuse”; dances—including three pavans and two galliards over grounds; and psalms.4

Five pieces for lute in Robinson’s Schoole of Musicke contain left-hand fingerings: three of the duets (“The Queenes Good-Night,” “Twenty Waies Upon the Bells,” and “A Plain Song for Two Lutes”) and two of the lute solos (“Row Well you Mariners” and “Galliard”). The fingerings, apparently by Robinson, are written throughout each piece.

Only two pieces in Robinson’s cittern method contain left-hand fingerings. One is called “The First Lesson, both instruction, and also to play alone as a good provicent” and is a series of nine melodic variations over a simple ground composed of a vamping sequence of tonic, subdominant, dominant and tonic major chords. The second is a duet for two citterns tuned in the unison called “A Jigge for two citterns.” The first contains fingerings throughout; the second only for eight measures.

I am restricting my study of left-hand fingerings to Robinson by circumstances, not by choice. Collections of lute music are noticeably lacking in left-hand lute fingerings, although many give right-hand fingerings underneath the letters of the tablature. There are four other writers of lute instruction books during the English

3 Emphasis mine. The title continues “with most infallible general rules, both easie and delightful. Also, a method, how you may be your owne instructer for Prick-song, by the help of your lessons of all sorts, for your further and better instruction.”

Renaissance; all mention left-hand fingerings, but the discussion is intended to edify only a novice lutenist. Robert Dowland discussed left-hand fingerings in the *Varietie of Lute Lessons* but illustrates the brief section of the text with only a few fingered scales, and, unfortunately, there are no implications for phrasing and articulation in these examples (mainly because they are all in first position). Mary Burwell, William Barley, and Adrian LeRoy's instructions are simply to help a rank beginner finger chords, and are therefore unhelpful for our study.  

There are two later sources that contain left-hand fingerings for the lute, both from the baroque period. Marin Mersenne, in the book on instruments from the *Harmonie Universelle*, 1636, mentions left-hand fingerings but only in connection with his discussion of the performance of *agrément*. Since left-hand fingerings are given mainly to clarify the graces indicated only by sign (and therefore with no pitches appearing in the tablature) they are unhelpful to this study of implied articulations. Thomas Mace, on the other hand, in the *Musick's Monument* of 1676, discusses left-hand fingerings in the instructional text and also includes seven fingered teaching pieces (preludes). These will be discussed briefly at the end of this article.

Of course, the effect of fingering indications on articulation in actual performance is tempered somewhat by the desires of the performer. It appears that in the sixteenth century, keyboard fingerings, and also wind tonguing, implied various kinds of note groupings—mainly pairing by two—but a modern performer works to overcome any unevenness inherent in fingerings, and uses tonguing syllable mainly for speed. Arnold Dolmetsh points out, in connection with keyboard technique, that:

"It is possible, in theory at least, to cross the fingers smoothly and evenly, just as in theory the fingers of the modern pianist are supposed to be all equally strong and independent. But in practice there is a strong tendency for the effect to be. . ."  

and Dolmetsh goes on to illustrate contrasting effects two different fingering patterns imply. With determination, a modern lutenist can manage to overcome, almost, the breaks caused by shifts in hand position; any shift does however imply a slight break in articulation. In order to resurrect a style of performance, a student of historical

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6 See, for example, Thurston Dart, "Miss Mary Burwell's Instruction Book for the Lute," *GSJ* XI (May, 1958): 3-62.

performance practices must consider what articulations are easiest to achieve with a particular historical fingering, what articulations are gracious to his or her instrument, and only go counter to these if the result is, according to individual taste, unmusical. What I hope to do is to show what the tendencies in practice would have been when Robinson's fingerings were implemented; to use the fingerings to help resurrect a probable style of articulation.

To aid in describing the articulations that Robinson's fingerings imply, I have adapted Newman Powell's terminology from his Stanford University Thesis about the effects of fingerings on articulation in early keyboard music. His definition of articulation may be taken in two parts: 1) articulation is "the relative degree of separation and connection of successive melody tones..." i.e., articulation is the degree of detaché and legato in a musical phrase; and 2) articulation is "any resultant groupings of these tones," that is whether the notes in a phrase are paired by two or grouped in a different fashion.

A glance through the examples that follow show, furthermore, that the notes are sometimes articulated into groups that are paired within the beat or time unit, and those that are grouped from one unit to the next. The first basic type of slurred groups Powell terms "time groups"—see Example 1A--; the other he calls "rhythm groups"—see Example 1B.

Example 1-A  time groups  Example 1-B  rhythm groups

In my musical examples, slurs are a visual manifestation of the articulation specifically suggested by the left-hand fingerings. The absence of slurs show groups of notes in which the left-hand fingering is not so amenable to a legato articulation, but that such a connection is not impossible. A staccato dot is used to indicate when a break in the legato is unavoidable.

The articulation patterns implied by Robinson's fingerings fall into four general (and overlapping) categories: left-hand fingerings chosen (1) to allow a legato performance, in particular to allow chord tones to be held through a phrase; (2) to divide notes into time and rhythm groupings; (3) to articulate each repetition of a melodic sequence the same way; and (4) to require separation between notes, often at cadences, or to point up a melodic figure. Each of these four categories of articulation will be illustrated in turn using Robinson's

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teaching pieces. My examples show (1) the tablature and left-hand fingerings given by Robinson; (2) a transcription into staff notation, with the articulation implied by these fingerings written above the staff; and (3) different fingerings for some phrases, with the alternative articulations they imply written under the staff. The first examples are from “Twenty Waies Upon the Bells,” a treble ground duet. The ground imitates the change-ringing patterns of church bells. The unornamented tune that Robinson set to it appears in other sources as well, including three settings by William Byrd. The fingerings that Robinson writes to the Bells’ ground allow a legato connection between all the chords except the one indicated in example 2A by a dotted line; (a legato is prevented here by the shift to half position necessary in order to perform the Bb).

Example 2A  “Twenty Waies upon the bells” (excerpt)
Robinson, Schoole of Musicke

Robinson’s tutor, and lute tutors in general stress the importance of achieving a legato performance by holding down the fingers of the left hand. This is simply basic lute, cittern, and viol technique. Robinson’s fingerings for the treble variations number 6, 10, 11, 14, and 16 allow for a legato performance as well.

In two places in the treble of “Bells,” Robinson’s left-hand fingerings group notes into time groups when he could have written just as easily fingerings causing rhythm groups. In variation 3 the shift from fourth position to second position (meas. 1) and the use of the first finger two times in a row (meas. 2) requires a slight break. Likewise the repetition of the third finger in var. 5 causes a slight separation between the first and second measure (see example 2B).

In variations 2, 6 and 10 Robinson groups notes into rhythm groups where he could have used time groups. The phrasing choices

here involve when to shift to or from the fourth position (in order to perform the "h" fret or high d).

Example 2B

\[
\begin{array}{c|c|c|c|c|c|c|c|c|c}
\hline
\text{rhythm group} & \text{time group} \\
\hline
\end{array}
\]

Robinson seems to have gone to considerable trouble in fingerings passages to allow for consistent articulation patterns for the component figures in a melodic sequence. To insure the pattern of paired notes in time groups, for example, Robinson's fingerings in the 5th variation of the First Lesson for cittern (see example 3) not only require the use of the same finger on descending frets on the same string, but also unnecessary position shifts. His fingerings also imply consistent time group phrasing in the two short sequences in the last variation of "The Queens Goodnight," a treble/ground duet.
for two lutes (see example 4). Here spaces are insured in between each beat by requiring shifts of hand position. In addition, in the second measure, the fingerings allow the first of each octave to be sustained. The first phrase of the same section could easily have been fingered to invite a performance using rhythm groupings, as notated below the staff.10

Example 4 "The Queens Goodnight" Robinson, Schoole of Musicke

The last category of articulation concerns spaces between notes, or a detached style of performance. Robinson seems to favor this style of performance at cadences. In the following two examples (see example 5), taken from the First lesson for Cittern, at two major cadences Robinson fingers the passage to require a detached articulation. In variation 8 he uses the same finger on two different frets; in variation 9 he requires an unnecessary position shift. These

10. The performance of "The Queens Goodnight" as a duet poses a small rhythmic problem, because, although the treble changes from a 3/4 meter to 9/8 for the last variation, Robinson makes no parallel change in the ground, and gives no performing instructions. A possible solution is to alter the eighth notes in the ground to fit the triplet movement of the treble. Since no rhythmic alteration is needed in the first one and one-half measures for the parts to fit together, Robinson may have assumed alteration "by ear"—this is all the more likely when we remember that this ground was one of the most popular of Elizabethan grounds.
fingerings appear to be deliberate choices: 1) elsewhere in the piece he marks in fingerings that allow for a legato performance and 2) these cadences could easily have been written with fingerings allowing a more legato performance (see fingerings written under the staff notation).

Example 5 “The first lesson” Robinson, New Citharen Lessons

Robinson chooses a detached style of articulation also for the opening measures of both sections of one of his Galliards in the School of Musicke (see example 6). This is indicated to the performer by the repetition of the fourth, and then the first finger on different frets (highlighted in the example by arrows). He continues this detached style in the sequences that follow, indicating this articulation by an unnecessary position shift as well as by using the same procedures as described above (see example 6).

Example 6. “Galliard” Robinson, The Schoole of Musicke
Thomas Mace continues in Robinson’s tradition of discussing left-hand fingerings in the text of *Musick’s Monument*, and also by including seven teaching pieces with these fingerings written in. These preludes are arranged in order of increasing complexity and contain examples of all the types of articulation implied by Robinson’s fingerings. Mace’s most important contribution to this study is that he names the technique described above of achieving a detached articulation by the use of the same finger on two different consecutive frets, calling this a “Slip-stroke.” Mace describes the Slip-stroke in connection with the Fourth Prelude, saying,

...you shall see the 2d and 3d Notes, both marked with the fore-finger, which is contrary to the General Rule; yet oftentimes we do play, (as there you see) twice with the Fore-finger, ... we strike, Them Two Notes, after another manner, viz. not picking up the 1st Note, but slipping wise, (as it were) and resting the Finger, upon the 2d Note a little, and then strike the 2d note, as you do others.”

Mace generally uses this fingering before an *agrément*, with the effect that the resulting break in the articulation emphasizes the dissonance, or he uses it to give a lift in the performing of a dotted rhythm (see example 7). Mace could have avoided this fingering had he not wished these articulations (see my alternative fingerings).

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12 Preludes 1-7, Mace, pp. 88-99.
13 For example, Mace’s left-hand fingerings group notes into both rhythm groupings (p. 86, measure 4 and 7) and phrase groupings (p. 87, measures 4 and 7).
14 Mace, pp. 94-95.
15 The tablature is written for a lute in Flat french tuning.

In conclusion, there are two main categories of fingering instructions: (1) those that indicate a shift in position and (2) those that indicate the use of the same finger consecutively on two different frets. The types of articulations implied by these fingerings for the left hand are not surprising. They are in keeping with the pairing by two resulting from early keyboard fingerings and from wind articulations, and agree also with the consistent articulation patterns within melodic sequences often implied by fingered passages in the early keyboard music. In addition, they show a deliberate use of detached articulations—particularly at cadences and to highlight melodic figures—and, also, the use of small breaks between some notes of the phrase to articulate the line into time or rhythm groups, as well as the use of a legato articulation achieved by the standard lute technique of holding down left-hand finger whenever possible.

Robinson's additions to left-hand fingerings to his teaching pieces for the lute and cittern serve to remind us of the importance of attention to detail in phrasing for choices, and of the importance of details as building blocks for fine performances.

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THE LUTES IN THE BAVARIAN NATIONAL MUSEUM IN MUNICH*

BY DOUGLAS ALTON SMITH

The Bavarian National Museum in Munich possesses one of the most significant collections of lutes in Germany, but for a variety of reasons these instruments have remained little known to instrument scholars and luthiers. The lutes are mentioned in three published catalogs, but with no illustrations and with very few dimensions given. Moreover, they have not been on public display since World War II. During the War the lutes, together with the Museum’s other valuable possessions, were removed to castles and monasteries in Upper Bavaria for safekeeping. Unfortunately, in the last days of the conflict, a soldier tossed a grenade into the room where the plucked instruments were kept and most sustained severe damage (probably in part from being knocked to the floor by the concussion). In most cases the instruments have still not been repaired. Their tragic condition, however, is an advantage for the student of instrument construction, since it permits close examination of barring structure, top and rib thicknesses, and other important aspects of design.

The lutes in the Bavarian National Museum are the following:


This article will also appear in German in the periodical Musik in Bayern, 1979.

2This is principally due to an acute lack of knowledgeable, qualified musical instrument restorers. The restoration that has thus far been performed on some of these lutes is not entirely satisfactory (see below under the remarks on individual instruments).

3Two mid-18th century lutes from the collection of the Bavarian National Museum are presently on loan to the Munich Stadtmuseum: Gabriel Buchstetter, 6-course mandora-lute (Mu 285) and Johann Vogl, mandora-lute (Mu 4).
Mu 16 Jacques Hoffman den Jonghen, 11-course lute (ca. 1600)
Mu 295 Matteo Sellas, 11-course lute (1640)
Mu 7 Leonhardt Pradter (?), lute top with later body and neck (ca. 1680)
Mu 10 Joachim Tielke, 13-course theorbo (1678)
Mu 58 Rudolph Höss, 14-course long theorbo (1709)
Mu 1 Jacob Weiss, 6-course lute (1741)
Mu 3 Gregori Wenger, 6-course lute (1757)
Mu 15 Anonymous, miniature 7-string lute

The collection is an unusual and interesting one. All of the lutes, with the possible exception of the Hoffman and anonymous lutes, stem originally from the baroque era and are not rebuilt Renaissance instruments. Several are in virtually unaltered condition, which alone would make the collection valuable. Further, the instrument by Hoffman appears to be the sole surviving instrument by that maker.4 Finally, the lutes by Hoffman and Sellas, the Tielke theorbo, and the liutino are fine examples of decorative art quite apart from their value as musical instruments.

All of the lutes have been in the collection of the Museum since the nineteenth century. Before their acquisition, the provenance of the instruments by Höss, Sellas, and Hoffman is not known. The sources of the others are given below under the discussion of each individual lute. Three of the instruments, those by Höss (Munich), Weiss (Salzburg), and Wenger (Augsburg), were made within a hundred miles of the Museum and thus presumably were played during the eighteenth and perhaps also nineteenth centuries in Munich or Upper Bavaria.

