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The primary function of this space is to allow us to say a few words about our contributors, to whom we are extremely grateful: without them, your editors would have nothing to edit! John Robison holds a Doctor of Musical Arts degree from Stanford University and currently teaches music history and early instruments at the University of South Florida in Tampa. We are pleased to welcome once again John M. Ward to our pages. A professor at Harvard University, Dr. Ward is well known for his work on the Spanish vihuelists and the English broadside ballad. Craig Russell earned his Ph.D. from the University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill with a dissertation on Santiago de Murcia. At the present time he teaches at California Polytechnic State University. Tim Crawford should be familiar to most of our readers through his work as editor of our British counterpart The Lute, the journal of the Lute Society. We are delighted to respond to his initiative and help further the spirit of cooperation between our two societies, which are united in a common interest.

This year this page has a second function. The editors of the Journal have been privileged to serve since 1975 and have found the experience very rewarding. But after eight years we feel it is time to devote more time to other projects and to relinquish guidance of the Journal to a new editor. The Society's President and Board of Directors have appointed James Meadors as our successor, beginning with the next issue. A student of John Ward, Meadors will receive his Ph.D. from Harvard University in 1983. Readers will recall his fine article on Dowland's "Walsingham" in the 1981 Journal and will doubtless feel, as we do, that the Journal is in good hands. We will remain on the Editorial Board and continue to help solicit articles and serve as editorial advisors, as do Robert Lundberg and Professors Ward and Ness.
ORNAMENTATION IN
SEBASTIAN OCHSENKUN’S
TABULATURBUCH AUFF DIE LAUTEN

By John O. Robison

At first glance, Sebastian Ochsenkun’s only surviving collection of lute music appears to be a rather unimaginative one. The Tabulaturbuch auff die Lauten (Heidelberg, 1558), is one of the few German lute prints of the sixteenth century to be devoted exclusively to arrangements of vocal compositions. Because it is limited to arrangements, it should not be surprising that Ochsenkun’s intabulations have, for the most part, been ignored by Renaissance scholars and by modern lutenists as well.

For performers, the last page of the print is perhaps one of the most interesting. It depicts Ochsenkun playing the lute and clearly shows him using the thumb-out technique, with the fingers of the plucking hand lying at right angles to the strings (see Figure 1). Although this

1This research was made possible by a grant from the University of South Florida Research Council.

2The only German lute print exclusively containing solo lute arrangements of vocal compositions is Hans Newsidler’s Das Dritt Buch. Ein New Kunstlich Lauten Buch (Nuremberg, 1544). Arnolt Schlick’s Tabulaturen etlicher Lobgesang und Lidlein uff die Orgeln und Lauten (Mainz, 1512) is devoted exclusively to arrangements of vocal models, but these are lute-song arrangements rather than solo lute pieces. Howard Mayer Brown’s Instrumental Music Printed Before 1600 (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1965), p. 214, lists a possible reprint of Ochsenkun’s Tabulaturbuch in 1564.

Fig. 1  Sebastian Ochsenkun, a cut from folio 88v of his *Tabulaturbuch auff die Lauten* (Heidelberg, 1558)
was not a common technique in the sixteenth century, a similar drawing may be found in Valentin Bakfark's *Intabulatura Transilvani Coronensis, Liber Primus* (Lyons, 1553). In both cases, the performers are holding large lutes, suggesting that the size of one's instrument may have been a determining factor in the selection of a right-hand technique.⁴

Despite Ochsenkun's use of the thumb-out technique, the scanty biographical data suggest that he was probably a very accomplished lutenist. He served as court lutenist to the Count Palatine Ottheinrich at Neuburg and Heidelberg;⁵ and the latter court in particular was one of the more musically active of the time.⁶ Ochsenkun should thus be viewed as a lutenist who consciously developed a different technique, perhaps because he found it more suitable for the highly contrapuntal music that he liked to perform on his instrument.

The *Tabulaturbuch* is devoted largely to intabulations of motets and lieder, with several madrigal and chanson arrangements added at the end. Ochsenkun selected his repertory from three sources: (1) Josquin des Prez and his contemporaries, (2) the generation of Flemish and German composers after Josquin, and (3) the so-called Heidelberg school of composers (Peschin, Zirler, and so forth) who were Ochsenkun's own contemporaries.⁷ Almost half of the motets in the lute print are by Josquin or Mouton, while approximately two-thirds of the lieder are by either Senfl or Peschin.⁸

The preceding generation of German lutenist-composers (Hans Gerle, Hans Newsidler, et. al.) arranged only two or three lines of their four-part vocal models.⁹ Ochsenkun, on the other hand, intabulates as

⁴Iconographical evidence indicates that the thumb-under technique, in which the fingers are parallel to the strings, was much more popular at this time. Most sixteenth-century lutes, however, were also smaller than the ones shown in the Ochsenkun and Bakfark prints.


⁶See Werner Steger, “Heidelberg,” in The New Grove Dictionary, vol. 8, pp. 433f. An inventory dated 1544 (Heidelberg, Universitätsbibliothek Codex palatini Germanici 318) lists several thousand text incipits and composers of pieces performed by the Heidelberg Hofkapelle, showing that they had an enormous music library and repertory.

⁷The most important members of this group were Jobst von Brandt, Georg Forster, Lorenz Lemlin, Caspar Othmayr, Gregor Peschin, and Stephan Zirler.

⁸The exact numbers are as follows:

Motets: Josquin, 9; Mouton, 5; Sermisy, 3; Benedictus, 2; Caen, Gombert, Verdelot, Senfl, Brandt, Feyn, Kilian, Peschin, and Lupus, 1 each.

Lieder: Senfl, 14; Peschin, 11; Isaac, Zirler, and Hofhaimer, 2 each; Brandt, Braitengrasser, Stoltzer, Glanner, Othmair, Zille, and Kilian, 1 each.

Madrigals: Arcadelt, 3; Anonymous, 2.

Chansons: Crequillon, 4.

A complete list of the contents is given in Brown, *Instrumental Music*, op. cit., p. 18 fff.

⁹For two-part arrangements, the tenor and bass lines were taken and transposed up a fourth or fifth; three-part arrangements consisted of the discsant, tenor, and bass lines, with the alto always being omitted.
much of his vocal models as possible, regardless of the inconvenience to the performer.\(^{10}\) Thus he stands at the beginning of a significant historical development, the tendency towards a denser texture that characterizes later sixteenth-century German lute intabulations.\(^{11}\)

The most important aspect of Ochsenkun’s print is undoubtedly the ornamentation. His figurations not only display a certain amount of originality, but also illustrate some of the local differences between German and Italian Renaissance ornamentation. Surprisingly, this is the part of Ochsenkun’s intabulations that has been least studied. Even Kurt Dorfmüller, author of the article on Ochsenkun in *The New Grove*, makes only passing reference to it, saying that “lively ornamentation is tastefully added.”\(^{12}\) For this reason, the remaining portion of this paper will be devoted to a study of the specific figurations used by Ochsenkun, and the various roles that they play within the context of the composition.

Table I at the end of this article lists the most common ornaments used by Ochsenkun to connect two successive notes of the same melodic line. In general the ornaments are not lengthy. Many of them last for the duration of a semibreve (a half-note in the transcriptions), and it is a rare occasion when a line is ornamented for more than one measure at a time. This is shown clearly in Example 1, an excerpt from Josquin’s six-part setting of “Pater noster.” After the alto line has been decorated for a measure, the bass, alto, and soprano are or-

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\(^{10}\) Many of the chord positions are very awkward, but not impossible, on the lute. Ochsenkun generally intabulates every note of the model, and even indicates the same letter twice when the same pitch is sung in two different lines of the model.

\(^{11}\) The intabulations of Matthaeus Waissel, for example, also illustrate this tendency. See his *Tabulatura continens insignes et selectissimas quasque cantiones* (Frankfurt, 1573).
 ornamented in turn for half a measure in each part. The result is a somewhat fragmented style of ornamentation, with each line being ornamented for only a short period, a characteristic that is commonly found in German Renaissance ornamentation.  

The intervals used for Ochsenkun’s figurations should come as no surprise to anyone who has studied sixteenth-century embellishments. Stepwise motion predominates, although occasional leaps of a third or fifth may be added for variety. Ornament No. 18 in Table I, for example, consists entirely of ascending seconds, with variety being created by the descending third in the middle. Ornament No. 38 is perhaps one of the most unusual figurations, since it contains two leaps, a descending third and a descending fifth. From this basic principle of stepwise motion, it follows that neighbor-tones would be likely embellishments for any note of the vocal model. No. 8 is an excellent example of this, since it decorates the main note f' with both the upper and lower neighbors.

Many of Ochsenkun’s ornaments display a tendency towards rhythmic acceleration, with such rhythmic patterns as \[ \text{\textit{\( \uparrow \downarrow \uparrow \downarrow \uparrow \downarrow \uparrow \downarrow \uparrow \downarrow \uparrow \downarrow \uparrow \downarrow \) \quad and \quad \textbf{\( \uparrow \downarrow \uparrow \downarrow \uparrow \downarrow \uparrow \downarrow \uparrow \downarrow \uparrow \downarrow \uparrow \downarrow \)} \][/\( \uparrow \downarrow \uparrow \downarrow \uparrow \downarrow \uparrow \downarrow \uparrow \downarrow \uparrow \downarrow \uparrow \downarrow \)] being used. This helps to give greater emphasis to the note in the original vocal model, since it is slightly longer than the ensuing decorations. The increase in rhythmic activity also gives emphasis to the main note following the ornament, which takes on the character of a temporarily thematic point of arrival.

For ornaments a half-measure or more in length, one finds that the beginning notes of the second and fourth beats do not necessarily have to be consonant with the other parts. In approximately half of the cases they are dissonant as in Example 3 below, where on the last beats of mm. 62-63 the embellished lines form seconds with one of the sustained parts. An extension of this principle is occasionally found when minims occur in the vocal model; here we find that the second or fourth beats may begin with a different note than the one found in the original.

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13 The same tendency may be seen in Hans Newsidler’s intabulations, and in the motet “Te maneat semper” that Hermann Finck uses as an example of ornamentation in his Practica musica (Wittenberg: Georg Rhaw, 1556). Italian lute intabulations, by way of contrast, often ornament one line for a longer period, as in Spinacino’s lute duets.
14 This ornament is found in whatever vocal part is functioning as the bass line at that time.
15 Although they were not in use at this time, the terms “neighbor tone” and “passing tone” will be used here for the sake of avoiding lengthy descriptions. Due to space considerations, ornaments occurring less than five percent of the time (for that interval) have not been included in the table.
16 In Example 1, measure 128, the alto line of the model has minims on f' and d' on the third and fourth beats, but the ornamented versions begin the fourth beat on g', and descends to d' only at the end of the measure.
Interestingly, approximately 40 percent of these figurations used by Ochsenkun appear in the ornamentation treatise *Tratado de glosas* (Rome, 1553) of Diego Ortiz. This suggests either that Ochsenkun was familiar with Italian ornamentation practices or that those ornaments were commonly used by mid-sixteenth-century musicians regardless of nationality. Although some of those embellishments not found in Ortiz’ treatise may be absent because of their simplicity, about half of all the ornaments are more complex figurations which may be original with Ochsenkun, or at least characteristic of German rather than Italian practice.\(^7\)

Another significant group of ornaments may be considered idiomatic, since they begin in one melodic line and end in another line of the vocal model. Although not as prevalent as ornaments within a single melodic line, these embellishments account for approximately 12 percent of all of Ochsenkun’s ornaments, a definite increase over the occurrence of such figurations in the works of the previous generation of German lutenist-composers.\(^8\) They are usually found on intervals of a third through the octave, and are more common on ascending than on descending intervals. The first part of each ornament varies considerably, but the second part is one of the following two types: (1) a five-note scale outlining a fifth up or down to the ending note, or (2) a five-note group beginning a third below or above the ending note which concludes with an upper or lower neighbor tone figure embellishing this note (see Table II).\(^9\)

Ochsenkun’s cadential ornaments vary considerably, with no ornament occurring for more than nine percent of the time. Most of these decorated cadences employ only three pitches: the pitch that the cadence occurs upon, and the pitches a second and third below this cadential note. The most common cadential beginning consists of these three pitches stated in descending stepwise order, with the rhythm \(\text{\textbar\textbar\textbar}\) . A similar pattern is often found immediately before the cadence, where these same three descending notes are followed by a return to the half-step below the cadential pitch. Although the rhythm for this ending pattern is often \(\text{\textbar\textbar\textbar}\) or \(\text{\textbar\textbar\textbar}\),

\(^7\) There is more correspondence between Ortiz and Ochsenkun for ornaments on ascending intervals than for ones on descending intervals. Those in Table I that are not found in Ortiz’ treatise are as follows: Nos. 11, 13, 15, 20, 21, 25, 27, 28, 31, 33, 35, 36, and 37. Most of these are not found in the works of other German lutenists, or in the ornament tables given in Finck’s *Practica musica*.

\(^8\) In Hans Newsidler’s setting of Josquin’s “Plus nulz regretz,” for example, only two figurations fall into this category (in measures 20-21 and 41-42), or approximately four percent of the total ornaments for the piece.

\(^9\) The terms “starting” and “ending” note will be used here to refer to the two notes of the model that are being decorated.
it may be extended by including an additional statement of the first two notes in a faster rhythm such as \( \text{I} \text{III} \text{I} \text{I} \) or \( \text{I} \text{I} \text{I} \text{II} \text{I} \) (see Table III).

The original vocal models have simple ornaments which are occasionally ornamented by Ochsenkun. This most often happens when the main notes on successive semibreves are a third apart, and are connected by a passing tone. In such cases, the rhythm of the vocal model will be either \( \text{I} \text{I} \text{I} \text{I} \) or \( \text{I} \text{I} \text{I} \text{I} \text{I} \), and the rhythm of the ornament will become \( \text{I} \text{I} \text{I} \text{I} \text{I} \). After descending by step to the consonance a third below the starting pitch, No. 1 in Table IV ascends by step to the ending pitch, with the passing tone of the original vocal model becoming the last sixteenth-note of the second beat (note that this is the same figure used in Table I, No. 13). A similar ornament is No. 2 in Table IV, which moves in the opposite direction and is analogous to No. 32 in Table I. The last ornament in Table IV occurs on main notes that are a descending fourth apart, an interval that is filled in with two eighth-notes to form stepwise motion in the vocal model. Ochsenkun's ornamentation of this figure is the same as No. 33 in Table I. This shows that Ochsenkun considered the main notes of the vocal model in choosing his ornaments, but not necessarily the subsidiary notes.

Let us now go beyond these specific figurations, and consider the function that each ornament has within the context of its composition. In his important book _Embellishing Sixteenth-Century Music_, Howard Mayer Brown touches briefly upon this question:

...Zacconi advises against applying passaggi at the beginning of an imitative composition until after the second voice has entered, on the grounds that diminutions heard against slower-moving voices afford much more pleasure than those decorating a single unaccompanied line. He might well have said instead that the first several intervals of each phrase are the most important thematically, since they often comprise the most distinctive part of the melodic line, and imitation is frequently based exclusively on this opening motive. Thus embellishment should establish the identity of the phrase, as it were; and, by and large, the sixteenth-century musicians who have left us written-out improvisations follow this practice. Zacconi goes on to say that the simpler embellishments should appear at the beginning of a composition and that they should get more and more complex as the piece progresses, and he warns against saving all decoration until the very end, leaving the middle bare and empty. And this common-sense rule, to give shape to a composition by
gradually increasing the density of ornamentation, has been put to practical use in many of the sixteenth-century embellished lines that have come down to us.20

Determining the purposes that ornamentation served is indeed difficult, partially because this seems to have varied somewhat from one musician to another. Professor Brown, for example, has described Italian ornamentation practice in the passage quoted above, as indicated by Lodovico Zacconi. But Ochsenkun’s style of ornamentation appears to be somewhat different from Zacconi’s. One indication of this is that Ochsenkun, unlike Zacconi, does not believe in increasing the complexity of the ornamentation as the composition progresses. His decorated vocal models remain at the same level of activity throughout, as shown in Example 2.

