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A Chitarrone and Lute Manuscript for Stefano Pignatelli*

By J. Michael Allsen

THE NEARLY FIFTY ITALIAN MANUSCRIPTS of tablature for the lute and related instruments that date from the 17th century are an important but largely unstudied body of sources that deserve greater scholarly attention.¹ One of the most interesting of these sources is an early 17th-century book of Italian tablature for chitarrone and lute that now resides in the Biblioteka Jagiellonska in Kraków, Poland [Pl-Kj Mus. Ms.40591, hereafter Kraków 40591.] Very little is known about the manuscript, as it was presumed lost after its disappearance from Berlin at the end of World War II.² A relatively small manuscript in terms of the repertoire it contains, Kraków 40591 is nevertheless significant as one of the earliest sources of chitarrone music and as an entrée into the life of its first owner, Cardinal Stefano Pignatelli. This study will provide the details of the book's construction, provenance, and dating, and will discuss several of its works. Finally, it will briefly explore the political and musical life of Pignatelli, a hitherto unnoticed Roman musical devotee and patron.

I

The Kraków manuscript comprises 62 folios contained in an original

¹ This is a revised version of a paper that was read at the Fall, 1985 meeting of the Midwest Chapter of the American Musicological Society (Urbana, Illinois, 20 October 1985). The initial research was done as a part of a University of Wisconsin-Madison graduate seminar in 17th-century Italian lute music that was directed by Victor Coelho. I would like to thank the other members of the seminar, Ruth Mack McCosh, David Achenbach, and Bryan James, for their criticism and input, and Lawrence Earp, William Pastille, Barbara Strauss, and Kevin Mason for their helpful comments. Finally, I would like to express my gratitude to Victor Coelho, without whose suggestions and sharing of materials this study would not have been possible.

² The main source of documentation on these manuscripts is Wolfgang Boetticher's Handschriften überlieferte Lauten- und Gitarren Tabulaturen des 15. bis 18. Jahrhunderts, RISM Series B, Vol. 7 (München, 1978). However, Boetticher is only able to provide a relatively small amount of information on each individual source. Victor Coelho (University of Calgary) is completing a study that will catalog and list concordances between all of the 17th-century sources of Italian tablature.

² The manuscript disappeared from the Preussische Staatsbibliothek in 1945 (Boetticher, p. 33), but Coelho was recently able to trace it to Poland with the help of librarians at the Berlin library.
parchment binding. As noted in the catalog included in the Appendix to this article, only three of the book’s eighteen works are titled, and there are no composer attributions. It is somewhat larger (35 x 24 cm.) than most contemporary Italian sources, many of which are in a small oblong format. All folios are ruled with ten six-line staves, but two different rastra were used to do the ruling — one for folios 1 through 23 and another for folios 24 through 62. The appearance of the second rastrum on f. 24 corresponds with the appearance of a new hand and a new type of repertoire. The second hand is sloppier than the first (see examples 1 and 2), but the tablature in both parts of the book is clear, nearly error-free, and easily readable. The sequence of pieces within both sections of Kraków 40591 is certainly not the result of ordering by mode or genre, although some groups of pieces like nos. 6, 7, and 8 (the only works with titles) which appear on a single opening, may at least indicate that there are several chronological layers.

Although it was difficult to discern all of the manuscript’s construction from the microfilm used in preparing this study, the stitching that was visible on the film indicates that the inside front cover and the first 23 folios have a regular structure composed of 6 gatherings containing two nested bifolios each. Given the clear change in rastra, handwriting and repertoire at f.24, and the regular construction of the manuscript up to this point, it is likely that Kraków 40591 began its life as two separate fascicles — one containing chitarrone music and the other containing lute music — that were nevertheless closely connected in time and place, perhaps being used by the same person. These two fascicles were then bound together fairly soon after compilation.

There are no instruments mentioned in the book, but we can infer from the music itself which types of lute are intended. The tablature in Fascicle 1 calls for an 11-course instrument, and the relatively large number of unfretted bass strings and their prominence in the music clearly indicate an archlute or chitarrone. However, it is the nature of the passage-work in Fascicle 1 that is most revealing. Most of the works include passages that jump from the first to the third course that would involve skips of a seventh

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3 All references to manuscripts in the body of this article will use the abbreviations listed at the end of the Appendix.

4 The presence of very basic left- and right-hand fingering indications throughout the manuscript suggests that it was used by a student or amateur.