Not all the lutes in this collection were used by aristocrats or court musicians for art music. The miniature lute was probably always intended to be a toy. The lutes of Weiss and Wenger, on the other hand, are anachronisms: six-course lutes built a century and a half after serious music ceased to be written for this configuration of strings. Probably they were used to play popular mandore music, perhaps also guitar tablatures. Certainly, however, there exists no music composed by the great court lutenists of the mid-eighteenth century—Silvius Leopold Weiss, Ernst Gottlieb Baron, Adam Falckenhagen, and others—for lutes with less than eleven courses. For this reason, and also because of the very bad condition of the Weiss and Wenger lutes, the measurements and photographs given below are less comprehensive for these instruments than for the others.

Probably the oldest lute in the collection is the instrument by Hoffman (no apparent relation to the famous Leipzig luthiers Martin and Johann Christian Hoffmann). It is a lovely lute with twenty-five ivory staves and triple spacers (ebony/ivory/ebony), probably built in Flanders during the first few decades of the seventeenth century. Nothing is known of its maker beyond this label.

The fingerboard and back of the neck are laminated with ebony (ca. 1.0mm thick), and a ½-thickness purfling strip (of ebony/ivory/ebony) protects the edge of the belly. Though it is now arranged to carry eleven courses of strings, the ends of an earlier pair of fingerboard beards are still present in the belly (see illustration), which indicate that the lute originally had a narrower neck and at least two or three fewer courses. The modification to eleven courses (here two single and nine double strings), the standard configuration for the French lute after about 1640, no doubt occurred during the seventeenth century. Another modification to the fingerboard, a series of very crudely inlaid pieces of ivory inscribed with letters, was made much later.

The bridge is made of a light-colored wood (maple?), unstained; the separate tips appear to be of rosewood. On this instrument and the Höss theorbo, the bridges are of one piece (i.e., with no lamination on top) and are both well worn at their top edges by the friction of the strings.

The Hoffman instrument is particularly interesting since it is one of very few surviving lutes made outside of Italy and Germany. Unfortunately, this lute is especially badly damaged—the ivory shell now consists of three large sections and a score of small shards, the neck and pegbox are separated, and the belly is in five pieces—so the accompanying photographs cannot give an accurate picture of the complete instrument.5

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5A detailed technical drawing and description of the Hoffman lute, made by Gerhard Söhne, is available from the Lute Society of America.
The lute made in 1640 by Matteo Sellas, a German luthier (and dealer?) active in Venice in the 1630's and early 1640's, is a fancy instrument made with eight rosewood and seven ivory staves and double spacers (of ivory and rosewood). The striped theme of the shell is carried onto the back of the neck in the same materials—laminated—and culminates in a checkerboard pattern on the underside of the pegbox. This lute has been repaired since the War and provided with a new belly, into which the old rosette has been inlaid (at a wrong angle) and onto which the bridge was reglued. Therefore, the present positions of the bridge and rosette are doubtless not exactly original.

The Sellas lute is historically important as one of the last examples of the great German lute-making tradition in Italy during the Renaissance and early Baroque eras. It is also unusual since, by the time this bent-necked lute was made, there was virtually no solo lute music being composed in Italy, and the archlute and theorbo were preferred for continuo accompaniment.

[The Pradter label is damaged and too faint to photograph well. The signature is similar to that found in the Schlosse catalog (No. 49), but without date or place.]

Only the belly of the lute with the label "Leonhardt Pradter" stems from the seventeenth century; the shell, neck, and pegboxes were made at least a century later, perhaps even in the twentieth century. Pradter was a (South?) Tyrolean violin maker who emigrated to Prague and became a citizen there in 1675. He is otherwise known for a fine lute of 1689 in the Kunsthistorisches Museum, Vienna.

This belly is notable for its beautifully carved rosette. The rest of the instrument, made of rosewood, is quite crude and cannot have been made by a trained luthier. If the label is genuine, it was removed from the original shell and reglued into the present one, perhaps by the repairman whose label is found below Pradter's: "Zugericht [repaired by] Johann Josef/Muschl, 1781." This lute was bought by the Museum in 1859 for the amount "6 fl."

JOACHIM TIELKE
in Hamburg/An. 16 > 8

6Lütgendorff II, p. 394.
The theorbo by Joachim Tielke is an especially extravagant instrument inlaid with ivory and tortoise shell. Its shell is made of five rosewood and four ivory staves with double spacers of ebony and ivory. A narrow ivory extension of the capping strip protects the treble edge of the belly against friction from the player’s thigh. The fingerboard is of ebony, as are the pegs in the first pegbox (some of which do not appear to be original); those in the extension pegbox are of ivory (and some replacements of bone). The bridge is made of a light-colored wood, probably maple, and has a lamination of ebony on top.

The two allegorical scenes on the back of the neck and lower pegbox depict a youth first seated and then reclining on a carriage, holding in the first scene a lute and in the second a bow and arrow. He is accompanied in both by cupid, who carries first a bow and then a lute. The carriage is drawn by a pair of Muses in the neck scene, and by two stags in that on the pegbox. Obviously these scenes are intended to represent the unity of three favorite distractions of seventeenth-century aristocrats (presumably including the first owner of this theorbo): la musique, la chasse, and l’amour.

To this writer’s knowledge the Munich Tielke is the earliest surviving theorbo with the curved, offset pegbox design that later characterized almost all theorboes made in the German-speaking countries (notably J. C. Hoffmann of Leipzig and Leopold Widhalm and Sebastian Schelle of Nuremberg). It is possible that Tielke either invented the design or developed its graceful curves from a French model.⁷

The Tielke theorbo was purchased by the Museum in 1887 from the heirs of Franz von Seitz (1817–1883), who was for many years technical director of the Munich Hoftheater.

⁷Compare, for instance, the theorbo by Vundelio Ventere (1592) in William Skinner, The Belle Skinner Collection of Old Musical Instruments (Holyoke, 1933), pp. 78-80. The instrument, now at Yale University, was probably modified to a theorbo by a French maker during the seventeenth century; I am grateful to Ray Nurse for this information. See also the theorboes depicted on the title page and on the title of the continuo part of Marin Marais, Pièces a une et a deux violons (Paris: [1686]). On these French instruments the extension pegbox is offset from the plane of the extension, but at an angle, not in a continuous curve as on the German theorboes.

A technical drawing and detailed description of the Tielke theorbo, made by Gerhard Söhne, is available from the Lute Society of America. I am grateful to Mr. Söhne for his drawings of the Sellas and Tielke labels reproduced in this article; the originals could not be photographed since the bellies are attached to the bodies.
The long theorbo by Rudolph Höss, the only surviving lute-type instrument by this maker, has eleven staves of birds-eye maple, and the body is nearly half-round instead of flattened in back as are most Italian instruments of this type. The fingerboard is of ebony, the rest of the neck is lacquered black. The quality of Höss's workmanship is not impressive. One attractive feature, however, is the carved lion's head (perhaps representing the Bavarian heraldic lion—Höss was an Electoral court luthier) in place of the more usual simple swan head at the end of the contrabass pegbox.

The instrument has recently been partially repaired, with several unfortunate alterations. The old bars underneath the belly have been almost entirely removed—only one or two small fan braces appear to be original—and replaced by new ones. Three struts have been affixed inside the shell, presumably for support, and the body has a new coat of unattractive, thick varnish.

This long theorbo (called "long Roman theorbo: chitarrone" by Praetorius) is the last such instrument listed in Pohlmann's index and hence represents the end of a century-long tradition. The first large theorboes now extant were built in Rome and Venice in the first decade of the seventeenth century by the makers Matteo Buchenberg and Magno Dieffopruchar, respectively. By the eighteenth century, shorter theorboes like the Tielke instrument, with eight courses on the fingerboard and five pairs of contrabasses, were much more commonly made than the long instruments having six courses of fretted strings and eight single contrabasses.
The lutes by Weiss and Wenger both have nine staves; those on the Weiss lute are of curly maple, those on the Wenger birds-eye maple. Each has ivory frets inlaid on the fingerboard, a very unusual feature for lutes of this period if the frets are original. Though the Weiss instrument is now built to carry five double courses and a single chanterelle, a second pegbox whose finish more closely matches that of the rest of the lute is preserved with the broken parts. This small pegbox has only six pegs and six large grooves in the nut attached to it.

Little music survives that may have been intended for such instruments. However, the existence of five-, six-, and seven-course lutes in the first half of the eighteenth century was more widespread than music historians have previously acknowledged. Pohlmann lists similar lutes of this period by fully twenty makers who worked in the Bavarian and Austrian region (in Vienna, Linz, Salzburg, Füssen, Munich, Tölz, Regensburg, and Würzburg). The two instruments by Weiss and Wenger in the Bavarian National Museum are thus representative of an apparently active cultivation of popular Hausmusik in South Germany and Austria in the late Baroque era.

The Weiss lute was bought by the Museum in 1857 and the Wenger lute was donated by the Munich Court Music Director (Hofintendanz) in the same period.

The anonymous miniature lute is moderately elaborate, with engraved ivory inlay on the fingerboard and ivory, ebony, and a dark brown wood (rosewood?) on the back of the neck and pegbox. Its body is made of fifteen staves of alternating rosewood and a lighter-colored wood of very fine grain (yew or cypress?), with double spacers of ivory and the same dark wood as on the back of the neck. Its seven strings are all single, and the instrument is now in “playing condition,” though an adult’s fingers are too large to do more than awkwardly pluck single tones. It may thus have been intended as a fancy toy. Like the Tielke theorbo, this instrument stems from the estate of Franz von Seitz.

The following measurements represent a selection of the most important dimensions required for the study of reconstruction of a lute. They are in many cases approximate, due to the poor condition of the instrument or the difficulty of measuring a belly still secured to the body, for instance. Belly length is from the base of the lute to the corners where the body meets the neck. The position of the

9 See the index “Kompositionen für die Mandora” in Pohlmann, pp. 143-144. Most of the surviving mandora tablature collections are in libraries in Austria and Bavaria. See also Josef Klima, “Die Paysanne in den österreichischen Lautentabulaturen,” Jahrbuch des österreichischen Volksliedwerkes X (1961), pp. 102-105.
10 Pohlmann, pp. 324-325.
rosette was taken from the base of the lute to the middle of the rose, and its diameter is of the opening exclusive of the frequent decorative carving around it. Bridge position is from base to front of bridge. String lengths were measured both at the first and last strings on the fingerboard. String heights at the bridge were taken at the first and last string hole and should be regarded as approximate, since no strings are presently on any of these lutes except the anonymous liutino. The thickness of the belly varies on all the lutes; usually it is thinnest at the rosette. All dimensions are expressed in millimeters.

### Belly

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### String length

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<th>contra</th>
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<th>Belly thickness</th>
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<tr>
<td>Sellas</td>
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<td>546</td>
<td>---</td>
<td>90</td>
<td>c. 1.6 (rose)</td>
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<tr>
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<td>---</td>
<td>100</td>
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<tr>
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<td>955</td>
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<tr>
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<td>805</td>
<td>1566</td>
<td>81</td>
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<tr>
<td>Weiss</td>
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<td>---</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>1.2-1.5</td>
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<tr>
<td>Wenger</td>
<td>708</td>
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<td>---</td>
<td>68</td>
<td>1.4-1.7</td>
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### Stave thickness

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<th>nut</th>
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<td>---</td>
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<td>String height treble</td>
<td>String height bass</td>
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<td></td>
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<td>---------------------------</td>
<td>----------------------</td>
<td>--------------------</td>
<td></td>
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</tr>
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<td>4.4</td>
<td>5.0</td>
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<td></td>
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<td>5.9</td>
<td>6.2</td>
<td></td>
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<td>---</td>
<td>---</td>
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</table>

Photographs of most of these instruments will be found on pages 50-55 below.
LUIS MILAN AND MEANTONE TEMPERAMENT

By Mark Lindley

In Volume VII of this Journal Eugen Dombois published an article entitled "Varieties of Meantone Temperament Realized on the Lute," with tables for several shadings of regular meantone and with musical examples illustrating its occasional limitations. This valuable article encouraged me to pursue an investigation, which I had undertaken for the sake of the entry on "Temperaments" in the new Grove, as to whether any major composer might have avoided those limitations in order to enjoy the advantages of a meantone temperament. The object of the present article is to show, in greater detail than would be appropriate for Grove, that Luis Milán is a very likely candidate.

I would like to preface my evidence for this conclusion with a review of some pertinent rudiments. On a lute or vihuela, one or more of the intervals among the open strings has to be tempered larger than pure because it is a fact of nature that the sum of four pure 4ths and a pure major 3rd is actually less than two full octaves. This discrepancy, amounting to about 1/9 of a whole-tone, is called the "syntonic comma."  

Indeed, if the 4ths and the major 3rd are tuned pure, then the

1 I wish to acknowledge warmly the very generous help of Diana Poulton in this investigation.

2 On normal keyboard instruments the limitations of a meantone temperament are fairly simple: each black note on the keyboard may be used either as a sharp or as a flat, but not in both senses without retuning, except where the intonation of a note is obscured by a trill or there is some other mitigating circumstance. On fretted instruments the limitations of meantone are more intricate (as will be described presently) but not really more strict.

3 Its theoretical frequency ratio can be calculated by dividing the ratio for a double octave (4:1) by the product of the just-intonation ratios for the intervals among the open courses (4:3 x 4:3 x 5:4 x 4:3 x 4:3). The result will be 81:80. On a keyboard instrument, the syntonic comma may conveniently be thought of as the difference between a pure major 3rd and the larger, "pythagorean" major 3rd or "ditone" (ratio 81:64) comprising two whole-tones that are derived in turn by subtracting a pure 4th from a pure 5th.
open 12ths (between the first and fifth courses, and between the second and sixth) will be a comma smaller than pure—which is enough to make them sour. Consciously or unconsciously, therefore, one must choose some way of distributing this comma's worth of discrepancy among the open-string intervals. To insist on pure 4ths and put all the stretching upon the major 3rd between the two middle courses would be to choose a primarily medieval kind of tuning called pythagorean intonation; but if a Renaissance ear is to be soothed by tempering the 3rd no more than the 4ths, then each of the four 4ths must be stretched by about 20% of the comma (or even 25% if a pure major 3rd is desired). This kind of tuning is called meantone temperament.\(^4\)

Of course the exact size of most of the intervals actually used in the music will depend also on the exact position of the various frets. As a general rule one must therefore coordinate the placing of the frets and the tuning of the open strings. For example, if the octave above the lowest course is to be pure, then the 5th above the next course must be set smaller than pure by the same amount as the 4th between the two courses is tempered larger than pure. Another example: if the fourth fret does not produce a major 3rd that is equal to the 3rd between the middle pair of open courses, the discrepancy of intonation may hamper one's choice of fingerings. The position of every fret will be governed by considerations of this sort.

