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In the 1980 issue of the *Journal* we were privileged to present to our readers the first in depth biography of the great Bohemian lutenist Johann Losy to appear in the English language. Written by Emil Vogl and completed in 1977 shortly before the author's death, this article has generated considerable interest. This year we are pleased to publish the second part of Dr. Vogl's study, which deals with Losy's music and includes the first detailed index of the composer's work. As the author remarks, Losy is remembered as a great musician of the lute; it is his musicianship, not his nobility, that has earned him a place in history. We thank Dr. Vogl's widow, Rousena Voglova, for graciously allowing us to translate and present this valuable piece of musical scholarship.

James Meadors is a graduate student at Harvard University where he is completing a dissertation on the Italian lute fantasia. He is currently a faculty member at the New England Conservatory of Music, and has appeared in the pages of the *Journal of the American Musicological Society*. His reconstruction of Dowland's beautiful "Walsingham" variations returns a fine composition to its rightful place in the concert hall. A copy of Mr. Meador's complete edition of the "Walsingham" tablature appears in the February, 1982 issue of the LSA *Newsletter*.

Our final article was written by Kevin Mason of St. Louis, Missouri. Mr. Mason is a graduate of Washington University where he has performed with James Tyler, Stephen Toombs, and others. In 1981 he was a recipient of Washington University's Nussbaum Traveling Fellowship, which allowed him to continue his research in Europe. Interest in continuo playing continues to grow, and we are pleased to present Mason's fine study of Campion's important treatises on the subject.
Johann Anton Losy. A design by Josef Mitola showing the Losy coat-of-arms and the composer's signature together with the opening of the spurious Ouverture (incipit 116).
THE LUTE MUSIC OF JOHANN ANTON LOSY

by Emil Vogl

In the first part of this study, published in the 1980 issue of this Journal, I attempted to gather together everything known about the life and activities of the famous Prague lutenist Johann Anton Losy von Losinthal.¹ In the second part, presented here, I will discuss Losy's music and offer an incipit index of his known works.²

Before attempting to organize the works of Count Losy, it is necessary to say something about the difficulties that must be overcome in such an undertaking. Any attempt we might make to compile a complete list of Losy's music will perhaps need to be expanded by future discoveries. Below I will cite cases that have allowed us to add to the number of known works. By the same token, future knowledge may force us to eliminate certain pieces from the list. One can only proceed on the basis of current knowledge. It is unlikely that the study of Losy's style alone will enable us to add to the number. For one thing, we do not know the style of the youthful Losy. In addition, we know practically nothing about the date of composition of any of the music. Furthermore, the individual movements that exist are often far too short to allow an analysis of peculiarities in Losy's style. Finally, we must remember that Losy's music does not come down to us in the composer's hand, but in copies made by other musicians. The pieces chosen by these other lutenists for their own tablature books were selected according to standards very different from the tastes of today. There seems to have been no discernible uniformity in this selection process.


² The index, as it is here, would never have been possible without the active assistance of Dr. Josef Klima of Vienna and Hans Radke, a school teacher in Darmstadt. Both these scholars generously placed their materials, collected over a period of many years, at my disposal and helped me in my task with information by correspondence. Many of the pieces included here come from manuscripts either lost or destroyed in World War II. Only because these gentlemen had earlier made handwritten and photographic copies, were numerous materials preserved and was it possible to make the connections published here. I express my most profound gratitude to both scholars, as well as to Mr. Josef Milota for the graphic execution of the incipits.
In ascribing manuscript pieces to Losy, we essentially are left to make a number of important decisions. Did the scribe include the composer's name in the title of the composition, and, if he did, did he know the authorship with certainty, or did he simply credit the piece to Losy from memory or for some other reason? We do gain some certainty in those cases where a piece appears in more than one manuscript source with the same authorship given in each title. Such cases, however, are quite rare. Many of the pieces can only be ascribed provisionally and through imperfect documentation. The next few paragraphs, therefore, are dedicated to discussing these difficulties and doubts.

To begin, I should mention one case where the composer is listed in the title, but where there is nonetheless doubt about the correctness of the ascription. In the manuscript Berlin Staatsbibliothek Sign. Ms. 40627 (now lost), there was a composition on page 40 entitled "Favoritta de Comte Log ex A." On page 156 of the same manuscript, however, the same title appears, but with the additional words "Sarabande de Mouton." I have been unable to find a corresponding sarabande by Mouton among any of his works. This same composition also appears with the indication "Sarabande" and with an additional double in the lute codex of the Seitenstetten Monastery Library (see incipit table no. 44). The question of authorship in such a case must be left open. It is noteworthy, however, that one player played the piece in the tempo of a favorita, and the other in the slower tempo of a sarabande.

I should also mention a second case of unclear authorship. The A minor Menuett, often included in modern guitar editions of Losy, comes from the guitar tablature in the University of Prague Library, Sign. II kk 77. This manuscript is one of the two in guitar tablature that contain works under the name of Losy. This A minor Menuett (incipit no. 62), found on page 74 of the Prague manuscript, is also found on page 8 of a source in the Berlin Staatsbibliothek, Sign. Ms. 40633. Here, however, it is in lute tablature as part of a suite designated "Partie de Mr. Baron." These two cases, and probably a number of others as yet unrecognized, encourage us to use caution in compiling an index of works, especially for a composer using an instrument such as the lute, which has not had a continuing tradition from his day to our own.

On the other hand, we can cite cases where previously unknown compositions by Losy have become identified in lute books that have only recently become available for study. For example, the lute manuscript owned by Henry Prunieres was almost inaccessible and its
contents unknown until the death of its owner. Only after the tablature came into the possession of Madame Genevieve Thibault were the pieces graciously allowed to be copied. A second example of a previously unknown source is the baroque lute manuscript in the New York Public Library, Ms. Music Reserve *MYO. This tablature undoubtedly belongs to the series of manuscripts for lute from the Moravian Benedictine Monastery in Raigern (Rajrad). The volume was taken from there during World War II and was acquired by the New York Public Library at an auction in Munich after the War.\(^3\) In addition to a number of compositions by Losy, the manuscript is the largest single source of pieces by another Prague lutenist, Antoni Eckstein (1657-1720). Only a few of his pieces appear elsewhere.\(^4\)

I myself have only been able to examine personally original manuscripts that are preserved on Czechoslovakian soil. It is astonishing how few pieces by Bohemian lutenists, particularly by Losy, were copied in their homeland and remained in Bohemian or Moravian collections. This can only be explained by the fact that many manuscripts from here were taken to Vienna or to Germany. Most of the Bohemian material that remains comes from the former collection of Prince Lobkowicz, which formerly was preserved in Raudnitz (Roudnice). After the War the musical manuscripts from this collection were transferred, some of them going to the Music Division of the National Museum in Prague, and others to the Prague University Library. The Moravian manuscripts can be traced to various Moravian monasteries and are now preserved in the Moravian Music Archive in Brünn (Brno). It is noteworthy that of Losy’s known works for lute only two pieces survive in Czech sources: a saraband in Prague (incipit no. 27) found in the University Library Prague II kk 73 and a courante in the Music Archive in Brno (incipit no. 18), no signature. The music of Losy that has survived in Czech sources is primarily contained in collections that include transcriptions of Losy’s works for the guitar or other plucked instruments.

It is precisely these guitar transcriptions of pieces by Losy that have been subject of recent publication. The first modern publication of the guitar tablatures in a practical edition for modern guitarists was made by Josef Zuth in his volume “Graf Logi, ausgewählte Gitarrenstücke,” Vienna, 1919. Fritz Jöde followed with a transcription of the


“A minor Suite” in his “Lose Blätter der Musikantengilde” number 55, and Karl Scheit with the “A minor Suite” in a Universal Edition, 1952. A particularly noteworthy edition of the guitar music was made by Jaroslav Pohanka, who published the entire contents of Prague manuscripts X Lb 209 and II kk 77. More recently Stefan Urban has published parts of the guitar transcriptions. Both Pohanka and Wolfgang Boetticher have expressed the opinion that Losy’s compositions in both the above-mentioned manuscripts were originals for guitar, and that Losy was a player, not only of the lute and violin, but also of the guitar. This point needs to be considered further.

The question as to whether these guitar pieces are originals or transcriptions can only be solved by examining the two guitar manuscripts in Prague, since other possible guitar sources are currently unknown. Historical traditions speak of Losy only as a lutenist and violinist; none of the biographical reports coming down to us mention the Count playing the guitar. In Prague ms. II kk 77 the compositions are collected together in one part of the book under the title “Pieces composee par le Comte Logis.” The manuscript is leather bound in an oblong format, 16.5 by 11.2 cm. It contains a total of three sections, the first two being written in one hand, and the last in the hand of another scribe. The first part contains 28 compositions without ascription, most of them dances of the period. One of them carries a characteristic title “Curir de Buda” (a reference to the capital of Hungary). The indication “Pieces composee...” referred to above appears on page 61 in the second section of the manuscript. From here to page 151, where the words “Fin de Partie” are found, we find 44 pieces for the guitar all of which we presume are transcriptions of Losy’s pieces originally written for the lute. Between pages 152 and 170 a second scribe has notated ten more pieces in a careless script. These pieces have previously been ignored. Some of these works also are found in the second section and can, therefore, be considered as variant forms of works by Losy.

The courante on page 160 of the third section, for example, is another notation of the piece found on page 80 of the second section (incipit no. 53). Likewise, the gavotte on page 154 of the third section is based on the same original as the gavotte on page 96 of the second section (incipit no. 69). In some measures, the notation of these pieces show considerable departure from a single original, and as yet unidentifiable, lute source. If the two above-mentioned compositions had

6 Wolfgang Boetticher, “Losy” in Die Musik in Geschichte und Gegenwart, Volume 8, cols. 1219-1221.
been copied from an original guitar source, there would have been no or only slight deviations and insignificant changes. In these two cases, however, the second scribe thought he had found a better solution to the problem inherent in transcribing a lute composition for guitar. We are, therefore, justified in the assumption that there existed no original guitar versions and that all the guitar pieces are actually based on originals for lute.

For two of the guitar transcriptions in the third section the original lute version actually exists. The menuet on page 164 of Ms. II kk 77 is concordant with a lute piece in Berlin 40633 (incipit no. 61). The “Menue” on page 156 is found in its original lute version in Göttingen I, page 43 (incipit no. 66).

Numerous concordances exist between the guitar pieces of pages 61 through 151 of the second section and original lute compositions in other manuscripts. These confirm that these guitar arrangements are actually compositions by the Prague lutenist. The menuet on page 74 of the Prague manuscript appears in Berlin 40633 as the last ostensible movement of the questionable suite by E.G. Baron mentioned above. The menuet on page 98 in a guitar version is found in three sources in lute tablature: Berlin 40149, page 32; Berlin 40627, page 37; and Kremsmünster L 77, page 41. Likewise the gavotte on page 166 of Prague II kk 77 is marked expressly as “Gavotte de Comte Logie” in a keyboard transcription of the original lute tablature in Kalmar Manuscript sign.4 a. This last case shows that lute pieces by Losy were not only transcribed for other plucked instruments such as the guitar, but also were revised for keyboard. The compositions of the Prague lutenist were probably as popular in their day as the works of Denis and Ennemond Gaultier, which were likewise transcribed for keyboard.7

Previous editors of Losy’s guitar pieces have often attempted to force single, loose movements into suites. Pohanka was so bold as to rename the gigue on page 70 (incipit no. 78) as an “allemande.” The rigodon on page 108 (incipit no. 91) becomes a “gavotte,” and the untitled piece on page 104 (incipit no. 95) becomes a “marche.” Pohanka is equally careless with pieces from the other Prague manuscript, ascribing the sarabande on page 49, the menuet on the same page, a piece entitled “a la maniera angloise, Le Badin/Menuet” on page 14, the rondeau on page 45, and the “passacaglia” on page 10 to

7 Oeuvres de Vieux Gautier, historical introduction by Monique Rollin, edition and transcription by André Souris, Corpus des Luthistes Français, C.N.R.S. (Paris, 1966). The remark made by Mme. Rollin about me on page xviii does not at all apply to me, since I neither received a letter from Mme. Rollin nor had the ms. sign. II kk 82 reserved for me. Her reproach is based on faulty information.
Losy without presenting any trace of proof that Losy is the composer. I have, however, included all these dubious ascriptions at the end of the incipit list (nos. 130-134).

Turning from the guitar to the lute sources, we find that the largest national collection of manuscripts containing works by Losy to be in Austria. The Nationalbibliothek in Vienna houses two tablatures: sign. 18761 and 17706. The first of these contains one of the few completely preserved suites by the Prague lutenist, that in F major, as well as some single movements. The F major suite is complete except for a few closing measures of the gigue. It is followed in sign. 18761 by an anonymous suite in D major that requires retuning the lute from D minor to D major. Adolf Koczirz ascribed this suite to Losy and published it. Jaroslav Pohanka has also published this dubious work as an example of Losy’s composition. The authenticity of this suite, however, is open to serious question. There are perhaps two reasons why Koczirz ascribed just this undesignated work to Losy and even favored it over the attributed partita in F major. First, the work fills out the pages following the F major suite. Secondly, Koczirz found that precisely this D major tuning had been used in pieces by Losy’s teacher Achazius Kazimir Hucelz and also in pieces by another Prague lutenist, Jean Berdolde Bernhard Bleystein de Prague.

A second Austrian library is the Graz Landesbibliothek where we find a manuscript with the signature G.V.Hs 5/57 that contains a composition of Losy. Other such movements are found in the numerous manuscripts belonging to the monastery libraries of Austria, among them the manuscripts Göttweig I and II, Klosterneuburg 1255, Seitenstetten (no signature), and Kremsmünster L 83. The contents and incipits of the Kremsmünster manuscript have been published by Rudolf Flotzinger. Finally I must mention a recent find by Dr. Josef Klima that shows us Losy as a composer for the violin. Vienna Nationalbibliothek Suppl. Ms. 1813 contains copies of a violin part under Losy’s name. Unfortunately, the related parts for an accompanying instrument—harpsichord or lute—have not been preserved.