5 It is impossible to derive the structure of the remainder of the book by this means, but the disappearance of visible stitching after f.23 suggests that the construction may change at this point. Because of its present location, I have not been able to examine the manuscript itself to verify this hypothesis or to determine paper-types.
Example 1: *Kraków 40591*, fol. 1 (Hand 1)
Example 2: Kraków 40591, fol. 24 (Hand 2)
if performed on an instrument in standard Renaissance tuning. There are none of the sweeping runs from the lower to uppermost courses that we would expect if this were tablature for lute, but rather a clear distinction between passagii in courses 1 and 2 and those in courses 3 through 6. Thus, it is clear that Fascicle 1 calls for a chitarrone using re-entrant tuning of the first and second courses. The works in the second fascicle are intabulated for an 8-course lute in Renaissance tuning, although there are some unusual features of the bass-course tuning that we will return to further on in this study.6

Kraków 40591’s provenance has partially been traced by Wolfgang Boetticher in his description of the manuscript in RISM. According to Boetticher, the book was sold in 1892 during the dispersal of the Borghese library.7 It then remained in the library of the antiquarian Wilhelm Heyer until 1927,8 when it was acquired by the Preussische Staatsbibliothek, where it was housed until the end of World War II. The book’s association with the Borghese family is significant, for the front cover bears the name of Stefano Pignatelli, a member of the circle of the powerful 17th-century cardinal Scipione Borghese. The book’s presence in the Borghese collection in the 19th century, together with other items bearing Pignatelli’s marking,10 indicates that much of his personal library probably entered Borghese hands upon his death in 1623. It is possible that Pignatelli brought the book to Rome when he arrived in the first decade of the 17th century, but it seems more likely that the two fascicles were compiled specifically for him in Rome. Because the manuscript itself remains inaccessible, it has been necessary to approach the dating of Kraków 40591 from the standpoints of concordances, repertoire, and

6 Boetticher’s statement (p. 33) that the works in the first half of the book are intabulated for an 11-course instrument in Renaissance tuning is therefore erroneous. Furthermore, his assertion that the second fascicle contains music for the 7-course mandora is groundless, as shown by at least three concordances to other lute sources and the fact that the pieces work only in Renaissance lute tuning.

7 Boetticher, p. 33. Boetticher’s conclusions on Kraków 40591’s provenance prior to 1927 are largely based on the description of the manuscript given by Georg Kinsky in his catalog of the Heyer collection: Musikhistorisches Museum von Wilhelm Heyer in Köln (Cöln, 1916), Vol. 4, pp. 15-16. See also [n.a.], Catalogue des livres composant la bibliothèque de S.E. Paulo Borghese (Paris, 1892), Vol. 1. Prince Paolo Borghese was among the many members of the Roman upper class who went bankrupt during a disastrous banking crisis of the early 1890’s.

8 Boetticher, p. 33. See also: Leo Liepmannssohn, Musikbücher praktische Musik und Musiker-Autographen aus der Sammlung Wilhelm Heyer in Köln (Berlin, 1927) for a listing of Heyer’s Nachlass.

9 See note 2 above.

10 Catalogue des livres..., Vol. 1. pp. 592, 600. We will return to these three items in Section III below.
notational features. However, it is possible to arrive at satisfactory dates for each half of the manuscript using these means.

***

The chitarrone was apparently invented specifically for the famous Florentine intermedii to La Pellegrina of 1589 or soon before that date.11 With its resonant bass courses and a low tessitura resulting from re-entrant tuning, the chitarrone was well equipped to serve as a continuo instrument, but it also developed a solo repertoire in the early 17th century. The most important sources of this repertoire are the printed collections of Hieronymus Kapsberger and Alessandro Piccinini, but there are also several less well-known manuscript sources.12 The notation of these sources, replete with strascini (slurs) and arpeggiation markings, usually reflects the techniques developed for the instrument by Kapsberger and Piccinini.13 About half the works in Fascicle 1 of Kraków 40591 use strascini, but they are not applied as consistently as they are in other sources, suggesting that they may have been copied before these technical symbols became standard. A relatively early date for Fascicle 1 is also supported by the fact that at least one of the works contained, No. 6, appears to be an arrangement of a work that was originally intabulated for lute. A concordance of this work is found in Como, a relatively large anthology of lute music dated 1601. Ruth Mack McCosh has shown that the compilation of this source was probably completed by 1605.14 There is also a feature that is unique to these two sources: the use of the symbols ".p." and ".n."

Victor Coelho has suggested that these symbols may indicate

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12 A listing of printed and manuscript sources is given by Mason (pp. 145-146). A more complete catalog of the manuscripts is forthcoming in Coelho's dissertation.

13 Piccinini notes in the preface to his Intavolatura di liuto et chitarrone of 1623 that the slur indicates a series of notes, usually a passagio, played with the left hand alone. Arpeggiation markings refer to specific patterns of arpeggiation necessary because of the three-finger technique introduced by Kapsberger. See: Stanley Buetens, "The Instructions of Alessandro Piccinini," this Journal, 2 (1969), pp. 14-17.