Experience shows, however, that if the exact placing of the frets is coordinated with the tuning of the open strings, then neither in meantone temperament nor in pythagorean intonation will the semitones marked off by the frets be equal amongst themselves. In pythagorean intonation the major 3rd (for instance from G to B) is an entire comma larger than pure; therefore the diatonic semitone (from B to C) will be rather small and the chromatic semitone (from B down to Bb) somewhat larger. In meantone temperament, on the other hand, the major 3rd is tempered very little if at all, and this leaves a rather large diatonic semitone (from B to C) and a correspondingly smaller chromatic semitone (from B down to Bb). To render the two kinds of semitones, diatonic and chromatic, exactly the same in size would involve tempering the major 3rds and 6ths rather larger than in a meantone temperament but not quite as large as in pythagorean intonation. Hence equal temperament, as this kind of tuning is called, provides uniform semitones at the expense

\(^4\)Some writers restrict the term "meantone temperament" to the scheme in which 5ths are tempered 1/4 comma (smaller than pure) for the sake of pure major 3rds. Other writers, including Barbour, Dombois and myself, extend it to apply to any scheme with 5ths tempered uniformly but distinctly more than in equal temperament for the sake of euphonious 3rds.
of 3rds and 6ths that are distinctly less pure than they would be in
meantone—which is undoubtedly why Renaissance keyboard
musicians avoided equal temperament.

Did Luis Milán avoid equal temperament?

If he did use a tuning (such as a meantone temperament) with
wide and narrow gaps between the frets, he had to choose which
were to be the wide gaps and which are narrow; and his choice would
apply across all six courses at once. For example, if he thought of the
names of the middle courses as G and B (which he did) and if the
first fret were positioned for C a diatonic semitone above the open B
course, then on the G course there would be an Ab at the first fret (a
diatonic semitone above G) but not a very good G#. For a
euphonious G# in, let us say, an E-major triad, some other fingering
would have to be used.

Now the tablature notation indicates, of course, what fret
position Milán used for every note that he published, that is, in his El
maestro. The following chart summarizes this information by
showing what notes he used at every fret position. (The names of the
notes are inferred by transcribing his music in keeping with his own
designations of the tone or mode for each piece.) The first column of
letters represents the open courses; the next column shows what
notes he used the first fret to provide; and so on:

A  Bb  B  C  C#Db  D  Eb  E  F  F#  G
E  F  F#  G  G#Ab  A  Bb  B  C  C#  D
B  C  C#  D  D#Eb  E  F  F#  G  G#Ab  A
G  G#Ab  A  Bb  B  C  C#  D  Eb  E  F
D  Eb  E  F  F#  G  Ab  A  Bb  B  C
A  Bb  B  C  C#  D  Eb  E  F  F#  G

Like everyone else he often used the first fret for the diatonic semi-
tone above the upper three courses, as in Example 1.
The four-note F-chord in this example is rather easy to play (two
courses are stopped at the first fret, the next course at the second
fret and the next at the third). An even more convenient chord—one
of the easiest on the entire instrument, in fact—would be the E-major
chord a semitone below, which would consist of two open courses
and then merely one course to stop at the first fret and the other at
the second. My first main piece of evidence that Luis Milán did not
tune in equal temperament is that he never used that chord. Virtually
every other major composer used it; Milán himself used the F chord

5Libro de Musica de Vihuela de Mano intitulado El Maestro (Valencia, 1536). The
transcriptions are based on Leo Schrade's edition (Leipzig, 1927).
shown in Example 1; he often used E-major chords in other dispositions that are less convenient for the hand, such as at the end of Example 2; and he often used the easy fingering for the empty-5th sonority that occurs at the beginning of Example 2.

In equal temperament the chord that he avoided would have sounded as good as any other. In pythagorean intonation it would, by a curious quirk, have sounded very pure indeed, because a pythagorean Ab happens to make a virtually pure major 3rd with a pythagorean E. Only in meantone temperament would the sound have been ugly.

On 16 occasions he did use the first fret for G#—but always alone and always cadencing directly to A (see Examples 3 and 4). In a chord, the G# would beat very fast, but with that defect sidestepped by not playing the entire chord at once, the smallness of the melodic semitone to A can be turned to advantage if the note is a
Jacques Hoffman den Johghen (Mu 16)
Note: The size of the two instruments is disproportionate.
Leonhardt Pradter (?) (Mu 7)
Joachim Tielke (Mu 10)
leading tone and the performer makes perhaps a slight rubato to emphasize the melodic context.

Example 3

From Fantasias 4, 5 (twice), 6-9, 10 (twice), 11 and 13, and the Romance "Durandarte, Durandarte"
From Fantasias 34 (twice) and 36, and the Soneto “Porta chiascun ne la fronte”

Example 4

The entries in Example 4 are from the second part of *El maestro*, and three of them present the G# in a peculiar context indeed, with the open G (alias Fx) standing in for what would normally be an F#. This facilitates the execution of the ornamental figure. (The fingering shown in Example 5, which Milán did not use, would be more awkward.) But at the same time the use of Fx in place of F# would deprive the ear of a fair chance to notice, in
meantone tuning, that Ab has been called upon to stand in for G#.\(^6\)

Example 5  
(A fingering not used by Milán)

\[
\begin{array}{c}
\text{Example 5} \\
(A \text{ fingering not used by Milán})
\end{array}
\]

On balance, then, the G#’s in Examples 3 and 4 do not imply equal temperament at all, but rather add to that remarkable constellation of coincidences for which the most satisfactory explanation is that the first fret was left permanently in the position of a meantone Ab.

The fourth fret also requires some discussion, since Milán employed it sometimes for sharps and sometimes for flats. Usually if he used it for flats he would not use it for any other note in the same piece; and one might imagine that he could shift the fret to fit the music. Certainly he did that on some occasions, since two of his pieces, the fantasia from which Example 2 is taken and the romance Con pavor el moro (see Example 6), are prefaced with advice to that effect:

- alcareys vn poco el quarto
- traste dela vihuela para que
- el punto del dicho traste
- sea fuerte y no flaco

raise a little the fourth fret of the vihuela so that the note of the said fret be strong and not flaccid

- haueys de alcar el quarto
- traste vn poco hazia las
- clavijas dela vihuela

you have to raise the fourth fret a little toward the keys of the vihuela

The second statement shows that “raising” the fret meant moving it toward the pegs. This is confirmed by the instructions of another composer, Enríquez de Valderrábano, prefatory to one of the pieces

\(^6\)Eugen Dombois has cordially pointed out to me that the same fingering for this ornamental figure was used by Hans Gerle—who may also have used a variety of meantone temperament; see E. Dombois, “Die Temperatur für Laute bei Hans Gerle (1532),” in *Forum musicologicum* III (1978).
in his *Silva de Sirenas*, that:

baxer sea vn poco the fourth fret
el quarto traste be lowered a little
hazia el lazo toward the rose

Thus “raising” the fret entailed increasing the sounding length of the string and hence lowering the pitch of the note; whereas “lowering” the fret entailed raising the pitch of the note. In each case the change favored greater purity in the 3rds and 6ths: both pieces by Milán use the fourth fret for D# and for other notes a major 3rd above the open string, while Valderrábanos’s piece (see Example 7) uses it for Eb exclusively. That the fret would be shifted according to its use rules out equal temperament; that the shift was in favor of euphonious 3rds and 6ths implies some form of meantone.

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7 *Libro de música de vihuela, intitulado Silva de Sirenas* (Valladolid, 1547), folio 74. Valderrábanos’s works include pieces for two vihuelas tuned, in some instances, a minor 3rd apart. Since this arrangement requires equal temperament, he probably cannot be said to have been very mindful of the limitations of meantone.

8 A century later Mersenne, discussing tempered intervals, used the term *forte* to mean “slightly higher in pitch” and *foible* to mean “slightly lower.” Generally European terminology for pitch was rather crude until the 18th century. In the first decade of the 18th century, Sauveur’s term for his pitch standards (A 100 and, later, C# 256) was *son fixe*. 

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60
In trying out the music I have found that these 3rds and 6ths might feasibly be characterized as "fuerte" in the sense of "solid" while "flaco" is a very suitable adjective for the effect when the fret is at the wrong meantone position.

But there is more to be said about the fourth fret: Milán sometimes used it for both Eb and B in the same piece. This occurs once or twice in the first half of his book (as in Example 8) and several times in the second half, which is devoted to music for advanced players. Moreover, he sometimes used the sixth fret, especially in the second half of the book, for both F and C# in the same piece.
One cannot be certain how this was accommodated. There are several possibilities. In some cases it would be feasible to put the fret at a slant. Or else it might be moved to an in-between position, even though that would jeopardize the consistency of intonation (and significantly modify the meantone scheme). The F at the sixth fret, for instance, would be lower in pitch than the same F at the first fret. But an advanced player might well counter this discrepancy by stretching the string to the side when playing the F at the sixth fret, which would bring it up to pitch. This technique is particularly feasible at the higher frets, where the string is shorter (so that a given amount of stretching will have a more pronounced effect) and slightly farther from the fingerboard (so that there is more leeway to stretch sideways while pressing down). Another, more radical possibility would be to use two frets instead of one. All these devices are mentioned by mid-16th-century theorists, but none can be proved to have been used in any particular instance.9

And yet some license to believe that Luis Milán might have used one of them may be supplied by my final argument, for which, however, no evidence can be presented for scrutiny here: I find that his music sounds best in a meantone temperament. A certain straightforward yet opulent way of using triads (and 3rds and 6ths) makes it susceptible to the benefits of that particular kind of euphony which meantone provides. I hope that readers will test this point for themselves.

9See the article “Temperaments” forthcoming in Grove, or my “Lutes, viols and temperaments,” forthcoming in the Lute Society Journal.
BATTUTO PERFORMANCE PRACTICE IN EARLY ITALIAN GUITAR MUSIC (1606-1637)

BY JOSEPH WEIDLICH

The past ten years has witnessed a growing interest in the baroque guitar and its music. Articles have appeared concerning tuning practices,¹ mode concepts,² dance styles,³ ornamentation techniques,⁴ and such musical forms as the ciaconna,⁵ folia,⁶ passacaglia,⁷ and zarabanda.⁸ Dissertations have been written about several important guitar composers, among them Francesco Corbetta,⁹ Santiago de Murcia,¹⁰ and Gaspar Sanz.¹¹ Modern


editions of guitar music, faithful in all respects to the original, have also become available\textsuperscript{12} as well as facsimile reprints of original editions.\textsuperscript{13} One aspect of early guitar music, however, has suffered neglect.\textsuperscript{14} This is research into the early guitar practice of strumming accompaniments and it is to this subject, as explained in early Italian guitar books, that I would like to add some observations.

The early Italian guitar books were written primarily in alfabeto and were published mainly for amateur musicians in order that they might “learn to play without a teacher.”\textsuperscript{15} The characteristic manner of playing the guitar in the early seventeenth century was called battuto, a strumming technique developed to accompany the numerous popular Spanish and Italian dances and songs then in vogue.\textsuperscript{16} I have examined a representative number of these books covering the period 1606 to 1637, in order to follow the development of battute techniques, including the related area of “graces” which were usually executed by the little finger of the left hand. In chronological order these books are:


1622 Sanseverino, Benedetto. Il primo libro d’intavolatura/Per la


\textsuperscript{11}Jerry A. Manns, “Gaspar Sanz’s Instruccion de musica sobre la guitarra . . . 1674: Translation, Transcription, Commentary.” M.A. dissertation, Case Western Reserve University, 1974.


\textsuperscript{14}One notable exception is Sylvia Murphy, “Seventeenth-century Guitar Music: Notes on Rasqueado Performance,” Galpin Society Journal XXI (1968), 24-32.

\textsuperscript{15}Girolamo Montesardo (1606). His guitar book is recognized as the first of the alfabeto books published in Italy for the baroque guitar.

\textsuperscript{16}Since this article deals exclusively with early Italian guitar strumming practices it seems inappropriate to use the usual Spanish terms rasgado or rasqueado, even though the guitar was a Spanish “import,” when discussing them. Therefore, I am introducing the Italian word battuto (which appears in Foscarini’s guitar book of 1629) in connection with specific strumming techniques as opposed to an individual strum. The majority of foreign terms used in this article are Italian; the spellings are modernized where appropriate for clarity.

1625 Milanuzii, Carlo. Secondo scherzo della ariose veghezze...Aggiunteui nel fine dal medemo Autore alcune Sonate facili intavolate per la Chitarra alla Spagnola...Opera Ottava. Venice. Copy in Civico Museo, Bologna.


17 Although the date on the title page of Foriano Pico's guitar book appears to be 1608, several items contained in this book point to 1628: (a) Pico's book begins without the customary passacaglias. The first instrumental guitar book to appear without them was Millioni's published the year before (1627); (b) Pico explains how to execute the trillo and repicco. The trillo made its initial appearance in Millioni's book of 1627; (c) Repeat signs are indicated in Pico's book by the drawing of a hand. This symbol was used in Millioni's book as well; (d) Pico uses the terms ripresa and ritornello in his tablature. These terms were used in a similar fashion in Milanuzii's book of 1625.


19 I was unable to obtain a copy of this edition; however, I examined those published in Venice, 1644 and Rome, 1647, both of which are virtually identical.
Holding the Guitar

The instructions in these guitar books do not reveal specific information regarding either sitting position or placement of the right hand in playing the guitar. I have had, therefore, to rely upon iconographic evidence for this information. After examining approximately sixty paintings and sketches of guitarists dating primarily from the seventeenth century, I observed that four basic playing postures were depicted: two standing and two sitting.\(^{20}\) In the standing position, the guitar is usually shown being held in a somewhat horizontal position as if supported by some type of strap which was usually not depicted,\(^{21}\) or else on the side of the player’s pelvis, the waist of the guitar being placed at an angle on the top quarter of the pelvis. The usual sitting posture consists of placing the guitar on the right leg which is ordinarily crossed over the left leg, or on the lap across the uncrossed legs.

About half of these paintings and drawings show that the right hand was positioned midway between the bridge and the rosette,\(^{22}\) while the majority of the remaining ones show that the hand was placed between the rosette and neck, or even on the upper portion of the neck itself. These positions are confirmed by engravings on the title pages of two of the eleven books. An angel on the title page of Foriano Pico’s book has its right hand positioned between the bridge and the rosette, while the engraving in Giovanni Paolo Foscarini’s book shows the hand placed approximately over the rosette.