Before the Second World War, German libraries possessed a rich collection of lute tablature manuscripts, several of which contained works of the Prague lutenist. The War caused irreparable losses

8Adolph Koczirz, Österreichische Lautenmusik zwischen 1650-1720, Denkmäler der Tonkunst in Österreich, Volume 50 (Jahrg. XXV. 2).
9Jaroslav Pohanka, Dejiny ceske hudby v prikladech [History of Bohemian Music in Examples], Prague, 1958.
10Reprinted in Josef Klima, Fünf Partiten aus einem Kärntner Lautenbuch, Musik Alter Meister, Helf 16 (Graz, 1965).
among these materials. Some manuscripts from the Berlin Staatsbibliothek are untraceable today and perhaps are completely lost. We have only the industriousness of Mr. Hans Radke to thank for some handwritten copies he made of Losy's pieces.

In 1929 the music library of Werner Wolffheim was auctioned, and a manuscript with the catalog number 57 was sold to the Berlin Staatsbibliothek. This volume obviously originated in Bohemia, but its path to the Wolffheim collection can no longer be traced. Its front cover bore the letters F B C A B Z S O C and the year 1694. On page 84 were written the words “Barthiainificantibus multum perutilis descripta a Pre Bernasius Zwixtmeyer Altovadi Professo / anno domini 1695” and one of the sarabandes contained in its title the remark “D B die 1º Jan in sem. S.B.N ac Pragae.” The volume, therefore, was written in 1694-1695 in Prague by the Cistercian priest Bernhard Zwixtmeyer at the Prague Seminary of this order. The seminary stood on the moat near the Powder Tower, from where it was only a few steps to the palace of Count Losy. Since two pieces by Antoni Eckstein were entered in Zwixtmeyer's book next to pieces by the Count, it is likely that Father Zwixtmeyer met Eckstein in Losy's home. Perhaps the priest even was a member of the circle of lute playing friends that Losy formed around him. The Cistercian Order also owned a monastery in Hohenfurth (Altovadus) in southern Bohemia. From this fact I suggest the following solution to the initials found on the book's cover: “Frater Bernardini Collegii Altovadensis Bernasius Zwixtmeyer Sacri Ordinis Cistenciensis Altovadi Professus / 1694.” I have found no information about Zwixtmeyer in the literature available to me, but some light as to the Father's faulty Latin is gained by the comment “bonissimo” found by the “Gavotte Antonj” on page 35.

Other Berlin manuscripts known to have contained works by Losy are numbers 20620, 40633, 40627, and 40068; all are today presumed lost. Additional German manuscripts also contain works of the Count. One of the most interesting is preserved in the Nuremberg Germanisches Nationalmuseum under the signature H 33748/VI. It is interesting in the history of lute notation as it makes use of Italian tablature. The gigue by Losy on page 5 refutes the assertion of Johannes Wolf that Italian tablature disappeared about 1650. This gigue (incipit no. 40) surely comes from a later period.


13Katalog der Musikbibliothek Dr. Werner Wolffheim, Berlin, 1919.

Further examples of music by the Prague lutenist are found in the Museum in Schwerin, Macklenburg (German Democratic Republic), sign. 641. There was also a tablature called “Kniebandl” in the former library of Count Schaffgott in Warmbrunn. According to Tappert, Hermann Kniebandl, the collector of these lute pieces, was a member of the Grüßau Monastery, from where numerous other tablatures were moved to Warsaw. About 1737, Kniebandl is said to have become Prior of the abbey in Warmbrunn. While in the Schaffgott Library, the manuscript had the signature K 44. Its whereabouts today is unknown.

Only two French libraries are known to have sources containing pieces by Losy.15 One is the tablature mentioned above from the former Prunieres collection, which later came into the possession of Madame Thibault. It currently is in the Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris. The second source is the manuscript of Jean-Etienne Vaudry, seigneur de Saizenay, Codex I (Besançon, sign. 279152. This volume dates from 1699, when it was compiled by Saizenay, and was later augmented.16

A document that gives us some idea of how Losy was evaluated by the musicians of his time is preserved in Sweden in the Gymnasium of the Baltic seaport of Kalmar. In the binding to the Läroverks Library manuscript sign. 4 a, are found keyboard pieces in so-called “German organ tablature” that are transcriptions of lute pieces by Losy. An entry in the book refers to a “M. Silvius” of Stockholm as the possessor and gives the date 22 March, 1721. I consider this source important because the appearance of keyboard transcription proves that the popularity of the Prague lutenist’s music was widespread. This “organ” tablature was doubtless not intended for performance on an organ; more probably a clavichord, or less likely a harpsichord, was meant. Losy’s popularity was thus not restricted to the close circle of his friends. Even foreigners, in this case a Swede (as is shown by the entry “Forgerons” beside one of the pieces), knew and appreciated this music.

Only in the rarest of cases is it now possible to determine the year of composition of any of Losy’s music. In most cases we only can hope to know the year in which it was copied into a collection. The oldest and most securely datable piece is the tombeau on the death of his

15Editors’ note: A third manuscript located in France, sometimes referred to as the “Prunieres-Weiss Manuscript,” belonged to the library of Mme. Thibault. It is dated “Venetiis 7 Zbr. 1717.” and according to Arthur J. Ness contains 11 pieces by Losy: two duets and a partita in F major (cf. incipit nos. 1-9). It is currently in the Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris.

mother. This occurred in 1690; the piece (incipit no. 94) certainly dates from shortly thereafter. This tombeau has survived only in guitar transcription. We cannot determine with certainty any earlier, more youthful works. The Zwixtmeyer Codex was probably compiled about 1695, the same year in which Philipp Franz LeSage de Richee published Losy's "Courante extraordinaire" in his Cabinet der Lauten. The Saizenay Manuscript in Besancon was compiled somewhat later, about 1699, although pieces were copied into it over a period of years. The Kalmar organ tablature was begun shortly before Losy's death—it bears the date 22 March, 1721. Prior Kniebandl's manuscript in Warmbrunn probably dates from 1737, well after the lutenist's death. In the same year a scribe copied a menuet onto page 32 of the manuscript Göttweig II that bears the date 27 March, 1737.

If we exempt such character pieces as "Kukuk" and "Forerons," which appear to have been composed singly and have no connection to other pieces, we can assume that Losy arranged his pieces into suites. Only two complete suites, however, have been preserved. The many individual compositions (mostly dance movements typical of the period) scattered through collections were excerpted from suites and copied singly. We can draw conclusions about the fashion and taste of the period from the compositions that were found worthy by amateurs of being collected. Since the minuet was the most fashionable dance at the beginning of the eighteenth century, it is not surprising that it was the dance form most often copied. There are 23 minuets of Losy surviving, more than any other type of dance. Next in popularity was the gavotte with 17 surviving copies. The 16 copies of the courante and the sarabande show that these original movements of the suite had begun to decline in popularity. Even the gigue survives in only 12 different versions. Of lesser importance were the other dance forms: seven rondeaux, only six allemandes, five arias (or "ayr"), and only one or two examples of the other dances of the period such as the bourree.

The question of keys in the lute pieces by Losy brings no surprises, when we recall that the baroque lute was tuned in d minor. The entire Bohemian art of the lute made use of the eleven-course instrument; the expanded 13-course lute appeared only after most Bohemian lutenists were dead. The three greatest masters of the lute during the Bohemian baroque—Dix, Eckstein, and Losy—all died about 1720; the 13-course lute became popular only about 1730. The d minor tuning of the lute determined the predilection of the Prague school for flat keys. F major was the key most often chosen by Losy; among the surviving pieces, it appears 19 times. Next are d minor (12 times) and B-flat major (eight times); the parallel minor of B-flat, g minor, appears only four times.
Sharp keys appear rarely in Losy’s works: G major is found twice and D major only once. The reason for this is easily explained if one remembers that retuning the basses was an annoying task for the player; it was time-consuming and made playing in public more difficult.

The guitar transcriptions are quite a different matter. This instrument, with its tuning A d g b’ e’, favors the key of a minor. Indeed, this one key dominates the guitar pieces: it is found 24 times, the key of C major only ten times. Other keys are less significant. The eight surviving keyboard transcriptions are equally divided between C major and G major (four times each).

It is not easy to determine the exact number of surviving compositions by Count Losy. Different sums can be reached, depending upon whether one includes or excludes concordances and compositions of questionable provenance. I have assembled 134 incipits; this includes concordances for different instruments as well as incipits of dubious pieces.

The Style of the Works

Describing musical works in prose is one of the most demanding and thankless tasks of the musical commentator. Describing the work of a composer who is nearly completely unknown and seldom published compounds the difficulty. Moreover, it is unfortunate that I can only rely upon the fragmentary portion of his oeuvre that has previously been published. The numerous editions of guitar pieces transcribed from the lute contribute nothing to our understanding of the musical style of the Prague lutenist. The assembling of dances in the same key into “suites,” distorts the picture that we have formed of the lute suites. Here I must, therefore, base my judgments on works that unfortunately have generally long been available—works that I have been able to bring to the status of a provisory “complete-works” in the course of many years of collecting. The beginning measures found in the list of incipits serve only to identify possible new finds; because of their brevity, they cannot be used for any kind of stylistic analysis.

Two of Losy’s contemporaries briefly refer to the lute style of the Prague master. One was Ernst Gottlieb Baron, who recognized a

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17 I share the opinion of Dr. Josef Klima that it is meritorious to publish new transcriptions of Losy’s lute pieces for the guitar as well as for the lute, since the original transcriptions found in the two Prague guitar manuscripts were often not made by a skilled hand.

18 Editor’s note: Since the present article was written, a large anthology of Bohemian lute music edited by Dr. Vogl has been published under the title Z Lautnových Tabulaturn Českého Baroka, Musica Viva Historica 40, Editio Supraphon (Prague, 1979). This includes 50 lute pieces by Losy, the most complete collection of its kind.
combination of Italian and new French elements in his lute art:
This famous master so successfully combined the new Italian and French method of playing the lute that he not only composed very charmingly *cantabile* for the ear, but also artfully and profoundly.\(^\text{19}\)

In his report published in Johann Mattheson’s *Grundlage zu einer Ehrenpforte* and cited in the first part of this study, Gottfried Heinrich Stölzel added a third element to the two mentioned by Baron: full-voiced playing.\(^\text{20}\) From this information we need to consider which of the Count’s compositions contain elements of one or another of these style characteristics, what functions they have, and how they effect the total scope of the lutenist’s music. We cannot expect to find compositions in the pure style of any one influence. It is the combination of both the Italian and French styles with the full-voiced manner mentioned by Stölzel that results in Losy’s personal style, his musical attitude and approach to composition.

Let us first attempt to identify pieces that come closest to the pure Italian style. This style formed the last phase of the degenerating lute style developed in the 16th century and can be viewed as an attempt to imitate on the lute the single-voice music of bowed-string instruments. Caution is called for when broken chords appear to indicate a single voice. We must exclude such voices as used by Losy from the start. An example of this sort is found at the beginning of the rondeau from Codex Saizenay I (incipit 42). Fine examples of the Italian style are found among the gigues, for instance the one in 3/8 meter from the Viennese F major suite (incipit 9). The gigues are composed almost without exception in linear technique with few interspersed chords. Gigues of this kind are found in almost every lute book of the time by well-known and anonymous composers alike. An even better example of the Italian style is the beginning of the sarabande from the same suite (incipit 4). The gigue imitating the cuckoo’s call (incipit 128) also belongs to the type adhering to one voice, as does the middle section of the Overture to the F major suite (incipit 1). Tone production is the most important element of the Italian manner, and making a beautiful tone presents the major difficulty for the player. It almost appears as though the gigues were written specifically for lovely tone production, just as the courantes were to show the skill of the lutenist in quick tempo.

Let us now attempt to establish the other branch, the broken French playing style, in the compositions of Losy. In the first part of

\(^{19}\) Ernst Gottlieb Baron, *Study of the Lute* (1729), translated by Douglas Alton Smith (Redondo Beach: Instrumenta Antiqua, 1976), p. 68.

\(^{20}\) Vogl, “Johann Anton Losy,” p. 81.
this study, we showed how this style spread from Paris to Eastern Europe. The most characteristic examples of this type are found in the courantes and their doubles witted by French composers. These doubles are variations upon the courantes and were sometimes composed by others in honor of the courante of a master. Such doubles to the courantes of others are found particularly often in Charles Mouton. A good example of the broken style in a courante among Losy's work is the "Courante extraordinaire" published in 1695 (incipit 21). An equally good example of this style is found in the courante from Berlin manuscript 40620 (incipit 22). In the courante from the Viennese suite (incipit 3), the French style is effaced. As might be expected, the two surviving doubles are the best examples of this style; one is found at the end of the F major suite and the other to the sarabande from the Seitenstetten manuscript (incipit 44).

The third component to be identified is the playing style described by Stölzel as "full-voiced." Finding these requires little effort. Sections and even entire pieces decorated with such full-voiced (or chordal) play are found in abundance. An extreme case is in the sarabande in Prague Codex II kk 73 (incipit 27). The beginning and ending sections of the Overture in F major are also good examples. The tripartite form of this overture shows Losy's love for the music of Lully, of which Stölzel also spoke. Unfortunately, these full-voiced or chordal pieces mislead many players into excessive arpeggio playing, which is a mannerism overused by most lutenists.

It is notable that ornamentation in the surviving works of Losy is reduced to just two signs: 1) a curved line to the right of the tablature letter and 2) a curved line underneath the letter. The first ornament denotes an appoggiatura from the upper note; on a dotted note it can also mean a trill. The second indicates an appoggiatura from below. Whether this simplification in the ornamentation stems from the copyists or was so specified by Losy himself cannot be determined. The restriction to two ornament signs is all the more noteworthy when we think of the wordy explanations given by other lutenists, who in the prefaces to their prints give entire tables of ornaments. In more than one place, one is in doubt as to which ornament is meant and how it is to be performed. Even the reclining cross, the sign for a trill, that still is found quite often in later composers, is missing in the surviving Losy copies. The long dash that indicates the hold of basses is also almost completely missing.

If the copyists of Losy's works appear to have tampered with the ornamentation, they also altered the rhythm. For instance, there is one

gigue that is found in a number of tablature books under Losy's name (incipit 40). The version copied in the manuscript of the Mecklenburg Library in Schwerin, sign. 641 shows a smooth rhythm of steady eighth notes. The same gigue copied in the Berlin codex 40068 and in Vienna 17706 has dotted eighths with sixteenths instead. The same dotted rhythm, but in doubly long values, is indicated in the gigue in Italian tablature in Nuremberg, 33748. From the sources we know that the player was allowed considerable freedom in the performance of notes inégales. This alternation of the rhythm was not notated in most cases, but here is an example of this willful practice in several versions of the same lute piece. Which version stems from Losy cannot be determined.