Ex. 2  Josquin des Pres, Absalon fili mi, bars 1–5
Same complexity of ornamentation throughout

Ochsenkun may decorate imitative entrances with the same ornaments, different ornaments, or similar ones. When similar ornaments are used, it is often because the previous line entering with that point of imitation is still being decorated, thus preventing the newly entering line from ornamenting right away. Unlike Zacconi, the ornamentation often begins after the first note of the vocal model, before the melodic characteristics of that point of imitation have been perceived (see Example 3).21

21 Each of these three groups (imitative entrances with the same, different, or similar ornaments) occurs with approximately the same frequency. This is also true of the ornamented head-motives in Finck’s “Te maneat semper” motet, which likewise may begin the embellishments after the vocal model.
Ex. 3  Josquin des Pres, *In exitu Israel*, bars 3-5, 63-65, 179-180: (a) similar ornaments for imitative entrances, (b) the same ornaments for imitative entrances, and (c) different ornaments for imitative entrances

The bass line usually contains the least amount of ornamentation; the alto and tenor lines are more heavily ornamented than the bass, and the discant line has approximately twice as many ornaments as these inner lines. Here again, technical considerations may be a factor, since it is easier to execute ornaments quickly on the higher strings of the lute than on the lower ones (see Examples 1 and 2).

Cadential ornamentation is of paramount importance, since virtually all of the cadences in the vocal models are ornamented. The amount of ornamentation used for these cadences seems to depend not on the strength or weakness of the cadence, but upon how easily the ornament can be executed in relation to the other parts. Occasionally Ochsenkun will ornament a passage that is not a true Renaissance cadence, but this lack of true cadential action is not as perceptible in lute music as in ensemble music, where more performers are participating.22 Ornaments embellishing the ascending line of a cadence account for approximately one out of every ten ornaments; on those rare occasions when the descending line of the cadence is ornamented, the ornament ends on the penultimate note to avoid interference with the ascending cadential line (see Example 4).

Most of Ochsenkun's ornaments (roughly 75 percent of them) are used as a means of leading to a higher or lower point of the melodic line. Although these "goal notes" are not always the highest or lowest pitch of the phrase, they are usually the most important high or low pitch in the immediate vicinity. Such ornaments are highly directional in nature, since they call attention to this "goal note" by creating a

22"True Renaissance cadence" means a major sixth expanding to an octave.
flurry of activity before it. Ornaments which embellish the high or low pitch of a phrase are also found, but less frequently (see Example 5).23

Ex. 4  Josquin des Pres, *Stabat Mater*, bars 5-6, 27-28
(a) cadential ornaments in tenor and discant; (b) cadential ornament in discant

(a)

(b)

Ex. 5  Verdelot, *Si bona suscepimus*, bars 43-49
(a) ornament embellishing high point of melodic line, and (b) ornaments leading up to high point of melodic line

(a)

(b)

23The exact figures are as follows: ornaments leading to a high point of the melodic line, 43.9 percent; ornaments leading to a low point of the melodic line, 29.7 percent; ornaments on a high point of the melodic line, 7.2 percent; ornaments on a low point of the melodic line, 3 percent. Similar tendencies are found in Finck's "Te manet semper" motet, and in Newsidler's intabulations.
As stated earlier, the style of ornamentation in Ochsenkun’s book is a rather sporadic one, with a given melodic line normally being ornamented for no longer than one measure at a time. Ornaments that decorate one line for the duration of more than one measure may be found when a reduction in texture has taken place, either as a result of several rests in the vocal parts, or less melodic activity in those lines not being ornamented (see Example 6).

Ex. 6 Senfl, \textit{Vita in ligno}, bars 9-11, 23-25
(a) lengthier ornament with rests in lower lines, and (b) lengthier ornament with less melodic activity in lower lines

![Example 6](image)

To fully understand Ochsenkun’s style of ornamentation, it is also necessary to recognize those situations in which he avoids embellishments. In approximately two-thirds of the passages with no ornamentation, the music is relatively inactive. These places of inactivity may be (1) points of repose that are not true cadences, but merely places in the music that are somewhat thetic due to the greater degree of activity beforehand, and the use of rests afterwards; (2) the bars immediately following a cadence; or (3) static points in the music, where the melodic lines have little sense of direction and are characterized by pitch repetition. In all three cases, these thetic points are highlighted by lack of activity in what are otherwise profusely ornamented pieces (see Example 7). Sometimes Ochsenkun will avoid ornamentation

\footnote{The exact figures are as follows: points of repose, 29.4 percent; immediately after a cadence, 19.6 percent; all lines static, 16.7 percent. Places where the music is fairly active (with melismas or many parts present) account for an additional 19.5 percent. No definite reasons can be found for the other places having no ornaments.}
for technical reasons; there are many places where the music is already fairly active (with minims) and dense (with several active lines), thus leaving little room for added figurations (see Example 8).

Ex. 7 Verdelot, *Si bona suscepimus*, bars 74-79

Thetic points with no ornamentation: (a) point of repose, (b) after a cadence, and (c) static melodic lines

Ex. 8 Josquin des Pres, *Stabat Mater*, bars 98-100

Absence of ornamentation, due to melismas and dense texture

To clarify these points, let us take a composition that was not tabulated by Ochsenkun and apply his style of ornamentation to it. A tenor lied by Jorg Blanckenmüller has been chosen as an example because of the through-imitation at the beginning, and also because it does not present too many technical difficulties for the lutenist. All of the figurations have been taken from Tables I-IV. The bass line begins its ornamentation on the second note, thus somewhat obscuring

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25The composition, "Kain clag hab ich," is found only in Vienna, Nationalbibliothek manuscript 18810, which dates from ca. 1524-1533 (see the author’s forthcoming article on this manuscript in the *RMA Research Chronicle*, vol. 18).
Ex. 9  Jorg Blanckenmüller, *Kain dag hab ich*, bars 1-9
(a) vocal model, and (b) embellished version
the melodic characteristics of the head motive. The discant enters with
the same embellishment as the bass, but the alto and tenor voices
begin with simpler figurations because of the greater density in texture.
The most important high note in the discant phrase is the $c''$ in mea-
sure 6. To highlight this “goal point,” an ornament has been added
before it that leads from a’ up to this $c''$ (the exact figure has been
taken from Table IV, No. 1). In measure 8 an idiomatic ornament has
been added that leads from the tenor directly into a cadential orna-
ment in the alto voice. And in keeping with the characteristics de-
scribed earlier, each line is decorated for only a brief period. There are
two passages with no ornamentation: one occurs immediately after
the cadence in measure 9, while the other occurs at a point of repose
following the flurry of activity in measure 3 (see Example 9).

Ochsenkun differed in several respects from his predecessors and
contemporaries in that he created a denser texture by retaining more
of the vocal model, used more ornamentation, used some figurations
not found in other sources, and sometimes used idiomatic ornaments
which lead from one melodic line to another. In other respects, how-
ever, his ornamentation is very characteristic of that found in other
German Renaissance sources: it is rather fragmented in style, clarifies
cadences, and is generally used to highlight important places in the
melodic lines which are arsic rather than thetic in nature. One won-
ders, in retrospect, whether the Tabulaturbuch was designed simply as
a collection for performing lutenists, or as a didactic work which
could instruct them in the art of improvising their own embellished
vocal models.26 Regardless of the answer to this question, it is obvious
that Ochsenkun’s intabulations deserve more recognition as not only
thoroughly Germanic, but also highly original examples of sixteenth-
century German performance practice.

26 A case for the latter viewpoint could be made on the basis of the fact that Ochsenkun’s
intabulations follow their vocal models so closely.
Table I: Ornaments within a single melodic line

Stationary pitch:

1

2

3

Ascending second

7

8

9

Ascending third

12

13

14

15

16
Ascending fourth

17

18

Ascending fifth

21

22

Descending second

25

26

27

Descending third

31

32
Descending fourth

Table II: Ornaments from one melodic line to another

Ascending third
Ascending fourth

11

12

13

14

Ascending fifth

18

19

20

21

Ascending sixth

26

27

28
Ascending seventh

29

Ascending octave

30

31

Descending third

33

34

35

36

37

Descending fourth

43

44

45

46
Descending fifth

47

50

48

51

49

Descending sixth

52

54

53

Descending seventh

55

Descending octave

56
Table III: Cadential Ornaments

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Table IV: Ornaments on melismas

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3
CHANGING THE INSTRUMENT FOR THE MUSIC

by John M. Ward

This article is a somewhat revised English text of a paper, "Le problème des hauteurs dans la musique pour luth et vihuela au XVIe siècle," first published in Le luth et sa musique, edited by Jean Jacquot (Paris: CNRS, 1958; repr. 1978). It is addressed primarily to those editors and performers who still believe that sixteenth century lutenists and vihuelists changed the tuning of their instruments to accommodate the music. The evidence against such a view is plentiful in tuning instructions, theoretical sources, and the tablatures themselves. The mistake has been to interpret the evidence in twentieth-century rather than sixteenth-century terms.

A common assumption, made even by those who recognize it as a convenient fiction, is that the sixteenth-century lute and vihuela were tuned G c f a d' g' or A d g b e' a'. The basis for this assumption is the occasional statement by sixteenth-century players and theorists that the lowest course of the instruments was tuned to either Gamut or Are. These names have been taken by writers and editors of the past century as those of actual pitches, and many of their transcriptions of lute and vihuela tablatures have been made with a G or A tuning in mind.

We know that this translation of hexachordal names into pitch names is a fiction, first because Gamut and Are are not actual pitches, but points in a theoretical system; and secondly, because the same sixteenth-century players and theorists, when they take the trouble to explain such matters, instruct the beginner to tune his instrument with
consideration for its physical well-being only, by taking the lowest or the highest course or one of the middle ones and tuning the strings as high as they will comfortably go. Probably strings of good Munich gut, of proper thickness and length for each course, consistently produced more or less the same pitch, especially on a good lute and in the hands of an experienced player, weather permitting. But the actual pitch of a tuned course is never specified; at most El Maestro tells the student to call it Gamut or Are.

Even the juxtaposition of staff and tablature notation, found, for example, in sixteenth-century lute songs, in which the singing part is printed in staff notation above a lute accompaniment in tablature, fails to reveal the actual pitches of the instrument’s tuning, though a number of scholars have assumed otherwise. In most instances the singer is directed to obtain his pitch from the instrumentalist. A typical example is provided by Franciscus Bossinensis when he directs “la yoce del sopran al quinto tasto del Canto,” which can be translated: the pitch of the first note of the voice part is that produced by the lutenist on the fifth fret of the highest course; in other words, an “X” pitch.

Similarly, in tablature books containing music for two lutes or vihuelas, the instruments are related by interval, a rubric stating whether one of the instruments is to be tuned in the unison, fourth, or fifth with the other, as in the Hortus Musarum of 1552.

Some of the vihuelists indicate in their tablatures where the players will find the clefs of Ffaut and Csolfaut by placing actual clef signs on the appropriate tablature lines at the beginning of each piece; in Narváez’ Delphin de Música the signs are accompanied by verbal directions as well. Since the position of the clefs varies, sometimes from piece to piece, it has been argued that the tuning of the instrument changed also. For example, the location of the clefs for the fourth of Narváez’ fantasias are described thus:

En la quarta en primer traste esta la clave de fefaut. En la tercera en quarta traste esta la clave de cesolfaut.

An Ffaut clef on the first fret of the fourth course and a Csolfaut on the fourth fret of the third course suggest that the vihuela was tuned F♯ B e g♯ c♯ f♯. Similarly, the placing of the clefs for the fifth fantasia suggests a G tuning, that for the sixth fantasia a D tuning. If Narváez’ directions are taken literally and the tuning of the vihuela changed for each piece, transcription into staff notation almost always results in an exact matching of mode and note: a fourth mode fantasia played on a vihuela tuned from F♯ produces a hypophrygian music in E; another in the fifth mode played on an instrument tuned from G
produces F-lydian music; and so on. Since Narváez nowhere identifies the pitches to which his vihuela is tuned, we are left with the question: what do the clef signs and verbal directions really mean?

An explanation is provided by Juan Bermudo in his Declaración de Instrumentos Musicales, published seventeen years after the Delphin de Música. He tells us that the skillful vihuelist, having tuned one course of his instrument to a pitch unspecified by Bermudo and set the other courses in proper relationship thereto, imagines — the word imaginar is Bermudo’s — his vihuela to be tuned from Gamut, Are, Cfaut, or some other note, his choice determined by the nature of the music to be played. To intabulate a piece whose bass part ends on A after ranging a fourth below that note necessitates imagining the sixth course to be tuned to E and the other courses in relationship accordingly; other modes and other bass parts require different imaginary tunings, though the actual tuning of the instrument is not changed. Plus ça change, plus c’est la même chose.

A similar explanation is found in the text and in the accompanying tavole of Don Bartholomeo Lieto Panhormitano’s Dialogo Quarto di Musica (Naples, 1559), a treatise addressed to those who play the viola a mano (which I take to be a vihuela, or six-course guitar) passably well but are unable to read staff notation. In each of the fourteen tables in Lieto’s work there are three columns, each containing 21 numbers; these represent the notes from F below Gamut to e” three octaves above. In their respective columns the F-, C-, and G-clefs are numbered 1; as their position changes in each of the tables so does the relative position of the other numbers in the three columns. Below the three columns of numbers and running parallel with them Lieto places a six-line tablature with numbers running from the open sixth or lowest course (0) to the highest fret (11) on the first course; and parallel with this another six-line tablature with numbers for the tasti accidentali or semitones other than the diatonic mi-fa.

Fourteen of these tables are provided for the student, seven with and seven without B-flat. Within each set of seven the tables differ only in the relationship between the clef signs and the lowest number (i.e., note) in their respective columns. In the F-clef column of the first table the lowest note is 8 (or F below Gamut); in the next it is 7 (or Gamut); and in the seventh it is 2 (or e above Gamut); and so forth. The columns with the C- and G-clefs undergo corresponding changes. The tablature numbers, however, remain the same in the seven tables.

To intabulate a piece with the aid of the tables, the user has first to locate the lowest note of the piece (e.g., E); next count the number of lines and spaces between it and the clef sign (i.e., 8); then
Plate 1  Don Bartholomeo Lieto Panhormitano, *Dialogo Quarto di Musica* (Naples, 1559), sig. B3, ‘Taula per intauolare quelle opere che si esindono all’ottavo Grado sotto la Chiaue di F.’
find the *tavola* in which 8 is the lowest number in the F-clef column (i.e., the *Tavola per intavolare quelle opere che si estendono all’ottavo Grado sotto la Chiave di F*; see Plate 1). With this table the player of the *viola a mano* can find in one of the three columns any note between *Gamut* and *elami*. He has only to locate in one of the columns the note required. Then he simply finds the corresponding line and number (i.e., course and fret) on the tablature lines below. In this way the intabulator is enabled to transfer a motet or madrigal from its—to him—unintelligible form of notation into a tablature his fingers can read. At no point does Lieto suggest to the player that he alter the tuning of his instrument.