The exact posture which the right hand assumes over the strings is not clear. My iconographic examination reveals that about seventy


\(^{21}\) See Robert Spencer, “How to hold a lute: historical evidence from paintings,” *Early Music* III (1975), 353-354. Spencer mentions a painting by Willem van Mieris (1622 to 1747), *The Neglected Lute* (ca. 1695), which illustrates two fixed buttons centered on the back of the lute, one at each end, from which a string is tautly extended and attached. Two additional loops have been tied to this string. He suggests that these could in turn be looped over the player’s coat or dress buttons to help support the instrument.

Extend baroque guitars with similar sets of buttons are not uncommon. The Stearns Collection of Musical Instruments at The University of Michigan, Ann Arbor, Michigan, has in its possession an Andreas Ott guitar made in 1659 at Prague. This particular instrument is fitted in a similar fashion as described above, although it does not have any loops on the gut string itself. [I would like to thank Michael Lorimer for informing me of the existence of this instrument, and Mr. Warren Steel, Assistant Curator for The Stearns Collection, for providing me with specific information about it.]

\(^{22}\) Millioni, in his *Seconda impressione*, states that one should play between the rose and the neck: “... a sonado tra la rosa, & il manico ...” He also says of the right hand fingers that they should be held as “distinctly as possible one from the other ...”
percent show the right hand in a thumb-out position similar to that used by today's classical guitarists, and the remaining ones depict a thumb-under style of playing in which the right forearm is held somewhat parallel to the strings so that the thumb, in executing its strokes, moves downward behind the index and middle fingers into the palm of the hand. Strumming appears to be taking place in the majority of the thumb-under positions. The little finger of the right hand is invariably placed on the soundboard unless all of the fingers are involved in executing a battuto particularly in the area of the neck.

Alfabeto

Most of the early guitar books contain information on how to read the tablature and how to understand the notation and fingerings of the numerous chords, a system which came to be known as alfabeto. Each chord was represented by a letter of the Italian alphabet, or in certain instances another symbol, apparently in order of popular usage. For example, the character “A” represents the G major chord, while the symbol “+” represents the E minor chord. Montesardo’s alfabeto consists of 27 chords, four of which duplicate previous chords with different fingerings. Example 1 illustrates the notation of the first eight chords in his alfabeto. Each line represents one course (a pair of strings) on the guitar with the top line denoting the fifth or lowest course. The numbers denote the fret to be stopped; “0” indicates an open string, “1” means the first fret, etc.

EXAMPLE 1
Girolamo Montesardo’s Alfabeto (first eight letters)

\[
\begin{array}{cccccc}
A & B & C & D & E & F + G \\
\hline
\text{Frets} & 3 & 2 & 1 & 0 & 0 & 0 \\
\end{array}
\]

23In the late 16th and early years of the 17th centuries there was a transition taking place in lute technique with the older “thumb-under” style being replaced by the “thumb-out” position. Since some of the early baroque guitarists were familiar with the lute (e.g. Colonna mentions lute tablature in both of his books, while Foscarini states that he was a lutenist by profession) it is probable that they adopted certain features of their established technique. This is certainly the case with Foscarini who reintroduced pizzicate compositions in his guitar book (“pieces plucked in the manner of the lute”).

24The placement of the little finger on the soundboard to support the right hand was common practice in the lute and guitar family in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries.
The tablature used for the baroque guitar was entirely different than that used for the lute. Supposedly invented by Girolamo Montesardo, this system consists of a horizontal line with either large or small character letters located above or below this line. These alfabeto letters represent the chords to be played, their relative duration (the large letters are usually twice the value of the small ones), and the direction of the battute (characters located below the line indicates a downward strum, those above an upward one). This system was modified by Montesardo’s contemporaries by repositioning the alfabeto letters above the line and introducing vertical stroke (colpo) signs to indicate strum direction. Suggestions of meter and rhythm were only sometimes indicated. The above, then, is the basic tablature format used in the majority of the alfabeto books which contained the accompaniments for the songs and dances throughout the seventeenth century.

EXAMPLE 2
Comparison of alfabeto tablatures of a ruggiero accompaniment (first two phrases): (1) Montesardo, Nuova inventione d'intavolatura, 17: Ruggiero sopra l'A; and (2) Francesco Corbetta, De gli scherzi armonici, 26: Rugiero sopra l'A.

(1) Ruggiero sopra l'A.
\[ \begin{array}{cccc}
  & a & A & a \\
\end{array} \]

(2) 26
\[ \begin{array}{cccc}
  & A & B & C & A \\
 J & 1 & 1 & 1 & 1 & 1 & 1 & 1 & 1 & 1 & 1 & 1 & 1 & 1 & 1 & 1 & 1 & 1 & 1 & 1 & 1 & 1 & 1 & 1 & 1 & 1 & 1
\end{array} \]

Elements of Battuto

While written information on right hand position is sketchy at best, we have very specific knowledge regarding the use of the right hand in the performance of battute. Giovanni Colonna (1620) states that “all the strokes, whether upwards or downwards, must be full.” What, however, did these composer/performers mean by a “full” stroke? The best as well as the earliest general definition is provided by Montesardo when he instructs the guitarist to “hit the strings
softly with three or four fingers in a harp-like manner and not all together.”

This definition is amplified by Pietro Millioni and Giovanni Paolo Foscarini. Millioni states that one must touch “all the strings” while Foscarini says that “each stroke must be distinct and clear so that every string renders its true effect.”

Giovanni Colonna comments that one must play lightly “touching now softly and then strongly, in the Spanish and Neapolitan way.” Similar statements are made by Girolamo Montesardo and Benedetto Sanseverino. Montesardo says that “those who wish to do it [right hand trilling] more sweetly, should play on the hole [rosette], sometimes near the neck of the guitar and also, to sweeten the sound, sometimes on the neck itself.” This last statement seems to be the only one in the early Italian sources giving precise directions for moving the right hand in order to control the sound quality of the guitar. In comparison, Sanseverino states simply that “it is enough for each one to vary the hand in different ways according to one’s ability.”

Ornamentation

Two different styles of ornamentation are discussed in these books. The first concerns the continued use of the more traditional Renaissance “graces” or accenti which are executed by the fingers of the left hand. These ornaments include the trill (tremolo), mordent, and vibrato. The second style consists of introducing rhythmic variations by use of the battute techniques of the trillo and repicco, which are played by the right hand.

The tremolo, characterized by the alternation of two notes a tone or semitone apart, is briefly mentioned by Girolamo Montesardo and Foscarini. Montesardo suggests that one should:

... leave the small [fourth] finger free sometimes to be able to trill or do other gallantries in the fingerings that are reasonable.

25 See Murphy, “Notes on Rasqueado Performance,” p. 24. Montesardo’s statement appears to contradict Sylvia Murphy’s conclusion that “in the case of the baroque guitar all the five courses could be struck with one blow, although three or four adjacent courses might also be played in this manner.”

26 See Stanley Buetens, “The Instructions of Alessandro Piccinini,” Journal of the Lute Society of America II (1969), 6-17. Piccinini instructs that “where the music is dissonant, you can play as they do in Naples: When they play a dissonance, they repeat it now soft, now loud; and the more dissonant it is, the more often they repeat it” (p. 8).

27 “Auer tendo ancora che chi vorrà farlo più soave bisognara à sonare su la rosa, alcuna volta vicino il manico, & anco per addolcire alcuna volta su l’istesso manico” (p. ix).

28 When the strings are strummed close to the neck area, the harmonics of the fundamental notes are reduced producing a softer sound. See John Backus, The Acoustical Foundations of Music (New York: W.W. Norton & Co., Inc., 1969), p. 169.
Montesardo does not provide any specific examples of the 
*tremolo*, nor does he indicate its use in his tablature by any character 
or symbol. We know from his remarks that its use (probably on 
chords of relatively longer duration) is controlled by the freedom of 
the fourth finger which, therefore, restricts its possible use to a 
handful of chords.

Fortunately, we are able to increase our knowledge about the 
technical aspects of executing the *tremolo* from Francesco Corbetta 
whose first guitar book, *De gli scherzi armonici trovati e facilitati in 
alcune curiosissime suonate sopra la guitarra spanuola*, was published 
at Bologna in 1639. In discussing this ornament Corbetta says that he 
introduces it in order to “render the Sonatas more beautiful.” His 
usual procedure is to indicate it in his *alfabeto* tablature with the 
small capital letter “T,” although he does use the large letter “T” in 
the “Altra parte passeggiata” on page 31 at measure seven.

Corbetta remarks that this sign will appear under the *alfabeto* 
letters of C, E, B, F*, and I, and that the *tremolo* will be played on 
the first string with the “small finger” for the letters C and E, and 
further that

When under the B, the *tremolo* is played on the fourth string with 
the small finger. When the F*, on the third string with the third 
finger. Under the I, on the second string with the same finger, which 
cannot fail considering the convenience of the hand.

In each instance, Corbetta uses the *tremolo* to emphasize the 
*B-quadro* (major) or *B-molle* (minor) quality of the chord by 
alternating the “third” of the chord with the note a tone or semitone 
above it, which is played by the third or fourth finger. Corbetta does 
not, however, indicate if the ornament is to begin on the main note 
or its upper auxiliary.29 It appears that the latter is preferred 
because, in the majority of cases, the ornamented chord is prepared a 
semitone higher by the preceding chord. This preparatory aspect also 
suggests the possibility of substituting an appoggiatura for the *tremolo* 
even though the appoggiatura is not mentioned by Corbetta in his 
instructions.

Realization “A” is a complete transcription of the above 
example based on Montesardo’s tuning of *Aa dd’ gg bb e*. Since the 
chords of the *alfabeto* system are considered to be in root position, 
regardless of inversion, I have adopted Richard Hudson’s procedure 
of notating the root of the chord by a single note at pitch in the bass 
clef as in Realization “B.”30 This procedure, which is similar to the

29 Robert Donnigton states that “when the trill has primarily a melodic function, it 
is begun optionally with its main note or its upper auxiliary (indifferent start). This was its 

EXAMPLE 3
Francesco Corbetta (1639)
“Pafz’e mezo fopra il D” (p. 41)

`EXAMPLE 3`

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Suggested Trill Realizations

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alfabeto system of a single character or symbol representing one chord, will be used where appropriate in the remaining examples.

Giovanni Foscarini mentions the tremolo in his eighth rule for learning to play the guitar. He remarks that

Where one finds the letter T: under any number or letter, one must tremble that string; where one finds it, even under Zero . . . the same rule will apply.31

Foscarini’s use of the symbol T for the tremolo is restricted to his pizzicato style compositions. After examining a representative number of these works, from his “Libro Secondo,” I have determined that about 80 percent of the indicated tremoli are

31 “Dove si troverà la lettera T: sotto qual si voglia numero, ò lettera, si dovrà fare il tremolo à quella corda, dove si troverà sotto, quand’ anco fosse il Zero, . . . nelle quali s’havra sempre l’iestesso avvertimento.”
EXAMPLE 4
Giovanni Paolo Foscarini (ca. 1629)
“Battaglia” (p. 30)

Suggested Trill Realizations

EXAMPLE 5
Giovanni Paolo Foscarini (ca. 1629)
“Corrente” (p. 15)

Suggested Trill Realizations:
prepared in a manner similar to Corbeta’s usage ten years later. Use of this ornament on dotted notes (usually \( \text{\textbullet} \text{\textbullet} \) ) is somewhat favored.

The *trillo* makes its initial appearance, in the Italian guitar books, in Girolamo Montesardo’s publication of 1606. He instructs one to

\[
\ldots \text{keep two fingers well extended as if they were strung [incordate, that is parallel to each other], that is the thumb and the other finger next to it called forefinger, and thus he will deliver with these two fingers a downward stroke and another upwards, touching all the strings without ever twisting those fingers, which are distended as mentioned above; again advising that those who wish to do it more sweetly, should play on the hole [rosette], sometimes near the neck of the guitar, and also, to sweeten the sound, sometimes on the neck itself.}
\]

This is the only mention in the early Italian guitar books concerning the use of two fingers together instead of successively.\(^{32}\) It is not clear from his description if these strokes are separate full strokes or a duple rhythmic subdivision of one stroke (no example is provided). However, since Montesardo discusses this ornament in a singular sense (*trillo* vs. *trilli*) it seems probable that a subdivision of the full stroke is called for. His advice about playing “more sweetly” seems to suggest that the trill was usually played in a dynamic manner similar to the full stroke (“hit the strings softly”). The basic difference between them lies with the perception of the sound: the execution of the full stroke by the fingers produce several distinct strokes as opposed to a quicker blow and a fuller, stronger sound when using the thumb and index finger together.\(^{33}\)

\(^{32}\)In discussing a concluding downward stroke in triple meter (probably in the pattern \( \text{\textbullet} \text{\textbullet} \)), Mersenne mentions that if done by the thumb *and* index finger “the stroke of the finger is distinct and separated from the thumb.” His statement differs with Montesardo’s directions for their use simultaneously. See Marin Mersenne, *Harmonie Universelle* (two volumes, Paris: S. Cramoisy, 1636-37), “Proposition XIV.” Mersenne also says that it was customary to “strike” the guitar anywhere “from the bridge up to the frets,” towards the neck to play softer and near the bridge to play louder.

\(^{33}\)Michael Lorimer suggests that the thumb is positioned across the tip of the index finger in the manner of a small inverted “v.” The downstroke is played by the index finger while the upstroke is played by the thumb (the thumb and index finger remain crossed regardless of stroke direction). The sound is stronger because of the added weight on the index finger by the thumb and vice versa.
EXAMPLE 6
Approximate Realizations (on Alphabeto symbol +)

A) Finger Strokes

\[ \begin{array}{c}
\text{\textcolor{red}{\textbullet}} \\
\textcolor{blue}{\textbullet} \quad \textcolor{blue}{\textbullet} \quad \textcolor{blue}{\textbullet} \quad \textcolor{blue}{\textbullet} \\
\end{array} = \begin{array}{c}
\text{\textcolor{red}{\textbullet}} \\
\textcolor{blue}{\textbullet} \quad \textcolor{blue}{\textbullet} \quad \textcolor{blue}{\textbullet} \quad \textcolor{blue}{\textbullet} \\
\end{array} \]

B) Thumb/Index Combined Strokes

\[ \begin{array}{c}
\text{\textcolor{red}{\textbullet}} \\
\textcolor{blue}{\textbullet} \quad \textcolor{blue}{\textbullet} \quad \textcolor{blue}{\textbullet} \quad \textcolor{blue}{\textbullet} \\
\end{array} = \begin{array}{c}
\text{\textcolor{red}{\textbullet}} \\
\textcolor{blue}{\textbullet} \quad \textcolor{blue}{\textbullet} \quad \textcolor{blue}{\textbullet} \quad \textcolor{blue}{\textbullet} \\
\end{array} \]

The next mention of the trillo appears in Pietro Millioni's book of 1627. He remarks that

... to play a trill one must play four strokes, that is one downwards, one upwards, one downwards and one upwards; this must be done very rapidly.