Example 3:

A: *Como*, fol. 1 — "Toccata," mm. 1-2 (G tuning)

B: *Kraków 40591*, fol. 2v, mm. 19-22 (A tuning)
ornamentation or specific patterns of arpeggiation, but their usage in these two manuscripts is very inconsistent, and their exact meaning remains unclear. Thus, on the bases of 1) Kraków 40591's close connections with Como, 2) the inconsistent usage of standard chitarrone symbols, and 3) the presence of at least one arrangement of an earlier lute work, it is apparent that the first fascicle dates from very early in the history of the chitarrone's solo repertoire — probably between 1605 and 1610.

Fascicle 2, whose similar layout indicates a connection with Fascicle 1 even before the time that they were bound together, can also be dated to the first decade of the 17th century. The duet La Spagna (No. 18) is concordant with Florence 168 and Cavalcanti, both of which are late 16th-century sources. There may be an even closer connection between Fascicle 2 and Pesaro b14, a small lute manuscript that can be dated to the first decades of the 17th century. As shown in example 4, Kraków 40591's Hand 2 is apparently the same as one of the hands found in Pesaro b14 (see also example 2). It is likely then, that parts of both books were the work of a single lutenist who may have served as a teacher to both Pignatelli and to the unidentified owner of the Pesaro manuscript. If this is true, it supports Boetticher's early dating of Pesaro b14 (c. 1600), and it may also point to a

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15 Victor Coelho, "Manuscript Sources of 17th-Century Italian Lute Music" (Paper read at the Lute Society of America Summer Seminar, Oakland University, Rochester, Michigan, 17 June 1985). The symbols appear in the first piece in Como, an unattributed toccata, and in Nos. 1b, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7, 8, and 11 of the Kraków manuscript. One common pattern is a "p." below a chord that stands before a change to quicker note values. The "n." that follows is usually placed under a return to the original slower values. In these cases, the symbols could be interpreted as abbreviations for "passaggio" and "nullificare" or similar terms. However, this pattern accounts for less than half of the occurrences and the remaining usage is highly inconsistent. The most likely explanation for the symbols seems to be that they were private signals from the performer to himself or perhaps from teacher to student. That is, they serve much the same purpose as the eyeglasses and other cryptic symbols that modern performers draw in their parts. These signals highlight passages that have presented some sort of technical problems and require special attention in performance, but they often lack specific meanings.

16 Boetticher, pp. 57-58, 113.

17 Pesaro b14 has recently been published in a diplomatic facsimile with guitar transcription: Ivano Cavallini, ed., Intavolatura per liuto e tiorba di anonimo: Ms. Pesaro, Cons. G. Rossini, b14/7346 (Bologna, 1979). See also: Cavallini, "Ricerche su l'intavolatura per liuto e tiorba di anonimo," Quadrivium, 19 (1978), pp. 205-225. Cavallini (p. 208) dates the manuscript between 1600 and 1620, on the bases of the watermarks and the musical style of its repertoire. Boetticher (p. 283) dates the book at the beginning of this period.

18 Cavallini ("Ricerche," pp. 208-209) identifies three hands working throughout the manuscript. Paradoxically, the concordance to Kraków 40591's No. 13 is copied in one of the other two hands. The piece is untitled in both sources.
Example 4: Pesaro B14, fol, 4v (Hand 2)
Roman provenance for this source.19

II

No. 6 — the "Canzon franzeze" — is partially concordant to a "Volta francese" that appears in Como. Transcriptions of both versions are given in example 5.20 (For the purpose of comparison, the Como version has been transcribed a step higher than the original to bring it in line with the A tuning used in No. 6.) Since the "Volta francese" is one of the first pieces in Como, suggesting a date of 1601 or 1602, it is probably the earlier of the two versions.21 The tablature for much of the piece is virtually identical in each version, although the different tuning of the two instruments results in different realizations. However, the intabulator of the Kraków piece has emended the lute version to make it more idiomatic to the chitarrone. For example, many of the larger chords in the earlier version, such as those found in the penultimate measure, have been reduced to thinner voicings.22 In the section beginning at measure 9, the bass line has been ornamented, shifting rhythmic interest from the now-simplified top line to the bass. The last section of the "Canzon franzeze," beginning at measure 17, has also been rewritten to exploit the bass courses available on the chitarrone.

Another work in Fascicle 1 that is based on a pre-existent piece is the intabulation of Orazio Vecchi’s popular ballata "So ben mi ch’ha bon tempo." The original ballata and No. 10 are compared in example 6. (The ballata has been transposed down by a fifth to match the pitch level of the intabulation.) The many variants between the two suggest that the intabulator may have been reconstructing the piece from memory. The Kraków version also includes idiomatic touches such as the chordal punctuations at the end of phrases and the arpeggiated final chord.