Bermudo, who describes the same practice, calls it “changing the instrument for the music,” and contrasts it with “changing the music for the instrument,” by which he means altering the music to fit an instrument for which the player does not imagine different tunings. The latter practice, which Bermudo considered old-fashioned in 1555, explains the occasional absence of low bass notes, particularly Fs, in some sixteenth-century intabulations of vocal music, or the frequent “distuning” or lowering of the sixth course to accommodate Fs.

We can now return to Narváez’ clef signs, whose purpose was left unexplained earlier. They inform the player where he will find the notes *Ffaut* and *Csolfaut* on an instrument that has been changed for the music, but in imagination only. From their positions he will be able to locate the *termino* (or finalis) of the entablatured music. For example, in the first of Narváez’ fantasias in the fourth mode, *Ffaut* is located on the fourth course, first fret (IV 1), *Csolfaut* on the third course, fourth fret (III 4); if one translates IV 1 as F and III 4 as c’, then IV 0 = e, III 0 = a, the vihuela is *imagined* to be tuned F# B e g# c♯ f♯, and the finalis of the fourth mode is to be found on IV 0, the dominant on VI 3. Transcribed into staff notation with an F♯ tuning, the opening of the piece looks like this:

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1In his instructions for intabulating vocal music, first published in Paris, probably in 1570, and four years later in London in English translation, Adrian Le Roy advertised his method as according to the “eight divers tunes” or modes. In fact, his illustrations show that it was not the mode but the tessiture of the voice parts to be intabulated and the demands of the fingers that determined where the music was placed on the instrument; certainly it had nothing to do with matching mode and pitch. The only times Le Roy “changed the music for the instrument” were when the placing of the music on the lute required omitting the lowest note of the bass part, “whiche happeneth often in our plaine ordinarie Lutes, whiche be but of eleven stringes, and might easely bee remedied by settyng the song one note or twoo higher, but it would be harder for theande, and the grace of the plaie would bee worrsset” (fol. 33v). A different reason is given for not “setting the base [course] a note lower:” that “would cause a chaunge of all the letters of the greate Base,” and that would make the play “a greate deale harder.”
Fuenllana writes: "Verdad sea que en los términos ay unos mas faciles que otros. Y los que tienen mas dificultad, pueden se llamar acidentales, por solo el ser dificiles e inusitados, pero nophorque en un término aya mas perfeccion que en otro, pues en este instrumento...en todo lugar se halla perfeccion, para qualquiera cosa que en el se tañere" (Orphénica Lyra, Seville, 1554, ff. 6v-7).

Transcribed with a G tuning, the same passage looks like this:

(For the original notation, see Plate 2.)

The second of Narváez' fantasias in the fourth mode is for a vihuela tuned, in the intabulator's imagination, E A d F# b e', that is, the clef of F#aut is located in IV 3, that of C#olfaut on II 1. In fact, both fantasias in the fourth mode are for an instrument tuned to the same "X" pitch. The different placings of the clefs function like an imaginary capotasto (see Plate 3).

Changing the instrument for the music served not only to facilitate intabulating vocal music, it also allowed the compilers of self-instructors, which is what most of the tablatures for vihuela were, to show the student how a mode could be realized in different locations on the instrument, this by the way they entabulated the music. The second book of Milan's El Maestro is full of such music. It exemplifies what Miguel de Fuenllana, in the introduction to his Orphénica Lyra (Seville, 1554), presents as a general rule: that there is no accepted or fixed finalis for any of the eight modes on the vihuela, since the instrument's perfection allows the modes to be played anywhere. ("True it is," he writes, "that some of the términos [endings] are easier than others. And those that are more difficult may be called acidentales [normally "outside" the Gamut] on account of their being difficult and unused, but not because there is more perfection in one término than in another, because on this instrument...perfection is found everywhere, for whatever is played on it.")

2Fuenllana writes: "Verdad sea que en los términos ay unos mas faciles que otros. Y los que tienen mas dificultad, pueden se llamar acidentales, por solo el ser dificiles e inusitados, pero nophorque en un término aya mas perfeccion que en otro, pues en este instrumento...en todo lugar se halla perfeccion, para qualquiera cosa que en el se tañere" (Orphénica Lyra, Seville, 1554, ff. 6v-7).

Plate 3  Narváez, *Delphin de Música*, fol. 27, 'Fantasia del quarto tono,' beginning.
Fuenllana's encomium introduces a new aspect of the "X" factor; namely, the possibility of almost unlimited transposition on a more or less equally-tempered instrument. Here we discover an important difference between a purely mechanical method of transferring music from staff notation to tablature, devised for musical illiterates, and the conscious transposition of music from one position on the instrument to another, as recommended by Fuenllana and realized by Narváez and others. The intabulator who uses Lieto's tables need know nothing about modes and their transposition, nothing about music for that matter; he has only to substitute one sign for another, let his fingers "read" the second sign and his instrument speak the "message," at which point his ears will be able to "read" that message and the player be in a position to make of it what he will. If the intabulated music has been "transposed," the musically-illiterate player will probably remain unaware of the fact.

The player who transposes the music in order to exploit the various timbres of the instrument or in the interest of virtuosity or for pedagogic reasons does so consciously. The result may be similar to that of mechanical transposition by means of tables, the motivation is musically sophisticated.

The freedom of the player to place music, whatever its mode, in more than one position on the fingerboard is demonstrated in Narváez' tablature. If we assume a constant tuning from G, the five pieces (Nos. 4, 10, 20, 36, and 48) in the fourth mode end, two on D and one each on E-flat, G, and Bb. If we assume an A tuning, the endings are on E, F, A, and C. with Narváez' imaginary tunings, all five pieces end, predictably, on E. Two of the pieces require the ciphers O 1 2 on the sixth course, two others 0 2 3, and the fifth 3 5 6; the last is, of course, transposed "por otras partes," that is, to another part of the instrument.

Considered as indicators of conscious, not mechanical, transposition, Narváez' clef signs reveal an exploitation of the instrument's technical resources. These transpositions differ from those of a twentieth-century performer only in their lack of a fixed-pitch orientation. The old modes have been reduced to patterns of intervallic relationships capable of being realized outside their theoretical hexachordal bailiwick.

This freedom to transpose music where one will is not displayed by keyboard music of the period, which presents a relatively uniform white-key look. Such black-key extravaganzas as Narváez' fourth mode piece on F, which results when one transcribes the piece with a G tuning, is not to be found in contemporary keyboard sources. Use of staff notation brought with it theoretical limitations, the instrument and its tuning practical limitations. Keyboards do not encourage extensive use
of the black keys because of the resulting awkward hand positions; on both lute and vihuela the distinction between white and black keys does not exist, since both lie level to the touch. Moreover, keyboard instruments were not always tuned in equal temperament.

The freedom with which certain vihuelists moved about on their instruments raises questions concerning the way in which we should transcribe their music into staff notation. If we assume a single, unvarying tuning for the instrument—preferably from Gamut or Are, the theoretical norms of the period—and transcribe all of Narváez' Delphin de Música accordingly, the music will sometimes appear strikingly out-of-period to the conservative, scholarly eye. Contrariwise, if we interpret literally the clef signs which Narváez placed at the beginning of each piece and alter the tuning of the vihuela, the notes will, at least in name, be those of the mode. Here's the rub: to let the flats and sharps fall where they may will go against a number of conventions; to change the tuning to fit the clef signs will show a disregard for the facts. The question remains: how should this music be transcribed?

In 1546 Phalfese included eight of Narváez' fantasias in one of his anthologies of lute music. His editor, who is not identified, did little more than to translate the numbers of Spanish tablature into the letters of French tablature, occasionally lopping off a section of the original, and consistently combining two compases (or "bars") of that original into one mesure of the French version. He suppressed all references to the mode of each piece, though these didactic gestures are characteristic of Narváez' book, and, in fact, of Spanish instrumental sources of the sixteenth century; and he included none of the original clef signs, so that the player, if concerned with the matter, must discover the modal termino of each piece without editorial help. Nowhere is the player of these pieces asked to alter the tuning of his lute. The first page of Narváez' first fantasia in the fourth mode in the Phalèse version is reproduced on Plate 4; it can be compared with the original version on Plate 2. The circle with a line through it at the beginning of the Narváez tablature is a tempo sign, algo apriesa, ("somewhat quickly"); the at the beginning of the Phalèse tablature is a mensuration sign, "alla breve," which implied a brisk tempo.

Five of Narváez' fantasias were also reprinted by Venegas de Henestrosa in his 1557 book of cifra nueva for keyboard, two of them with music in the same mode by Alonso Mudarra tacked on—extraordinary examples of scissors-and-paste editing. No exact translation from one form of tablature into the other was possible since Venegas' new tablature restricts each cipher's reference to a single point on the keyboard: thus 1 with a stroke across the base refers to F below
Plate 4  Pierre Phalèse, *Des chansons reduictz en tablature de luc*, Livre deuxième (Louvain, 1546), sig. b2v, 'Fantasie.'

*Gamut*; 1 by itself, to F an octave higher; 1 with a dot top right, to F two octaves higher; and so forth.

If we compare the different versions of each fantasia, two things emerge: first, Venegas only twice realized Narváez' music in the notes indicated by the tuning to be deduced from the clef signs; and secondly, three of the fantasias are realized, not with the tunings indicated by the clef signs, nor with a *Gamut* or *Are* or any other uniform tuning, but twice from D and once from F below *Gamut*.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Narváez</th>
<th>G tuning</th>
<th>Various tunings*</th>
<th>Venegas</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Fantasia No. 1</td>
<td>Ends on G</td>
<td>G (sol tuning)</td>
<td>No. 56: ends on D</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fantasia No. 4</td>
<td>Ends on F</td>
<td>E (fa♯ tuning)</td>
<td>No. 62: ends on D</td>
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<tr>
<td>Fantasia No. 5</td>
<td>Ends on F</td>
<td>F (sol tuning)</td>
<td>No. 66: ends on F</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fantasia No. 6</td>
<td>Ends on Bb</td>
<td>F (re tuning)</td>
<td>No. 67: ends on F</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fantasia No. 7</td>
<td>Ends on Bb</td>
<td>C (la tuning)</td>
<td>No. 69: ends on F</td>
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*Indicated by Narváez' clef signs*
Apparently Venegas’ choice of key was dictated by his desire to exploit the register below *Gamut*, found on keyboards but not on lutes and vihuelas; two of the pieces descend to F below *Gamut*, three to D. Venegas very nearly reverses Lieto’s system and identifies the lower notes of the keyboard with the lowest notes of the intabulated music. But he is careful not to involve the player in a thicket of D- and G-flats; his book, despite the form of notation, offers standard white-key fare. Here, for example, is the way the first of Narváez’ fantasias in the fourth mode has been intabulated (the first three *compases* have been omitted):

\[\text{\includegraphics{image.png}}\]

Venegas’ original is reproduced on Plate 5. In the fourth *compas*, seventh staff, the editor has switched from Narváez’ fantasia to a Mudarra tiento in the same mode; this short piece is reproduced at the bottom of Plate 6 and the top of Plate 7.

In the transcriptions of Venegas we find an answer of sorts to the question: what is the proper tuning to use in translating lute and vihuela tablature into staff notation? It is not a comforting answer for the categorically minded. Tablature can be transcribed with any one of a number of tunings. Those indicated by means of clef signs are supported by the two Narváez fantasias so transcribed in Venegas’ book; tunings that produce white-key music are also justified in that source. *Gamut* and *Are* tunings are recommended by numerous sixteenth-century lutenists and theorists. And any one tuning can be employed for the transcription of an entire book of tablature, however extraordinary some of the results, since we have no proof that, except for occasional *scordature*, lutenists and vihuelists ever changed their instruments once they had been brought in tune. In other words, we have not the comfort of knowing that there are only two possible tunings for the transcription of tablature, but must make up our minds each time.

3 Organists played in “those flat clefs (which stand at the beginning of the stave or line like a pair of stairs, which give great offence to the eye...),” we have Morley’s word for it in *A Plaine and Easie Instruction*, p. 156; “such shifts the organists are many times compelled to make for ease of the singers.” such shifts were made in performance, rarely if ever in notation during the sixteenth century.

Plate 5  Luys Vegegas de Henestrosa, *Libro de Cifra Nueva* (Alcalá de Henares, 1557), fol. 37, 'Segunda fantasía del quarto tono.'
Plate 6  Alonso Mudarra, *Tres Libros de Música en Cifras* (Seville, 1546), Libro II, fol. xi-xiv, 'Tiento [del Quarto Tono].'

Plate 7
SANTIAGO DE MURCIA: THE FRENCH CONNECTION IN BAROQUE SPAIN

By Craig H. Russell

It is a common misconception that baroque music in Spain received influence solely from Italy. A detailed comparative study of baroque guitar literature, however, reveals that there were also close and definitely traceable ties between France and Spain in the early eighteenth century. The most definitive and accurate history of Spanish music, José Subirá’s Historia de la música española e hispanoamericana, mentions French dance tutors and their Spanish translations, but fails to realize the immense impact they had on Spanish instrumental music.¹ Gilbert Chase, in his often-consulted The Music of Spain, speaks only of Italian influence.² Mary Neal Hamilton, in her error-ridden Music in Eighteenth-Century Spain, even goes so far as to claim:

"It must be admitted, then, that at least there was a decided interchange of musical ideas between Spain and Italy. Note, however, that between France and Spain there was no exchange of influence or ideas worth speaking of...”³

¹José Subirá, Historia de la música española e hispanoamericana (Barcelona: Salvat Editores, 1953).
This interpretation, however, is seen to be inaccurate and misleading when we examine the two books for baroque guitar by Santiago de Murcia, his Resumen de acompaniar la parte con la guitarra (1714) and the “Passacalles y obras de guitarra por todos los tonos naturales y acidentales [sic] (1732).” The opening pieces in the Resumen are not original compositions, as has generally been assumed. Each one of them is a baroque guitar arrangement of a contredanse taken from publications of the French dancing master Raoul-Augur Feuillet. Occupying the opening pages of the Resumen are eight selections from Feuillet’s Recueil de dances composées par M. Pecour...et mise sur le papier par M. Feuillet (Paris, 1700) (see Appendix 1a). The dances from pages 83 to 85 of the Resumen are drawn from Feuillet’s Recueil de contredances mises en chorégraphie (Paris, 1706) (see Appendix 1b).

Without question, the remaining dances in the Resumen are also based on Feuillet publications, although the majority of them are no longer extant. One copy of Feuillet’s Recueil in the Biblioteca Nacional in Madrid includes an additional plate in the back of the book advertising the publications available from Feuillet’s shop. A comparison of this list with the remaining dances in the Resumen (pp. 65-82) reveals not only the same dances, but the same dances in the same order (see Appendix 1c).

The Feuillet-Murcia concordance is further reinforced by a comparison of keys and time signatures: not one discrepancy appears between the two. Murcia’s publication proves that the Spanish were getting French music hot off the press, as it were. His Resumen even includes dances that appeared in France only one year before—“La Melanie” and “La Denain.”