He goes on to say that it is to be played "with the index finger, touching all the strings very quickly as said before." Millioni's statement that "one must play four strokes" is somewhat misleading in view of the previous discussion of full strokes. What he meant was that one full stroke was subdivided into four parts, as in the following example:

EXAMPLE 7
Trillo Realization

\[ \begin{array}{c}
\text{\textcolor{red}{\textbullet}} \\
\textcolor{blue}{\textbullet} \quad \textcolor{blue}{\textbullet} \quad \textcolor{blue}{\textbullet} \quad \textcolor{blue}{\textbullet} \\
\end{array} = \begin{array}{c}
\text{\textcolor{red}{\textbullet}} \\
\textcolor{blue}{\textbullet} \quad \textcolor{blue}{\textbullet} \quad \textcolor{blue}{\textbullet} \quad \textcolor{blue}{\textbullet} \\
\end{array} \]

Millioni indicates trilli directly in his tablature by the insertion of four small t's in place of the normal vertical stroke sign. In the following example, the initial downstroke is played with a full stroke while the trillo strokes are played by the index finger.
Concluding his discussion of *trilli*, Millioni remarks that if anyone wanted to introduce them into his Sonatas, it would be necessary to observe the following rule:

... where one finds a stroke downwards in this manner — it indicates a trill, as one finds two trills in this way — .

This information seems to imply that the guitarist, at his discretion, could freely substitute a *trillo* for any full stroke.

The interpretation of the *trillo* given in Example 7 is confirmed by Foscarini and Pico. Although Foscarini uses the example of a whole note subdivided into four quarter notes, he is quick to point out that “one must play [the trillo] with velocity to correspond to the time of the Sonatas.” Pico, on the other hand, provides us with a slightly different interpretation. He remarks that these four strokes must be played “quickly” but, almost in the same breath, also says that “a trill serves for two strokes, one upwards and the other downwards.” Since Pico mentions a quick execution, it appears that the two strokes which he mentions are a subdivision of one full stroke, particularly since it is common practice to mark subdivided full strokes in the tablature (e.g. — for — = — for , or — for ).

A third type of *trillo* is explained by Foscarini in this manner: And for trilling one should notice that with the thumb and middle finger one plays a stroke. For example A: — , that will be downwards with the thumb and upwards with the same thumb, and similarly with the middle finger, and this way of percussion [*percussione*] [!] which decorates is called trilling.
The second battuto ornament which concerns us here, called the repicco, is discussed in some detail by Foriano Pico and Foscarini. Pico states that

To play a repicco, one sounds four strokes, that is two downwards and two upwards. The first downwards is played with the second [middle] finger, the second downward stroke is played with the thumb, the third upward stroke is played with the thumb, and the fourth upwards stroke is played with the index finger, touching only the little [canto] string; and a repicco serves for two strokes.

Once again, Pico mentions a battuto ornament as lasting for two strokes. Because of the intricacy of the fingering, and in particular because only the first string is played on the final ascending stroke, it appears that the two strokes for which the repicco substitutes are each full and not subdivided as in the case of the trillo.

A similar practice is discussed by Francesco Corbetta. He explains the execution of the ornament in this manner:

... where I have put a few long strokes to make a repicco, these should be played with the thumb, and the others should be played with the most convenient finger, however the longest [middle] finger does the best, playing the strokes equally well upwards as well as downwards.

The only difference between these two descriptions concerns

34 See Corbetta, De gli scherzi armonici . . ., p. vii.
the fingering of the final upward stroke. The hypothesis that the _repicco_ lasts for two full strokes is substantiated by Corbetta's precise notation of its durational value:

EXAMPLE 11
Francesco Corbetta (1639)
"Chiacona sopra l'A" (p. 13)

In _repicco_,

Corbetta's only other written use of the term in his 1639 guitar book occurs in the "Altra Parte in _repicco_" (pp. 53-54), which is a rhythmic variation on the "Aria di Fiorenza l'A" (p. 52). The variation process, in this instance, is achieved _not_ by the introduction of the _repicco_, as stated, but through sole use of the _trillo_.

EXAMPLE 12
Francesco Corbetta (1639)
"Aria di Fiorenza sopra l'A" (p. 52) [First Phrase]

35 Mersenne states that the thumb "strikes only the treble string in rising, and all the strings in descending." Since his statement is made in connection with doubling or tripling the "simple manner of beating the strings," it seems likely that Mersenne is commenting on using the thumb in _repiccios_.

77
“Altra Parte in repico” (pp. 53-54)

[First Phrase]

Foscarini, meanwhile, discusses three “principal” types of repicci. All of his examples are based on the standard triple meter stroke pattern \[ \text{\underline{7-1}} \]. The first type involves the use of the middle finger, index finger, and thumb in succession for each downstroke while the reverse finger sequence is used for the remaining upstroke. The second consists of playing “with all the four fingers quickly and simply a stroke, and to replicate the played subject as above.” Foscarini mentions that the latter type is observed in serious compositions such as toccatas and pass’e mezzos.

EXAMPLE 13
Repicco (First Type)

EXAMPLE 14
Repicco (Second Type)
Foscarini explains his third example of the *repicco* in this manner:

...one must with the middle finger go from high to low [bass to treble] following the thumb, and then the index finger right away makes the same motion, and downwards and upwards [first full stroke subdivided as a downstroke followed by an upstroke] making the strings heard so that they replicate the sound many times, beginning again with the said index and middle fingers, that is so that the index finger makes a downward motion [the second full stroke] and the middle finger takes an upward motion [the third full stroke upwards], so it will seem pleasant to the listener.\(^{36}\)

**EXAMPLE 15**  
*Repicco* (Third Type)

\[
\begin{array}{c}
\text{[CA]} \\
\text{[III]} \\
\end{array}
\]

\[
\begin{array}{c}
\text{M} \\
\text{I} \\
\text{P} \\
\end{array}
\]

**Rhythmic Variations on Stroke Patterns**  
in Triple and Duple Meters

In order to understand how one might rhythmically vary simple triple- and duple-meter stroke patterns\(^{37}\) I would like to present several examples from the guitar books, in order of rhythmic intricacy, representing a triple-meter dance (e.g. the *Spagnoletta*) and one in duple-meter (e.g. the *Tenor di Napoli*).

\(^{36}\)"... si dourà col dito medio andar da alto à baffo, seguendo il police, & subito l'indice faccia il medesimo moto, e al in giù, e al in su, facendo sentire quelle corde replicare la voce piu volte, soggiungendo con il detto indice, & medio, cioè, che l'indice tocherà il moto per andar à baffo, & il medio per venior all'in su; Di modo, che riufcirà vaga all'vdito."

\(^{37}\)Mersenne states that "one does not ordinarily double or triple the strokes in difficult pieces, but only on the easier ones, like the passacaglias" (an instrumental refrain which preceded a piece or alternated with its various parts). Therefore, because of the time element involved in executing these intricate rhythmic patterns, introduced *battuto* performance probably would have been more effective in accompaniments to slower songs and dances.
EXAMPLE 16
Spagnoletta examples
(First Phrase)

[Alphabeto letters]

A) Giovanni Colonna (1620), p. 23
Giovanni Foscarini (ca. 1629), p. 8
Pietro Millioni (1627), p. 44
Pietro Millioni-Lodovico Monte (1637), p. 21
Benedetto Sanseverino (1622), p. 30

B) Fabrizio Costanzo (1627), p. 47

C) Foriano Pico (1628), p. 20

D) Pietro Millioni (1627), p. 45

E) Pietro Millioni (1627), p. 46

SOURCES
Example 16A represents the standard stroke pattern used in many dance accompaniments in triple meter. The initial variation closely resembles the original accompaniment pattern with the exception of the delayed arrival of the anticipated chord change in measures two and seven. Example 16C consists of an introduced dotted rhythm at mid-phrase (measure four) delaying the arrival of the expected downstroke. Also, after the arrival of the cadential chord in measure seven, the stroke pattern is rhythmically varied creating a strong rhythmic drive towards the repeated anacrusis. A balanced two measure rhythmic motive is presented in Example 16D, while a varied stroke pattern is continually repeated throughout Example 16E.

The first phrase of the Tenor di Napoli presented in Example 17A exhibits a varied stroke pattern on the second beat in three of the four measures. In Example 17B, beats two, three, and four in these measures are similarly treated. Next, with the exception of the first beat in measures one, two, and four, the entire phrase is rhythmically varied. The characteristic feature of Example 17D lies with the introduction of trilli on the second beat in three of the measures. Finally, in Example 17E, the entire phrase is varied by use of a succession of trilli (except on the downbeats in each measure).

In conclusion, I would also like to present a simple passacaglia pattern which I have varied based on the performance practices presented in the various sources under examination. This realization illustrates the great variety which can be attained through selected use of rhythmic variation and tonal color achieved through usage of different finger combinations.
EXAMPLE 17
Tenor di Napoli examples
(First Phrase)

[Alphabeto letters]

A) Girolamo Montesardo (1606), p. 28
   Carlo Milanuzii (1625), p. 50
B) Giovanni Colonna (1620), p. 27
   Giovanni Foscarini (ca. 1629), p. 5
   Benedetto Sanseverino (1622), p. 53
C) Fabrizio Costanzo (1627), p. 26
D) Pietro Millioni (1627), p. 23
E) Pietro Millioni (1627), p. 24

SOURCES
Prima Paffacaglie, ò ritornello del primo modo sopra la lettera, A.

EXAMPLE 18
Girolamo Montesardo (1606)

1. F p F p F F p F p F F (p/i combined) 3d
2. i p i p F i p i p F F
3. i i --- F i i --- F F
4. m i m i F m i m i F F
5. p p m m F p p m m F F (Repicco)
6. m p p i F m p p i F F (Repicco)
7. m p p m F m p p m F F (Repicco)
8. i i i --- F i i i --- F F (Trillos)
9. i i p p m m F i i p p m m F F (Trillos)
10. m i i --- F m i i --- F F (Trillos)
11. i i i F i i i F F (Trillos)
12. i i m i F i i m i F F (Trillos)
13. p p m m i i F p p m m i i F F (Trillos)
14. i i --- F i i --- F F (Trillos)
15. p p m m p p m m F p p m m p p m m F F (Trillos)
Summary

Most of the early Italian instrumental guitar books, published between 1606 and 1637, were designed as self-instruction methods for learning to accompany the popular songs and dances of the day. The instructions usually included information for learning to read the tablature, understanding the alfabeto, and how to play full strokes.

The execution of full strokes are discussed in six of these books. They all agree that the general characteristics of the stroke include playing all of the strings in a harp-like manner, softly or lightly, usually with several fingers. The dynamics can be varied from loud to soft by playing over different areas of the soundboard, from the bridge (to play loud) to the neck itself (to play softer).

The baroque guitarists were continually experimenting for ways to enrich the basic arpeggiated sound. Clear evidence of this trend is contained in the numerous alfabeto tablatures which reveal continual development of chord progressions, syncopation of expected chord arrivals, varied rhythmic treatments, and the expansion of the alfabeto itself by use of shifted chords, duplicate chord fingerings in different positions, and altered alfabeto letters.

The development and selective use of the battuto ornaments provided the guitarist with an additional means to vary the sound and rhythm at the same time. Foscarini states that once the alfabeto had been "mastered" that it would then be necessary to introduce trilli and repicci. The fact that specific examples are generally lacking when they are discussed seems to indicate that it was at the performer’s discretion to choose the specific ornament, and its placement in the accompaniment, which seems the most appropriate and effective. As we have seen, great variety can be attained by presenting the battute in different combinations, even within a simple stroke pattern. It becomes increasingly clear that one of the distinguishing features of the battuto style consists of a continuous sound.

No specific mention is made of hitting all of the strings simultaneously with a forceful blow with any finger(s), although Foscarini does mention the term "percussion" in connection with

38 See Peter Danner, “Bibliography of Guitar Tablatures, 1546-1764.” Journal of the Lute Society of America V (1972), 40-51. Danner records 75 entries of first editions published for the guitar in Italy between 1602 and 1637. The majority of these books are for arias with guitar accompaniment.

39 The continuity of this idea is reflected in Francisco Guerau’s remark that “the most beautiful and harmonious thing of all is a continuous series of trills, mordents, slurs, and arpeggios” (Poema Harmonico . . ., Madrid, 1694).
trilling; Mersenne also says that one can “strike” the guitar as one wishes. In faster accompaniments it is difficult to render intricate battuto combinations cleanly\(^{40}\) so it seems that quick blows with a finger, or fingers, would have been an alternative solution. If the battute are executed rapidly the effect is indeed “percussive,” even though all of the strings are played.

Robert Strizich has remarked that

...experienced players probably would have employed a variety of different strums even in simple rasgado accompaniments; strumming in more sophisticated art pieces definitely would have been as varied as possible... the tendency certainly would have been to achieve as much coloristic interest as possible in rasgado passages.\(^{41}\)

The best way to achieve this goal is to try to understand the stylistic performance practices of the early baroque guitarists based on their instructions. The comprehension and serious practice of, and experimentation with, these techniques will allow us to bring the unique strummed accompaniment style to life, reflecting the spirit of the dances and song texts which they were designed to accompany.

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\(^{40}\)This seems to be the tendency, in the early seventeenth century, in the case of the repicco at any rate. Later in the century, Corbetta introduces very intricate repiccos in his chacones. In particular, see his "Autre Partie de Chacone" (La Guitare Roysalle, Paris, 1674, p. 28), and "Caprice de Chaconne" (La Guitare Roysalle, Paris, 1671, p. 72).

A. TREMOLO: Characterized by the alternation of two adjacent notes; executed by the third or fourth finger; emphasizes the $B\text{-quadro}$ or $B\text{-molle}$ quality of the chord.

B. FULL STROKES

C. TRILLOS

D. REPICCOS

86
REVIEWS

Books


At a study session held by the American Musicological Society some years back and reported in the pages of this Journal, Charles Jacobs expressed some of his ideas about transcribing lute and vihuela music.1 “In my opinion,” Jacobs stated, “the logic (that is, sense) of the music supersedes all considerations including those of limitations of the instrument and its technique.” Elsewhere, Jacobs remarked in an aside, “I am, by the way, opposed to the inclusion of ‘parallel’ or any tablature in the body of an edition.”