With each succeeding piece in Fascicle 1, there is a noticeable trend towards more idiomatic writing for the chitarrone. The first works in the

19 Boetticher, p. 283. There is also a striking similarity between one of the two hands found in Como and the hand responsible for Fascicle 1. The notational peculiarities shared by these two sources and their single concordance could neatly be explained if they were the work of the same lutenist, but there are enough small differences between the two hands to make this unlikely. Boetticher (p. 33) states that Hand 1 may be that of Stefano Fignatelli, but this possibility has yet to be verified by comparison with an authenticated example of Fignatelli’s handwriting.

20 It should be obvious from the music of these two versions that the piece is neither a "Volta" nor a "Canzon" in the sense that these designations are usually applied in the early seicento, but rather a ballo or some other duple-meter dance.

21 Mack McCosh, "An Early Seventeenth-Century Source..."

22 This may be a reflection of the three-finger technique that was to become standard in chitarrone-playing.
A: "Volta francese" (Como, ff. 8v-9) — transposed up one step

B: "Canzon franzese" (Kraków 40591, No. 6, fol. 7v)
Example 6:

A. Vecchi (1590) — transposed down a fifth for comparison

B. Kraków 40591, fol. 8v — No. 10 (A tuning)
fascicle display a thick, often chordal texture that is scarcely different from contemporary works for the lute. The later works, on the other hand, utilize a somewhat thinner texture that points towards the style of the more mature works for the instrument that date from the 1620's. The relatively few *strascini* found in Fascicle 1 are also concentrated towards the later works. It seems then, that the works found in the first fascicle of *Kraków 40591* represent an effort to create a repertoire for an instrument that did not yet have a large body of pieces to call its own, and that these works were copied during a period when the non-continuo style of playing this instrument was still in its infancy. The rearrangement of lute works like the "Volta francese" would have been a logical step towards establishing an independent solo repertoire for the chitarrone.

The contents of Fascicle 2 are all high-quality lute works that are intended for a lutenist of considerable skill. An unusual feature found in this part of the book is the indication of fretted bass courses. While the use of a fretted seventh course tuned to D was commonplace in contemporary English lute music, it is only rarely found in Italian sources. In example 7A, the tablature for the treble of No. 17 indicates a seventh course tuned in this manner. In an even more unusual case, shown in example 7B, the *Ruggiero* setting (No. 13) uses an open seventh course in F, and a fretted eighth course in C. (The original tablature can be seen at the end of example 2.) The concordant source for No. 13, *Pesaro b14*, does not utilize an eighth course.

The longest, and perhaps the most significant piece in Fascicle 2 is the extensive lute duet on the *Aria di Fiorenza* (No. 17). Both this piece and No. 15 use a 28-bar version of the popular bass pattern. Like the much earlier duet on *La Spagna* by Francesco da Milano that follows, No. 17 adheres to the style typical for lute duets of the period: A predominantly chordal bass part repeated as many times as necessary under an increasingly ornamented treble part. The treble of No. 17 is a true virtuoso showpiece that calls for rapid shifts of left-hand position and includes *passaggi* that span the complete range of the instrument, from the bottom of the fretted seventh course to the twelfth and even fourteenth frets of the first course. With its five-fold repetition of the bass it is much longer than most contemporary duets, and it is also longer than any of the *Aria di Fiorenza* settings listed by Kirkendale. Example 8 provides transcriptions of the

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23 For further information on the history of the *Aria di Fiorenza*, see Warren Kirkendale's *L'aria di Fiorenza, id est il ballo del Gran Duca* (Florence, 1972). The two settings contained in Kraków 40591 are not included in Kirkendale's listing of manuscript *Aria di Fiorenza*.

24 Kirkendale, pp. 80-83.
Example 7:

A. No. 17 — Treble part, fol. 27

B. No. 13, mm. 45-48
A. No. 17 — Treble, mm. 1-4 of *Partite* 1-5

B. No. 17 — Bass part. mm. 1-4
first four measures of (A) each of the five treble partite and (B) the bass part. As shown above, each succeeding variation is more complex, ranging from a slightly ornamented version of the melody heard in the bass part, to a continuous 16th-note passagio in the last partita.

III

Aside from a few fleeting references, Stefano Pignatelli has gone unnoticed by the musicological community. Kinsky’s identification of the manuscript’s original owner with a noble Neapolitan family is apparently accepted by Boetticher, who identifies Pignatelli only as “Abbate d’Oselle.” However, the Neapolitan Pignatellis, whose more notable members included viceroys of Sicily and a cardinal, came into prominence in Rome only in the later 17th century, and a much more plausible candidate for Kraków 40591’s original owner is a Perugian-born Pignatelli who was in the thick of Roman political and cultural life in the first two decades of the seicento.