It should be observed that Murcia’s interest in the contredanse was not an isolated case in Spain. The same Feuillet contredances found in Murcia’s Resumen reappear in at least fourteen other contemporary

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5 This copy of Feuillet’s Recueil is the later 1709 edition and is found in the Biblioteca Nacional of Madrid, M.1147.
Spanish sources. Their popularity was so great that the inclusion of a few contredanses into a given publication became nearly obligatory if it were to be popular with the general public. Even a method for singing plainchant, Manuel de Paz’s *Medula del canto llano y organo*, appends a pair of French contredanses to the back of the volume to ensure its success. In this light, one can understand the heated polemic that swept Spain in the eighteenth century over the moral or immoral nature of the contredanse. The French contredanse was the rage in Spain.

Murcia’s other book, the “Passacalles y obras,” reveals another strong influence from France that was felt in Spain — the French suite for baroque guitar. Almost every dance movement in his manuscript has been borrowed from other sources. Robert Strizich was the first to observe that two allemandes in the “Passacalles y obras” are in fact drawn from Robert de Visée’s *Liure de givtarre* (Paris, 1682). (See Appendix Id.)

Richard Pinnell also uncovered various borrowed compositions. He identifies several pieces from Francesco Corbeta’s French publication *La guitarre royalle* (Paris, 1671) and one from his *Varii scherzi* (1648)

6The following sources in the Biblioteca Nacional of Madrid contain French contredanses: “Flores de mvsica[,] obras y versos de varios organistas escriptas por Fray Antonio Martin Organista de San Diego de Alcala[,] año 1706,” M.1357; “Hertvo ameno de varias flores de mvsica [sic] recogidas de varios organistas por Fray Antonio Martin[,] ano 1709 de Estevan Costa Calvo,” M.1360; “Libro de diferentes cifras de guitarra escogidas de los mejores autores[,] ano de 1705,” M.811; “Libro de mvsica de clav[[]]cimbalo del Sr. Dn. Francisco de Tejada. 1721,” M.815; “Música de salterio, clave, y orquesta,” M.2810; Untitled anthology, M.2262; Bartholomé Ferriol and Boxeráus, *Reglas utiles para los aficionados a danzar...* (Capoa, 1745), R.304; Pablo Minguet y Yrol, a single sheet of “Pasapies” bound into volume R.14659 of Minguet’s *Arte de danzar a la francesa...* (Madrid, 1758); Minguet y Yrol, “Expiacion de los puntos de la guitarra al estilo castellano, italiano, y catalan,” a small booklet bound in copy M.893 of Minguet’s *Reglas y advertencias generales que enseñan el modo de tañer todos los instrumentos mejores y mas usuales...* (Madrid, 1752); Minguet y Yrol, a single sheet “El Amable variado” bound in copy M.893 of his *Reglas y advertencias*; Minguet y Yrol, *El noble arte de danzar a la francesa, y española...* (Madrid, n.d.), R.4203; Benito Monfort, *Contradanzas nuevas, que se han de bailar en el teatro de la casa interina de comedias de la ciudad de Valencia, en los bayles en mascara del inmediato carnaval del año 1769* (Valencia, 1769), M.857; Manuel de Paz, *Medula del canto llano, y organo...* (Madrid, 1757), M.84. The Library of Congress has a copy of Minguet y Yrol’s *Reglas y advertencias* (MT170/.M5/Case) that includes a section “Reglas y advertencias generales para tañer la bandurria...,” in which he includes several contredanses. In addition, the anonymous baroque guitar manuscript in the Biblioteca Nacional in Mexico City, Ms.1560, contains many French contredanse settings (most of them taken from Murcia’s *Resumen*). A table of concordances between Murcia’s *Resumen* and these sources is available in Appendix C of my dissertation.

7Manuel de Paz, *Medula del canto llano, y organo...* (Madrid, 1767).

8One of the finest discussions of this debate is found in Antonio Martín Moreno’s *El Padre Feijoo y las ideologías musicales del XVIII en España* (Orense: Instituto de Estudios Orensanos “Padre Feijoo,” 1976).

copied into Murcia’s “Passacalles y obras.” To rectify a number of slight errors in foliation numbers, spelling, and attributions, I find it useful to include an alternative table of correspondences between Murcia’s “Passacalles” and Corbetta’s books of 1648 and 1671 (see Appendix Ie).

It is not surprising that Murcia was familiar with de Visée’s and Corbetta’s works. Both men enjoyed international fame and were undoubtedly popular among the Spanish guitarists. Corbetta made a trip to Spain, possibly published his third book there, and won the laudatory appellation from the great Spanish guitarist Gaspar Sanz as “the best of them all.”11 Corbetta’s music is found in the Spanish manuscript “Libro de diferentes cifras de guitarra” (M.8.11 in the Biblioteca Nacional in Madrid) and in manuscript 1560 in the Biblioteca Nacional in Mexico City.12

In addition, Murcia may have been familiar with some unpublished pieces of his French contemporaries. The “Recueil d’air de guitar” has a minuet on page 68 that resembles Murcia’s “Zarabanda despa[cijo]”


Murcia (fol.)

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<tr>
<td>53</td>
<td>Corrente [sic] in D, similar to 1671, p. 68</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>77-79</td>
<td>Allemana [sic], based on 1671, p. 63 f.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>100-101</td>
<td>Zarabanda, (4 mm. omitted in each half), 1648, p. 50 f.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>122</td>
<td>Allemane [sic].de Orleans, 1671, p. 10 f.</td>
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<td>123</td>
<td>Zarabanda muy grave, 1671, p. 8 f.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>124</td>
<td>Giga (some mm. deleted), 1671, p. 51 f.</td>
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<td>127-128</td>
<td>Zarabanda despacio, based on 1671, p. 4</td>
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<tr>
<td>127</td>
<td>Correnta, 1671, p. 3</td>
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<tr>
<td>125-126</td>
<td>Allemande [sic], 1671, p. 1 f.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>125</td>
<td>Preludio (note position changes), 1671, p. 1</td>
</tr>
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</table>

The following corrections and amendments should be made to Pinnell’s chart: “allemanda” and “correnta” are the correct spellings of the terms in Murcia’s “Passacalles y obras.” The foliation of the works cited above should be: fols. 53-53v; 77v-79; 100-100v; 112v-122; 123; 123v-124; 127-127v; 125-126; and 124v-125. There are three errors in attribution. The “Corrente [sic] in D” (fol. 53) and the “Preludio” (fol. 125) are both taken from François Le Coq’s “Recueil des pieces de guitare (1729).” (Manuscript 5.615 in the Bibliothèque du Conservatoire Royal de Musique in Brussels), p. 38. Also, I fail to see the similarities between Murcia’s “Zarabanda despacio” (fols. 127-128) and the sarabandes on p. 4 of Corbetta’s Guitare royalle.


12Richard Pinnell was the first to make these discoveries. See Pinnell, “Francesco Corbetta,” Vol. 1, pp. 118, 242.
on folio 92. The keys differ (A-major in the “Recueil” and C-major in the “Passacalles”), but the material is similar.

Murcia was also familiar with two other guitarists, both of the early eighteenth century — François Campion and François Le Cocq. A tuning discrepancy has concealed from modern scholars the 24 pieces by Campion present in Murcia’s “Passacalles.” Campion was infatuated with scordatura tunings: almost two-thirds of his Nouvelles découvertes sur la guitare (Paris, 1705) are written for seven unusual guitar tunings. Murcia revoices and arranges the Campion pieces for standard tuning. Even though both authors use tablature notation, since the two differ in their tuning system, there is no visual clue that would suggest this correlation between them (see Appendix I).

To Murcia’s credit, it must be said that his arrangements of Campion’s music for standard tuning are excellent. The character of the original is preserved, and — quite remarkably — there are no awkward fingerings or passages in spite of the change in tuning and the variety of keys that Murcia employs.

Another source that Murcia draws upon is François Le Cocq’s “Recueil des pieces de guitarre” (1729) (see Appendix I). Le Cocq’s music appears in Murcia’s manuscript in 1732, a scant two years after the 1730 date that Le Cocq places on the section from which Murcia borrows. This, taken together with the fact that Le Cocq’s music circulated only in unpublished form, suggests that Murcia may have travelled to France (and possibly Belgium) about the year 1730. Such a trip would explain Murcia’s intimate familiarity with the music of his French contemporaries.

Murcia may have been familiar with the music of Antoine Carré and Henry Grenerin as well. It is possible that Murcia borrowed the idea for the incipit to his “Preludio” in d-minor from a prelude by Carré or the “Gigue Aymable” of Grenerin. The three pieces have very similar themes. (see Ex. I).

Since Murcia borrows no complete compositions from Carré or Grenerin, the question might be posed whether he actually had access to their work. Nevertheless, it is probable that Carré’s Liure de guitare was well known in Spanish guitar circles since Sanz incorporates a saraband by Carré in his Instrucción de música. Grenerin’s


music, on the other hand, appears in no Spanish sources. Yet if Murcia did visit Paris, he certainly would have been exposed to Grenerin’s music. The “Gigue aymable,” which serves as the possible source for Murcia’s incipit, was a popular piece in Paris. It is present in Grenerin’s own Livre de guitarre and is copied out again into the Paris manuscript “Recueil d’air de guitar.”

In conclusion, Murcia’s two books are shown to be not primarily compendiums of original works, but rather anthologies of the popular music of his day. His anthologies show an intimate familiarity with several contemporary French styles, particularly the dance suite and the new European rage — the French contredanse. Furthermore, concordances between Murcia’s Resumen and other Spanish sources show that Murcia is not an isolated case but is part of the musical climate of the time. Murcia’s work, then, provides us with a remarkable French connection, strong and irrefutable evidence that in the early eighteenth century the Spanish were indeed in close contact with the musical fashions and tastes of their Gallic neighbor.

APPENDIX Ia

Murcia, Resumen

Paspied viejo
La Buree de Chil
La Mariee
Rigodon
La Borgogne
La Saboyana
La ferlana
La Contij

Ib

Murcia, Resumen

Los Paysanos
La Bacante
La Mathalote
La Jelousie
La Vergene
Le Pistolet
Jeanne qui Saute
La Libolaine
La Bonne Amicicie
La Nouuelle figure
Feuillet, *Recueil de contredances*

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Page</th>
<th>Title</th>
<th>Pages</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>57</td>
<td>le Passepied</td>
<td>22-31</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>58</td>
<td>la Bouree d'Achille</td>
<td>1-11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>58</td>
<td>la Mariee</td>
<td>12-21</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>61</td>
<td>le Rigaudon des Vaisseaux</td>
<td>37-42</td>
</tr>
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<td>61</td>
<td>la Bourgogne</td>
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<td>63</td>
<td>la Savoye</td>
<td>54-61</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>63</td>
<td>la Forlana</td>
<td>62-67</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>64</td>
<td>la Conty</td>
<td>68-72</td>
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Feuillet, *Recueil de contredances*

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<td>le Bacante</td>
<td>113-120</td>
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<td>la Matelote</td>
<td>121-128</td>
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<td>83</td>
<td>La Jalousie</td>
<td>5-8</td>
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<td>La Bergere</td>
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<td>le Pistolet</td>
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<td>Jeanne qui saute</td>
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<td>La Lirboulaire</td>
<td>70-75</td>
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<td>85</td>
<td>La bonne Amitie</td>
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<td>85</td>
<td>la Nouvelle Figure</td>
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Ic

Murcia, Resumen

Paspied Nuebo
La Pabana des Sesons
La Amable Despa[cj]o
La Alemanda

Los Paysanos
La Saltarele
La Cariguan
La Madalena
La Babet
La Bretaignee
La Triumphante
La Babiere, Menuet
La Marcha de Fanatiques
El Cotillon
La Bacante
La Mathalote
Le Menuet a quater
La Nueva Bergona
La Nueva Mariee
La Nueva Gallarda
El Menuet de Alcides
La Charmant de Vainqueur, Grave
Feuillet, *Catalogue*

"Danses de Bal"

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<th>Year</th>
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<tr>
<td>57</td>
<td>Le Passe-pie Nouveau</td>
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<td>65</td>
<td>La Pavanne des Saisons</td>
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<td>66</td>
<td>l’Aimable Vainqueur</td>
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<td>l’Allemande</td>
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"Petits Recueils Annuels"

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<td>la Saltarelle</td>
<td>1704</td>
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<td>69</td>
<td>la Carignan</td>
<td>1704</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>69</td>
<td>la Madalena</td>
<td>1704</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>70</td>
<td>la Babeth</td>
<td>1705</td>
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<td>70</td>
<td>la Bretagne</td>
<td>1705</td>
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<td>84</td>
<td>la Triomphante</td>
<td>1705</td>
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<td>71</td>
<td>la Baviera</td>
<td>1706</td>
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<td>71</td>
<td>la Fanatique</td>
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<td>le Cotillon</td>
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<td>la Matelotte</td>
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<td>72</td>
<td>le Menuet a quatre</td>
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<td>la Nouvelle Bourgogne</td>
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<td>la Nouvelle Mariee</td>
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<td>la Nouvelle Gaillarde</td>
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<td>le Menuet d’Alcide</td>
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<td>le Charmant Vainqueur</td>
<td>1709</td>
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Ic (cont.)

La Borbon
La Pequena Buree
La Guastala
La Nueba Forlana
El Pas pied a quatro
Rondo La Medicis
La Silbia
La Dombe
La Asturiana  
   Rigodon
La Melanie
La Denain

Id

Murcia, “Passacalles”

Allem[an]da
Alemanda

Ie

Murcia, “Passacalles”

Zarabanda despacio
Allemanda Tombo a la Muerte de Madama de Orleans
<table>
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<tbody>
<tr>
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<td>la Bourbon (1710)</td>
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<td>76</td>
<td>le petite Bouree (1710)</td>
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<td>77</td>
<td>la Gouastala (1710)</td>
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<td>la N[ouvel]le Forlanna (1711)</td>
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<td>le Passepied a quatre (1711)</td>
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<td>la Medicis (1711)</td>
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<td>la Silvie (1712)</td>
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<td>la Dombe (1712)</td>
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<td>l’Asturianne (1712)</td>
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<td>la Melanie (1713)</td>
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<td>la Denain (1713)</td>
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**de Visee, Liure de guitare**

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<tr>
<td>69</td>
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<td>18</td>
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**Corbetta, Varie scherzi**

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<td>121v</td>
<td>Le tombeau sur la mort de Madame d’Orleans</td>
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<td>Zarabanda muy Grave</td>
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<td>Sarab[an]de</td>
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<tr>
<td>---------------------</td>
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<tr>
<td>Giga</td>
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<td>Gigue</td>
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<td>La Allem[an]da R[ea]l</td>
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<td>126v</td>
<td>Cour[an]te</td>
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### If

#### Murcia, "Passacalles"

regular tuning

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<th>Prelude</th>
<th>5</th>
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<td>83v</td>
<td>Allemande</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>(20)</td>
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<td>84</td>
<td>Courante</td>
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<td>(20)</td>
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<td>85v</td>
<td>Gavotte</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>(25)</td>
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<td>85</td>
<td>Rondeau</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>(26)</td>
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<td>Zarabanda Despa[c]jo</td>
<td>84</td>
<td>Sarabande</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>(26)</td>
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<td>Allemanda</td>
<td>90v</td>
<td>Allemande</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>(32)</td>
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<td>Correnta</td>
<td>52</td>
<td>Courante la Malheurier</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>(33)</td>
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<td>Rondo</td>
<td>53v</td>
<td>Menuet Rondeau</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>(33)</td>
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<td>Giga</td>
<td>54</td>
<td>Gigue</td>
<td>12v</td>
<td>(34)</td>
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<td>116v</td>
<td>Courante La petite doucet</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>(37)</td>
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<td>Zarabanda Despa[c]jo</td>
<td>112</td>
<td>Sarabande</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>(38)</td>
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<td>Prelude a 4 tems</td>
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<td>(52)</td>
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<td>Courante</td>
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*Page numbers in parentheses refer to the modern page numbers of the reprint of the *Nouvelles decouvertes* (Geneva: Min–koff Reprints, 1977).
If (cont.)