As in his previous edition of Luis Milán’s El Maestro, Jacobs remains true to these dictates in this recent complete edition of Miguel de Fuenllana’s Orphénica Lyra. Except for incipits, the edition includes no tablature other than a single sample page and a few examples totally separated from the music they were intended to illustrate. Furthermore, Jacobs does not feel it amiss to depart from Fuenllana’s intabulations when, to quote the Introduction, “the notation ‘interferes’ with an ideal realization of the implied polyphony of the music.” Much of the music has been traced back to a vocal model and the transcription “made more exact by comparison with the earlier music, when available.”

In this reviewer’s opinion, these editorial decisions have made this edition less valuable than it might have been. The two-staff transcriptions, lack of tablature, and enumerable page turns make this music less accessible to the vihuelist or lutenist who may wish to perform it than would a facsimile of the original. As long ago as 1957, the value of parallel tablature (or at least some form of tablature) was recognized as important when it was recommended by the lute colloquium sponsored by the Centre national de la recherche scientifique. The lack of tablature makes it difficult for the critical

reader to compare Jacobs’ transcriptions with the original text, an important point when the editor informs us that he has made the music “more exact.”

Fuenllana is generally regarded as the greatest polyphonist among the seven major vihuelists. His ability to sustain as many as six separate voice parts within the limitation of a six course instrument constitutes one of the triumphs of the vihuelist’s art. It is of no little interest to see how Fuenllana has adapted the vocal compositions of such musicians as Josquin and Morales to his instrument. To “improve” the counterpoint is to lessen the reader’s awareness of the art of intabulation. It borders on presumption for an editor to take such liberties especially when Jacobs himself has told us that Fuenllana was probably “a genius of the calibre of Mozart.”

Another doubtful feature of this edition is Jacobs’ interpretation of vihuela tuning. Jacobs tells us that the music in Orphénica Lyra requires at least four different vihuelas tuned respectively to A, G, D, and E. Jacobs has determined these various tunings through three features of the book: 1) by the several pieces using a vocal staff together with the tablature (which, we are told, make the tunings “clear and unequivocal”), 2) by the designation of mode, and 3) by Fuenllana’s use of “tablature clefs.” This interpretation of vihuela tuning repeats the false impression found in Emilio Pujol’s editions of Narváez and Mudarra. The research of such scholars as Adolfo Salazar and John M. Ward has shown that the use of staff notation is not necessarily “clear and unequivocal.”

As Ward puts it, “Even when the voice-part is in mensural notation and the vihuela accompaniment in tablature, the former does not establish the pitch of the latter.” The literature is full of vocal music where the pitch of the lute does not seem to match the vocal line. Certain airs de cour of Bataille come to mind as well as the songs at the end of Barley’s A new Booke of Tabliture. In a review of the latter, Thurston Dart once commented, “If the pitch of the voice part conflicted with that of the accompaniment, it was the vocal line that needed transposition, and not . . . the accompaniment.” As to modes, the actual pitch of the various modes was unimportant on the vihuela as Fuenllana states on folio 6v-7 of Orphénica Lyra: “On this


JOHANN SEBASTIAN BACH, SONATAS AND PARTITAS FOR VIOLIN SOLO. Arranged in tablature for Baroque lute by Gusta Goldschmidt. (Saul B. Groen [Ferdinand Bolstr. 6, Amsterdam, The Netherlands]: 1977.) Price: 50 Florins plus postage and handling.

This publication is perhaps already known to some American lutenists since it was announced in the LSA Newsletter, April, 1978. However, many lutenists in this country may not be familiar with the work of the editor, Gusta Goldschmidt. Ms. Goldschmidt has been a focal point of the lute revival in Europe: She has inspired and encouraged many students in their study of the lute; she has contributed much to the increase and spread of knowledge about the lute on the Continent; her advice and opinions are sought after by many of the important European lutenists. She has also worked untiringly with a number of Continental lute makers, offering ideas and suggestions, thereby bridging the potential gap between builder and player. Although transcriptions for Baroque lute have been made of isolated pieces by J.S. Bach, no one until now, to this reviewer's knowledge, has published under one cover such a complete collection
of arrangements for the instrument. Ms. Goldschmidt's work, then, represents a major contribution to the body of Bach's music available for performance on the Baroque lute.

Format. This edition is a photostatic reproduction of Ms. Goldschmidt's clear musical script and comes unbound on heavy, semi-glossy paper which measures 11 5/8" by 13 3/8". Although the size of the volume is somewhat unwieldy, there are advantages to the large size. With large pages, it has been possible to arrange all page-turns so that they occur only at the ends of sections; the Chaconne alone requires a page-turn in the middle. The fact that the edition is unbound enables the student or performer to bind each Sonata or Partita separately and thus avoid having to carry around the entire volume. Transporting music in such a large format, bound or unbound, still remains a problem. The edges of the paper—vulnerable since the pages are so much larger than usual—become quickly dog-eared. However, from a performer's standpoint, the inconveniences resulting from the large size are offset by the advantage of being able to play entire movements or major sections thereof without having to contend with page-turns.

Content. This edition contains five out of the six Sonatas and Partitas for solo violin; only Sonata III has not been transcribed. Partita III is extant in two versions, one written for solo violin and one, considered by some to be for lute, written in treble and bass clefs. Ms. Goldschmidt has made her transcription from the latter version. Without giving a reason, however, she has included an alternative arrangement of the Gavotte en Rondeau from Partita III based on the violin version. Partita III is not the only piece to be based on a non-violin version by Ms. Goldschmidt, since the Grave and the written-out repeats in the Andante from Sonata II have as their model Bach's own harpsichord version of that Sonata. All of the works are in the original key, except for Partita III which has been transposed from the key of E Major to the key of F Major.

Ms. Goldschmidt has also supplied notes in English which are found at the beginning of each work and footnotes at the end of each movement. In general, the notes preceding the works contain information about concordances; the footnotes after each movement give explanations of the performance signs used in the tablature, alternative fingerings and different interpretations of the bass line with respect to either the octave placement of bass notes or the harmonization. These footnotes are often squeezed in at the bottom of the last page of a piece and are sometimes difficult to sort out. It might have been better to have had a separate page for the footnotes.
at the end of each piece. The discussions concerning ornaments, other performance signs and slurring could have been gathered together on a separate page at the beginning of the volume.

**Transcription Procedure.** Ms. Goldschmidt explains in her introduction that she has used as a model those pieces for which Bach himself made a second version, in this way learning where one might add or fill in chords. These pieces are: the Fugue in G Minor (which Bach arranged for organ) and Sonata II (which he transposed to D Minor and arranged for harpsichord). Partita III might also be included in this list, depending upon whether one considers the treble-bass clef version to be for lute or *Laутenwerk*. The *Adagio* from Sonata III (not transcribed in the edition under discussion) also exists in an arrangement for keyboard. Ms. Goldschmidt says that the peculiarities of one’s own instrument can serve as a further guide in the transcription process, citing, for example, the fact that whether a lute is strung in nylon or gut might determine whether a note is best fingered or played as an open string; she mentions that the size of a player’s hands or the size of his or her instrument might also affect where a note is played. Thus, she tacitly invites the player to make changes in the transcriptions as he or she might see fit, and not to feel bound to playing the pieces exactly as she has printed them. In addition, she urges the serious student to consult the facsimile versions of the violin pieces and compare them with the arrangements by Bach for keyboard listed above.

**Transcriptions.** In general, Ms. Goldschmidt’s arrangements stay very close to the violin original, the exceptions to this being the following: 1) chords in the violin version are often filled out, 2) a chord is occasionally added below an important melody note, 3) chords may be placed above what was a lone bass note in the original version (e.g., m. 7 of the *Grave* from Sonata II, and m. 10 of the *Andante* from the same work), 4) a middle voice is added occasionally as connective filler between two chords in a slow movement (e.g., *Grave* from Sonata II, mm. 3, 4, 8, and 9), and 5) bass notes are added—generally at the rate of once or twice per measure on the main beats—to supplement the “implied” bass in certain kinds of pieces. These additions to the violin version reflect the fact that it is easier for the most part to play full chords on the lute and to make clear the voice-leading which, in most cases, can only be implied on the violin. Other lutenistic effects are also employed such as ornaments, frequent use of the open bass courses, and *séparer*, which occurs in several places either written out, or indicated by the customary oblique slash between letters of a chord.
To gain further insight into the transcription process used in this edition, I have found it helpful to compare the arrangements with the texture of the original. The solo violin works of Bach fall into four textural categories: 1) an alternation between three-, four- or five-voice chords and long, fast, florid runs (the texture generally found in the toccata-like opening movements of the Sonatas); 2) one continuous single line, in which, however, more than one voice is often implied; 3) a generally full texture with a predominance of chords of two or more voices; 4) a thin texture characterized by occasional two- and three-voice chords connected by melodic material (the texture often found in lighter dance movements such as the Bourée and the Menuet).

With regard to pieces in the first category, the Grave from Sonata II may serve as an example. Ms. Goldschmidt has done a fine job of adapting this style to the lute by making good use of the low bass courses as described above and by filling in some of the chords. Influenced by Bach’s arrangement of this Sonata for harpsichord, however, she has chosen to place either a chord or a bass note under certain notes in some of the florid runs which, in this reviewer’s opinion, disrupts the flow of the run (e.g., Sonata II, Grave, m. 7). In such toccata-like pieces, which contain extensive passage work, the question of slurring immediately arises. Ms. Goldschmidt has chosen, on the whole, to leave the notes in the long, florid runs unslurred, for as she explains, slurs should be added to suit the taste and technique of the player. Indeed, most all of the runs in such opening movements might best be played with an abundance of slurs as found, for example, in many of the Preludes to Sonatas by Silvius Weiss.

Violin pieces of the second type comprise almost half of the total and it is the job of the transcriber to carefully examine the runs to determine which notes constitute the lowest voice (that is, function as a bass line) and which notes belong to the upper voice or voices. The Presto from Sonata I is an example of this type, and Ms. Goldschmidt has made a very convincing and idiomatic arrangement of this piece, with bass notes judiciously added to supplement those present in the original. Occasionally, however, she has gone further than this—again probably influenced by Bach—by either creating a middle voice running parallel to the bass given in the original (e.g., Partita I, Double to the Allemande, mm: 19, 20, 23), or by adding many more than one or two bass notes per measure (e.g., Partita I, Double to the Courante, mm: 77-78). In both cases the thicker texture tends to impede the forward motion of the piece. Another solution would be to allow the texture to remain as thin as possible, thereby strengthening the contrast between the Doubles and their
originals, and also rendering the pieces somewhat easier to play.

In the pieces of the third and fourth categories, Ms. Goldschmidt has made good use of the lute's resources: filling in chords already in the original and setting the bass line in the lower octave thus taking advantage of the open bass courses. In some places it might have been better to let the original two-note chords stand as written instead of filling them in since the resulting thicker texture makes the music heavier and more difficult to play than it perhaps needs to be (e.g., Sonata II, *Andante*, mm: 14, 17, 18, 22 and Partita III, *Menuet*, m. 27). Two fugues fall into the third category, one of them the well-known fugue in G Minor familiar to many lutenists from the version (now in the Leipzig Stadtsbibliothek) made in the eighteenth century by Johann Christian Weyrauch. In the present edition, the only changes from the violin original involve the octave placement of the bass line, the filling in of a few chords, the addition of ornaments, and the occasional omission of chord tones for the sake of playing ease. By comparison, Weyrauch's version contains many more liberties with regard to omitted chord tones. Also, one notices the following points about Weyrauch's version: 1) he did not so often use the lower octave for the bass line, 2) he seems to have had a preference for open strings and 3) he indicated many more slurs than does Ms. Goldschmidt. Weyrauch's version is a piece which is perhaps not so faithful to Bach's original as is Ms. Goldschmidt's, but which in certain places may be more lutenistic.

This edition seems to be almost entirely free of errors in the tablature, a sign of the careful work that has gone into its production. The fingering is very logical and well thought out; one also has the added advantage of alternate solutions given in the footnotes following each movement.

In summary, it is the opinion of this reviewer that these transcriptions are on the whole very well done. The only weakness in the arrangements is that the occasional thickening of the texture in certain instances tends to impede the flow of a given piece and renders a few passages unnecessarily awkward to play on the lute. It is not surprising, however, that Ms. Goldschmidt's transcriptions show this inclination, since she has used Bach's keyboard arrangements as a model in making her own versions. In transcribing solo violin pieces for the harpsichord, it is of course natural to fill out the texture in many places, given the added technical resources of a keyboard instrument. On the other hand, the resources of the lute are more limited, so it is questionable whether filling out the texture in such a manner is as appropriate when making a lute version of these violin pieces. Weyrauch's version of the G Minor Fugue shows a tendency toward simplification of the original, and pieces by such a revered
lutenist/composer as Weiss rarely show the intricacy and fullness of texture found in keyboard works. Since texture has a direct bearing on the playability of a piece on the lute, one should consider how much influence from the keyboard style to absorb in transcribing music for the lute. Certainly the technical capabilities of a given player will determine in some way how far in that direction he or she might go. Nevertheless, my feeling is that one should resist the temptation to fill out chords and add inner voices in certain instances, not because they would be impossible to execute on the lute, but because the flow and the forward motion of the music might be better preserved if they were left out.

The few criticisms above are not in any meant to discourage anyone from acquiring this edition. Players of the Baroque lute owe much to Ms. Goldschmidt for making available this beautiful music which was previously inaccessible to lutenists. A tremendous amount of work has gone into this edition, showing a dedication and a love for Bach's music and for the lute which is truly inspiring. I recommend this volume to all who desire to play Bach on the Baroque lute.—*Catherine Strizich*

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**Z LOUTNOVÝCH TABULATUR CESKÉHO BAROKA.** Edited by Emil Vogl (Prague: Supraphon, 1977), 111 Pages. [Volume 40 of the series *Musica Viva Historica.*]

One of the most fruitful localities for lute music in the late baroque era was Bohemia, especially in and around Prague, where one citizen commented about 1700 that "one could cover the roofs with lutes." Many members of the highest Bohemian aristocracy played and composed for the lute. They also cultivated professional lutenists of their acquaintance, who together with clerics in the cities and monasteries comprised the other groups of musicians who have left lute music in tablature manuscripts.