Stefano Pignatelli (1578-1623) was born into a family of potters in Piegaro, a suburb of Perugia. As an adolescent, he studied in Rome while staying with a wealthy uncle, but returned to Perugia to study jurisprudence at the University. There, he was able to cultivate connections with several young Roman nobles — particularly with Scipione Cafferelli, who was to become Cardinal Borghese upon the coronation of his uncle, Cardinal Camillo Borghese, as Paul V in 1605. This friendship was to last throughout Pignatelli’s life, and would become his most significant source of patronage and political connections.

Soon after his elevation, the new Cardinal Borghese called Pignatelli to Rome. Pignatelli’s early presence in the city and his humanistic interests are shown by the appearance of his name on a decreto of the Roman Accademia degli Umoristi dated 27 March 1608. This decreto also contains the names of Antonio, Francesco, and Maffeo Barberini, and those of other important figures in Roman cultural life. Through the influence of his powerful patron, Pignatelli was able to gather benefices and appointments

25 Kinsky, p. 15.
26 Boetticher, p. 33.
27 Kinsky, p. 15 (n.1).
29 The entire decreto is published in: Michele Maylender, Storia delle Accademie d’Italia Vol. 5 (Bologna, 1930), pp. 375-381.
curia, and spent most of the next two decades in the service of the Borghese family as one of Cardinal Borghese's most trusted and influential counselors. Life in the thick of papal politics was occasionally hazardous, and Pignatelli was constantly bedeviled by the jealousy of other Borghese courtiers and by the political maneuverings of Borghese rivals, who eventually caused him to fall from favor with Paul V. However, a papal commission found Pignatelli innocent of the various accusations against him, and on 11 January 1621, a few weeks before the death of the old Borghese pope, he was raised to the Cardinalcy of S. Maria in Via. He was an active participant in the conclave that followed, consistently supporting Cardinal Borghese in his unsuccessful efforts to have Paul V's choice as a successor, Cardinal Campora, elected to the Papal throne. Paul V's eventual successor, Alessandro Ludovisi (Gregory XV), was also a Borghese ally, but the political climate remained cool for Pignatelli and he retired to the Borghese villa at Morlupo, returning to Rome only for the conclave that elected the Barberini pope, Urban VIII, in 1623. Pignatelli again supported Cardinal Borghese at the conclave, this time backing the winning candidate, but he was never to enjoy the gratitude of Urban VIII. He died soon after the conclave of a malarial fever that also claimed at least seven other cardinals. In the context of this study, it is fitting that the last three verses of "So ben mi ch'ha bon tempo" are a fitting eulogy:

Saluti e baciamani
Son tutti indarno à fè.
Non giova fare il Zanni,
Andando su e giù.
Dice il proverbio antico
Chi ha fatto son buon prò.

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31 Moroni, Vol. 53, p. 51. Pastor (Vol. 25, pp. 338-39) notes that, despite the campaigning of the French ambassador Coeuvres against their nominations, Pignatelli and Cesare Gherardi, another loyal member of Cardinal Borghese's circle, were created cardinals at this time.

32 Pastor, Vol. 27, pp. 35-36.


34 Pastor, Vol. 27, p. 25.

35 "Greetings and hand-kissings are, in truth, no avail. It is no use playing the fool, parading back and forth—as the old saying goes, 'Some people have all the luck'."
Knowledge of Pignatelli's musical activities remains sketchy due to the scarcity of material documenting this side of his life. While he was certainly not in a league with great musical patrons such as the Borghese, Barberini, and Bentivoglio families, documents confirm that his role in the Roman musical scene was a more than incidental one, particularly with regard to the lute and chitarrone, and that he was influential in the musical affairs of the Borghese. A document contained in the Annali of the Seminario Romano, dated 4 September 1618, details Pignatelli's intercession for a young singer, Antonio Arigona. At Pignatelli's request, Arigona was to be awarded a five-year term at the training school of Cardinal Borghese, in order that he might "...perfect his musical skills, sing bass, and compose." 36 The Seminario Romano supplied singers to many of the important Roman cathedrals, among them the Borghese chapel at S. Maria Maggiore, which had been organized in 1613, and which soon became one of the important Roman centers of music-making. 37 A direct connection with the Borghese chapel is suggested by this document, and Pignatelli's intercession for this singer shows not only his interest in patronage, but also his close ties with the Borghese musical establishment — ties which are not surprising in view of his political ties with the Borghese.