In attempting to evaluate Losy's music, we need to consider the difficult question of how Losy fits into the overall picture we have of 18th century lute music. In the north of Bohemia, the art of the Silesian School bloomed; in the south a number of important lutenists were active in the capital of the empire, Vienna, the center of music. In the north the style of the French was altered and received new intellectual content and gravity; it became more pensive, contemplative, and lost the radiant elegance and lightness that had been the hallmark of the Parisians. In the south, in Vienna, the spirit of life and the rage for lovely tone held sway. Here social music reigned supreme, and at times one can detect in it traces of superficiality.

Between these two currents stands the art of the Prague lutenist Johann Anton Losy. In spite of his belonging to the high aristocracy he does not fall victim to dilettantism, nor to the tempting call for society music. At the same time, however, and in spite of the influence of his teacher Huelse (who was likely a Silesian), he finds no allure in Silesian gravity and thoroughness. Losy stands in the middle and maintains his distance from both schools; he impresses the elegance of a nobleman upon his works, avoids crass sensuousness by a wide margin, and does not fall victim to the melancholy of the North Germans. He does not have his nobility to thank for his popularity in his own time and even later, but rather his musicianship. His contemporaries and posterity esteems him as a great musician of the lute.

This article has been translated and revised by Douglas Alton Smith and Peter Danner. A copy of the original German transcript has been deposited in the Microfilm Library of the Lute Society of America.
### Table of Sigla

In the index of works, the manuscripts under sources and concordances are identified by the following sigla. These library sigla generally follow the usage established by RISM, although the intermediated sigla *hrd* and *ddr* are not included for German sources (D).

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Adolf Koczirz, Österreichische Lautenmusic zwischen 1650 1720, Denkmäler der Tonkunst in Österreich, Vol. 50. KoczirzDTO


Hans Neemann, Der Lautenkreis, 1933. NeemannL

Hans Neemann, Alte Meister der Laute, Berlin-Fredersdorf, Heft III. NeemannAML

Jaroslav Pohanka, Dejiny ceske hudby v prikladech [History of Bohemian music in examples], Prague, 1958. PohankaD


Karl Scheit, “Partita A-moll,” Vienna (Universal Edition), 1952. ScheitA


# LIST OF WORKS BY JOHANN ANTON LOSY GRAF VON LOSINTHAL

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Kalmar version for keyboard.

Scheit edition transposed to a.

CS-Pnm in key of C.
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D. GUITAR TRANSCRIPTIONS (Continued)
91. Rigodon            CS-Pu 77  108 d  12  PohankaMAB, p.13  Title changed to "Gavotte in both Pohanka and Scheit; Scheit trans. to a.
92. Ballet             CS-Pu 77  100 a  12  PohankaMAB, p.9  Zuth, no.8
93. Policinello        CS-Pu 77  86  F  35  PohankaMAB, p.10  Zuth, no.4
94. Tombeau sur la mort de Madame/la Contessa Logi faite par/Monsieur le Comte Antonio sons/fils C sol fa ut la Terzza mino/ re, Allemande  CS-Pnm  49 c  20  PohankaMAB, p.27  PohankaD, p.119
95. [Without title]    CS-Pu 77  104 F  16  PohankaMAB, p.12  Modern edition as "Marche."
96. La Noble Marche Composee par Mons le Comte Logi/ Allegro      CS-Pnm,  13 G  60  PohankaMAB, p.28
97. Marche de Suisses  CS-Pu 77  84 D  15  PohankaMAB, p.22  Zuth, no.23

E. TRANSCRIPTIONS FOR MANDORA (CITTERN)

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128. Gigue qui imite Kuku
   Invention du Comte Logi
   A-KR L83 43 F 63

129. Il marescalco
   A-Wn 706 48

130. Sarabande
   CS-Pnm 49 v c 18

131. Menuet
   CS-Pnm 49 v c 20

132. a la Maniere engloise/
   Le Badin/Menuet
   CS-Pnm 14 G 16

133. Rondeau tendrement
   CS-Pnm 15 G 50

134. Passacaglia
   CS-Pnm 10 v F 36
A-Wn 760
KoczirzDTO, p.59  Appears on p.6 of *Harmonia quadripartiia* of J.T. Herold (1702).
Flotzinger, p.188
Vogl, p.59
Vogl, p.61
Said to properly be called "Il manescalco der schmied"!
Cf. nos. 115 and
and 106
PohankaMAB, p.27  Credited to Losy by Pohanka.
PohankaMAB, p.28  Credited to Losy by Pohanka.
PohankaMAB, p.29  Credited to Losy by Pohanka.
PohankaMAB, p.30  Credited to Losy by Pohanka.
PohankaMAB, p.23  Credited to Losy by Pohanka.
Ouverture de M. C Logis

Allemande

Courrente

Sarabande

Gavotte
Menuette

Bourre

Guige

Guige

Partita d'Monsieur Loggi Allamande
Allemara de de Mons Comte Logi

16

Courante de Comte Loschi

18

Cour de Monseur le Comte Logi

19

Courante di Comte di Logi

20

35
Courante extraordinaire de Monseur le Conte

21

Courante de C Loschi

22

Courante Logi

23

Sarabande Logij

24

Sarabande C Logi

25
Menuet du Comte Logy

Menuet du Comte Logy
Menuet du Cte Logi

31

\[ \text{Menuet du Cte Logi} \]

32

\[ \text{Menuet C L} \]

33

\[ \text{Menuet dal Loggi} \]

34

\[ \text{Gavotte C L} \]

35
Chaconne du C Logis

Ciac CL

Prelude

Prelude

Allemande
Partie Allemande

Courante

Courrente

Courante

Sarabande
Menuet

61

Menuette

62

Menuet

63

Menuette

64

Menuette

65

44
Gavotte

Gavotte

Gavotte

Gavotte

Gavotte
Ayr C Losby

Partie entiere Aria

Pasacaglia

Capriccio

Ciaccone
Rigodon

Ballet

Solicinello

Tombéau sur la mort de Madame La Comtesse Lugi, faite par Monsieur le Comte Antonio son fils. C'est saut la terzexaminore Allemande

(siretit.)
La noble Marche Composée par Monsieur le Comte Logi / Allegro

Marche de Suisses

Rondeau C. Loschi

Minuet C. Loschi

Chaconne
Courante

Allemande

Echaum le Conte Logis

Menu

Gavotte
Schmied Cour

Suite de Mons Comte Logie Allemand

Courante

Gavotte de Mons C L

Gavotte de Comte Logie
Gigue de Mr Comte de Logie

Rondeau de Comte Logie

Echo de Monsr Comte Logie

Caprice de M"CL d'un autre maniere
Les Forgerons du Comte Logie

Ouverture

Allemande

Courante Cariglon

Sarabande
Courante

Menuette

Double

Gigue qui imite Huku, Invention du Comte Logi

Il Marescalco
Sarabande

Menuet

à la maniere engloise/Le Badin

Menuet

Rondeau tendrement

Passacaglia
DOWLAND'S "WALSINGHAM"
by James Meadors

John Dowland's beautiful variations on "Walsingham" survive only in one source, the Cambridge University Library manuscript Dd.9.33.(C) (fols. 67v-68). Unfortunately, many pages of D9 have been damaged by moisture. "Walsingham" has not escaped the damage, and parts of sections IV and VII of the piece are illegible. 1 For this reason, and because of a fairly large number of errors in the manuscript, playing these variations can be a less than satisfying experience. Diana Poulton has even suggested that the piece may represent "Dowland below his normal form." 2 I believe that "Walsingham" is very good Dowland, but that its true worth can only be appreciated when it is properly emended. My aim here is to restore the piece to a condition that allows its merits to be fully recognized.

In the "Walsingham" ballad an unhappy lover seeks his fickle mistress among the pilgrims returning from the shrine at Walsingham Abbey in Norfolk. 3 The ballad apparently originated before 1538, since the shrine was destroyed and the Abbey dissolved in that year. "Walsingham" was still popular in Elizabethan times, however, as instrumental settings of its tune attest. Outstanding among these are the large sets of variations by England's foremost keyboard composers, William Byrd and John Bull. 4 Their compositions are quite different from each other—Byrd's 22 variations use the theme in all the voices, Bull's 30 always in the top voice—but both are among the masterpieces

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1Section and measure numbers in this paper follow the modern edition by Diana Poulton and Basil Lam in their Collected Lute Music of John Dowland (London: Faber Music Ltd., 1974), pp. 204-208. This book is referred to here as "CLM." In this paper the words "section" and "variation" will be used interchangeably: the first section will also be the first variation, etc.
of Elizabethan virginal music. Of the lute variations on “Walsingham” none can compare in length with Byrd’s or Bull’s; but those by Collard, Cutting, and Dowland are substantial pieces, all of excellent musical quality.\(^5\) Marchant’s setting is also fairly long, but is not as interesting (D9, fols. 26v-28); Holborne’s lute setting, though it contains some attractive harmonies, is quite short, a single variation.\(^6\) John Johnson’s five variations are pleasant but unremarkable (D2, fol. 98), and the anonymous version in D9 (fol. 21) borders on the incompetent.

The three first-rate lute versions of “Walsingham” all have the same number of variations, seven, but they are of different lengths. Cutting’s piece, like those of Byrd and Bull, uses the eight-bar theme \((4 + 4)\) of which Ex. 1 is the simplest (or least ornamented) form.

**Ex. 1**

![Ex. 1](https://example.com/ex1.png)

Dowland’s composition uses a twelve-bar theme in which the Ex. 1 melody is followed by a four-measure phrase that is a free variation of the second half of Ex. 1. The Dowland piece is therefore \(4 \times 7 = 28\) bars longer than the Cutting; but it is only slightly longer than the Collard, which has the four-bar extensions in all but one variation. Diana Poulton has criticized Dowland’s “Walsingham” for using the twelve-bar subject, which she finds objectionable for its lack of symmetry (John Dowland, p. 170). It is unfair, though, to judge a set of variations on the basis of its theme (think of the “Diabelli” variations’); especially here, since Dowland uses the four-bar extension as an integral part of the composition, not as a symmetry-destroying afterthought.\(^7\) Moreover, her judgment evidently does not accord with the taste of Dowland’s contemporaries: Collard, Johnson, and Holborne also used the longer subject.


\(^7\) He uses it very skillfully to give symmetry and balance to certain variations (see sections II and III) and to lead naturally from one variation to the next (see sections IV-VII; the last four bars of variation VI, for example, modulate between the rather hectic music of the preceding measures and the quiet beginning of variation VII).
Lute composers tended to treat the “Walsingham” melody more freely than did Bull and Byrd; perhaps they found their instrument’s contrapuntal limitations too confining when the theme had to be always present in full. Marchant’s setting is the most extreme in its departure from the tune, being really more a varied sequence of harmonies than a varied melody. In Dowland’s composition too, there are phrases in which only a general melodic outline or a harmonic pattern suggests the theme. Such freedom is characteristic of the four “extra” bars in each of his variations, but even in the first eight measures of a section only fragments of the original melody are sometimes present.8

Dowland’s “Walsingham” follows a simple but convincing overall plan. Quiet and spacious at the beginning, the music gradually, but not in an obvious or mechanical way, becomes more animated, building to a climax in the fifth and sixth sections. The last variation returns initially to the quiet mood of the beginning, then ends in a somewhat surprising flourish with rapid scale passages.

Along the way there is much fine contrapuntal writing and some very colorful harmony. The rhythms are interesting, and the different registers of the lute are effectively exploited. In variations I and II, for example, hemiola gives variety to the rhythm (bars 10-11, 15). The third section features some poignant suspensions and a plaintive duet in thirds that uses the high register of the lute; the fourth switches to the lute’s low register and has the theme in the bass (this has not been generally recognized; see below for details). In the fifth variation triple meter alternates with duple. In section VI (bars 65-67) there are some bold clashes generated by two contrapuntal lines rubbing against one another (see Ex. 2).

Ex. 2

(In bars 65-67 every eighth note in the bass, except the first, forms either a dissonance or a bare fifth or octave with the upper voice. The prominence of these intervals and the absence of thirds or sixths creates a harsh but very original harmony.)

8Dowland also treated the melody very freely in his settings of “Go From My Window” and “Loth to Depart.”
In short, this "Walsingham" has much to offer the lutenist who is able to overcome its considerable technical difficulties. However, as mentioned before, difficulties of another sort have kept it from being universally recognized for the fine piece that it is. Let us turn, then, to some editorial problems posed by a defective manuscript source.

Section IV is the one most seriously affected by errors and moisture. Poulton and Lam's reconstruction of this variation is not entirely satisfactory. It seems unlikely, for example, that Dowland would have written bars 38 and 39 as they appear in CLM (see Ex. 3).

Ex. 3

A convincing solution to this section's difficulties becomes possible when one realizes that the bass line is just the "Walsingham" melody, slightly ornamented. Ex. 4 shows the theme in the form I think it assumes here. In this melody the last four bars are an almost exact repetition of the preceding four-bar phrase, not a free variation on it as in the other sections.

Ex. 4, Dowland, "Walsingham," bass line of Section IV

To arrive at Ex. 4 it has been necessary to add to the bass line four notes not in the manuscript. The two bracketed notes of bars 38 and 39 were accidentally omitted by the D9 copyist (Holmes), or were missing in his source; those in bar 42 were destroyed by damp. The addition of these notes is justified both by their identity as notes of the "Walsingham" tune and by their congruity with the upper voices. The latter can be seen in Ex. 5, my reconstruction of the entire variation.

Except for the bracketed letters, which are my additions, the tablature of Ex. 5 is that of the manuscript. My modifications are all incorporated in the modern notation.