Rondo
Giga
Gabota
Allemanda

Allemanda
Zarabanda Despaci[o]
Ayre Allegro
Giga
Giga

50

Ig

Murcia, "Passacalles"

Gabota
Menuet de estas piezas
Otra giga
Giga
Rigodon
Alleman[an]da
Correnta
Gabota
<table>
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<td>Gigue</td>
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<td>Allemande</td>
<td>34 (61)</td>
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<td>(regular tuning)</td>
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<td>51v</td>
<td>Allemande</td>
<td>37 (64)</td>
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<td>52v</td>
<td>Sarabande La Geffosse</td>
<td>38 (67)</td>
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<tr>
<td>53</td>
<td>Italiene</td>
<td>39 (68)</td>
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<td>71</td>
<td>Gigue</td>
<td>40 (86)</td>
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<tr>
<td>112v</td>
<td>Gigue</td>
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**Le Cocq, “Recueil”**

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<td>Air</td>
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<td>95</td>
<td>Menuet (similar from phrase 2 on)</td>
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<td>113v</td>
<td>Gigue</td>
<td>29</td>
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<td>94v</td>
<td>Gigue</td>
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<td>1st Rigodon</td>
<td>34</td>
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<td>77v</td>
<td>Allemande (reworked)</td>
<td>38</td>
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<td>79</td>
<td>Courante</td>
<td>40</td>
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<tr>
<td>81</td>
<td>based on both 1st Menuet (incipit) and</td>
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<td>Bouree (part 2)</td>
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Menuet de la Obra 82
Correnta 105v
Gabota 55v
Marcha 57
Menuet 57v
La Burlesca 56
Ayre Allegro 56v
Menuet 43
Courante 49
Air 62
Marche Allegro 62
1er Menuet 62
Air 63
Air prestissimo 64
NEW SOURCES OF THE MUSIC OF COUNT LOSY

by Tim Crawford

At the beginning of his valuable article on the music of Count Johann Anton Losy, the late Emil Vogl, writing before 1977, pointed out that "any attempt we might make to compile a complete list of Losy's music will perhaps need to be expanded by future discoveries." The same might indeed be said of any lute composer's works, since new discoveries are being made continually as new sources come to light, and new inventories and catalogues are made available. In Losy's case there is actually a dramatically large amount of new material, as can be seen in the appendices to this short contribution. None of the new sources that I have encountered is Czech in origin, although one series of manuscripts comes from an Austrian noble household ranking socially with the aristocratic lutenist. Losy's works are extremely widely dispersed among early eighteenth-century sources of lute music, and the geographical locations of some of the most significant manuscripts are sometimes a little unexpected. Some of this dispersal may be due to Losy's travels, but chiefly it seems to be due to his music's enormous popularity with amateur lutenists of his own social standing. It is certainly hard to avoid the uneasy feeling that for these players an element of snobbism compensated for a certain facile quality in much of his output.

No source to my knowledge explicitly states or contains clear evidence that a certain piece was given directly to the compiler by Losy either as friend or teacher. Were there a contemporary published edi-

tion of his lute pieces, an autograph collection like those of Jacques de Saint Luc (c. 1710) in Vienna and Prague, or at least a large anthology of music systematically collected by an acquaintance or pupil like the Weiss manuscripts in London and Dresden, a modern scholar or editor would have a useful yardstick by which to judge the validity of other sources. As it is, he has to use intuition for many judgements, and this will lead to varying decisions by different workers in the field. What follows should be viewed in this light rather than as adverse criticism of Vogl's work.

As an example, I find I am forced to disagree with Vogl over the reliability of ascriptions in his primary source for V. 1-9 (Vienna, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek Ms. Mus. 18761). The scribe seems at first sight to ascribe complete suites in the same key unequivocally to a composer: "Weis" in four cases, and "C: Logis" in one case only. The name of the composer is only written against the first "movement" of the suite in each case. But two of the Losy pieces in Dr. Vogl's own list also occur in suites ascribed thus to Weiss in this ms.: V. 23, in the A-major suite entitled "L'Esprit Italienne," (Maier 473-481); and V. 34, in the c-minor suite (Maier 482-488).

At the end of the suite headed "Ouverture de Mr: C: Logis" (i.e., immediately following V. 9, and apparently part of the the suite V. 1-9) comes the minuet V. 126 with its double V. 127, placed in the "dubious" category by Vogl since it appears in Hinterleithner's collection of 1699. Two further movements from a suite ascribed to Weiss appear in a more plausible source, unknown to Vogl, under Losy's name. It is hardly surprising, given the clear stylistic debt owed to Losy by Weiss, that there should be some confusion in the sources over ascription, but evidently this manuscript is not one on which too much reliance should be placed, however neatly it was copied.

With no autograph or published material to rely on, similar problems afflict almost all of the extant Losy sources. At the same time it is extremely hard to pinpoint Losy's style with sufficient precision to reject or accept dubious or unascribed pieces. No doubt many pieces were ascribed in error, and no doubt many Losy items rest undisco-

2See Bibliography, Appendix 4b.
3See Appendices 1 and 2, Nos. 42 and 44.
4The "Menuette" on f.3 of Vienna 18761 occurs, copied in the same hand, in Lord Danby's lute book (Danby), p. 21. This was compiled for a young English nobleman travelling in Holland and Northern Germany between 1706 and 1711. The Vienna manuscript, then, probably comes from a similar amateur musician's library. Danby will be discussed in detail in a forthcoming monograph by the author to be published by the Royal Musical Association.
5Apart, that is, from LeSage de Richée's collection, Cabine des Lauten, (Breslau, 1695, 2nd ed. 1735), which contains the courante described as "Extraordinaire" (i.e., the only piece in the book by another composer, surely not a value judgment).
vered in the large repertoire of attractive and valuable anonymous lute music of the period.

Working in the relative isolation of the Eastern bloc, Vogl relied heavily on communications from colleagues in the West, since most of the sources he cites are on this side of the Iron Curtain. Inevitably, in the process not a few bibliographical errors, inaccuracies, and omissions have crept into his text, but to attempt to correct all of these here by means of errata lists would be impractical. The comments and additions that follow are intended to provide working material to be used together with Vogl's articles by future students of Losy preparing a proper full catalogue or edition of his works. Recent academic work on the Austro-Bohemian lute music of Losy's period is sadly lacking, especially in English, and the music is correspondingly neglected by players and scholars alike.

Happily, all the sources cited in "The Lute Music of Johann Anton Losy" as lost (with the presumably negligible exceptions of Berlin mss. 20620 and 40077) have reappeared and can now be studied through the medium of microfilm. There are in addition several sources, some of crucial importance, of which Vogl was unaware, that contain large numbers of Losy's pieces. The most dramatic recent discovery of lute music was the priceless hoard at Schloss Eenthal uncovered by Douglas Alton Smith. A useful new tool has been Rudén's comprehensive catalogue of tablature mss. in Sweden. In these and other sources it is possible to identify over 50 new pieces that can be ascribed to Losy with varying degrees of certainty, and some 45 new concordances. In Appendices 1 to 4 below I have listed: 1) works not in Vogl's list; 2) incipits to the new pieces; 3) further concordances to works in Vogl's list; and 4) sources cited here that are not mentioned by Vogl. New sources will, no doubt, emerge from time to time in the future, and I should welcome any information concerning manuscripts of Losy's music not cited here or in Dr. Vogl's articles.

6 A misprint for 40620?
7 The collection, comprising ten lute books, one theorbo manuscript and two viol books, all in tablature and roughly spanning the period 1650-1740, and its background are briefly described in Smith. The collection was compiled by various members of the Göß family and is still in the family library. The various volumes will here be cited as Gößs I, II, etc. following the numbering in Smith. I am indebted to Douglas Alton Smith for much material, including a complete film of the Göß manuscripts, and for encouraging me to publish these details of the unique Losy material.
8 Rudén contains descriptions, inventories and a thematic index of all tablature manuscripts in Swedish collections for lute and other plucked instruments, viol and keyboard. A very high proportion of the keyboard manuscripts contains arrangements of lute music.
9 I would be especially grateful for a report on the Losy contents of the lute manuscript listed by Boetticher (RISM BVII) as being at Musashino College of Music Library in Tokyo and containing works by "Conte de Logi (C.L.)."
There follow a few comments on the main part of Vogl’s study. These chiefly concern the recent rediscovery of sources “lost” in World War II.


The “missing” Berlin lute manuscripts have actually survived intact (as hinted by the editors in footnote 12) and are now housed in the Biblioteka Jagiellońska in Crakow, Poland. This library holds all the manuscripts listed by Boetticher in RISM BVII, pp. 19-39, as having been evacuated to Fürstenstein except Mus. ms. 12019 (actually now in West Berlin at the Staatsbibliothek Preussischer Kulturbesitz) and Mus. ms. 40165 (a ghost entry?).


The manuscript from Wolffheim’s collection, catalogue number 57, is now West Berlin, Staatsbibliothek Preussischer Kulturbesitz, Mus. ms. 40627, though cited in “The Lute Music,” p. 18, as lost. See RISM BVII, p. 37.


20620 should read 40620?; see 1 and 2 above — these manuscripts all survive. For a detailed discussion of the gigue V. 40, attributed, I believe erroneously, to Losy, see Appendix 5 below.


The Warmbrunn/Kniebandl manuscript does survive in Warsaw as Biblioteka Narodowa BN Muz. Rekopis 396. See RISM BVII, p. 343-344. Another one of several manuscripts by the same copyist has a very similar title page — see RISM BVII, p. 368 (Ms. Mf. 2002 and “Nachschrift 1977” pp. 369-370).

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10 I am grateful to Antoni Pilch for information leading to the confirmation of this good news, and to Prof. Dr. hab. Stanisław Grzeszczuk, Director of the Biblioteka Jagiellońska, who kindly arranged for me to have a complete microfilm of the lute manuscripts. Further inquiries should reveal details of the survival of unique printed lute items from the vast prewar Berlin collection.

11 The same call number refers to manuscript extracts (ca. 1895) in the West Berlin library made by Wilhelm Tappert from a lute manuscript which was at the time of copying in the stock of the antiquarian music dealer Liepmannsohn. Berlin. The lute manuscript itself appears to be Ms. II. B. 1 in the Dolmetsch collection, Haslemere, Surrey (see RISM BVII, p. 131), which in turn is suspiciously similar to Boetticher’s description of a now missing manuscript in Prof. Max Kalbeck’s collection in Vienna (see RISM BVII, p. 360 — my thanks are due to Arthur Ness for pointing this out).
5. “The Lute Music,” p. 12, footnote 15

Footnote 15 should be amended as follows: “The first of these formerly belonged to the Polish musicologist Aleksandra Polinski. Possibly of Polish origin, it is dated ‘Venetis 7.Zbr.1712’ (as stated in RISM BVII, p. 230-231) and contains two pieces by Losy (V. 16 and V. 125) with contreparties, and a few other pieces.”

NB: The manuscript in question does not contain V. 1-9. The reference to footnote 15 on p. 20 should therefore be deleted.


Vogl states (p. 14) that “the assembling of dances in the same key into 'suites' [by the modern editor] distorts the picture that we have formed of the lute suites.” The problem is that the modern editors here condemned are applying precisely the same process as the compilers of most lute manuscripts of the time seem to have done. Very often, as I have shown above in the case of Vienna 18761, compilers even assembled suites of pieces not necessarily by the same composer. An allemande such as V. 10 may occur as the first movement of a “Partia” (V. 10-15) in a manuscript cited by Vogl, but two other sources unknown to him have it associated with a different courante and gigue (see Appendices 1 and 2, below, Nos. 22 and 23). In the “new” sources, there are several “suites” which may or may not have had authority from the composer — who can tell? S. L. Weiss, who was clearly an admirer of Losy, organized his own music into suites, or, as he termed them, Suonaten, so it is possible that Losy’s later music was conceived in this way, but the haphazard nature of the survival of the pieces does nothing to help us. The only monumental source of Losy’s music is the collection in Prague of 44 guitar pieces entitled “Pièces composées par le Comte Logis” (Prague University

12 An interesting case of the mixing of lute music by different composers occurs in the manuscript (probably autograph) appendix to a copy of Esaias Reusner’s Neue Lautenfrüchte of 1676, now in the Staatsbibliothek, Preussischer Kulturbesitz, Mus. ms. 18380. These lute tablature parts for various combinations of instruments are mostly arranged into suites, which sometimes include movements printed in the collection — the manuscript additions occur on 18 of the blank verso pages and on a flyleaf at the end. On the verso of this flyleaf (f. 32v) occurs an introductory movement: “D# [i.e., D major] Cum Violdigamb. Sonatina de Reusner.” After this substantial piece in French-overture-like form appears a note in Reusner’s rather hasty hand: “Hier zu Allem: et Gigue von Duffaut, die andern stehen das b[i]att zuvor;” on the previous pages are some other movements in manuscript by Reusner in the same key marked “Cum Violdigb.” etc. See the recent facsimile published by the Zentralantiquariat der DDR, Leipzig, 1979.

13 E.g. Kalmar 21.072 ff. 29v-34 (Appendices 1 and 2, Nos. 10-15) or Göess V, ff. 20v-27 (App. 1 and 2, Nos. 40*-46 — the allemande may be by another composer).
Library MS. II. Kk. 77, pp. 61-151; see “The Lute Music,” p. 8). Even if, as Vogl and others have maintained, these are mere transcriptions of lute music, their grouping into suites (implied by the note: “Fin de Partie” at the end of the series on p. 151 — I have not seen the ms. or a copy) has some relevance, since it may reflect a similar grouping in the source from which they were copied or arranged — presumably one step closer to the composer. Unfortunately, only a half dozen concordances with lute pieces can be established,¹⁴ so until a parallel collection of Losy’s lute music turns up — an unlikely eventuality — the “original” grouping can hardly be determined. So the picture of the lute suites is far from clear!