A little-known printed collection that is dedicated to Pignatelli, Horatio Petrollini's Hore armoniche a quattro voce (Rome, 1613) yields further evidence for Pignatelli's activities as a patron. Petrollini, who is known only through this print, was a resident of Città di Castello, a small town north of Perugia. In his dedication, which is dated 12 December 1612, Petrollini expresses his gratitude to "Abbate" Stefano Pignatelli, to whom he had been introduced through the efforts of his colleague Gironimo Sinnibaldi, and who had "challenged his talents in composition." 38 Determination of the precise relationship between Pignatelli, Petrollini, and


37 For further information on the Borghese chapel see: Jean Lionnet, "La 'Salve' de Sainte Marie Majeure: la musique de la chapelle Borghese au 17ème siècle," Studi Musicali , 12 (1983), pp. 97–119.

38 A partial transcription of the dedication appears in: Emil Vogel, Alfred Einstein et al., Bibliografia della musica italiana vocale profana pubblicata dal 1500-1700 (Pomezia, 1977) Vol. 2, p. 350. The Petrollini dedication is the source of Kinsky's identification of Pignatelli as "Abbate d'Oselle." This abbacy was probably among the benefits arranged for Pignatelli by Cardinal Borghese.
Sinnibaldi awaits further documentary study, but it is likely that Pignatelli served as a patron and perhaps as a Roman "agent" for this otherwise obscure provincial composer.

*Kraków 40591* was not the only musical book belonging to Pignatelli that found its way into the Borghese library; there are at least three others. The first two prints, copies of Giulio Caccini's *L'Euridice* (Florence, 1600) and *Le nuove musiche* (Florence, 1601) clearly indicate that Pignatelli was conversant with the musical avant garde of his day. However, the third book, one of the eight surviving copies of Kapsberger's *Libro primo d'intavolatura di chitarrone* (Venice, 1604), is far more important to the present study. Kapsberger, a German who spent most of his career in Rome, was one of the greatest lute and chitarrone virtuosos of the 17th century. His four books of tablature for the chitarrone, two of which have unfortunately been lost, represent the most significant body of works for this instrument. Taken together, his *Libro primo* and the works in Fascicle 1 of the Kraków manuscript represent a large share of the earliest surviving solo music for the chitarrone. If, as it seems likely, these two sources were acquired by Pignatelli for his own use, he was certainly an amateur musician of greater than average talent. In any case, the presence of these two books in Pignatelli's library show that he was interested in the chitarrone at a very early stage in the development of its solo repertoire.

Another tempting, though at this point unverifiable hypothesis is that Kapsberger played an indirect role in the compilation of Fascicle 1. Kapsberger came to Rome soon after the publication of his *Libro primo* and was soon moving in the highest circles of Roman musical patronage. There is no documentary evidence for direct connections between Kapsberger and Pignatelli, but we do know that by 1611, Kapsberger was regularly associated with the Accademia degli Umoristi, whose membership included Pignatelli. Kapsberger's most influential patrons

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39 Sinnibaldi may be identifiable with the "Hieronimus Sinnibaldus" found in a listing of the canons of the Cathedral of Ferrara dated 6 August 1606. See: Raffaele Casimiri, "Tre 'Girolami Frescobaldi' coetanei negli anni 1606-1609," *Note d'archivio per la storia musicale*, 14 (1937), p. 9.

40 *Catalogue des livres...*, Vol. 1, p. 592.

41 Ibid., Vol. 1, p. 600. This is the copy that currently resides in the British Library. See: Karlheinz Schlager, ed., *Einzeldrucke vor 1800*, RISM Series A/1 (Kassel, 1971-81), Vol. 5, p. 11.

42 There remain unanswered questions about Kapsberger's biography, but a new study that greatly expands the documentation of his career and exposes previous misconceptions about the character and music of this important musician is Coelho's "G. G. Kapsberger in Rome, 1604-1645: New Biographical Data," *this Journal*, XVI (1983), pp. 103-133.

43 Ibid., p. 109.
and the Bentivoglio,\textsuperscript{44} but we must assume that, as an active seeker of patronage, he was also familiar to the Borghese court in the first decade of the 17th century. Therefore, it is likely that Pignatelli knew Kapsberger, either through the Umoristi or through his prominent position at the Borghese court, and that he was familiar with Kapsberger's music he and chitarrone playing during the time that Kraków 40591 was being compiled.

IV

This study is a preliminary one, but it has produced a number of conclusions with regard to Kraków 40591 and its original owner. The two fascicles comprising the book are traceable to ca. 1605-1610, and are probably Roman in origin. Although the manuscript's repertory is of modest dimensions, the works contained in Fascicle 1 are of central importance to our understanding of the chitarrone's developing solo repertoire in the first decade of the 17th century. The second fascicle is likewise a source of technically demanding Italian lute music of the highest quality that deserves performance and further study. However, our knowledge of concordances between this and other sources remains sketchy, and awaits Coelho's study of this body of manuscripts as a whole.