9The second of these (in bar 39 of Ex. 4) should be bracketed in Cl.M. but is not.
Bar 42 requires little comment. In D9 all letters below the third course have been obliterated on the second and third beats. Once the bass notes are filled in from Ex. 4, restoration presents few problems.
In fact, only one other note seems to be required, an A (I Ve) on the third beat.10 This A mediates between the Bb on the second beat and the B-natural on the third.11

Bars 38 and 39 present a rhythmic problem that is again easily solved assuming the bass to be as in Ex. 4. The two added bass notes work well with the upper voices, but the G and D in the bass of bar 38 can have their full quarter-note value only if the second rhythmic sign of bar 38 is changed. Clearly, this sign has one cross bar too many. It should have been written \( \text{\footnotesize \begin{array}{c}
\text{rr} \\
\text{rr}
\end{array} } \) rather than \( \text{\footnotesize \begin{array}{c}
\text{rrrr} \\
\text{rrrr}
\end{array} } \).12

When it is corrected, and when the bar lines following it are adjusted as in the modern notation of Ex. 5, the passage makes musical sense.13 The restoration is completed by adding a G (Ia) on the second beat of bar 38. Although the G is perhaps not absolutely required, it makes a graceful treble line and it eliminates the need for a rather awkward rest on the second beat (the treble F cannot be held over because it would be dissonant with the bass G). With the addition of the G the tenor entering on the third beat imitates, loosely but audibly, the soprano phrase that begins with the F.

One other modification of the manuscript is necessary to bring the bass line into conformity with the “Walsingham” melody. The next-to-last bass note of section IV is a C in D9, but needs changing to A as in Ex. 4 and the modern notation of Ex. 5. This A preserves the close parallel between the bass lines of bars 41-44 and bars 45-48, and it makes much better cadential harmony with the upper voices than the C.

In section VII parts of bars 79 and 82 have been eradicated. The CLM version of bar 79 does not preserve all of the manuscript’s legible notes. On the second beat of this measure CLM changes one note (D9’s IIa is changed to Ia, without comment) and omits another (Bb = II Ib). The restoration in Ex. 6 retains these manuscript notes; notice that the middle voice of bar 79 neatly echoes the top voice of bar 78 at the interval of a sixth.14 The choice of bass lines is limited,

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10. “I Ve” means letter “e” on the fourth course.
11. In CLM the Bb on the second beat is omitted with no explanation, although it is in the manuscript; and the D (III) on the third beat is placed in brackets, although it too is in the manuscript (only the top half of the letter remains).
12. More accurately, there should have been no sign at all, since the corrected signs are redundant in the rhythmic notation of the piece.
13. Poulton and Lam instead change the two signs following the one at fault. They report the change only for the second of these.
14. That is, if one assumes the first note of the second beat in bar 79 to be a C (III d). This letter is very faint in D9.
once the upper voices are determined. The bass in Ex. 6—a single D at the beginning of the measure—is the simplest one possible, and it also works quite well. There are, of course, other bass lines compatible with the upper voices.

**Ex. 6, Dowland, “Walsingham,” Section VII**

In CLM the partly illegible third beat of bar 82 is filled in with only three notes, even though there is room for four or five in the destroyed area. The result is a stagnant rhythm in which the second beat’s pattern is rather mechanically repeated on the third beat. Julian
Bream’s rendition of this passage on his *The Woods So Wild* recording (RCA LSC-3331) is much more convincing. Bream fills in the space with five notes, as in Ex. 6, and the passage acquires a rhythmic sweep appropriate to its position in the final flourish.

The passages so far discussed constitute the main problem areas of the piece, but before ending I would like to suggest a number of smaller changes in the CLM text. These fall into several categories.

A. Errors in the CLM tablature and transcription:
   - Bar 26: The first chord in D9 has G (V1a) in the bass, not Bb.
   - 40: D9 has a Bb (I1b) on the first beat, as in Ex. 5.
   - 45: The last note of the measure should be F#, not F-natural as in CLM. The manuscript has I1e, not I1d (see Ex. 5).

B. Clear errors in the manuscript not corrected in CLM:
   - Bar 27: Both D9 and CLM omit a Bb (I1i) on the second half of the second beat (corrected in Ex. 7). Without the Bb the alto line makes little sense; with it, there is a pleasing suspension on the third beat.

\[\text{Ex. 7}\]

\[\text{Bar 56: The top B-natural of the first chord is no doubt an error for G (Ia). The B-natural gives rise to a bizarre treble line and causes a clumsy doubling of the third in the G-chord.}\]

\[\text{74: An A (Ic) seems called for in the last chord of the measure. Without it the preceding C does not resolve, but skips a tritone down to the F# (see Ex. 6).}\]

C. Apparent manuscript errors not corrected in CLM:
   - Bar 43: A D (I1a) should probably be added to the second half of the first beat, as in Ex. 5, to bridge the gap between the C and the E in the top voice.
A D (Vc) seems to have been left out of the final chord. Without it, the preceding F remains unresolved.

IlId on the third beat appears to have been written a line too high in D9. The note makes much more contrapuntal and harmonic sense as a C (IlId) than as an F (see Ex. 6).

A D (Vc) added to the last chord provides a resolution for the otherwise dangling Eb (see Ex. 6). The resulting Eb-D echoes the Eb-D immediately preceding on the second course.

A manuscript error improperly corrected in CLM:

Bar 7 D9 has an F (IlId) in the first chord, but not an A (Ie). The A is necessary as part of the theme, but there is no reason to eliminate the F. The original error was plainly one of omission. It is far less likely that a letter on one line was substituted for another letter on a different line. The F works well in the context, and it accounts for the D's being played as IIIf rather than IIa (see Ex. 8).

Ex. 8

E. Notes changed in CLM but possibly correct in the manuscript:

Bar 15 There seems to be no reason for changing the manuscript's bass note F (IVa) in the first chord to Bb (IVf) as in CLM. The F works perfectly well harmonically, and it does not lead to parallel octaves if the F-natural above it is assumed to follow from the F# of the preceding chord.

There is no need to change the manuscript's G (IVc) to a B-natural as in CLM. The preceding C resolves just as well up to D as down to B-natural (see Ex. 5), and the B-natural of the following scale sounds fresher when not preceded by a B-natural in the chord (notice that Dowland uses the open fifth in the very similar bar 20).

The second note before the final chord, a G (Ia) in D9, is not necessarily an error for B-natural (Ie) as assumed in CLM. The CLM version works quite well, but the D9 version can also work.
if the arpeggio is given an appropriate articulation. The reader should experiment before rejecting the D9 reading.

F. A speculation:

Bars 73-74 I suggest that Dowland intended a chain of suspensions here rather than the somewhat peculiar repeated A's and G's of the manuscript and CLM (see Ex. 6). It would have been easy for a copyist to mistake an “i” for an “h” on the third beat of bar 73, or an “h” for an “f” at the beginning of the next measure. The letters look something alike in D9 and other tablatures of the period (the top of an “h” is like that of an “f”, and its bottom like that of an “i”), and they are next to or between other letters which might make them more difficult to read. Moreover, the “h” and “f”, being normal components of the F-chord and the G-chord, would be the expected letters here, not the “i” and the “h”. Replacing the A and G with the Bb and A makes a more melodious alto line, and it gives a poignance to the harmony which is characteristic of Dowland and which seems appropriate at this point in the piece.

This paper has been largely concerned with details, but I think not unduly so. Details, after all, can make the difference between a first-rate composition and a mediocre one. Think, for instance, of the great gap in musical quality between Dowland’s pieces in the Varietie of Lute-lessons and the generally much less polished manuscript versions of the same pieces. Dowland was one of the lute’s great composers, but his genius is not readily apparent in some compositions as they come down to us. We owe it to ourselves and the reputation of our instrument not to play such pieces “falce and unperfect,” but to restore them if possible to a condition that does their composer justice.
FRANÇOIS CAMPION’S SECRET OF ACCOMPANIMENT FOR THE THEORBO, GUITAR, AND LUTE

By Kevin Mason

The art of accompanying baroque music with hand-plucked instruments has only recently come into its own as a result of the combined efforts of players, instrument makers, and scholars. Even though questions about nomenclature and stringing still exist (particularly with the theorbo), we know enough to begin making accurate reconstructions of the techniques and styles used in playing lutes, theorbos, and guitars. The style of accompaniment on these instruments is difficult to reconstruct because of its improvised nature. While written-out accompaniments from this period are scarce, a number of French treatises on hand-plucked instrument accompaniment are extant. This school of French accompaniment culminates with the treatises of François Campion in the early eighteenth century. In Campion’s two treatises, one will find clearly-presented information on accompaniment from figured and unfigured basses. Even though the information is rudimentary, Campion’s methods can be useful to modern practitioners of baroque accompaniment.

In the late sixteenth century, the Italians invented a new type of lute, used mainly for accompaniment, which they called chitarrone or tiorba (Eng. theorbo). ¹ Although some Frenchmen were aware of and

¹There is no practical difference between “chitarrone” and “theorbo.” Most of the surviving references indicate that they were two different names for one type of lute with an extra pegbox on the end of a neck-extension, and which used the Renaissance tuning modified with the first, or first and second, courses or strings tuned down an octave from normal pitch. “Theorbo” (and its variant spellings) was properly the generic term for such an instrument. “Chitarrone” was the preferred Italian name and it rarely occurs outside Italy, or even in Italy after approximately 1650. In addition, it is a mistake to group all lutes with a neck-extension under the generic name “archlute” since, in the seventeenth century, this term denoted a specific type of baroque lute with an extra pegbox on the end of a neck-extension, and which used the unmodified Renaissance tuning. The main difference between “theorbo” theremore, lies in the tuning and not in the size of the instrument or the number and type of strings. For more on this topic see Robert Spencer, “Chitarrone, Theorbo, and Archlute,” Early Music, 4 (1976), pp. 407-422, and Douglas A. Smith, “On the Origin of the Chitarrone,” JAMS, 32 (1979), pp. 440-462.
used the theorbo (Fr. tuorbe, or théorbe) in the first half of the seventeenth century, it was not commonly used in France until about 1650. Before 1650, the lute was the most popular hand-plucked instrument in France. While the guitar was popular as well, it was not until the 1650's, when the famous Italian guitarist Francesco Corbetta first came to France and played for Louis XIV and his court, that the guitar truly came into vogue.²

The middle years of the seventeenth century (c. 1645-60) were important not only for the theorbo, guitar, and lute, but for the development of French music in general. During this time, coinciding with Louis XIV's youth, Italian musical ideas were particularly influential, largely due to attempts at establishing a permanent Italian opera company in Paris.³ These years also coincide with the earliest known French publications of music using a basso continuo, yet another Italian invention.⁴ Since the theorbo and guitar were two of the favorite instruments used in Italian opera orchestras, it comes as no surprise that the French adopted these instruments at this particular time. During the next half century, the theorbo, guitar, and lute attained their greatest popularity in France as solo and ensemble instruments.

Although the sizable solo repertoires for these three instruments have been acknowledged by performers and scholars alike, their equally important role of accompaniment has been virtually ignored in favor of keyboard instruments.⁵ During Louis XIV's reign, the theorbo, guitar, and lute were used to accompany vocal and instrumental music in both sacred and secular contexts. Jean-Baptiste Lully made extensive use of hand-plucked instruments in his operas, and other composers such as Marin Marais, Michel-Richard de


⁴Constantine Juygens' Pathodia sacré et profana (Paris: Ballard, 1647) is the earliest known French publication containing a basso continuo part. According to its preface, this collection of songs was originally written with tablature accompaniments for the theorbo. However, at the publisher's request, the tablature was replaced by a basse continuë so that the music could be accompanied by other instruments.

⁵The only published studies to date on plucked instrument accompaniment in the French Baroque are Henri Quittard, "Le théorbe comme instrument d'accompagnement," Revue musicale mensuelle, 6 (1910), pp. 221-237 & 362-384; and Gérard Geay, "La Théorie harmonique aux XVII et XVIIIes siècles: 'Traité et addition au traité d'accompagnement et de composition selon la règle des octaves de musique' de François Campion (1716)," Luth et musique ancienne, 2 (April, 1978), pp. 14-27.
Lalande, and François Couperin considered hand-plucked instruments appropriate for accompanying their music. One of the favorite uses of hand-plucked instruments was to accompany a solo singer. Seventeenth-century singers such as Michel Lambert and Benigne de Bacilly found hand-plucked instruments more "graceful and accommodating" than the harpsichord, and also less likely to "obscure the voice." In the preface to his Pièces pour la flûte traversière (Paris, 1702), Michel de la Barre expressed a preference for the "charm" of the theorbo's gut strings, as opposed to the brass strings of the harpsichord, for accompanying his flute sonatas. Several writers of the period, including Sebastian de Brossard (1703) and François Campion (1716), point out that the theorbo, guitar, and lute also had an advantage over keyboard instruments in being easily portable. In addition, more than a dozen different treatises on accompaniment for the theorbo, guitar, and lute, published between 1660 and 1730 (see Appendix I) attest to the popularity of accompaniment on these instruments.

The zenith of Louis XIV's reign was reached by 1689. After this date, his monarchy was increasingly marked by social and economic crises and by endless wars. As a result, the king's patronage of music diminished and was passed on to the lesser nobility who, unlike the conservative king, were open to new and progressive ideas. This situation prompted a change in French music that was less conducive to the use of such conservative instruments as the theorbo, guitar, and lute, and favored the much stronger sounding keyboard instruments. Consequently, the popularity of hand-plucked instruments declined through the first few decades of the eighteenth century. It was during this decline that François Campion lived.

Except for his publications, little is known of Campion's life. Born in Rouen about 1686, he joined the opera orchestra of the Académie Royale de Musique in 1703 as a theorbo player replacing a certain M. de Maltot. In 1713 Campion is mentioned as one of the two theorbo players in the petit choeur of that orchestra. After leaving the Académie in 1719, no mention of him appears in court records until 1731 when permission is given to "Sr. Campion ancien simphonist de l'Académie Royale de Musique at pensionnaire de

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7The guitar's decline was checked around 1750, however, when it experienced yet another surge of popularity. See Tyler, The Early Guitar, p. 53.
ladite Académie” for travel to England to collect an inheritance left by his father. Campion died in 1748, survived by one son.

Campion’s first and only publication of instrumental music was a book of solo guitar pieces entitled Nouvelles découvertes sur la guitare (Paris, 1705). After this, many songs by Campion appeared in various song collections published by Ballard, Roger, La Haye, and Lottin between 1708 and 1736. In 1719 Campion authored a collection of 54 airs entitled Avantures pastorales meslees de vers.