¹⁴The phrase “numerous concordances” used in “The Lute Music” hardly seems appropriate for a total of six out of 44 pieces. Without more lute “originals” it is hard to be quite sure that these guitar pieces were all conceived for the lute. If Losy ever composed for the guitar, and this is not ruled out by the biographical data, would his pieces for the instrument have been very different from these? It is even possible that Losy might have composed some of the “lute” compositions to play on his violin, and subsequently arranged them for lute. We simply do not know.
APPENDIX 1: Works by Losy not on Vogl’s List

A. Definite or reasonably certain
   (An asterisk [*] indicates that the piece is unascribed in the manuscript, but Losy’s authorship is likely from context.)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>No.</th>
<th>Title in source</th>
<th>Key</th>
<th>Source and concordances</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>Allemande Comte Logy</td>
<td>a</td>
<td>Danby, p.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2*</td>
<td>Courante(^\text{15})</td>
<td>a</td>
<td>Danby, p.3 (with double p. 5) NYPL *MYO, f.55v (anon.)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3*</td>
<td>Sarrabande(^\text{15})</td>
<td>A</td>
<td>Danby, p.64 Warsaw 37, f.25 (anon.) Vienna/Harrach, p.55 (anon.)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4*</td>
<td>Menuet(^\text{15})</td>
<td>A</td>
<td>Danby, p.65 Vienna/Harrach, p.56 Kalmar 4a, f.18v (anon., in G; from Rudén 4081)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5*</td>
<td>Bourée(^\text{15})</td>
<td>A</td>
<td>Danby, p.66 Klagenfurt, f.23v (anon.; publ. Klima, p.13)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>Menuet de Logy</td>
<td>C</td>
<td>Göttingen, f.41v Kalmar 21,072, f.63 (Logy) Kalmar 4a, f.6 (anon., keyboard) NYPL *MYO, f.6v (anon.) Warsaw/Kniebandl, f.26 (anon.) Warsaw 57, p.50 (anon.)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

\(^{15}\) Although none of these pieces from Danby is ascribed to Losy in any source, their contexts strongly suggest his authorship.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>No.</th>
<th>Piece</th>
<th>Source/Location</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>7</td>
<td>Gavott de M' Le Comte Logy</td>
<td>Kalmar 21,072, f.7v</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8</td>
<td>Bourée du Comte de Logy</td>
<td>Kalmar 21,072, f.25</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>NYPL *MYO, f.85v (anon.)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Warsaw 21,068, f.24 (anon. — viol)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9</td>
<td>Bour de Comte de Logy</td>
<td>Kalmar 21,072, f.26</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10</td>
<td>Allemande de Compte Logy</td>
<td>Kalmar 21,072, f.29v</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11</td>
<td>Courante de Mesme</td>
<td>Kalmar 21,072, f.30v</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12</td>
<td>Gavott de Mesme</td>
<td>Kalmar 21,072, f.31v</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13</td>
<td>Menuett du Mesme</td>
<td>Kalmar 21,072, f.32</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>14</td>
<td>Rondeau de Mesme</td>
<td>Kalmar 21,072, f.32v</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15</td>
<td>Gigue de Mesme</td>
<td>Kalmar 21,072, f.33v</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>16</td>
<td>Menuett du Comte de Logy</td>
<td>Kalmar 21,072, f.41</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>17</td>
<td>Allemande du Comte Logy</td>
<td>Kalmar 21,072, f.74v</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>18*</td>
<td>Courante¹⁶</td>
<td>Kalmar 21,072, f.75v</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>19*</td>
<td>Caprice¹⁶</td>
<td>Kalmar 21,072, f.76</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>20*</td>
<td>Menuet¹⁶</td>
<td>Kalmar 21,072, f.76v</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>21</td>
<td>Bourée de Comte Loge</td>
<td>Kalmar 21,072, f.79</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>22</td>
<td>Courante du meme¹⁷</td>
<td>Kalmar 21,072, f.91v</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Danby, p.103 (anon.)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Krakow/Berlin 40620, f.112v (anon.)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>23</td>
<td>Gigue du meme</td>
<td>Kalmar 21,072, f.92v</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Danby, p.91 (anon.)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Rostock 52, f.92v (&quot;Bohmien Gigue&quot;)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

¹⁶The piece from the same copying stratum which follows these is a version of V.42 entitled "Rondeaux du meme" (f. 77v — see App. 3); f. 77v contains an anonymous bourree in another hand, apparently added later.

¹⁷Follows a Losy item (V.10 — see App. 3). NB V.11 has a similar incipit, but is a different piece.
These pieces occur in an anonymous suite (headed “Concertus 15 NB viol: dgab” — for lute and viola da gamba?) in the company of V.107, 23, and 113 (see App. 3). The attribution of two pieces (26* and V.23) from the suite to Weiss is, on stylistic grounds, dubious, but an absolute ascription to Losy should not be made without further corroboration. The version of the suite in Danby, and the shorter version in Vienna Harrach (V.107, V.108, 3*, 4*, 5*, V.113, V.111, and V.107, V.108, V.113, 3*, 4* with another gigue, respectively) seem more plausible, although I have not included the final gigue from the Vienna Harrach suite since it does not appear in other Losy sources.

### APPENDIX 1 (cont.)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>No.</th>
<th>Piece</th>
<th>Key</th>
<th>Source 1</th>
<th>Source 2</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>24*</td>
<td>Bourée</td>
<td>A</td>
<td>Warsaw 37, f.25 (anon.)</td>
<td>Göttingen, f.3v (anon.)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>25*</td>
<td>Menuet</td>
<td>A</td>
<td>Warsaw 37, f.26 (anon.)</td>
<td>Warsaw 37, f.26 (anon. — trio to 25*)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>25a*</td>
<td>Passepied ad libitum</td>
<td>A</td>
<td>Warsaw 37, f.26 (anon.)</td>
<td>Vienna 18761, f.16v (“Weis”)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>26*</td>
<td>Gigue</td>
<td>d</td>
<td>Vienna 18761, f.16v (&quot;Weis&quot;)</td>
<td>Klosterneuburg, p.91 (publ. in DTÖ 84, p.5)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>28</td>
<td>Aria C.L.</td>
<td>G</td>
<td>Berlin 40627, f.127</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>29</td>
<td>Saraband C:L:</td>
<td>g</td>
<td>Goëss III, f.4v</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>30</td>
<td>Gavotte C:L:</td>
<td>Bb</td>
<td>Goëss III, f.6v</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>31</td>
<td>Minuett C:L:</td>
<td>d</td>
<td>Goëss III, f.9v</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>32</td>
<td>Menuete C:L:</td>
<td>d</td>
<td>Goëss III, f.16</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>33</td>
<td>Gauotte C:L:</td>
<td>a</td>
<td>Goëss III, f.23v</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>34</td>
<td>Rondeau C:L:</td>
<td>a</td>
<td>Goëss III, f.47v</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>35</td>
<td>Courente C:L:</td>
<td>g</td>
<td>Goëss IV, f.6v</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>36*</td>
<td>[Gavotte]</td>
<td>g</td>
<td>Goëss IV, f.7v</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>37</td>
<td>Sarabande C:L:</td>
<td>g</td>
<td>Goëss IV, f.8</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>38</td>
<td>Menuet C:L:</td>
<td>g</td>
<td>Goëss IV, f.8v</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Music Source</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>---</td>
<td>-------------</td>
<td>---</td>
<td>---</td>
<td>---</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
| 39 | Gigue C:L: | d | Goëss IV, f.10v | Rostock 52, f.9 lv ("Carillon des Cloches de Vienne")  
|   |   |   | Kremsmünster, f.18v ("Gigue," anon.; Flotzinger 803) |
| 40 | [Allemande] | G | Goëss V, f.20v |   |
| 41 | Courente C:L: | G | Goëss V, f.21v |   |
| 42 | Gavotte C:L: | G | Goëss V, f.22v | Vienna 18761, f.10 ("Gavotte;"
|   |   |   |   | Maier 417)\(^9\) |
| 43 | Gigue C:L: | G | Goëss V, f.23v |   |
| 44 | Menuet C:L: | G | Goëss V, f.24v | Vienna 18761, f.10v ("Menuette;"
|   |   |   |   | Maier 472)\(^9\) |
| 45* | [Bourée] | G | Goëss V, f.25v |   |
| 46 | Menuet C:L: | G | Goëss V, f.26v |   |
| 47 | Gavotte M' Conte Logii | d | Goëss VI, f.2 lv (cf. V. 73?) |   |
|   | Keyboard |   |   |   |
| 48 | Suite Allemande de C.L. | d | Kalmar 4b, f.42v (with double) | (from Rudén 3352) |
| 49 | Courante | d | Kalmar 4b, f.44v (with double) | (from Rudén 4165) |
| 50 | Sarabande | d | Kalmar 4b, f.46v (with double) | (from Rudén 4166) |
| 51 | Gigue | d | Kalmar 4b, f.48v (from Rudén 3474) |   |
|   | Melody instrument (violin?) |   |   |   |
| 52 | Entrée de M'le Comte Losgi | g | Vienna S.M.1813, f.1 (see "The Lute Music," p.10) |   |

\(^9\) These concordances cast further doubt on Vienna 18761 as a reliable source of ascriptions. Both pieces occur in a suite apparently ascribed there to "Weis;" the courante in that suite is, however, ascribed to Weiss in Göttingen, f.80v ("Courant du Weise").
## B. More doubtful possible Losy compositions

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>No.</th>
<th>Title in source</th>
<th>Key</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1+</td>
<td>Bourée</td>
<td>a</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2+</td>
<td>Gigue (by Hinterleithner?)</td>
<td>a</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3+</td>
<td>Bourée</td>
<td>Bb</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4+</td>
<td>Menuett</td>
<td>A</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5+</td>
<td>Menuet</td>
<td>Bb</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6+</td>
<td>Menuett Comte</td>
<td>G</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7+</td>
<td>Menuett du Comte</td>
<td>g</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Keyboard</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8+</td>
<td>Allemande Lege</td>
<td>d</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Source and concordances

Danby, p. 7 (follows 2* above)
Danby, p. 9 (follows 1+- above)
Kremsmünster, f. 41v ("Gigue sopra la furie della battaglia")
Hinterleithner 1699, f. 17
Danby, p. 106
Warsaw/Kniebandl, f. 287v ("Bourée")
Klagenfurt, f. 4v ("Boure")
Kalmar 21,072, f. 25v (between two Losy items)
Kalmar·21,072, f. 93v (entered in the same hand, and apparently at the same time, as the three preceding items, all by Losy)
Göttingen, f. 79v
Göttingen, f. 84v

Stockholm 2, f. 20 (from Rudén 3496)
APPENDIX 2: Losy Incipits Not on Vogl’s List

A. Definite or reasonably certain

1. Allemende Contralogy

2. Courante

3. Sarabande

4. Menuet

5. Bourée

6. Allemende Contralogy

7. Courante

8. Bourée

9. Allemende Contraology

10. Allemende Contraology
The incipits for 29, 39, and 34 are partly conjectural due to illegibility of the microfilm.
B. More doubtful possible Losy compositions

Bowé  e  p  a  i  v  u  r  v  r  a  a

Gigue

Bourée  p  a  a  r  a  a  a

Menuet  e  p  a  r  a  a  a
APPENDIX 3: Further Concordances of Losy works on Vogl’s List

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>No.</th>
<th>Source</th>
<th>Title in source and remarks</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>Amsterdam 205-B-32, f.19v</td>
<td>Sarabande (anon.)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10</td>
<td>Kalmar 21,072, f.90v</td>
<td>Allemande du Comte Logy</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Danby, p.101</td>
<td>Allemande (anon.)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>23</td>
<td>Warsaw 37, f.24v</td>
<td>Courante (anon.)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Vienna 1876 I, f.14</td>
<td>Courrente (Maier 475, suite ascribed to ’Weis’)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>28</td>
<td>Goëss V, f.30v</td>
<td>n.t. (anon.)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>31</td>
<td>Paris/Thibault, f.4v</td>
<td>Minuet (anon. — not a true concordance, but harmonically almost identical)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Menuette (Maier 488 — suite ascribed to ’Weis’)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>34</td>
<td>Vienna 1876 I, f.27v</td>
<td>Variation (<strong>sic!</strong> — anon.)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Stockholm/Nydhall, f.58v</td>
<td>Gigue (anon. — in 3/4)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Krakow/Berlin 40620, f.129</td>
<td>Gigue (anon. — in 12/8)</td>
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<tr>
<td>40</td>
<td>Kalmar 21,068, f.8v</td>
<td>Gigue (anon. — in 3/8 — from Rudén 771)</td>
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<td></td>
<td>Göttingen, f.6 lv</td>
<td>Gigue (anon. — in 3/8 — from Rudén 771)</td>
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<td></td>
<td>Lund G34, f.3v</td>
<td>Gigue (anon. — ms. dated 1672 — kbd.) La Gage (?)/Guigue (anon. — in 6/8 — kbd.); see App. 4</td>
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<td></td>
<td>Lund G37, f.11</td>
<td>n.t. (anon.)</td>
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<td></td>
<td>Darmstadt 18, f.3v</td>
<td>Rondeaux (anon.)</td>
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<td>Ottobeuren, p.147</td>
<td>Rondeau Par Weiss</td>
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<tr>
<td>42</td>
<td>Goëss V, f.28v</td>
<td>Rondeaux du meme (i.e., Losy)</td>
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<tr>
<td>112</td>
<td>Göttingen, f.40</td>
<td>Rondeau (anon. — from Rudén 1048)</td>
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<td>Haslemere, p.181</td>
<td>Rondeau (anon.)</td>
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<td>Kalmar 21,072, f.77v</td>
<td>n.t. (anon. — for archlute)</td>
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<td>Lund G37, f.21</td>
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<td>Warsaw/Kniebandl, f.10</td>
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<td>Washington/Leeds, f.36</td>
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<td>Page</td>
<td>Kalmar 21,068, f.9</td>
<td>Chaconne (anon. — Rudén 987)</td>
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<td>46</td>
<td>Kalmar 21,072, f.79v</td>
<td>Chiacone (anon. — Rudén 987)</td>
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<td>Lund G34, f.10</td>
<td>Chacoon (anon. — from Rudén 904=987?)</td>
</tr>
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<td>72, 106</td>
<td>Stockholm S174, f.31</td>
<td>n.t. (from Rudén 3898=987)</td>
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<tr>
<td>110</td>
<td>Kalmar 21,068, f.10</td>
<td>Air de M'l le Comte de Loge</td>
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<td>107</td>
<td>Lund G34, f.50</td>
<td>n.t. (anon. — from Rudén 464)</td>
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<td>Kalmar 4b, f.6v</td>
<td>Air (anon. — from Rudén 3305 — kbd.)</td>
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<td></td>
<td>Danby, p.61</td>
<td>Allemende (anon. — in A)</td>
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<tr>
<td>108</td>
<td>Vienna/Harrach, p.52</td>
<td>Allemende (anon. — in A)</td>
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<td></td>
<td>Warsaw 37, f.24</td>
<td>Allemende (anon. — in A)</td>
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<td>109</td>
<td>Danby, p.63</td>
<td>Courante (anon. — in A)</td>
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<td>Vienna/Harrach, p.54</td>
<td>Courrante (anon. in — in A)</td>
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<td>Kalmar 21,072, f.73v</td>
<td>Gavott de Comte Logi</td>
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<td>Stockholm S174, f.25</td>
<td>Aria (anon. — from Rudén 3282 — kbd.)</td>
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<tr>
<td>111</td>
<td>Danby, p.69</td>
<td>Gigue (anon. — in A)</td>
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<tr>
<td>113</td>
<td>Danby, p.67</td>
<td>Echo (anon. — in A)</td>
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<td></td>
<td>Warsaw 37, f.26v</td>
<td>Echo (anon. — in A)</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Vienna/Harrach, p.54</td>
<td>Echo (anon. — in A)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>114</td>
<td>Kalmar 21,072, f.75</td>
<td>Caprice du meme (i.e., Losy — in C)</td>
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<td></td>
<td>Lund G37, f.15v</td>
<td>Praetorium (anon. — from Rudén 110)</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Kalmar 4a, f.4v</td>
<td>n.t. (anon. — from Rudén 3167=110 — kbd.)</td>
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</table>

129, 106, 115: The tune is known as early as 1612. See Praetorius' *Terpsichore*, Wolfenbüttel, 1612, No. CLXXXIII, Courante.

*Contreparties*, possibly by Losy himself, to V.16 and V.125 occur, inverted, on the facing page (f.28r) in the sole surviving source, Paris/Thibault. These are published as if separate pieces in DTO, pp. 8-9.
APPENDIX 4:
Musical Sources Cited and Bibliography

A. Musical Sources Cited

Amsterdam 205-B-32 Stichting Toonkunst-Bibliothek, Amsterdam, ms. 205-B-32. Late 17th-century lute tablature. Full description in van Reijen.