The best-known lutenist composer of the Bohemian baroque is Count Johann Anton Losy von Losymthal (1650-1721), who is usually referred to by the French form of his name, "Comte Logy." Losy was a high-ranking member of the Imperial government and one of the richest men in Prague, but he was also a very active musician who left an oeuvre of over one hundred pieces, mostly for lute. (Emil Vogl has established that the pieces now in guitar and angelica tablature and so forth were undoubtedly originally composed for lute.) Losy actively cultivated the acquaintance of other lutenists, among them Antonius Eckstein (ca. 1657-1720), who married a
bondswoman of the Count’s. The name Aureus Dix (ca. 1669-1719) is associated with that of Eckstein in old sources—both of them lived in Prague—and it can be assumed that Dix also knew Losy.

The other principal Maecenas of the lute in eighteenth-century Bohemia was Prince Philipp Hyacinth von Lobkowitz (1680-1737), whose father before him played lute and guitar and whose grandson was to be the patron of Beethoven and Haydn. Lobkowitz and his wife both played the lute, and they apparently frequently invited lutenists to their country palace at Raudnitz north of Prague: Silvius Weiss, for one, was their guest repeatedly over a period of many years. The Lobkowitz music collection, now in the National Library in Prague, contained the most lute and guitar tablatures on record in private hands.

Of Cervenka and Zlinsky (first names and dates unknown), the latter of whom was presumably a professional lutenist, virtually nothing is known. Count Johann Adam von Questenberg (1678-1752) was, like Losy and Lobkowitz, a landed aristocrat who left some lute pieces in manuscript. Finally, the Benedictine Pater Ivan Jelinek (1683-1759), served as organist in a Prague monastery and at least two churches, and compiled a lute tablature manuscript now in Prague that contains pieces by him, Cervenka, Silvius Weiss, and others.

The present anthology is the largest collection of Bohemian lute music in print. The editor, the late Dr. Emil Vogl, was a physician in Prague who for decades researched his native lute music and is known for his numerous articles on the subject. In this collection, for which both tablature and transcriptions were handsomely calligraphed by the editor himself, Vogl has presented ninety-nine pieces of music left by the composers mentioned above. It amounts to about forty percent of the surviving music of Losy (fifty pieces),1 most of it previously unpublished, and most or all of the extant music of the other lutenists. It is thus a welcome addition to the growing number of editions of baroque lute music.

This review cannot attempt an analysis of all this music, but some general remarks and a more detailed consideration of a few pieces should suffice to convey an idea of the scope and significance of the repertory represented. Like almost all baroque lute music in the French tradition, these pieces are almost exclusively dances. Complete suites are given by Losy (2), Dix (2), Lobkowitz (1), and Jelinek (1). The remainder of the movements have become separated from their original suite form either singly or in clusters, or may have been composed alone. The possibility exists that the missing suite

1 A complete thematic catalog of Losy’s works, compiled by Dr. Vogl, will be published in a forthcoming issue of this Journal.
movements for some of the clusters exist without attribution in surviving manuscripts. Seventeenth- and eighteenth-century lute amateurs, who compiled most of the manuscripts from which these pieces are drawn, often made a seemingly random selection of their favorite music regardless of suite form or even of composer. Modern scholars have scarcely begun to make order out of this chaos.

The most important music in this anthology is that of Count Losy, since he was celebrated in his time as the "Prince of all artists on this stringed instrument" (by LeSage, 1695), and his fame was eclipsed only by that of Silvius Weiss. Losy's style shows Italian influence in melodic lines that sing more than those of the French lutenists, and in harmony that functions more as a propelling force than a source of contemplative sonorities.

The pieces of Aureus Dix bear the stamp of more originality than most others in this collection and are a pleasure to play. However, the suite by Lobkowitz is also melodious music that would not be out of place at a modern concert. The music of Jelinek is attractive, if a bit eccentric. His G-major suite, for instance, requires retuning the first, third, and fourth courses, and the F-major suite abounds in mannered rhythms.

The edition itself has some very unfortunate flaws. First of all, the transcriptions are the familiar octave-G-clef sort that cannot satisfactorily reproduce baroque lute music, though it makes the music easily accessible to guitarists and helps save space. Further, the transcription and tablature are parallel, which creates many page turns within pieces, an annoyance that could have been avoided by printing them separately. Thirdly, the two systems are placed so close together that the tablature rhythm signs are frequently obscured by the stems of the basses in the transcription above.

Most serious, however, are the many errors. Almost every piece contains obvious copying mistakes, either in the tablature or the transcription, but there are also many other spots that do not sound right and where one must presume editorial error. In addition, a few transcriptions are marred by false interpretation of harmonies: for instance, Vogl enharmonically distorts an obvious F-minor chord in Losy's B-flat Allemande (p. 17) to F-g*-c-f'-g #*, which makes no sense in baroque music. Fortunately, Vogl was sufficiently scrupulous to identify the sources of each piece, so that the mistakes can be corrected by the assiduous reader.

Despite these drawbacks, the edition fills an important lacuna in the history of the baroque lute and its appearance should lead to more attention being paid Bohemia by scholars and performers of the lute.—Douglas Alton Smith

The lute music of Johann Sebastian Bach has troubled musical scholars for generations. The major difficulty in understanding this music stems from two facts: No tablature exists in Bach’s own hand and several of the works present severe performance difficulties when played on the traditional baroque lute. Consequently, research into the seven “Lautenwerk” has been spotty, contradictory or inconclusive. Philipp Spitta wrote that he could offer no data about the lute owned by Bach. The old edition of the Bach Gesellschaft overlooked the autograph copy of the G minor Suite (BWV 995) entirely. Hans Neeman held conflicting views about Bach’s abilities as a lutenist and Hans Radke questioned whether the G minor Suite was even meant for the lute at all. More recently Eugen Dombois has questioned the possibility of playing the “Prelude, Fugue, and Allegro” (BWV 998) on the traditional baroque lute. Several scholars, among them Howard Ferguson, have speculated that what we know as the Bach lute works were actually written for a “Lautenclavicymbel” such as the one Agricola mentions as being in Bach’s Leipzig home in 1740. Faced with the problem of recording the complete edition of these pieces in 1973, Narciso Yepes performed only three of them in the standard D minor tuning (BWV 995, 999, 1000). For the others, he utilized as many as five different “scordature” of the upper six courses.

In his extraordinary new edition, Ernesto Cipriani has tackled the question of the Bachian lute from a new and remarkable angle. He argues that Bach wrote not for the standard 13 course baroque lute tuned in D minor, but for a new “invention,” an instrument Cipriani has called “la Luth.” This instrument, we are told, had as many as 15 courses, twelve frets on the neck, and a mensur of 77cm. The frets were not gut, but inlaid metal or bone. The tuning was derived from the standard D minor tuning, but with the third and fourth courses lowered a major second (A, c, e, a, d’, f’). In actual practice, however, the instrument was tuned a whole step lower (G, Bb, d, g, c’, eb’) with diapasons (in octaves) tuned to Eb’, F’, G’, A’, Bb’, C, D, Eb, and F.

To la Luth was fitted a moveable capotasto with mechanical levers to solve the fingering problems presented by such keys as E minor or A major—if these were to appear in their natural positions. This capotasto was designed to fit over all 15 courses. By this means, Bach was able to develop a “chromatic” lute capable of being played
in all keys. Cipriani tells us that Bach had perfected *la Luth* by 1710 and used it in such works as the St. John Passion as well as the seven known lute solos.

The major difficulty in accepting Cipriani's theory is that he is unable to offer any concrete evidence that such an instrument as *la Luth* ever existed. Furthermore, if any of the elaborate mechanical capos have survived, Cipriani fails to tell us where they are. One would think that such an invention as *la Luth* would have had a significant influence on the lute's history and would have been at least mentioned by writers such as Baron. One also would have expected some observer of the day to comment on the use of Bach's capotasto, especially one with mechanical levers. One is left with the sneaking suspicion that Cipriani has *a priori* developed a theory that explains Bach's lute music and, because it works, is offering it as historical fact. Given Cipriani's intabulation and tuning, the music at least appears to be readily playable. The Prelude to the E Major Suite (BWV 1006a) has some measures requiring a six fret spread of the left hand, but as the capotasto here is on the sixth fret, the stretches are not as great as they appear at first.

Visually the edition is impressive. The first volume contains a modern version of the music in two staff notation based on the surviving 18th century manuscripts. The second volume contains an essay in four languages (Italian, French, German, and English) describing the theory of *la Luth* and detailed discussions of each of the intabulated works. The English translation contains numerous typographical errors. All seven of the lute works are given in tablature with the exception of the Fugue in G minor (BWV 1000). Cipriani explains that this is the one piece to come down to us solely in an intabulated arrangement for a lute in D minor tuning and that it has been impossible to reconstruct a version for *la Luth*. The third volume gives facsimiles of the three tablatures preserved in the Leipzig *Musikbibliothek* (BWV 995, 997, and 1000) as well as the entire two-staff score of the C minor Partita (BWV 997) from the Berlin *Staatsbibliothek Preussischer Kulturbesitz* (Mus. ms P 286, no. 8) and parts of several other scores. The facsimile of the tablatures is readable, but not as clear as in the recent edition published by the Leipzig *Zentralanaltiquariat*. Cipriani takes a dim view of these intabulations. Of the unknown intabulator of the G minor Suite, he states: "The tablator's mediocre understanding of the lute is demonstrated by the imprecise or even contradictory fingering of various passages. . . ." Of Johann Christian Weyrauch, the intabulator of BWV 997, he is even more critical: "If the unknown lutenist is positively identified as Weyrauch, we must conclude that not only was Bach surrounded by mediocre instrumentalists, but by doubtful
friends as well.”
This is an edition bound to stir up considerable controversy. Cipriani’s reconstruction of an instrument to explain the difficulties of Bach’s lute music is ingenious. Whether it is also realistic is another matter. I, myself, remain unconvinced. Perhaps further research will either substantiate or repudiate the existence of la Luth. In the meantime, Cipriani has given us all food for thought.—Peter Danner

Recordings


This delightful collection of lute ensemble music could have been much better given a little care and thought. Since the selection of repertoire is, as a whole, rather esoteric, it is unfortunate that the group chose to saturate everything with “showy” guitaristic and decidedly non-authentic practices. The music chosen for the disc would certainly have stood on its own without all the extraneous elements that mar a generally musical and spirited performance.

The distracting elements include such things as using nails and adding metallic tone color on repeats, indulging in fast metallic crescendos and diminuendos for diminutions, incorporating cadential trills with both notes sounding simultaneously (a Renaissance “no-no”), having ornaments anticipating the beat, indulging in questional improvisation or interpolations as in the rendition of “Drewries Accordes,” and so on. Konrad Ragossnig, a very accomplished performer, seems overly influenced by the early Julian Bream and this approach tends to be a bit heavy-handed for such delicate and fragile music.

Some of the editing (and lack thereof) is also troublesome. The original tablatures of Pacoloni’s trio “La Battaglia” needs some fixing up badly. As played here, it is horribly and erroneously dissonant. Adriaenssen’s trio setting of Conversi’s madrigal “Io vo gridando,” on the other hand, was fixed up, thereby eliminating the intentional bitonality, a purposeful word-painting of the text “I go around screaming as one possessed.” The “screaming” has been lost and we now have simply a lovely tranquil air.

Although the performances are never plodding, some
unfortunate balance problems brings them, at times, perilously close. There is confusion as to what is important and what is unimportant in a given piece. To make the block harmonic chords more prominent than the descant, as in Adriaenssen’s settings of “Madonna mia pieta” and “Io vo gridando,” is a mistake. And yet it is done this way, the booming lower parts overshadowing the florid descant melody.

Each player in the trio has a different style, tone, and strength. While this tends to minimize a unity of approach, it does enable the listener to easily discern the separate parts.

The best playing is in the duets and in the rousing finish to the disc, Piccinini’s “Canzona a tre liuti.” The latter marks also the finish to an era of lute ensemble music and what a glorious swan song it is! This is treacherous music to play that I can attest to from first hand experience. This group makes it sound easy and I frankly liked their rendition better than my own.

The notes accompanying the record are unintelligible in three languages and my advice is to skip them completely. The last paragraph is revealing and I quote it without comment.

“My Lord Welthoughby’s Welcome Home” by J. Dowland—the most famous of the lutenists included here—exhibits this concertante interplay of two equal instruments to its best advantage; while the bass melodies proceed partially in unison, the upper voices flow independently in counter- and parallel movement or in “style brise” loosely related to the bass model. In this we recognise the influence of the new French school of lute playing headed by the brothers Gaultier on Dowland, whose long standing activity in Europe cross-fertilizes English lute music with Continental baroque style.

On the whole, however, this is a good record, one I play often for sheer pleasure. It is too bad that such an enormous effort should be so flawed by so many small things that add up to serious distractions. With some thought and care, a good record could have been made great.—Stanley Buetens

COMMUNICATIONS

Editor:

In the very important musical instrument collection of the Germeente museum in The Haag (Netherlands) there is a five-course Mandora made by Josephus Catani in 1782. The neck of the instrument is marked on both the front and back sides with letters and symbols. The fingerboard does not exhibit the usual frets. In their place are thin wooden strips which are sunken entirely into the
fingerboard. In addition to these wooden inserts, there are ivory plates embedded diagonally in the front side of the fingerboard on which the letters and symbols are embossed.

Although the instrument has only five double strings, there are six sets of double letters embossed on the back of the neck which do not correspond to those on the front side. It has not yet been possible to explain these puzzling letters and symbols. Since the instrument is very carefully constructed, one can not assume that Catani considered them a prank. Perhaps one of the members of the Lute Society of America can explain these letters and signs.

Ernst Pohlmann
Bremen, West Germany

A chart showing the symbols referred to will be found on page 102.

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In my article on Giovanni Paolo Foscarini (this Journal, 1974), I mentioned that Foscarini was clearly familiar with French musical practices and in the preface to the Terzo libro speaks of “French gentlemen who nowadays use the new method of tuning the lute.” It now appears that “il Furioso” not only knew of French music, but borrowed it as well. Page 42 of the Terzo libro contains a fine guitar piece entitled “Corrente Francese con le sue parti doppie.” I have recently run across the identical piece in the Lute Book of Lord Herbert of Cherbury, folio 37, where the piece is credited to Gaultier under the title “Courante Gaultier.” This Courante is written for a seven course lute tuned in vieil accord. It is practically certain that Foscarini’s “Corrente Francese” is a guitar arrangement of this composition. Where he came across it is a matter of conjecture as is the identity of Lord Herbert’s “Gaultier.” The most likely candidate is Jacques Gaultier (d’Angleterre). Perhaps readers know of other concordances for this lovely work.