Campion’s most important contributions to music are his two surviving treatises on accompaniment. The first, Traité d’accompagnement et de composition, selon la règle des octaves de musique (Paris, 1716), contains general rules for accompaniment, composition, and transposition. Although aimed primarily at harpsichord players, Campion mentions the theorbo and guitar several times in the Traité. He also suggests that the book can be useful to singers and players of single-line instruments.

In the Traité, Campion explains the Rule of the Keys (Règle des octaves), a rule for accompanying from an unfigured bass line. According to this rule, a standard chord is assigned to each degree of the major mode scale and the minor mode scale as shown in Example 1.

Ex. 1 - Traité [n. pag.]
The figures in brackets are taken from page 21 of the Traité. On page 11, Campion states that the second degree ascending in the minor mode, the fourth is usually played with the third and sixth, but he prefers the diminished fifth when ascending by step.

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10 Fétis, Biographie universelle (Paris, 1866-70), s.v. “François Campion,” mentions the following work by Campion: Traité d’accompagnement pour le théorbe (Paris & Amsterdam, 1710). Other than Fétis’ reference, no trace of this treatise survives.
All twelve major keys are to be figured like C major, and all twelve minor keys are to be figured like d minor. Provided that the composer of a piece of music subscribes to the Rule of the Keys, which most French composers did, then one need only know what key one is in, and on what scale degree, in order to play from an unfigured bass. Campion points out that deviations from the rule are bound to occur, but knowledgable composers will figure those irregularities.

Although Campion was the first to publish the Rule of the Keys, he was not its inventor. He mentions that it was known and taught by a number of people in Paris, including M. de Maltot who passed it on to Campion. Even if Campion did not invent the rule, he was still given credit for it by a number of eighteenth-century writers. Michele Corrette states in Le Maitre de clavecin pour l’accompagnement (Paris, 1753) that his method for teaching accompaniment is based in part on Campion’s regles de l’octave. J.J. Rousseau also credits Campion with the Rule of the Keys in his Dictionnaire de musique (Paris, 1768, s.v. “Accompagnement”).

The wide acceptance of the Rule of the Keys prompted Campion to publish his Addition au traité d’accompagnement et de composition par la réglé de l’octave (Paris, 1730). In this second treatise he reveals his “secret” of accompaniment for the theorbo, guitar, and lute. The “secret,” as it turns out, is a simple and systematic method for learning to read from a figured bass, which can be applied to any fretted instrument. Although not published until 1730, this method was invented in the late seventeenth century by the same M. de Maltot. Campion writes, “I have made a mystery of this secret in my Treatise of Accompaniment; but being the only one who possessed it, I made a scruple of depriving posterity. It is the secret that was given to me by the illustrious M. de Maltot, my predecessor at the Royal Academy of Music. He invented it and made me its trustee.” Campion’s selfishness is rather ironic since, by the time he finally decided to publish the method, there were few who were still interested in playing the theorbo, guitar, or lute.

The theorbo was clearly the most widely used hand-plucked instrument of accompaniment in the French Baroque. Following

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11 Traité, p. 7. Although an incomplete form of the Rule can be found in Francesco Gasparini, L’Armonico pratico al cimbalo (Venice, 1708), pp. 83-86, the earliest known complete form of the Rule is found at the beginning of a French manuscript containing solo pieces for lute and theorbo, compiled by Jean Etienne Vaudry de Saizcnay, and dated 1699 (Besançon, Bibliothèque Municipale Ms. 279152).

12 Addition, p. 4, “J’ai fait mystère de ce secret dans mon Traité d’accompagnement; mais étant seul qui le possède, je me fais un scrupule d’en priver la Postérité. C’est le secret que m’a donné l’illustre M. de Maltot mon prédécesseur en l’Académie Royale de Musique. Il l’a inventé, & m’en a fait dépositaire.”
Campion’s example I will begin with the theorbo and explain his “secret” of accompaniment in relation to this instrument. I will then follow with his remarks about the guitar and lute.

The Theorbo

Although Campion tells us very little about the makeup of his instrument (see Example 2), we know from Sebastien de Brossard (1703), Joseph Sauveur (1701), and James Talbot (c. 1700) that the theorbo in early eighteenth-century France was a large, lute-family instrument with an extra pegbox on the end of a long neck-extension. This pegbox accommodated the long, diatonically-tuned bass strings termed the Grand jeu by Campion. The fingerboard strings attached to the main pegbox were called the petit jeu. For accompaniment, Campion recommends having the seventh and eighth courses on this fingered part of the neck to permit the playing of chromatics on those strings.

Ex. 2 - Addition, p. 38.

Accord du Théorbe à ouvert.

Petit jeu à la Maltot.

\[
\begin{array}{cccccccc}
6 & 5 & 4 & 3 & 2 & 1^\text{ere} \\
\text{la} & \text{re} & \text{sol} & \text{si} & \text{mi} & \text{la} \\
\end{array}
\]

Grand jeu.

\[
\begin{array}{cccccccc}
7 & 8 \\
\text{fol} & \text{fa} \\
\end{array}
\]

\[
\begin{array}{cccccccc}
9 & 10 & 11 & 12 & 13 & 14 \\
\text{mi} & \text{re} & \text{ut} & \text{si} & \text{la} & \text{sol} \\
\end{array}
\]

\[
\begin{array}{cccccccc}
5 & 4 & 3 & 2 & 1^\text{ere} \\
\text{Guitare.} \\
\end{array}
\]

The theorbo was strung with gut and usually had fourteen courses of single strings, but courses of double strings, as on the lute and guitar, were sometimes used. The top six courses, or strings, were tuned in successive fourths with a third between the third and fourth courses, like the renaissance lute, modified however, with the first and second courses tuned down an octave:

13* Dictionnaire de musique (Paris, 1703), s.v. “Theorba.”
16Brossard, loc. cit., says that when a theorbo is double-strung, it should be called Archiluth.
The typical theorbo used for accompaniment was pitches nominally at A. Sauveur, Talbot, and J. B. de La Borde (1780), however, all mention a *théorbe pour les pieces*, or solo theorbo, smaller than the *théorbe d’accompagnement* and pitched a fourth higher at D. This instrument may have been used for accompaniment as well, but sources are lacking to substantiate this usage.

In Campion’s method all one need to know is the name of the bass note and the system (*système*) of the string, or course, on which the note is found. The system of a bass string is based on the intervallic relationships of that string to the open strings above it:

When one forms a chord on the fourth string, one says major third, major sixth, and major second. That is to say, the chords which begin on the fourth string will be subject to this rule. And for the greatest understanding, touch or pluck the fourth string, with the thumb, together with the third string, [plucked] with the first finger. You will say major third. Play the fourth string, always with the thumb, together with the second string. You will say major sixth. Finally, play the fourth string, with the thumb, together with the first string. You will say major second. Collected [as a system], major third, major sixth, and major second.18

The system for the fifth course of the theorbo is; fourth, major sixth, major second, and fifth. The system for the sixth course is; fourth, minor seventh, major second, fifth, and octave. Notice that the intervals of Campion’s systems are always simple rather than compound intervals. Therefore, the octave of the bass note makes no difference. This explains why the second interval of the system of the fourth string is a major sixth rather than a minor third (the actual interval between the fourth and second strings).

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18 *Addition*. p. 5. “Quand on fait accord sur la quatrième corde, on dit 3e° majeure, 6e° majeure & 2e° majeure. C’est à dire que les accords, qui commenceront par la quatrième corde, seront soumis à cette règle; & pour plus grande intelligence: touchez, ou pincez la quatrième corde du pouce, avec la troisième corde du premier doigt; vous direz 3e° majeur. Touchez la quatrième corde, toujours du pouce, avec la seconde corde; vous direz 6e° majeur. Touchez enfin la quatrième corde du pouce, avec la première corde; vous direz 2e° majeur, ce qui collige 3e° majeur, 6e° majeur & 2e° majeur.”
Campion gives systems only for the fourth, fifth, and sixth courses of the theorbo. He dismisses the other bass strings as being relative to these main basses. His example of this is the seventh course which is in the same pitch class as the fourth course and, therefore, uses the same system. Campion says nothing about the basses of the grand jeu. Evidently he expected the player either to figure out the system for each string, or more probably, transpose the note up an octave, find the chord using one of the main systems, and then put the bass note back in its proper octave.

In playing from a figured bass, one first finds the bass note on the fingerboard and then, using the system of the string on which it lies, deduces the intervals of the figures from the intervals of the system (see Example 4). After giving the rudiments of his method, Campion goes through a thème, or standardized series of twelve chords, on each of the main bass notes of the theorbo, telling the player how to realize each chord with his method and also how to finger the chord:

**Ex. 4 - Addition, p. 16.**

**Thème du re sur la cinquième corde.**

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</table>

Our system of the fifth string [is] fourth, major sixth, major second, and fifth.

[1.] The fourth [of the system] gives the [interval of an] augmented fourth at the first fret and the fifth at the second fret with the second finger [of the left hand]. The major sixth [of the system] gives the [interval of a] minor seventh at the first fret, the major seventh at the second fret, and the octave at the third fret with the little finger. The major second [of the system] gives the [interval of a] minor third at the first fret with the first finger. The [interval of a] fifth is given by the rule.19

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19 *Addition*, pp. 16-17. "Ce qui collige notre système de la cinquième corde. 4°, 6° maj°, 2° maj°, & 5°. 4° donne à la première touche 4° maj° & à la seconde touche 5°, du second doigt. 6° maj° donne à la première touche 7° min°, à la seconde [touche] 7° maj°, & 8° à la troisième touche du petit doigt. 2° maj° donne 3° min° à la première touche du premier doigt. 5° donnée par la règle."
When a bass note does not lie on an open string, but at some fret, the system shifts up to that fret. For instance, if one needed a chord on the note f-sharp, the fourth fret of the fifth course, one would bar the first finger of the left hand across the fourth fret forming a “moveable nut” (*fillet ambulant*). The system for the fifth course shifts from the nut position up to the fourth fret, where one can now add or subtract intervals to or from the system. In this situation the logic of Campion’s method is most apparent. He writes, “Move indifferently your first finger, which is barred [across the strings], fret by fret to the bottom of the neck [i.e. where the neck joins the body]. Then, you will acknowledge that it is a secret I give to you, and that you have a painful job, [which is] uncertain [if you proceed] by the names of the notes of music.”

Campion’s “secret” lies in the fact that one operates strictly from the figures and not from the pitch name of the note; to see a figure and translate it into a pitch name before fingering it is a double process.

It would have been a simple matter for Campion to put his chords in tablature (see Appendix II), but he did not. He strongly protested this practice, writing:

> The use of tablature is harmful for those who wish to make any progress on the theorbo and the guitar, and it is this, in part, which has ruined the lute ... For accompaniment, I use ordinary music in the manner of M. de Maltot. Wanting to learn by tablature, as was taught by the ancients, it like trying to drink up the sea. Nevertheless, I have conformed to the usage of tablature in a book of solo pieces for the guitar that I have published, where there are eight different ways of tuning.

In this case tablature is useful, but those who wish to use it must already know their fingerboard well by [ordinary] music.

Campion’s attitude towards tablature may be a reaction against the “paint-by-numbers” approach to accompaniment used in most of

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20 *Addition*, p. 22, “Promenez indifféremment votre premier doigt barré sur toutes les touches jusqu’au bas du manche, vous avouerez pour lors que c’est un secret que je vous donne, & que vous auriez un travail pénible, & incertain par la nomination des nottes de musique.”


22 *Traité*, p. 22, “Je dirai ici que l’usage de la Tablature d’a, b, c, est pernicieuse pour ceux qui veulent faire quelque progrès sur le Théorbo & sur la Guitare, & c’est en partie ce qui a perdu le Lut ... pour l’accompagnement je me sers de la Musique ordinaire, à la manière de Monsieur de Maltot: c’est la mer à boire, que de vouloir l’apprendre par a, b, c, comme l’ont enseigne les Anciens. Cependant je me suis conforme à l’usage de cette Tablature, dans un Livre de pieces de Guitare que j’ai mis au jour, où il y a huit manieres diferentes d’accorder: la Tablature en ce cas étant utile: mais ceux qui s’en veulent servir, doivent bien connoitre leur manche par Musique auparavant.” In the preface to his *Pieces de théorbo et de luth mises en partition dessus et basse* (Paris, 1716), Robert de Visée explains that he has omitted tablature parts from his collection because there were so few who could still read tablature.
the seventeenth-century treatises for hand-plucked instruments. These treatises try to show the quick and easy way to learn accompaniment and consist mostly of chord charts showing the most common chords, progressions, and cadences, in tablature with little or no explanation. One simply pieces together an accompaniment by fitting the proper example into the appropriate situation. These earlier treatises take for granted a basic knowledge of accompaniment and assume that the player already has some technical proficiency of his instrument. Campion on the other hand, takes little for granted and is most concerned with the student knowing the rudiments by heart, thus developing a firm foundation for his playing. For Campion, tablature was a short-cut to be avoided in learning accompaniment.

Campion gives left-hand fingerings for most of his examples and the following summary of general rules for left-hand fingerings on the theorbo, lute, and guitar: “The first finger dominates the first fret. The second finger is auxiliary to it. The second finger dominates the second fret. The first and third are auxiliary to it. The thumb must be behind the neck opposite the second finger. The third and little fingers dominate the third and fourth frets, according to their greatest proximity, and that which good sense demands. When the hand is moved lower [i.e. towards the body], it always retains the same regard just as one knows by experience and reason.” There is nothing out of the ordinary here, but it is noteworthy that these same rules formed the basis for left-hand technique on fretted instruments at least two centuries before Campion, and in fact are still in use today. Further details of left-hand fingering can be seen in Appendix II.

In Campion’s style of theorbo accompaniment, chords of four voices are the norm. For his examples on the fifth and sixth courses, which include five or six notes, he instructs the reader to choose only four notes, one for each plucking finger of the right hand. Only a few three-voice chords are given.