Berlin 40627 West Berlin, Staatsbibliothek, Preussischer Kulturbesitz, Ms. mus. 40627. Lute tablature dated 1694/95.


Darmstadt 18 Hessische Landes- und Hochschulbibliothek, Darmstadt, Mus. Ms. 18. German keyboard tablature dated 1672. The title page states explicitly that the music is arranged for "spinet" from music for lute and mandore. See Gustafson, Vol. I, pp.41-42.

Gottingen Niedersächsische Staats- und Universitätsbibliothek, Göttingen, Ms. Philos. 84k. Lute tablature, ca. 1710.


Kalmar 21,068, 21,072 Läns Museum, Kalmar, Sweden, mss. 21/068 and 21,072. Early 18th-century lute tablatures — 21,072 probably of Austrian origin. Full inventory and thematic index in Rudén.

Kalmar 4a, 4b Stangeliussskolan, Kalmar, Sweden, Musikhandskrift 4a and 4b. Early 18th-century keyboard tablatures. Full inventory and thematic index in Rudén.

Klagenfurt Kärntner Landesarchiv, Klagenfurt, Austria, ms. 5/37. Early 18th-century lute tablatures. Extracts published in KlimaF.

Klosterneuburg Bibliothek des Augustiner-Chorherrenstifts, Klosterneuburg, Austria, Ms. 1255. Early 18th-century lute tablatures.

Krakow/Berlin 40620 Biblioteka Jagiellońska, Krakow, Poland; formerly Berlin, Deutsche Staatsbibliothek Mus. ms. 40620. Lute tablature dated 1701.

Kremsmünster Benediktinerstift, Kremsmünster, Austria, ms. L83. Early 18th-century lute tablature. Full thematic inventory in Flotzinger.


Rostock 52 University Library, Rostock, East Germany, Ms. mus. saec. XVII 52. Lute tablature dated 1722.

Stockholm/Nydahl Stiftelsen Musikkulturens Främjande, Stockholm, ms. without signature. Formerly owned by Rudolf Nydahl and previously by Dr. Werner Wolffheim, Berlin (Wolffheim sale catalog no. 64). Lute tablature, early 18th-century. In the same script (and therefore presumably of the same provenance) as _Warsaw_ 37. and _Warsaw_ Kniebandl. Full inventory and thematic index in _Rudén_.

Stockholm 2 Kungl. Musikaliska Akademiens Bibliotek, Stockholm, ms. Tabulatur nr. 2. Early 18th-century Swedish keyboard tablature containing several lute pieces. Full inventory and thematic index in _Rudén_.


Vienna 18761 Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, Vienna, Ms mus. 18761. Early 18th-century lute tablature. Thematic inventory in _Maier_, pp.105-112.

Vienna S.M.1813 Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, Vienna, Ms. Suppl. Mus. 1813. A violin (?) part apparently to “Lautenkonzerte” or possibly arrangements of lute music for other instruments; several lute composers represented. Thematic inventory in _Klima V_.

Vienna Harrach Allgemeines Verwaltungsarchiv des Österreichischen Staatsarchivs, Vienna, Archiv Graf Harrach Nr. 120. Lute tablature ca. 1710-1737. Thematic inventory in _Klima H_.


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B. Bibliography


Flotzinger Rudolf Flotzinger, Die Lautentabulaturen des Stiftes Kremsmünster. Thematischer Katalog, Vienna, 1965. Numbers quoted are incipit numbers from this catalog.


KlimaF Josef Klima, ed., Fünf Partien aus einem Kärntner Lautenbuch, Graz, 1965 (Musik Alter Meister, 16)


Maier Elisabeth Maier, Die Lautentabulaturhandschriften der Österreichischen Nationalbibliothek 17. und 18. Jahrhundert, Vienna, 1974 (Tabulae Musicae Austriacae, Vol. VIII). Numbers quoted are incipit numbers from this thematic catalog.


Rudén Jan Olof Rudén, Music in Tablature, Stockholm, 1981 (Musik i Sverige, Vol. 5). Full descriptions, inventories, and thematic indices of Swedish tablature manuscript sources. In Appendices 1 and 3 of this article, the note “from Rudén” implies that the information comes solely from Rudén.

APPENDIX 5:
Losy, Weiss, and "Les Cloches de Vienne"

On page 11 of "The Lute Music" and again on pp. 16-17, Vogl makes the assumption that the ascription to Losy of the gigue V.40 is beyond question. This is based on the Vienna source (Ms. 17706, p.48), where its title reads: "Gigue du Co. Logis de Vienne en Austriche." It is important to point out that the incipit appears in an incorrect form both in Vogl's list and in Maier's thematic inventory (no. 417). In this source the first strain of the gigue is unbarred and only two rhythm signs are present before the double bar:

Ex. 1, Vienna 17706, p.48, "Gigue du Co. Logis de Vienne en Austriche"

In the second strain the scribe has attempted to impose a metrical order on the notes, but he has used a triple-time barring (3/4) with no consideration of harmonic rhythm or phrase lengths. This error probably arose through confusion by the dotted notation of the source from which the piece was copied, for the rhythm signs are substantially correct: if rebarred in 4/4, the second half presents few problems of interpretation. The scribe, who had "solved" the rhythm of the second half — at least to his own satisfaction — left the first strain unmeasured, realizing, as Maier and Vogl appear not to have done, that a mechanical application of the same rhythm sign groups (\(\frac{\text{oh}}{\text{oh}}\)) to the first strain leads to nonsense. Comparison with concordant sources clarifies the matter. The opening contains a realization of the conventional separé no-

\[\text{Footnote:} \quad 20\text{Dr. Vogl's edition of the piece in Z Loutnových Tabulatur Českého Baroka (Prague: Musica Viva Historica, Vol. 3), p. 49, is invalid for the same reason.}\]
The version of the piece in Berlin 40068 presents the duple-time dotted notation in a consistent and correct form, though time values are doubled.

This notation only works satisfactorily if the group \( \frac{3}{8} \) is interpreted as a triplet group \( \frac{3}{4} \) — a not unusual equivalence of the time. Several other concordant versions of the piece reveal this explicitly, although there is some confusion in the sources. For example, in the version copied into Vaudry de Saizenay's lute book ca. 1699, the rhythm is equal duple meter, and Saizenay's original title “Gavotte” has been crossed out and replaced by “Gigue.” But does this indicate that Saizenay, unaware of its original title, at first played the piece strictly as written, to sound indeed not unlike a gavotte, and subsequently altered his way of playing it after realizing its true character as a gigue, or did just the title change?21

To make clearer the diversity of rhythmic notations, here are the first bars of seven versions of the piece presented in parallel.

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Ex. 2, seven versions of Losy’s “gigue.”

West Berlin 40068, f.75v, “Cigue” [sic]

Darmstadt Ms.18, f.3v, “Gigue”

Ottobeuren, f.147, “La Gage/Guigque”

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21 In fact, even a fair number of gavottes of the early 18th century appear in various sources with dotted or equal notation, presumably expressing more or less explicit realization of the convention of notes inégales.
So it can be confidently stated that, notwithstanding its confident ascription to Losy, the Vienna source of this piece is sadly lacking musically, and does grave disservice to its composer, whoever he may be. Vogl uses the argument that the existence of a version of this piece by Losy in Italian tablature proves the longevity of that form of notation. But further consideration of the earlier sources shows that the piece properly belongs to the mid-17th century, although its popularity ensured its inclusion in many later anthologies. That it was certainly in Losy’s own repertoire will be shown below and may explain the attribution of the piece to him and its juxtaposition with Losy works in these later sources.

The two early manuscripts cited by Vogl where the piece appears in duple-time, dotted notation are Berlin, Staatsbibliothek, Preussischer Kulturbesitz Ms. mus. 40068 and Nuremberg, Germanisches Nationalmuseum ms. 33748/M271/VI. Both of these were owned at one time and partially compiled by the 17th-century lute enthusiast Count Christian Franz von Wolckenstein und Rodenegg, who apparently studied in Parma in the 1650s. The Nuremberg manuscript is actually the sixth fascicle of a miscellany of several manuscripts, some for lute, some for keyboard, one vocal, and a rare example of a violin tablature. It is probable that they all come from the col-
lection of the Wolckenstein family. The fascicle in question has 22 pieces for lute in Italian tablature for 11-course lute in various tunings.

Berlin 40068 bears the ownership note "Ex lib: Christ: Francisci Co: de Wolckenstein und Rodenegg in Collegio Parmensi A: 1:6:5:6:." It seems that Wolckenstein wrote this in a (somewhat earlier?) book already containing music in Italian tablature for lìutto attiorbato, for the basis of the manuscript is in the old tuning, and a diagram of folio 3 in the earlier (Italian?) hand gives the tuning as for an instrument with 13 courses. Very broadly speaking, and simplifying a complex copying situation — very many hands are at work in this book — two principal subseqent layers of additions were made: 1) probably by Wolckenstein himself, presumably ca. 1656, and 2) ca. 1700. In layer 1 most of the pieces from the Nuremberg manuscript occur again either in Italian tablature, or transcribed into French tablature. Among these is the gigue V.40. In layer 2 occurs Losy's chaconne V.46, anonymously. It is therefore extremely unlikely that the gigue V.40, copied here ca. 1656, was composed by Losy, who was born about 1650!

Two other 17th-century sources quoted in Ex. 2 should be mentioned. Both are for keyboard, one dated 1672, the other twenty years later, and place V.40 in the company of arrangements of lute music of an earlier generation than Losy's. The first, Darmstadt 18, is one of a pair for "Spinet" explicitly containing music arranged from lute and mandore pieces by Gumprecht, Strobel, Vieux Gaultier and Dubut père. The piece in question occurs on folios 3v-4 as the penultimate movement of a suite in D minor (ff. 1-4v): Prelude, Allemande Gumprecht (lute version in West Berlin ms. 40601, Stockmans, no. 12), Courante (by Dubut père; CNRS ed. no. 38. A "paraphrase" of the piece with a double is in Stockmans nos. 13 and 14), Sarabande, Gigue (V.40), Gïldene Sonn (a song setting?). The other, Octobeuren, in ordinary notation dated 1695, contains a section of 11 suites, each called "Partia" and numbered, and an isolated pavan, all apparently arranged from lute pieces, since the named composers are Gauthier, Pinel, Dufaut and "Mr. de lobert" which Gustafson suggests may be a misspelling for "Lambert." Most of the movements are given fanciful titles not always found in other sources. V.40 occurs on pp. 147-148 as the last movement of an anonymous suite in mid-17th century style: Partia Vndecima, LaGreable Allda, L'aymable Courr, La succinte Sarab. (with Double), La Gage (sic! Sage?) Gicque (V.40).

An explanation of the apparent misattribution of this gigue to Losy could follow the line that it was indeed a piece in his repertoire as a player — we must assume that he played not only his own music. That the piece, or at least its opening, was part of the common stock of lutenists around 1700 is shown by another gigue occurring a few pages later in Vienna 17706. This somewhat bizarre piece is entitled Gigue de Angelin de Rome.22

22One of the theorbo pieces later in the manuscript (Maier 434 — the incipit is mistranscribed in G tuning without the theorbo's octave displacement of the two upper courses) is ascribed to "Angelo Michele," who, one assumes, might be the Angelo Michele Bartolomi of Bologna whose Table pour apprendre facilement à toucher le Théorbe sur la Basse contintile was published in Paris by Ballard in 1669. (The manuscript of the Table was complete some three years
Ex. 3, Vienna 17706, p.52, "Gigue de Angelin de Rome"
Virtually the same opening motif is used, but an octave lower, in the anonymous "guique la de (?) Cloches de Vienne" from a Rostock University manuscript, Ms. mus. saec. XVII. 18.53.1.B. folio 5v (or 7v? — a leaf is apparently missing from the film).23 (See Ex. 4)

But the final link in the chain of evidence is provided by the following piece from Goëss IV, a source of several "new" Losy items. The "Gigue C:L:" on f.10v is also found anonymously in another Rostock manuscript, Rostock 52, f.9 lv, and there it is called "Carillon des Cloches de Vienne." It immediately precedes another Losy item (see Appendix 2, no. 23). (See Ex. 5)

Losy's device, inherited by S. L. Weiss, of using repeated notes on alternating stopped and open courses (see Appendix 2, nos. 23, 26, etc.) opens both strains, but in the second bar, and again in bar 14 (at this point a petite reprise is marked in Rostock 52; cf. the strikingly similar reprise at bar 56 of Ex. 4), there is an exact quotation of the "Cloches de Vienne" or V.40 opening motif.

Probably the compiler of Vienna 17706 confused this original piece by Losy, containing a parodical quotation of the "Cloches de Vienne" theme, with the gigue from which Losy was quoting, and ascribed the latter (V.40) to Losy. V.40 does not seem to have originated in Vienna — none of the early sources seems to be Austrian in origin. Whether the piece reminded 18th-century listeners of Viennese church bells, or whether the reference is to the campanella effect on the lute, is open to conjecture. Possibly a close study of other Viennese sources of domestic music of the time — for keyboard or other media — would provide the answer.

An extra-musical significance for the effect would help to explain the frequency of Silvius Weiss' use of the idea as exemplified in the following incipits from nine of his gigues.24 (See Ex. 6)

earlier; see H. Quittard, Le Théorbe comme Instrument d'Accompagnement, (Paris, 1980), a reprint of his article with the same title that appeared in a rare periodical S. I. M. Revue Musical Mensuelle, Vol. VI, Nos. 4 (April 1910) and 6 (June 1910). Five pieces by "Angelo Michel" occur in the Goëss theorbo tablature book.

23The reading of the piece and its title is that of the late David S. Phillips; I have not seen an adequate film of this manuscript.

24The pieces are numbered according to Douglas Alton Smith, "The Late Sonatas of Silvius Leopold Weiss" (Ph.D. diss. Stanford University, 1977). Pages 125-270 are a thematic index of Weiss' solo works for lute. Only Smith's primary source is cited, using his manuscript sigla.
Ex. 4, Rostock XVII, 18.53\textsuperscript{\textit{ii}}, f.5v(?), “guig la de(?) Cloches de Vienne”
Ex. 5, Goëss IV, f.10v, “Gigue C:L:”

1 Supplied from Rostock 52, fol. 91v, “Carillon des Cloches de Vienne”
2 Goess, r on 5; Rostock, r on 4.
Ex. 6, Gignes by S. L. Weiss

Smith No. 17, "Giga"

Smith No. 44, "Gigue"

Smith No. 60, "Gigue"

Smith No. 91, "Gigue"

Smith No. 133, "Gigue"

Smith No. 224, "Gigue"

Smith No. 240, "Gigue"

Smith No. 402, "Guigue"

Smith No. 553, n.t.
REVIEWS


Lundgren Musik-Edition (Ungererstrasse 135, D-8000 Munich 40, West Germany) is a recent example of a modern publishing phenomenon: the independent firm begun by a practicing musician to produce music that would probably fail to attract a mass market or the attention of the major publishing houses. It calls to mind similar boutique publishers such as Peter Päffgen’s Institutio Pro Arte Testudinis and Stanley Buetens’ Instrumenta Antiqua Publications.