Peter Danner
Palo Alto, California

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John M. Ward sends the following list of errata and addenda to his monograph “A Dowland Miscellany” published in the last issue of this Journal.

p. 9, last word on page: note, not notes
p. 27, n. 82. Cf. Mace, Musick’s Monument (1676), p. 151: “Yet I say, it is no Affront, Offence, or Injury to any Master, for another to take His Fugue, or Point to work upon; nor Dishonour for any Artist so to do, provided He shew by His Workmanship, a Different Discourse, Form, or Humour: But it is rather a Credit, and a Repute for him so
SYMBOLS FOUND ON THE NECK OF THE CATANI MANDORA
to do; for by *His Works He shall be known;* It being observable.'

p. 41, line 27: no demonstrable mistakes, *not* no mistakes

p. 47, Par. 2. It has been argued no teacher would change the tuning of the seventh course in the middle of a composition. I quite agree. However, I find it equally unlikely a teacher or his pupil would leave such an error (errors! VII d = F six times in the first 11 bars, VII a = F twelve times in the next 10 bars) uncorrected. Hence my conjecture that the two halves of 'My Lady Hunsdons Almande' were copied on different occasions, each half for a lute with a differently tuned seventh course; and that the change from F to D tuning was either happenstance, no other lute being available at the time of each lesson, or intentional, the teacher setting the pupil the problem of handling differently tuned seventh courses; teacher and pupil may have even exchanged lutes at the point where the change in tuning takes place. Anyone who has taught for any length of time knows how ad hoc the events of a lesson can be.

p. 48, Par. 2. The four variations on the bass of the first strain of 'What if a day' may also have served as examples of division making.

p. 50, Mus. Ex. 11 (c): *D9 has f#, not D9 has f e*

p. 50, Section f. The appropriate quotation with which to begin this section is from the *Lachrimae,* where Dowland informs his reader: 'I thought it much more convenient, that my labours should passe forth vnder mine own allowance, receiving from me their last foile and polishment . . . .'

p. 59, line 1: LM 2, *not* 2


p. 61, LM 20. The *'Battle' theme* also appears in the third strain of an almain arranged for lute and ascribed to Holborne (*CW, I,* 140), and arranged for consort and ascribed to Reade in the Cambridge Consort Books (publ. *MB, XL* [1977], 101).

p. 64, line 13: Beverley, *not* Beverely

p. 69, LM 49. The Dlugorai LB provides a third version of the last six bars of this 'Almain,' the correct reading of which is conjectural (see *LSI, XVII* [1975], 63-64; *XVIII* [1976], 30):

\[
\begin{array}{cccccccc}
\text{J} & \text{J} & \text{J} & \text{J} & \text{J} & \text{J} & \text{J} & \text{J} \\
7 & 7 & 7 & 7 & 7 & 7 & 7 & 7 \\
5 & 5 & 5 & 5 & 5 & 5 & 5 & 5 \\
4 & 4 & 4 & 4 & 4 & 4 & 4 & 4 \\
3 & 3 & 3 & 3 & 3 & 3 & 3 & 3 \\
\text{H} & \text{H} & \text{H} & \text{H} & \text{H} & \text{H} & \text{H} & \text{H} \\
\end{array}
\]

The passage, particularly in its *D2,* f. 38, form, reads like a précis of the first 9 bars of *CLM,* No. 1, bars 1-9.

p. 70, LM 68. Aloe.

The theme of Dowland's variations is better described as similar to, not identical with, that set by Johnson, Holborne, Cutting, etc.

p. 75, 1/17a. To the sources of *All the day,* add *CCB d,* f. 26v, 'All the day,' bass part only, no text; *CCB d,* 'All ye Day,' bass part and two divisions on it, no text.

p. 80, line 6 from bottom: remove 'Lachrimae'; add it to the line below, following f. 28v; also, f. 17, *not* f. 17v.

p. 82, Mus. Ex. 14. Short strokes should be added to the stems of the following notes: first system, bar 2, first e; bar 3, d, f; second system, bar 1, second g' and f'; bar 2, e', d'; bar 3, Bb, A b.

p. 83, Mus. Ex. 15 (i): bar 2, c'' should be a quarter note.


p. 86, system 4, upper staff: bar 25, remove d# from key signature; bar 6, insert a one-sharp (f#) key signature following the first b'.

p. 89, next to last line: in italics, *not* underlined

p. 90, App. B. In the letter written on behalf of the musician Oxford (see n. 167), Hicks declares: 'I confesse of my self (of one that in Musick hath no other art but his care) there are fewe that love it better. And I confesse lykwise that to your lوردships owne naturall and noble disposition to musick I added my best endeavoure to draw you on to erect a consort' (*BL,* Lansdowne Ms. 90, No. 88).
p. 96, No. 8 in the list of Howet's works: pp. 26-27, not pp. 00-00.


p. 98, n. 176. It was apparently at Hick's urging that Salisbury assembled a 'consort'; see above.

p. 107, line 8 from bottom: Johnson, not Johsn

p. 111. In the list of Collard's works, No. 10, strike out the words 'In the "missing"... Pt. VI, 108.' Cf. the Addenda, p. 152.

p. 112. To the list of the works, add the four pieces (a coranto and three almans) in the Board LB, ff. 27, 28, 30; and see R. Spencer's notes to the facs., Nos. 81, 92, 150, for three pieces he conjecturally ascribes to Johnson.

p. 112. To the list of Rosseter's works, add the 'Almain' in the Board LB, f. 28v.

p. 118. To the sources of Holborne's music, add the Board LB, f. 20v, 'A Gallyard' (= CW, I, No. 36); ff. 21v-22, 'Il nodo di gordio By Mr Holborne' (= CW, I, No. 50); and f. 26v, 'Marygoud gould' (= CW, II, No. 43, for cittern). Lyle Nordstrom, this Journal, V (1972), 78, 87, notes that 'Reades Almaine' (in CCB a, f. 19; b, f. 23; c, f. 4v; d, f. 4v) is an arrangement of an almaine ascribed to Holborne in D2 (CW, I, 139-40).

p. 119, App. O. The musicians who performed during the Merchant Taylor's banquet 'extracted unreasonable sums' for their playing, according to those who hired them. The three singers (paid 10l.) were placed 'in the shipp which did hang aloft in the Hall'; the 'seaven singular choice musicians playing on their Lutes' (paid 24l. 10s.) were placed 'upon either side of the Hall in the Windowe neere the upper end' on 'Gallories or Seates made for Musique'; and the 'cornets and loud musique' (paid 10l.) were placed 'over the skrene ... wherein is to be remembered that the multitude an; noyse was so greate that the lutes nor songs could hardly be heard o; understando' (Clode, I, 290).

p. 120. Perhaps Robinson's chief occupation was that of teacher. He seems to say as much when, in the guise of the teacher Timotheus, he declares to the Knight 'who hath children to be taught' that 'it hath ben the most part of my studye to bring the Lute, Citharen, and (other instruments of Musick) into a method by general rules, most perfect and easie, so that with my instructions, one (that cannot use the Lute, or other instrument) may vere readilie attaine to a good habit thereof.' To which the Knight replies: 'Well Timotheus, the verie truth is, I hau.e hard so much as you say' (The Schoole of Musicke, sig. Bv). This passage was written six years before the *New Citharen Lessons* were published.

p. 122, line 13 from bottom: dance-lantera, not dance=lantera

p. 123, lines 6-7. The 'Phantazia' is in the Otley cittern book (not the Braye LB; concerning this Ms. see p. 61), ff. [12v-13v]; elsewhere the music is ascribed to Holborne (CW, II, 153-55). The Otley Ms. also contains a 'Gal: Robinson,' on f. [30] (= a version of NCL, No. 12), and 'An Almaine by Mr. Robinson,' on f. [21v] (copied from Playford's *A Booke of New Lessons for the Cithern & Gittern* [1652], No. 45, which iturn was copied from the NCL, No. 38).

p. 126, line 9 from bottom: XVI-XVII, not XVI=XVII

p. 128, bar 5, DS tablature excerpt: a # is missing before the second IVc.

p. 134, App. Q. The music is better described as a conjectural assembling of parts; those for treble viol and bandora are assumed to be missing. Bar 6, lute:  F, not  P ; bar 22, recorder: second note is b in CCB c; bar 26, recorder: the  F is editorial.

p. 137, line 6 following Mus. Ex. 20: is only one, not is one

p. 139, App. T. In Heywood & Broomes *Late Lancashire Witches* (1634), III, one of the stage directions reads: 'The Fidlers passe through, and play the battle.' Presumably similar music, but played on drums and fifes, accompanied the carriers described in Jonson's account of the festivities accompanying the marriage of the Earl of Essex and Frances Howard, 6 January 1606; see S. Orgel & R. Strong, *Inigo Jones: The Theatre of the Stuart Court* (Univ. of California, 1973), I, 111-13.

p. 148, line 8: Hales', not Hale's

p. 148, n. 266. The mistaken notion, that the tuning of the instrument is changed to fit the music intabulated, is expressed by M. Meleish, *Galpin Society Journal*, XXI (1968), 112, and put into practice by F. Pujol in his editions of the Narváz, Mudarra, and Valderrábano tablatures (*Monumentos de la Música Española*, III, VII, XXII, XXIII) and
C. Jacobs in his edition of Fuenllana’s Orphénica lyra (Oxford Univ. Press, 1978). The error comes from their having misinterpreted Juan Bermudo, Declaración de Instrumentos Musicales (1555), Chap. 25. What the Spanish theorist tells the vihuelist to do is tune his instrument to X pitch and imagine (“imaginar”) the lowest course to be tuned to Gamut, Are, or whatever other note of the lowest hexachord is most appropriate to the music being intabulated. To imagine that Narváez and the other vihuelists changed the tuning (and sometimes their instrument) to accommodate the mode of the music intabulated is as unrealistic as the idea of a blind man’s changing his tie to match the color of his shirt. This subject is discussed at length in J. Ward, ‘Le Problème des hauteurs dans la musique pour luth et vihuela au XVIe siècle,’ in Le Luth et sa musique, pp. 171-78.

p. 153, top of the page. Two pages of An instruction to the Gitterne, presumably taken from a copy of the work registered by Rowbothum in 1569, have recently been discovered in the binding of a book in the library of the University of Pennsylvania and will be discussed and published in a study of the cittern, gittern, and gittar to be published in Vol. XXI (1979) of the Lute Society Journal.

MICHAEL SCHÄFFER (1937-1978): A TRIBUTE

The following tributes are by well known former students of Michael Schäffer and Eugen M. Dombois. Franklin Lei studied with Schäffer in Cologne, while Robert and Catherine Strizich met Schäffer during two workshops at “Queekhoven” in Breukelen, Holland in 1973 and 1975.

The lute community worldwide has lost a great performer, innovator and teacher in the death of Michael Schäffer. Professor Schäffer was not a pioneer in the ordinary sense of the word. His position in our century’s lute revival is not unlike Vieux Gaultier’s in the history of French lute music, in that he bridged a gap between the pioneers before him and a more mature and sophisticated later generation of lutenists. Schäffer and lute grew with each other. When historically based lutes first became available in the late 60’s and early 70’s, Schäffer developed his highly sophisticated figueta (“thumb-under”) style on such lutes, which in turn inspired numerous luthiers to produce even more responsive instruments. To those fortunate enough to have heard him in person, he will always be remembered as one of our century’s finest players, a marvellously disciplined stylist in his repertory. As an innovator, Schäffer was active throughout his career. His technical resources on the lute have never been surpassed. As a teacher, he personally guided many of today’s best players from all parts of the globe. But most impressive is the fact that not a single contemporary performer of importance has not benefited directly or indirectly from his lectures, recitals, and master classes. Michael Schäffer was the greatest guiding force behind lute playing in the last five years. Our present stage of development would have been impossible without him.—Franklin Lei

We were deeply saddened to hear recently of the death of German lutenist Michael Schäffer on September 7, 1978, after a nine months’ illness. Although his work and reputation were unfortunately not too well known in the U.S., he had in fact become one of the leading lutenists and lute teachers in Europe, and
thus his death marks a great loss not only to the lute world but to the early music community in general.

Originally a student of Walter Gerwig, Schäffer quickly established himself as one of the most important lutenists on the Continent. He and his colleague Eugen M. Dombois (also a student of Gerwig) became the leaders of the group of lute players in Europe interested in an historical approach to lute playing. Together, they worked with a number of European lute builders, encouraging them to construct light, historically accurate lutes. They became interested in the *chitarrone*, and encouraged builders to make authentic reproductions of these instruments as well. Schäffer and Dombois worked with the firm of Karl Junger in Erlangen to develop the well-known line of “Pyramid” strings specifically designed for lightweight, historically-constructed lutes. They were also among the first players to seriously explore the Baroque lute and its literature.

Schäffer’s willingness to experiment and to explore new musical territory led him to delve into areas theretofore unexamined by most lute players. He made a special study of the problems involved in the interpretation of French Baroque lute music, and was one of the first to perform works by French lutenists who had up to that time received little, if any, attention: Pinel, Gallot, Gaultier, etc. His inquisitive nature led him to re-examine the feasibility of using gut strings, and his efforts along these lines were largely responsible for the recent upsurge in the use of gut strings on the Continent. In addition to solo performances, Schäffer also did a great deal of continuo playing, and took part in the early performances and recordings of Monteverdi operas with Nikolaus Harnoncourt’s Concentus Musicus. Perhaps his most far-reaching contribution was to take seriously the possibility of using the so-called “thumb-under” technique, now widely known to have been the predominant right-hand lute technique in the Renaissance. He acquired a great facility with this manner of playing, and encouraged others to experiment with it also. It would not at all be an exaggeration to say that Schäffer almost singlehandedly was responsible for the recent interest in, and enthusiasm for, this technique.

It is a great pity that Schäffer did not record more often. He is known in this country only through an old recording available on Turnabout. Although many of the features of his later style are already evident on this record—his highly refined technique, exacting sense of rhythmic placement, and beautiful tone—it unfortunately does not come near to representing the true stature that he achieved in his playing in his last years. Fortunately, about a year ago, Schäffer did record a program of French and German Baroque lute music for Seon. According to a recent letter from Gusta Goldschmidt, who heard Schäffer perform the pieces on this recording, the forthcoming album will be “very beautiful,” an evaluation which came as no surprise at all to us. We fully expect that this recording will much more adequately represent the heights that his playing reached, and we hope it will also help to perpetuate the memory of this fine musician, lutenist, and teacher.—Catherine Liddell Strizich, Robert Strizich
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