Campion includes in his instructions a few rules for doubling or omitting notes from chords. In general, he recommends that the reader “omit one part in favor of a poised hand, avoiding the frequent displacement of the hand which interrupts the union of the harmony, because the beauty of accompaniment for our instruments consists of

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23 *Addition*, p. 7. “Le premier doigt règne à la première touche; le second doigt lui est auxiliaire. Le second doigt règne à la seconde touche; le premier, & le troisième lui sont auxiliaires. Le pouce doit être derrière le manche opposé à ce second doigt. Le troisième & petot doigt, règnent à la troisième & quatrième touche, selon leur plus grande proximité, & que le bon sens le demande. Quand la main se transporte plus bas, elle garde toujours le même menagement, ainsi qu’on le connaıît par l’expérience & la raison.”
skipping the hand high and low along the neck the least that one can.  
He is careful, however, not to omit any dissonances or characteristic
intervals of a chord. His rules for doublings are routine and in keeping
with the rules of composition for this period. He urges his reader
to construct his chords simply at first, that is, without doublings.
This is because these first chords, usually formed close to the nut, must
serve as models for chords played in higher positions where doublings
are difficult or impossible owing to the barred first finger. Campion
says that the tempo and meter of the music will determine whether or
not one doubles. If a piece is in a slow meter, one may double, but if the
piece is in a fast meter, one should not (Addition, pp. 18 & 20).

One interesting point about Campion’s style of accompaniment is
that he advocates the use of guitar strums, or batteries, on the theorbo.
This transference of technique is not surprising when one realizes how
closely related the guitar and theorbo were, not only in tuning (see
Example 2), but in function as well, both being the preferred fretted
instruments for accompanying the voice. Therefore, it was natural, in
fact common, for guitarists to double as theorbists and vice-versa.
Besides Campion, other well-known French theorbist/guitarists were
Henry Grenerin (fl.1670) and Robert de Visée (d. ca.1725). To strum
on the theorbo Campion writes, “[After] the thumb has played the
bass note, the other fingers [of the right hand] must do a batterie,
arternately raising up and multiplying the chord, unless the strings
are nonadjacent ... It is for this [reason] that I always give a dozen
lessons on the guitar to those who are destined for accompaniment
on the theorbo.”

Slightly later in the Addition, Campion seems to refer once again
to this transferred strumming technique. After pointing out that the
theorbo has its difficulties with nimble movements (mouvements
legers), he writes, “The arpeggiation of chords on the theorbo fills
in marvellously in place of quick-moving basses. It is for this reason

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24 Addition, p. 9. “nous supprimons souvent une partie en faveur de la main posee, pour
éviter le frequent déplacement de main qui coupe la liaison de l’harmonie; car la beauté de
l’accompagnement, sur nos instrumens, consiste à ne point gambader la main de haut en bas du
manche le moins qu’on peut.”

25 Two major compositional treatises from this period are: Charles Masson, Nouveau traité
Jean-Philippe Rameau, Traité de l’harmonie (Paris, 1722; Eng. trans. by Philip Gossett, New York:
Dover, 1971).

26 Addition, pp. 25-26, “Le pouce, ayant touché la note essentielle, les autres doigts doivent
faire une batterie en remontant & multipliant alternativement l’accord, à moins que les cordes ne
soient séparées ... C’est pour cela que je donne toujours une douzaine de leçons de Guitare, à ceux
qui se destinent à l’accompagnement du Théorbe.”
that I ordinarily give, just as I have said, a dozen lessons on the guitar to those destined for accompaniment on the theorbo.”

It would seem, from this quotation and a similar one in his guitar instructions (see below), that Campion considered the *batterie* to be a type of arpeggio. This use of guitar *batteries* would seen to be a way of compromising a quick-moving bass line, keeping the rhythmic drive of the line at the cost of some pitches.

The unique tuning of the theorbo causes a number of problems for an accompanist. One is that most of Campion’s chords built on the fourth course will sound in wrong inversions (see Example 5).

**Ex. 5**

\[
\begin{array}{c}
\text{\textit{\textbf{Campion indirectly acknowledges this problem in a defense of}}}
\end{array}
\]

Campion indirectly acknowledges this problem in a defense of accompaniment on the guitar, saying that one advantage it has over the theorbo is that the guitar has “accompaniment parts [which are] not inverted.” Although Campion offers no help with this problem, three seventeenth-century accompaniment treatises for theorbo offer some insight. The examples found in the treatises by Nicholas Fleury, *Methode pour apprendre facilement à toucher le theorbe* (Paris, 1660), Angelo Michele Bartolomi, *Table pour apprendre à toucher parfaitement le theorbe* (Paris, 1669), and Henry Greenerin, *Livre de theorbe* (Paris, [c.1670]) are all written in tablature and utilize the peculiarities of the theorbo tuning. Yet, the inversion

\[\text{\textit{\textbf{27 Addition, p. 37, “L’harpégement des accords sur le Théorbe supplée merveilleusement dans l’abréviation des basses de mouvement. C’est pour cette raison que je donne ordinairement, ainsi que je l’ai dit, une douzaine de leçons de Guitare à ceux qui se destinent à l’accompagnement du Théorbe.”}}\]

\[\text{\textit{\textbf{28 Traité, p. 19, “les Parties d’accompagnement non renversées.”}}\]

\[\text{\textit{\textbf{29 It is possible, however, that the theorbo for which Campion wrote had only the first string tuned down the octave. See Geay, op cit., p. 16 for support of this view. This theory seems implausible to this writer for several reasons. All references to this tuning arc of English provenance, with one exception, that of Adriano Banchiere, Conclusioni nel suono dell’organo (Bologna, 1609), p. 53. See Spencer, op cit., 409 and 411-413. Even though this “English” theorbo tuning solves the inversion problem in Campion’s examples, this tuning does not work in any of the other French theorbo treatises. From these treatises, and from all other French references to theorbo tuning (including tablatures), it is clear that the usual tuning was with the first and second strings down the octave. It seems unlikely that Campion would have written this treatise for other than the usual theorbo tuning without making a clear reference to how the instrument should be tuned. The references in Campion that are used to support the “English” theorbo tuning (Addition, p. 5, 11.1-11, and the tuning chart at the bottom of p. 38) are conjectural at best.}}\]
problem exists in some of the examples contained in all three books. In fact, it is compounded in the Bartolomi and Grenerin books by the use of chords formed on the third course, in which case the “bass” note is the highest sounding pitch in the chord. In addition, there are a few examples in these treatises where the theorbo tuning is ignored, resulting in faulty voice leading. Their attitude seems to be: “If convenient, utilize the tuning; if not, do not worry about an occasional inverted chord or occasional faulty voice-leading.” Denis Delair expresses a similar attitude in his *Traité d'accompagnement pour le theorbe, et le clavessin* (Paris, 1690). He writes, “One will notice that the examples in score that I have given for the harpsichord, serve also for the theorbo. One is obliged to sound, as much as one can, all the notes that one finds in the harpsichord score. Nevertheless, one can dispense with following the order [of the notes], provided that one sounds them all. It does not matter which is sounded first or last after the bass note, which must always precede the [rest of the] chord ...”

If these attitudes seem odd in relation to accompaniment practices as defined by baroque keyboard treatises, one must remember two things. First of all, the unique sound of the theorbo, together with factors of portability and ease of play, made this instrument so desirable for accompaniment that its faults and limitations were accepted. Second, all of the theorbo treatises mentioned so far are aimed primarily at beginners. The advanced player would have the control of technique and style to overcome many of the theorbo’s limitations. For instance, many of the odd voice-leading and inverted chords in the treatises with tablature examples can be remedied by using less convenient left-hand fingerings. The inversion problem can be negated partially by right-hand plucking technique. The strongest finger of the plucking hand is the thumb which, according to Campion, always plays the bass note. The other fingers of the right hand can be made to de-emphasize a note which may sound below the bass note. This technique is useful when preservation of the melodic contour and pitch of the bass line are important. When these considerations are not so important, individual bass notes or segments of the bass line may be transposed down an octave. In fact, Delair recommends transposing any note, from middle C upwards, down an octave because of the tuning of the theorbo (*Traité*, pp.6-7).

30Delair, *Traité* ([C^v]), “on remarquera que la tablature que j’ay mis pour le Clavessin, sert aussi pour le Theorbe, d’autant que l’on est oblige d’y sonner autant que l’on peut, toutes les notes que l’on trouvera en tablature de Clavessin, on se peut néantmoins dispenser d’ensuivre l’ordre, pourvu qu’on les sonne toutes, il n’importe laquelle se sonne, la premiere, ou la derniere, apres la basse qui doit toujours precéder les accords ...”
The instrumentation of the music being played is yet another consideration in the inversion problem. In a solo song with theorbo accompaniment, inversion problems in the theorbo part will be noticeable. However, if one adds a bass viol to the voice and theorbo, this extra emphasis on the bass line will help to cover up the theorbo’s limitation. Naturally, the more instruments or voices one adds to the ensemble, the less one need worry about inversions in the theorbo part. Unfortunately, if other instruments become too many, they tend to overpower the sound of the theorbo. In this situation Campion offers a solution of transposing the bass note down an octave. He writes, “In grandes musiques one places [the bass note] in the contrabass, otherwise one cannot be heard.”

Closely related to the inversion problem is the question of what a theorbo player does when the written bass line moves up into the alto range. While the third course (the highest pitched string) of the theorbo can easily accommodate a bass line up to the note g’, no harmony can be added that will sound above the bass. According to Campion, high bass notes which might be fingered on the third course are to be fingered rather on the fourth course. The highest note that Campion gives is b at the fourth fret of the fourth course. However, he says it would be a waste of time to show anything higher since the fingerings would be the same as the examples on this note, only at a different fret (Addition, pp.15-16). This would make d’, or possibly e’, the highest practical bass notes for which the theorbo could supply a proper accompaniment without crossing to the third course. Since Campion does not advocate using the third course, one would be forced to transpose down an octave any bass note higher than d’ or e’.

The Guitar

Of the hand-plucked continuo instruments used during the baroque, the guitar was second in popularity only to the theorbo. Because of the surviving French guitar literature and because a number of French-made guitars have survived from the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, we have a clear idea of how the guitar was constructed and tuned in France.

Although the guitar of Campion’s time outwardly resembles the modern guitar, it is different in many important respects. The baroque guitar is smaller and more lightly constructed than the modern guitar.

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31 Addition, p. 38, “Dans les grandes musiques, l’on y met une contre-basse, ou l’on s’en passe.”
32 As pointed out earlier, this did not prevent Grenerin and Bartolomi from forming chords on the third course.
and, consequently, is strung at lower tensions with gut strings. It also uses gut frets tied around the neck, rather than metal frets inlaid into the neck. The French baroque guitar has five courses of doubled strings (although the first course is often single) and is tuned as follows:

Ex. 6

Campion’s method for reading from figures applies to the guitar as well as the theorbo. The same *thèmes* are used for both, but the systems differ slightly. Campion builds chords above the third, fourth, and fifth courses of the guitar. The system for the third course is: major third and major sixth. Since the fifth course is pitched a major second higher than the third course, then this interval may be included in the system. The system for the fourth course is: fourth, major sixth, major second, and fifth (when the fifth course is included). Campion does not give the system for the fifth course but he says that it is the same as the system for the sixth course of the theorbo. If one thinks of the fifth course of the guitar as down an octave from its actual pitch, then the system for this course is: fourth, minor seventh, major second, and fifth. Note that the pitches of the second to sixth courses of the theorbo are of the same class as the five courses of the guitar and, therefore, their systems are similar.

Like the theorbo, the guitar has its limitations. Campion recognizes them, writing, “However, one is not prejudiced against the guitar without reason. I acknowledge, along with everyone, that it is not as strong of harmony as the harpsichord or the theorbo. However, I believe that it is sufficient for accompanying one voice. At least this is the justice given to it by those who have heard me play.”33 Campion fails to mention that the guitar has its own peculiar inversion problem caused by the fact that the fifth course of the guitar is tuned a fifth higher than the fourth course. Since the lowest note that the guitar can play is bass clef d, what does one do when the written bass line goes even lower? The only option is to play as if the fifth course were tuned an octave lower (see Example 7).

33 *Traité*, p. 19, “Qu’on ne se prévienne point sans raison contre la Guitare, j’avouerai avec tout le monde qu’elle n’est pas aussi forte d’harmonie que le Clavecin, ny le Théorbe. Cependant je la croy suffisante pour accompagner une voix: au moins est-ce la justice qu’on luy a rendu, quand on me l’a entendu toucher...”
As one can see in the guitar transcription (Ex. 7c), the bass line jumps up a seventh when crossing from the fourth to the fifth course. This peculiarity can be seen in every tablature accompaniment for the guitar from this period, not to mention its solo literature. Campion tells his reader not to be bothered by this since keyboard accompanists often shift the bass up or down the octave either by their pleasure or their indifference. He says that the important thing is that the note be heard, whatever octave it is in (Addition, p.38). As one can also see in Example 7, another problem appears when one plays a full chord on all five courses. If the chord indicated on the third note of Ex. 7a is played as shown in Ex. 7b, then the chord sounds in second rather than first inversion. While in this example the problem note can be left out by plucking each note of the chord separately, in the strummed style so characteristic of the guitar, the note cannot be omitted. Note, however, that even when the bass-line inversion occurs, the chord (7c) still sounds above the written bass (7a). When the guitar is joined by a bass viol or theorbo playing the written bass line (a common practice), the problem no longer exists.

In spite of its deficiencies, Campion points out several advantages of the guitar: "As to the harmonies [i.e. the number and types of chords], I do not know of any impossibilities. It has, compared to the [harpsichord and theorbo], the facility of transport and of playing, and as opposed to the theorbo, accompaniment parts which are not inverted and are consequently very harmonious." He emphasizes that once one understands the guitar, one can realize harmony as effectively as on the organ or harpsichord (Addition, p.38).

Campion uses a special way of playing batteries when accompanying with the guitar. He writes:

You play the bass note with your thumb, and then you raise your other fingers alternately in the fashion of a batterie on all the strings in an arpeggio. And remember that the secret I give to you on this

34 Traité, p. 19, "pour ce qui est des accords, je ne luy en connois point d'impossibles, elle a par dessus les autres la facilite du transport & du toucher, & par-dessus le Théorbe, les Parties d'accompagnement non renversées, par consequent plus chantantes."
instrument lies in picking the bass note out of the middle of your strings with your thumb, which is played before the chord, which the other fingers play. Those who know to single out the bass note of their chords, and will play it thus, will always render a beau chant and a union with the bass line of the piece, which few teachers, or none, have ever practiced or taught. Note that the little finger of the right hand must not be used in this batterie or arpeggiation. It restrains the hand too much.  