Stefan Lundgren is a native of Sweden and a graduate of the Schola Cantorum in Basle where he studied with Eugen Dombois and Hopkinson Smith. He has also toured with James Tyler. The first five prints from his small, Munich-based operation display an adventuresome
spirit and offer considerable variety. All follow a somewhat similar format, providing an introduction in German and English, a presentation of the music in French tablature (no transcriptions are included), and closing critical commentaries. The two books of ricercari also include a brief essay by Gerhard Söhne on "The Lute in the First Half of the 16th Century" that contains advice on such practical matters as string tension and is well worth reading. The English duet book, the first volume in a projected series of four, contains separate parts for each instrument, thus avoiding page turns. The tablature is hand-copied, but very legible as the ink contrasts well with the excellent paper stock. In some of the longer ricercari (and occasionally in very thick textures) the tablature gets a bit crowded, but Lundgren has avoided page turns completely. These are practical editions with a number of left hand fingerings added by the editor. At the same time, however, there are generally enough details given in the critical commentaries to satisfy all but the most fastidious scholar.

Little is known about Marco de l'Aquila (also spelled dall'Aquila), who was one of the most important lutenists in the period just before Francesco da Milano. His name is mentioned together with Francesco's and that of Alberto da Ripa as being a worthy successor to Giovanni Maria Alemanni and G. A. Testagrosso. (This statement comes from the preface by Francesco Marcolini in Francesco da Milano's Intabolatura de Liuto published in 1536.) Such distinguished company is not to be taken lightly. For his de l'Aquila volume Lundgren has selected ten ricercari from Ms. 266 in the Bavarian State Library, the main source of the composer's music, and two from Casteliono's Intabolatura de Leuto de Diversi Autori of 1536. The Casteliono ricercari have appeared in print more than once before, but those in the Munich manuscript come as a major addition to the repertoire. This is pleasant music to read through, with plenty of rhythmic drive and a few unusual touches. Number 1 is written "sans chanterelle" and number 4 repeats the first 18 measures verbatim beginning with measure 25.

Simon Gintzler belongs to the generation of Francesco and served as court musician to Christoforo Mudrazzo (1512-1578), Cardinal and Prince-Bishop of Trent. His only known lute book was published in 1547 and bears a dedication to Cardinal Mudrazzo (I have followed the spelling given in The New Grove; Lundgren spells the Cardinal's name "Madruzzo.") Other than vocal transcriptions, the 1547 book contains six ricercari, the pieces appearing in Lundgren's edition. These ricercari seem to have met with some success as Hans Gerle included four of them in his Lautenbuch of 1552 and Pierre Phalèse selected several of them for inclusion in three of his anthologies. They are generally a bit more difficult to play than l'Aqui-
la’s ricercari, and the editor’s well-chosen fingerings are helpful. Mus-
cially, I prefer l’Aquilia, but this is purely a matter of taste. Concor-
dances and alternate readings in Gerle and Phalese are provided.

The book of English duets includes 13 pieces drawn from a variety
of sources. When this series of four volumes is complete, it will pro-
vide a practical edition of no less than 50 of these pieces. Volume I
contains a mixture of “equal” and “treble-ground” duets. This may
not be clear at first glance since the editor has written out the parts of
the treble-ground pieces so the players automatically switch parts at
the end of each variation. No clue is given as to which pieces are thus
affected beyond the general statement “The editor [sic] has redivided
certain trebles and grounds between the players as in ‘Equal’ duet
form.” I have no objection to players exchanging parts in treble-
ground duets and, in fact, many will find this an attractive feature of
this edition. I do think, however, that it should have been made clear
which these “certain trebles and grounds” are. One is John Johnson’s
“The New Hunt is Up.” The treble comes from the Trumball Lute
Book and the ground from the Marsh Library manuscript. Others in-
clude the little piece “A Treble” from British Library Add. MS 31392
and the ubiquitous “Green Sleeves” (Folger 1610.1). Among the
equal duets are Johnson’s “Leveche Pavan” and its ensuing galliard.
These have been taken from the Wickhambrook manuscript.

Those who read Tim Crawford’s article in this issue of the Journal
should find Lundgren’s edition of two Losy suites of interest. Both
suites come from Kalmar manuscript KLM 21.072 and are thus not
mentioned in Emil Vogl’s article on Losy that appeared in the 1981
Journal. The first suite, in D minor, consists of the six movements
Crawford lists as numbers 10 through 15 in his Appendix I. To these
Lundgren has added the short anonymous prelude in D minor that
appears on the page before the allemand in the Kalmar manuscript.
This prelude is probably not by Losy, as Kenneth Sparr makes clear in
his preface to this edition. The second suite is in B-flat and contains
four movements. The allemand appeared as number 10 in Vogl’s
index since it is transmitted in another source (D-Bds 40620, now in
Poland). The courante is No. 22 in Crawford’s list and the gigue is
No. 23. The fourth movement of the B-flat suite is the menuet which
appears without ascription in the manuscript between the courante
and gigue. Crawford lists it as 5+ in his “more doubtful” category.
The music is not profound, but very graceful and should be welcomed
by baroque lutenists, especially since it comes from a relatively
obscure source. Sparr’s introduction provides a convenient summary
of the seven manuscripts in Kalmar containing Losy’s music.

As with the Losy suites, Charles Mouton’s “Suite in G minor” has
also been taken from Kalmar KLM 21.072. As far as is known, none
of its seven movements appears in any other source. This edition, therefore, is a must for anyone interested in Mouton. Kenneth Sparr has again written the introduction and cites three other Swedish sources containing music by this French master. The music is up to Mouton's high standards. I only wish each of the seven movements were a bit longer. Brevity can be carried too far.

—Peter Danner

THOMAS MORLEY, FIRST BOOK OF CONSORT LESSONS. Edited by William Casey. Published by the Markham Press Fund of Baylor University Press, 1982.

Thomas Morley's *First Booke of Consort Lessons* (1599 and 1611) has intrigued scholars and performers for years. This publication, scored for six different instruments (treble viol, flute, treble lute, cittern, pandora, and bass viol), has been mentioned as having special significance because of its "precise instrumentation...calling for a particular instrument on each part."1 Many recordings of it have also been issued, making the music relatively familiar to modern listeners. Lute players in particular have looked to these pieces as the epitome of the craft of virtuosic ornamentation and have set themselves the goal of performing them. The technical level required has been often quite sobering and only a few lute players have been able to perform them in a credible way, technically and musically. Perhaps there would be more performances if the instruments and music were readily available.

Sidney Beck's edition of the complete *First Booke*, published in 1959, has whetted the appetites of many performers. Players have worked to assemble the right instruments or close facsimiles thereof, but they have had to laboriously copy and reintabulate the parts from Beck's edition. A modern edition has been needed for years and this is what William Casey has set out to do with his publication. In his preface he states:

> The main purpose of the present edition is to provide a set of part books, similar in format to those of the original editions, which will make all twenty-five pieces more readily available.

Unfortunately, Morley's edition survives in an incomplete form. The lute book is missing from both editions, while the treble viol book is also missing from the 1599 edition and the cittern and bass viol books are missing as well from the 1611 edition. Luckily, a set of manuscript part books in Cambridge contains some of the missing parts and thus many of the pieces can be reassembled. Beck edited all of them, reconstituting the missing parts. However, most modern performers have found the lute parts that he composed to be unsatisfactory, another reason for a new edition of this excellent music.

In general, if an editor is to make a modern edition of older music, one would assume that the reason for doing so would be:

1) To make the music accessible to more performers.

2) If possible, to improve upon the original through the deletion of wrong notes and the addition of rehearsal letters and/or numbers. Better legibility and usability should also be a goal of a modern edition.

3) To provide adequate, idiomatic replacements for those parts that might be missing.

Mr. Casey has partially achieved two of these goals. The new availability of tablature parts for the lute, cittern and pandora will be a valuable resource for modern performers. The addition of rehearsal letters and corrected notes do represent improvements over the original, although unfortunately the editor has added some new wrong notes. For instance, in the lute part of "Lachrimae Pavin" there is an extra chord in the fourth measure, and the second measure of the third section has a wrong bass note.

In view of the $45 price tag, one might expect more assets and fewer liabilities than are actually found in this edition. From the point of view of usability and legibility, for example, Casey has created far more problems than he has solved. While the original part books were fairly compact, the amount of paper needed for this publication has been tripled or quadrupled. Casey has chosen to include both the original notation and a modern rendition of each piece in every part book. On the surface this seems to be a fine idea as it allows performers to learn to read original notation. The effect, however, is to create an impractical edition. In more extended pieces, such as "De la Tromba Pavin," new page turns are created in the treble viol part. Longer lute parts, such as "Lachrimae Pavin," often require three or four page turns to play a single piece. This is hardly a practical edition. Even if one were to photocopy the pages, it would necessitate a large music stand and would be nearly impossible in a performance to do more than one composition without stopping for a paper shuffle. This is certainly not an improvement over the original, which took but one page. Furthermore, between the rather amateurish calligraphy and the
large amount of waste space between the notes, these part books are not easy to read.

Closer examination of the lute part book in this edition reveals an even greater problem. Casey has failed to write idiomatic replacements for the missing parts. All of the extant parts for the pieces found in Morley have diminutions of the reprise of every section. Casey's edition has only a simple lute part — except for "Response Pavin" which is rather canonic and therefore relatively easy to reconstruct — choosing to provide only a skeletal framework which "allows the performer freedom to improvise." The idea has some merit, but I could count on one hand the modern lutenists who might have the expertise to improvise idiomatic divisions. More importantly, this music seems to have had the tradition of written divisions. Nearly all of the extant lute parts for this ensemble have divisions written out. It should have been the responsibility of the editor to supply adequate and idiomatic replacement parts. This lack of good, newly composed parts will be a great disappointment to any lute player who might buy this edition.

Many other problems stem from the editor's obvious lack of familiarity with the lute. For instance, the following chords and passages are almost never found in lute music:

A. Galliard to the Quadro Pavin, m. 7  
B. Quadro Pavin, m. 16  
C. Captaine Pipers Pavin, m. 5

In the first example, the low single note on the fifth course would not have been heard in an ensemble context. This is idiomatic for a keyboard but not a lute. An Elizabethan lutenist would have written something on the upper courses. In the second example (quite apart from the parallel fifths), it is unusual to play a bass and an open string and then go to a bar chord while holding that bass note. In the third example, the second chord is best played with a bar chord, putting the note f (open 4th course) as a tablature f on the fifth course.

I do not have the sense that Casey had read all of the current research on the consort lessons. For instance, why did he write a part for "Monsieurs Almain" when original parts exist in the Schele Manuscript (Hamburg, Staats- und Universitätsbibliothek Ms. M B/2768), pp. 147-148; Folger Shakespeare Library Ms. 1610.1, folio 13; or even the part in Cambridge University Library Dd. 9.33, folios
Robert Spencer has also noted that the lute duet version of the "Quadro Galliard" (B.L. Egerton 2046, ff. 12v-13 and other manuscripts) would fit with this consort setting. Although this is not the consort part, it would have been nice to have had it published for lack of another part.

Following the example of "My Lord of Oxenford's Maske," Mr. Casey could have used a solo setting of several of the pieces as a possible lute part. For instance, "The Frog Galliard" and "The Lord Zouches Maske" could have been completed by the settings in Folger Library 1610.1, f. 12v and f. 8. On the other hand, it is quite unlikely that the lute song setting found in the Turpyn Book of Songs is really the missing lute part to "Joyne Hands" as Beck suggests and Casey follows. It is unlike few extant consort lesson lute parts, since it lacks divisions. A much better one can be written.

Other scholarly problems exist in the introductions. For instance, Casey says "The early instruments best suited for the flute book are the Renaissance bass flute (six-hole) and the bass recorder." This is patently false. There is no question that the main instrument intended for the consort lesson is the tenor flute. This whole issue has already been discussed in some detail. All publications call for the flute. One manuscript indicates "the recorder parte," but in this manuscript the parts have been rearranged to fit the recorder. One has only to look at the ornamented flute parts to "Responce Pavin" and "Phillips Pavin" in the Walsingham consort books ("Lady Frances Sidney's Good-night") to see that these parts range two octaves from D to c'. this is only possible on the tenor flute. Let us please finally put this bass recorder and bass flute nonsense to rest.


"Responce Pavin" may be seen in Warwick Edwards, Music for Mixed Consort (Musica Britannica, Vol. XL, No. 1).
In the treble viol book Casey states "...the main melodic line is usually assigned to the treble viol. If one is not available, either a viola or a violin might serve in its place. A Baroque model of either instrument, because of the gut strings and other features as well, would serve even better." The "Baroque violin" as we know it in the 20th century did not exist. There was a violin in common use at the end of the 16th century (shall we call it the "Renaissance violin?") which differs substantially from the so-called "Baroque violin." This instrument is shown in place of the treble viol in most extant pictures of the six-instrument consort. More energy needs to be focussed to bring this instrument into more common usage.

In the pandora book, the editor states that "as a last resort, the pandora parts might be played on a harpsichord." This should definitely be the last resort. It misconstrues the intention of the ensemble. Every instrument of this ensemble is expressive, that is, it has dynamic flexibility. A harpsichord lacks this flexibility and therefore in playing these parts on a harpsichord a great deal of the musical potential is lost.

In summary, this edition is a great disappointment. It is an edition that needed to be done, but it should have used the most current scholarship and knowledge so that all of the possibilities of the Morley consort lessons would be readily available to a performer. Unfortunately, yet another edition of the First Booke of Consort Lessons must be done. Although Casey's edition might save some time in copying parts and might allow more persons to try the music, its cost will still be prohibitive to most. Moreover, because of the lack of good lute parts, most who try it will still not learn the joys and exquisiteness of this music. And that is the greatest shame.

—Lyle Nordstrom


The example of Adam Falckenhagen (1697-1760?) demonstrates yet again the coexistence and flux of different musical styles during the baroque era. He is a scant eleven years younger than S. L. Weiss, but his music belongs to a totally new generation. Weiss brought to its peak the high baroque style; Falckenhagen, even though he knew Weiss and was doubtless influenced by him, exemplifies the galant.

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The surviving works of Falckenhagen comprise a dozen solo lute sonatas, a dozen hymns with variations, several individual lute solo pieces, a duet for two lutes, eight complete and some incomplete sonatas and concertos for lute with bowed strings. Other works are known to be lost. Falckenhagen’s Opus 1, the first book of solo sonatas, was dedicated to Sophie Wilhelmine, Margravine of Bayreuth and herself a lutenist, who was the composer’s sovereign for the latter part of his life. The published pieces of Falckenhagen (dedicated to Wilhelmine, her mother, and Duke Ernst August of Saxony) are for the most part composed in a very insubstantial, even trivial style, while the fugue and great prelude in the Augsburg manuscript are considerably more ambitious. The former are short and are characterized by frequent lapses into monotonous repetition, simple harmonies, and overly predictable phrases. In the ensemble works lengthy sections feature the lute and top melody instrument in embellished unison. The “Preludio nel quale sono contenuti tutti i tuoni musicali” (prelude in all 24 keys), on the other hand, runs 18 pages in the manuscript and is thus the largest single movement in the lute’s entire literature; some of it is soporific, but many sections are harmonically daring or beautifully melodic.

The present complete edition is the first attempt to make the works of Falckenhagen available, and the editor and publisher have done lutenists and scholars a service by publishing them in facsimile. Unfortunately, the books’ print quality leaves a good deal to be desired. They appear to have been reproduced on a xerox-process copy machine rather than an offset press, so that the old manuscripts and prints, themselves sometimes blurred or faint, have lost more resolution in the reproduction. Some sections are quite washed out and difficult to read. The binding allows the books to lie flat on a music stand, a considerate gesture to performers. Separate parts for the flute and strings are arranged to facilitate performance.

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