This article has also begun to explore the musical life of Stefano Pignatelli, a loyal member of the Borghese circle whose musical activities may have been typical for Romans of his social status. While it is understandable that most studies of Roman musical patronage (and patronage in general) concentrate upon the largest and wealthiest courts, chapels, and musical centers and patrons,\textsuperscript{45} our picture of the musical support provided by the lesser nobility and church officials of more modest means remains incomplete. Pignatelli is thus a figure whose musical activities deserve further investigation. His life and interests should be of specific concern to lutenists and lute scholars, as he may have been among the circle of devotees and composers who had a hand in the midwifery of the first solo music for the chitarrone.

University of Wisconsin — Madison

\textsuperscript{44} Ibid., pp. 114-15.

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**FASCICLE 2** (Lute tablature)

| 24 | | | Hand 2/staff-ruling 2 begins here and continues through the rest of the MS. |
| 13 | 24 | [Ruggiero] | Conc: *Pesaro b14* ff. 17-17v - also untitled. No. 13 comprises three *partite*. |
| 14 | 24v | [Gagliarda] | |
| 15 | 24v-26 | [Aria di fiorenza] | No. 15 comprises three *partite*, the last of which is in triple meter. |
| 16 | 26 | [Ballo] | The treble part of No. 17 comprises five *partite* of increasing complexity. |
| 17 | 26v-31 | [Aria di Fiorenza-lute duet] | Blank (staves only) |
| | 31v-61 | | |
2.) *Florence 168*, ff. 8v-9 - "Spagna di Franc Milano a due liuti" (treble only)  
| | 62v | | Four written-out cadential ornaments |
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24
Manuscripts cited:

Kraków 40591 - (PL-Kj) Kraków Biblioteka Jagiellonska, Mus. Ms. 40591 (formerly Berlin, Preussiche Staatsbibliothek, Musikabteilung Ms. 40591)

Como - (I-COc) Como, Biblioteca Communale, Ms. without call number

Pesaro b14 - (I-PESc) Pesaro, Biblioteca del Conservatorio "Gioacchino Rossini," Rari Ms. b14

Cavalcanti - (B-Br) Brussells, Bibliothèque Royale de Belgique Albert 1er, Department de la Musique, II/275 (the "Cavalcanti" lute book)

Florence 168 - (I-Fn) Florence, Biblioteca Nazionale Centrale, Ms. Magl. XIX 168
Elias Mertel's *Hortus Musicalis Novus* and Progressive Tendencies in the Late Renaissance Lute Fantasia

By John O. Robison

Elias Mertel's *Hortus Musicalis Novus* is one of the most unjustly neglected sources of lute music. Published in Strasbourg in 1615, it contains 120 fantasias and 235 preludes — more than any other lute manuscript or print — but has remained unknown primarily because Mertel fails to identify the composers of these works. Despite the anonymity of the pieces, Mertel states that the collection is international in scope; for this reason, it deserves recognition equal to the other important early seventeenth-century lute anthologies by Besard (1603), Fuhrmann (1615), and van den Hove (1612).

The lack of composer attributions makes it difficult to determine the historical significance of Mertel's print: Is it progressive or retrospective? One wonders whether Mertel favors or avoids certain national repertoires and composers. Of even greater importance is the general style of these

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1 This research has been made possible by two grants received during the summer of 1984: A research grant from the University of South Florida Research Council, and a travel grant from the Southern Regional Educational Board. The author also wishes to express his appreciation to the University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill Music Library for the use of their facilities during the initial stages of this research, and to Professor George Houle (Stanford University) and Richard Long (Hillsborough College) for their valuable suggestions.

2 Mertel's print has recently been made available in a facsimile edition through Minkoff reprints (Geneva, 1983). Of the three surviving copies listed in RISM's *Einselldrücke vor 1800*, vol. 5 (ed. Karlheinz Schlager, [Kassel, 1975]), p. 521, the Minkoff editors have chosen what is by far the best extant print.

fantasias, which may be considered "progressive" if they exhibit the tendency towards increased thematic unity that is found in many late Renaissance pieces. Since the *Hortus musicalis* dates from a period when imitative instrumental music became more modern in style than its vocal counterparts, the appearance of "progressive" fantasias might help to correct the misconception that imitative lute music, unlike its keyboard counterparts, remained conservative in style — a notion that stems largely from our ignorance of the lute fantasia repertory. One obvious way of determining the nature of Mertel's print is to establish concordances with the other lute sources. Unfortunately, the state of the field does not yet permit an exhaustive search for concordances. The identification of the *Hortus musicalis* fantasias is complicated by two additional problems. Since one fantasia has been found in another source transposed up a step from Mertel's version, there a possibility that others may be transposed as well, thus making them less likely to spot during any search for concordances. It is also conceivable that some *Hortus musicalis* fantasias may be only partially concordant or parodies of the originals. When establishing concordances, one must therefore consider the fact that some pieces have subjects with decorated opening statements.