Campion devotes little space to the guitar since its accompaniment technique is so similar to the theorbo’s. He gives only one theme for the guitar on the note d, the open fourth course (see Appendix II). He instructs the reader to take the other theme from the theorbo section. His rules for left-hand fingering, chord voicing, doubling, and omitting notes, also contained in the theorbo section, apply to the guitar as well.

The Lute

It has been pointed out above that before 1650 the lute was the most important hand-plucked instrument in France. From this half of the century survive hundreds of airs de cour for voice with lute accompaniment. After 1650, the theorbo seems to have replaced the lute as the favorite instrument for accompanying the voice. Although the lute stayed in vogue in France as a solo instrument, there is little evidence for its continued use as an instrument of accompaniment during the latter half of the century. However, one isolated advocate of lute accompaniment in late seventeenth-century France is a mysterious figure known to us as Sr. Perrine. His Livre de musique pour le lut (Paris, [1679]) is primarily a treatise for learning to play solo pieces and accompaniments on the lute, not from tablature, but from ordinary music. Apparently Perrine shared Campion’s belief that the use of tablature was ruining the lute.

The lute as Campion knew it was basically an eleven-course instrument, although instruments with more or less strings were known. It was double-strung with gut and tuned as follows:

35 Addition, p. 40, “vous toucherez du pouce votre ré qui est note essentielle; & vous remonterez alternativement vos autres premiers doigts, en façon de batterie, sur toutes les cordes en harpegeant; & souvenez vous de ce secret que je vous donne sur cet instrument, de choisir ainsi la note essentielle au milieu de vos cordes du pouce. que prévient l’accord que les autres doigts remontent. Celui qui, dans les pièces, saura distinguer la note essentielle de ses accords, & la touchera ainsi, donnera toujours un beau chant, & une liaison à la basse de sa pièce. ce que peu, ou point de Maîtres n’ont encore pratiqué, ni enseigné. Notez que le petit doigt de la main droite ne doit point être de cette batterie ou harpégement; il contraindroit trop la main.”

Campion devotes little space to the lute, writing, “In France we prefer the theorbo to the lute for accompaniment because the treble of the lute often passes above the vocal line.” He gives systems for the fourth, fifth, and sixth, courses of the lute. The system for the fourth course is: major third, major sixth, and octave. The system for the fifth course is: minor third, fifth, octave, and minor third. The system for the sixth course is: fourth, major sixth, octave, fourth, and major sixth. He gives no themes for the lute, instructing the reader to take them from the theorbo section. Campion’s method for deriving chords from figures, his rules for left-hand fingering, chord voicing, doublings, etc. apply to the lute as well as the theorbo.

Conclusion

Perhaps the most remarkable aspect of both the Traité and the Addition is Campion’s concern for pedagogy. During the French Baroque, writers on accompaniment tended to write in one of two ways. The first, exemplified by Jean-Philippe Rameau’s Traité de l’harmonie (1722), is so scientific in approach that only those well versed in the art can understand. The second way, exemplified by the treatises of Grenerin (c.1670) and Bartolomi (1669), just to mention two, is oversimplistic in approach and designed for use by those concerned with learning to play as quickly as possible. Campion provides a third approach for beginners with serious amateur or professional intentions. His instructions are simple, yet they give the student a firm basis for learning, based on a rational and scientific approach. Throughout his books, Campion advises his reader not to proceed to a new point until the previous one is understood and learned by heart. He explains that the real pleasure, for a student, lies not in the act of doing something, but rather in the understanding of

37 Addition, p. 43, “Nous préférons en France le théorbe au luth pour l’accompagnement: parce que les dessus du luth surpassent souvent les sujets chantans.”
what one does (Traité, p. 18). Campion also stresses the importance of
learning the material in the Traité, especially the Rule of the Keys, as
a necessary adjunct to the technical information contained in the
Addition. The Rule of the Keys and the Secret of Accompaniment
were, and still are, useful methods since both developed from a
combination of logic and practical experience. Twentieth-century
students of theorbo, guitar, or lute accompaniment would be well
advised to use both methods.
APPENDIX I

The following is a list of printed French treatises either wholly devoted to accompaniment on the theorbo, guitar, or lute, or giving at least a bit of information about accompaniment on these instruments. Four French manuscripts containing songs with tablature accompaniments for guitar which date from 1660 to 1730 survive in Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale. They are: 1) Res. Vm7 374; 2) Vm7 6235; 3) Vm7 6236; 4) Vmb ms.59. No French manuscripts with tablature accompaniments for theorbo or lute are known to survive from this period.

**Theorbo**


c.1670 - Grenerin, Henry. *Livre de theorbe contenant plusieurs pieces sur differens tons, avec une nouvelle methode tres facile pour apprendre a jouer sur la partie les basses continues et toutes sortes d’airs a livre ouvers*. Paris, [nd.]. B:Br.


1723 - Delair, Denis. *Nouveau traité d'accompagnement pour le theorbe et le clavecin*. Paris, 1723. A:Wgm, D:Bds, & F:Pn. This is a revised and expanded reprint of Delair’s *Traité* (1690).

**Guitar**

1666 - [Nivers, Guillaume-Gabriel]. *Méthode facile pour apprendre à chanter la musique, par un maistre célèbre de Paris.* Paris, 1666. F:Pn, GB:Drc, I:Be. Rpt. 1670 (F:Pc); rpt. 1696 (B:Br & GB:Drc); rpt. 1702 (F:Pthibault). This treatise on singing contains accompaniments for the guitar. Its attribution to Nivers is doubtful.


1699 - Derosier, Nicolas. *Nouveaux principes pour la guitare, avec une table universelle de tous les accords qui se trouvent dans la basse-continüe sur cet instrument, se qui peut servir aussi aux personnes qui jouent de luth, du théorbe et de la basse de viole.* Paris, 1699. F:Pn.


**Lute**


APPENDIX II

The following tables reduce Campion's text into tablature, a procedure of which Campion would not have approved. The tables show the thème for each bass note, the chords in French lute tablature, and a transcription of the tablature into modern notation. Only the left-hand fingerings given by Campion are shown with the tablature. The sign ] means that the first finger of the left hand is to be barred across the indicated strings. Alternate fingerings and chord formations are given only when given by Campion. Because of the confusion caused by the theorbo and guitar tunings, the bass note of each chord is shown in transcription with a downward stem, and the accompaniment with an upward stem.

Campion gives special instructions for playing the third chord of the themes of \( \text{La} \) (fourth course), \( \text{Si} \) (fourth course, and \( \text{La} \) (sixth course). For \( \text{La} \) (fourth course) he writes, “The major third [of the system], at the first fret of the third string, gives the minor third open. The major sixth [of the system], at the first fret of the second string, gives the minor sixth open, and the diminished fifth is given by the major third [of the system] by plucking or arpeggiating the diminished fifth after the third and the sixth.”

THEORBO

*Thème du Sol*
(4th Course)

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+ — Chord omitted by Campion
* — 3 is preferred to 4.

38 *Addition, p. 12.* “\( 3'^{\text{ce}} \) majre à la première touche de la troisième corde, donne \( 3'^{\text{ce}} \) minre a ouvert. \( 6'^{\text{lé}} \) majre à la première touche de la seconde corde, donne \( 6'^{\text{lé}} \) minre a ouvert, & la fausse quinte est donnée par la \( 3'^{\text{ce}} \) majre, en pinçant ou harpégeant la fausse quinte après la \( 3'^{\text{ce}} \) & la \( 6'^{\text{lé}}. \)"
Thème du La
(4th Course)

1 and 2 may be used instead
Thème du Si
(4th Course)

Thème du Ré
(5th Course)
Thème du Mi
(5th Course)

Thème du Fa♯
(5th Course)
Thème du La
(6th Course)

GUITAR

Thème du Ré
(4th Course)
Sir George Grove was one of those undaunted Victorian spirits whose enthusiasm seems to have known no bounds. His career embraced a remarkably wide variety of pursuits. A civil engineer, a biblical scholar, a founder of the Palestine Exploration Fund, he managed to combine these activities with a lifelong interest in music that culminated in the publication of the first Grove Dictionary in 1879. Since that first four-volume edition, the work has come to be regarded as the standard music encyclopedia in the English language. Naturally, it has evolved and expanded greatly since Grove's day, although later editions showed a certain reluctance to shift the emphasis away from the nineteenth century and continued to display a slightly English view of the musical world. Some of the shortcomings of the work became apparent in the 1950s and '60s with the publication of the monumental German encyclopedia Die Musik in Geschichte und Gegenwart. Indeed, when the 5th edition of Grove's appeared in 1954, reviews in Notes and elsewhere compared it somewhat unfavorably with MGG.

The New Grove was initially conceived as the 6th edition of the dictionary. However, as Stanley Sadie points out in his introduction, "The world—certainly the world of musicology—has changed more, and more fundamentally, in the 25 years that separate Grove 5 from the new dictionary than it did in the 75 years from 1879 to 1954." Consequently, the new dictionary has not only been updated and expanded, it has been completely recast, right down to a change of title. We are assured that less than three percent
of the text has been retained from earlier editions. Even Grove’s own once time-honored essay on Schubert has disappeared. The New Grove Dictionary is an impressive document by any standard: twenty volumes, over 17,000 pages, 22,500 articles, and a price tag of $1,900.00. Its scope is as impressive as its size. Written by a team of approximately 2,500 contributors and some 36 editors, The New Grove covers almost every facet of music from Pythagoras to the Beatles. The space allotted to ethnomusicological subject has been considerably expanded, as has the treatment of popular and folk music. Virtually every known medieval composer is included, and almost every composer of the Renaissance, provided a few of his works survive and (to quote again from the introduction) “useful biographical information is available about him.” Most of these biographical entries are short, but a few such as the 25 pages devoted to Josquin are major essays.

Although it is easy to become distracted while browsing through The New Grove (it is amazing how the eye keeps getting drawn to some interesting new fact about organum, player pianos, or whatever), our concern here is with the dictionary’s treatment of the lute and its related subjects. In a review intended for guitarists and published elsewhere,¹ I reached the conclusion that, while the guitar has done much better than it had in previous editions, it could (and should) have done better. Much the same might be said for the lute. Some of my reservations, I suspect, are due to the fact that, while the dictionary appeared in 1980, most of the material in it was written not much later than 1976. The field of lute research has grown so rapidly in the past decade that much newly gleaned knowledge is missing. A few of the entries on German subjects (for example, those on Heckel and Kargel) are even older being based in part on translations taken from MGG. The British provincialism that marked past editions of the dictionary has all but vanished. A trace, however, still remains among the lutenistic topics. Among modern performers, for example, Julian Bream, Desmond Dupré, and Anthony Rooley all have separate entries, but not such influential figures as Walter Gerwig or Eugen Dombois; one does notice with satisfaction the inclusion of Toyohiko Satoh and Michael Schäffer (Schäffer’s death has even been noted). Ian Harwood and David Rubio are given entries, but none of the important European or American luthiers. The Lute Society [of

¹The Soundboard (Guitar Foundation of America), Vol. VIII (1981), pp. 207-210. Some of the observations expressed here are contained in that review.
England] receives a fifteen line entry, but not the equally important Lute Society of America.

The general article "Lute" covers 22-1/2 pages, which compares reasonably well with the major entries for such other important instruments as the violin (37), the piano (33), the harpsichord (30), and the guitar (19). (Of all instruments, the organ appears to receive the most attention with a 68 page entry.) The cittern is allotted seven pages, the archlute (liuto attiorbato) and chitarrone three pages each, while the theorbo is given rather cursory treatment with a mere page and a half.

The basic lute article is divided into seven sections beginning with a brief introduction devoted to the instrument's organology written by Klaus Wachsmann (mainly outlining the Horbostel/Sachs classification) and a mercifully short section on ancient lutes by James Mc Kinnon. These are followed by discussions of the lute's structure, evolution, technique, ornamentation, and repertoire written by Diana Poulton and Ian Harwood. The discussions on the lute's structure and historical evolution are somewhat superficial by current standards. Nothing is said about scooped bellies and little about bracing. Nothing is said about the significance of Füssen as a center of lute making. One is told practically nothing about woods, except that soundboards were usually made "of straight-grained pine." The lute in Lorenzo Costa's famous painting owned by the National Gallery, London, is described as having "a total of 11 wooden frets." The first seven certainly look tied on to me. The use of octave stringing in early Renaissance lute music is viewed as a weakness: "This [better string-making techniques] made it possible to abandon octave stringing and to tune each pair of strings in unison, giving a more satisfactory result both practically and theoretically."² It seems to me that both Dalza and Capirola turned octave stringing to great advantage.

Mrs. Poulton's discussions on lute technique, ornamentation, and repertory represent good general introductions to these topics. More might have been made of the musical consequences that result from playing "thumb under" as opposed to using the "thumb extended" position, and I feel the context in which she cites the ornamentation table from the Board Manuscript is apt to give the impression that one can deduce typical Elizabethan graces from it. Nevertheless, she presents a great deal of useful information in a

brief space and manages to provide a sweeping portrait of the lute’s repertoire from Jehan de Meung (circa 1270) to Mrs. M. A. Bryan’s *The Lute of Lisette: an Elegiac Canzonet for Pianoforte, Harp or Lute* (1800). The illustrations accompanying the lute article are a bit of a disappointment. Rather than fresh material, we are treated to the same overly familiar litany: Henri Arnaut’s lute pattern, one of the renderings of Mary Magdalen by the Master of the Half-lengths, Costa’s “The Concert,” Terbruggen’s “Lute Player,” and a poor reproduction of the famous Mouton portrait.

Turning to the individual entries on famous lutenists, one is impressed to see how widely *The New Grove* has cast its nets. Almost all the major figures from both the Renaissance and baroque are included. Among those missing: Bittner, Conradi, Eckstein, and Hagen. Furthermore there are no articles on such important lute builders as Hoffman, Railich, or Sellas. Their absence is explained by Sadie’s comment quoted above that such figures will be included provided “useful information is available about him.” Such omissions, thus, represent important gaps in our knowledge, although facts *are* known about Eckstein’s life.

Most of the biographical entries are short, two-paragraph portraits providing historical information and usually a brief discussion of the subject’s style or significance. Some individuals receive much more perceptive profiles than others. Diana Poulton’s four page article on John Dowland is perhaps the most extensive with most of its information drawn from her detailed book on Dowland. Arthur J. Ness provides a number of short, but decisive, articles on such Italian lutenists as Bianchini, Francesco da Milano, and Dall’Aquila. Good coverage is also given Adriaenssen (by Godelieve Spiessens), Bakfark (Ivan Waldbauer), Falckenhagen (Hans Radke), and several others. Less well served are E. G. Baron (Edward Reilly) and Anthony Holborne (David Brown)—to cite two of several—because they fail to give the reader sufficient stylistic information. English lutenists appear to have received slightly deeper coverage than their Continental colleagues. This is perhaps due to the fact that English lute research has been particularly active in the last 20 years. Thus, while composers as important as Jacques Bittner and J. B. Hagen are missing, one will find entries for a number of minor figures in English musical life, among them Alligoni, Bassano, Brewster, and Caesar.

The baroque guitar is given good coverage in *The New Grove*, with the majority of the entries on individual composers written by Robert Strizich. The only significant 16th or 17th century guitarist
I can find without an entry is Henry Greenerin. The information provided appears to be as accurate as modern knowledge will allow. The only error of consequence I could discover on a quick reading occurs in Guy Bourligueux’s short article on François Campion, where a word has been misused: Campion made use of eight different *tunings*, not eight different *chords*. In the main entry “Guitar,” the responsibility of Harvey Turnbull, the musical examples, while well chosen, are not as accurate as they should have been. The de Visée illustration on page 834 (volume 7), for example, appears to be based on the transcription principles established by Strizich, but is missing at least three ornament signs as can be seen by anyone who cares to compare it with either the original tablature or Strizich’s own published transcription.

The very nature of a dictionary is to divide the components of any given subject into fragments separated from one another by the whim of the alphabet. Consequently, it is difficult to draw together all the useful information the work has to offer. For the lute scholar, one of the most valuable entries is Arthur Ness’s outstanding “Sources of lute music,” which in 20 pages of small type offers a mine of information. The detailed information provided here nicely complements the more general survey offered in the general lute article. An interesting feature of the article “Tablature” is that all the examples (keyboard, lute, guitar, winds, and vocal music) use the same musical theme: Dowland’s “Flow my tears.” While, of course, Dowland’s music never would have appeared in 16th century German keyboard tablature, it makes it easy for the reader to compare the many ingenious ways early musicians discovered to notate their music for specific mediums. One detail in the tablature article will perhaps escape the notice of the uninformed. Unless one reads the text closely, one may be mislead into believing that Luis Milán’s tablature is the typical Spanish vihuela tablature, rather than being unique. Another article, “Instruments, collections of,” fails to convey the scope and wealth of such collections as the Brussels Conservatoire de Musique. John Barnes’ discussion “Instruments, restoration of” is a thoughtful essay on this too often neglected subject.

Browsing through *The New Grove* is bound to lead the reader to some interesting new facts. I discovered, for instance, that Becchi’s lute book of 1522 probably contains ricercares by Spinacino. Henry Sybrandy tells us that Dowland’s “Knight of the Lute” was actually Lorenzini. Nicolas Vallet, among other things, founded a dancing school. The *symphonias* of Lelio Colista (1629-1680)
sound as if they would be worth exploring further. One is for four lutes; another for guitar, two lutes, two theorbos, and harp; while a third is a trio for guitar, lute, and theorbo. Adrian Le Roy was a personal friend of Lassus and played a major role in disseminating his music. Finally, did you know that Joaquin Turina wrote a lute quartet? It's his opus 48. (Actually if one reads the work lists, one will discover that a number of 20th century composers have written for one kind of "lute" or another.)

In summary, The New Grove is not without its faults. Nevertheless, it is a remarkable achievement. It is informative, stimulating, and (for the most part) highly readable. Although it does little to push forward the boundaries of lute scholarship, it does provide a valuable synthesis of knowledge—a synthesis that reflects all periods of music history. There is no doubt that it will come to be regarded as a proud landmark of 20th century humanism.

— Peter Danner


Plus c'est le même chose, plus ça change, and one can only be grateful for it. The CNRS has slowly responded to worldwide criticism and each edition, while retaining the drab, conservative style (if there can be found any style) of the very first essays, contains some improvements, however imperceptible they may be. With the collection of the works of Guillaume Morlaye this is certainly true. Even though they still see fit to intermingle all the books of the editor/composer, and retain the unprofitable parallel transcription, the tablature presentation, while ungraceful, is at least readable. It was executed by someone who knows and understands the lute; perhaps M. Renault himself. This hand-copied, wiggly, and sometimes sloppy writing is, oddly enough, a pleasure to read and play from. I could not say the same for the accompanying transcription.

I realize that I have been complaining in these reviews for many years about the parallel transcription in these and other editions. But I still cannot see the value of such a practice. The same
old reasons for this criticism still hold. A lute player worth his salt has no use for it and if a player looks at it, it will be to his (or her) peril. It can only confuse. The transcriber, like almost every non-playing musicologist, simply does not know what the sound of the lute should look like on paper. It is possible that lute music cannot be transferred from tablature to another medium. Lute players differ amongst themselves on this somewhat esoteric subject. In this edition there are simply too many rests as for example:

M. Renault has gotten the bass part right, thanks partly to the hold marks in the originals but he is very wrong about the many short rests included in the other parts. They were, no doubt, intended to clarify but only result in obfuscating the intent of the tablature. His choice of transcription values is also a mistake and only adds to the confusion. Letting a one-flag tablature equal a one-flag (eighth-note) in pitch notation is contrary to common sense and also to the practice of the time. As a result three-flag notes become thirty-second notes and four-flag notes become sixty-fourths! The many rests included plus the fast values creates sheer chaos. But let us be thankful we have no need for it anyway. Who does have a need for it? Musicologists, harpsichordists? It is unlikely the latter group will concern themselves with this music; it is too thin and not virtuostic enough for them. But if this arcane German habit must be followed, why not give it in the back, out of the way or in a second volume so only those who want it can buy it.

The tablature editing is excellent and M. Renault is on the mark with his suggested editorial corrections. I have faith in his work and I can recommend that lute players take his word for it without question. This is a man who knows the period and its music. Occasionally there are some funny things here, more a result of sloppyness than of bad choices, such as the following measure:
Until I realized that the “1” on the third line was a registration mark, I had some difficulty with the chord.

There is one additional feature to this volume that sets it apart from those that came before. When a chanson version of a lute setting was available it was included along with the setting and the transcription for piano. While again this is of little value to the lutenist and causes even more page turns since barely two lines of music can be presented per page, it is extremely instructive as to the performance practices of the time. It becomes, in effect, an ornamentation manual of the middle 16th century and the rules of lute variation and diminution can easily be gleaned from it. I admire the enormous effort and dedication this procedure took and I salute M. Renault for it.

The music itself is of limited interest. The “middle” period has none of the fire and imagination of a Francesco nor the inventiveness of the later composers. The music is cliche and formula laden with much merely humdrum writing. Morlaye has borrowed many of the pieces here as was the custom of the time, and these are usually the superior ones. His own settings tend to be dull and at the same time quite difficult to play. They are certainly similar to the works of his master DiRippe although not so long-winded. While I would never have the courage to play them in public, I do enjoy somewhat playing them in my living room. It is possible that a great lute player could make them enjoyable to the public. The song settings do make wonderful accompaniments to the songs when sung by the full complement and perhaps they were designed for this purpose. They could be a kind of pre-thoroughbass and perhaps led to the thoroughbass practise of a few years hence.

The introduction and historical background are marvelous if you read French, and they are marvelous even if you don’t. The biographical section is particularly fascinating since M. Renault deals head-on with the story that Morlaye was connected to the slave trade. Through documents, he shows that Morlaye was merely helping out a friend by agreeing to receive shipments from abroad if and when that friend could not make it to the port of
arrival at the given time. It happened only once and even this agreement was cancelled shortly after it was made for unknown reasons. Morlaye is found innocent! Read it; it is exciting stuff if you like historical drama.

So again I have to repeat my old saw about this book being another mixed bag from the CNRS. And in spite of all the harsh things said above I would not be without it. Neither should any lute player.

—Stanley Buetens

RECORDINGS


These two releases are the latest in a growing repertory of music by Silvius Weiss on phonograph recordings. In the pages of this Journal in 1973, I commented on the first all-Weiss recording by David Rhodes. There are now more than a dozen sides of albums devoted to Weiss’s music played on baroque lute. Much progress has been made in exposing this fine composer to the music world, yet some of the drawbacks to the earliest baroque lute recording still remain in the newest ones.

Konrad Junghänel, a former student of Michael Schäffer, whom he succeeded as professor of lute at the Staatliche Hochschule für Musik in Cologne, is one of the best young lutenists in Germany. This is his second recording of works by Weiss; the first (Accent ACC 7801) also featured works by Bach.

The Junghänel record contains two complete sonatas and a prelude and fugue. Both sonatas are composites; that is, the artist has put together pieces from two or more different sonatas and called the creation “suite.” I see no justification for this procedure, and find it alarming that most of the lutenists who record Weiss choose to break up his sonatas and combine the movements into new suites. David Rhodes, Hopkinson Smith, and Toyohiko
Satoh have also done this on recordings. I presume they do it because they find one or more movements weak and prefer a movement from a different sonata. Admittedly, not all of Weiss’ pieces are equally appealing when first played, but I suspect that those that have less apparent melodic or harmonic interest simply rely on the artist to fill them out. Who would think of making a pasticcio of a Bach suite? If we assume that the composer knew what he was doing when he composed a sonata, we will respect the integrity of the original. In the later Weiss sonatas especially, the several movements are often united by similar harmonic or thematic material, and their coherence as a unit is very strong.

The “Suite C-Minor” as played by Junghânel begins with the overture from Sonata 33 of the Dresden manuscript. This is one of the large, late works, and the overture is a powerful and compelling piece. The interpretation here is problematical, however, because the artist makes frequent abrupt pauses—presumably for expressive purposes—that seem in the wrong places and are hence more confusing than expressive.

The remainder of the suite is the C-minor Sonata in the London manuscript following folio 30. This is one of Weiss’ early works, dated 1706; thus it predates the overture by at least two decades, and the difference in style is pronounced. The earlier sonata is still under French influence, though I think Junghânel makes too much of the French elements in his manneristic ornamentation and the saturation of the Menuet with notes inégales. The Gigue fares best, since the artist plays it straight and his solid technique makes the piece exciting.

The new combination of pieces that I think acceptable is Junghânel’s joining of two orphaned movements from the London manuscript into the “Prelude and Fuga, C Minor.” He thereby makes a substantial musical offering out of two pieces that by themselves are rather lonesome. The prelude is found on folio 151v, the fugue on folio 59v of the London manuscript, and they are probably nearly contemporaneous.

On Side 2, six movements from the third sonata of the London manuscript are joined with a courante, paysanne, and gigue from Moscow to form a suite in G minor. Here, as on the other side, Junghânel tends to over-Frenchify Weiss’s music with inégales, ornaments (often different from those in the manuscript), and (in the allemande) uneven tempo.

Toyohiko Satoh’s new box set of three LPs is a very substantial contribution to the Weiss library of recordings, though unfortun-
ately fully half of the pieces have already been recorded by others. There is so much excellent music by Weiss that have never been recorded—over seventy sonatas are extant—that I wish baroque lutenists would be more imaginative in their programming. Moreover, by recording part of a sonata that Junghänel included in his previous disc, Satoh has committed the same embarrassing error that his German colleague did: the sonata in D minor (London ms. folios 97r-99v) is not a solo—it is the lute accompaniment to a duet. This is apparent from the unusual rests in several movements, and from the frequent sections that are purely chordal and unmelodic, though it speaks well of Weiss's continuo part that it should be mistaken for a solo suite. The suite as played by Satoh is a composite: the Prelude (a solo piece), Le Sicilien, Gavotte, and Gigue are excerpted from the disguised duet. To them Satoh has added a Largo (London folio 59r)—which also is probably a duet accompaniment part—and a Fugue (London f. 65v).

The sonatas on Sides 2, 3, and 4 are not altered; that is, all the movements are included as they are transmitted in the 18th-century manuscripts. The “Suite in D Major” (the second sonata in the London ms) on Side 2 was recorded some years ago by William Matthews on guitar. Satoh does not play with the intensity and speed that Matthews does, but it is good to hear the sonata on the original instrument. Many lovely effects were lost on the guitar.

The Sonata in A Minor on Side 3 is new to recordings. It is the thirteenth sonata in the Dresden ms., a relatively early sonata but nevertheless attractive.

The best music in the whole box is on Side 4: the “Partie in A” which is found in Dresden (Sonata 21). This is one of Weiss’s largest and most mature works, a wonderful sonata that more people ought to play. Satoh’s performance of the overture is powerful, and his rendition of the Presto is a virtuoso tour de force. Weiss teases the listener with ingenious rhythmic displacements in the Courante, which might have been played faster.

It is illuminating to compare the C-minor sonata on Side 5 with Junghänel’s recording of the same pieces. Satoh’s tempi are more coherent and his ornaments are more in the Weissian style, but I prefer Junghänel’s tone: Satoh’s is rather strident, particularly in the high trebles, where it is often downright unpleasant.

On the final side are the oft-played C-minor Fantasia, a G-minor Chaconne, and the two Tombeaux—for Count Losy and Baron Hartig. These tombeaux are marvelous pieces, but Satoh does not seem to fully understand them. They should be played
wistfully, almost painfully, for they represent the composer bidding farewell to musician friends; instead Satoh strides confidently through them. The long pedal points in both tombeaux, which symbolize the tolling of funeral bells, are played matter-of-factly.

Thus, the ultimate problem with both of these new releases is not tampering with makeup of the sonatas, or ornaments, or tone. It is that they do not adequately convey the depth of warmth and pathos that is inherent in all of Weiss’s music. Julian Bream expressed this pathos admirably in his recording (on guitar) of the tombeau for Losy, but most lutenists don’t. These new recordings are welcome in that they make available on disc more music of Weiss, but they also demonstrate what a challenge it is to play his music.

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