An illustration of these problems is provided by a recently discovered concordance of the ninety-sixth fantasia in this collection (Example 2). Originally thought to be anonymous and quite possibly by a northern European composer, the work is attributed in the Schele lute book to an "Ortenzio," and therefore it seems that one of the more progressive *Hortus musicalis* fantasias is by an Italian composer.

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4 For a good general description of this change in imitative instrumental music, see Imogene Horsley, *Fugue: History and Practice* (New York, 1966).

5 See Alejandro Planchart, "The Ars Nova and the Renaissance," in *Schirmer History of Music*, ed. Léonie Rosenstiel (New York, 1982), p. 285. Planchart states that late sixteenth-century lute fantasias did not acquire the contrapuntal characteristics of late sixteenth-century keyboard fantasias. Although it is true that keyboard instruments are capable of clarifying polyphonic lines in a way that the lute cannot do, such misconceptions could easily be corrected if there were more studies and transcriptions of late Renaissance lute fantasias. A recent and valuable addition to our knowledge in this area is James Meadors’ "Italian Lute Fantasias and Ricercars Printed in the Second Half of the Sixteenth Century," (Ph.D. diss., Harvard University, 1984); the author of this article is currently working on a book that will complement Meador's study by focusing upon the northern lute fantasia between ca. 1570 and 1630.

6 One example is fantasia no. 9 in the print; if one did not take into account the decorated first entry of the subject, the concordance between it and the da Crema version could easily be overlooked.

7 To the best of this author's knowledge, the only extant pieces by Ortenzio are the two fantasias ascribed to him on pp.36-37 and 44 of the Schele lute book (Hamburg, Staats-und Universitätsbibliothek, Ms. M.B. 2768). Since this manuscript does not use latinized spellings for composers, it seems safe to assume that he was an Italian.
At least sixteen of Mertel's fantasias are concordant with pieces found in other sources. These concordances, which are shown in Table I, suggest that Mertel does not favor the fantasias of one foreign country over the others: There are four English, two French, five Italian, and three Polish fantasias. Of these sixteen identifiable works, only those by Francesco da Milano and Giovanni da Crema are products of a previous generation; the rest are by contemporaries of Mertel. Curiously enough, Mertel avoids the fantasias by his main German lute contemporaries, Denss, Huet, and Reymann. None of their fantasias appear in the Hortus musicalis, perhaps because they exhibited conservative traits such as a motet-like texture, or a monothematic style that lacks consistent restatements of the subject.8

A complete search for concordances might yield more results, but until then, we can only speculate as to the origin of Mertel's 104 fantasias. They may be original lute fantasias by composers who simply cannot be identified at this time. It is also possible that some could be lute versions of keyboard fantasias, and that a search of the keyboard repertory will produce more concordances. Finally, some pieces may be by Mertel himself. Before moving to Strasbourg in 1596, Mertel was court lutenist to the Elector Palatine Friedrich V, and his prestige as a lutenist is indicated by the fact that he was summoned back to Heidelberg to play on four separate occasions between 1600 and 1606. Also, in one of the laudatory poems at the beginning of his lute print, Mertel is compared favorably to three of the most prominent lutenists of the early seventeenth century — Bocquet, Huet, and Laurencini.9 Since it was a common practice to improvise imitative compositions, it is possible that some of these pieces are Mertel's recorded improvisations, particularly the ones that have subjects similar to the well-known fantasias of the day.10

Some of the Hortus musicalis fantasias seem more old-fashioned in style because of their motet-like texture or lack of clear cut points of imitation. But there are at least twenty-eight fantasias in Mertel's print that

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8 See Dieter Klöckner, Das Florilegium des Adrian Denss (Köln, 1970), and Bruce Lobaugh, "Three German Lute Books: Denss's Florilegium, 1594; Reymann's Notices musicae, 1598; Rude's Flores musaces, 1600" (Ph.D. diss., Eastman School of Music, 1968), pp. 69-76. Lobaugh's dissertation includes an excellent twelve-page introduction to the lute fantasy styles of Denss, Huet, and Reymann.

9 Mertel, Hortus musicalis, laudatory poem XI (immediately preceding the Preludes on p. 1).

10 Fantasias 59, 111, and 112, for example, have similar opening subjects to the pieces found in Besard's Thesaurus harmonicus on f. 13, 27', and 23', respectively. Until further evidence on concordances is available, this seems like a safer viewpoint than the one espoused by Hans Radke, who states that Mertel probably did not write any of these pieces. See Hans Radke, "Elias Mertel," in The New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians (London, 1980), vol. 12, p. 191.
can be considered progressive in style because of their tendencies towards motivic unification. Some of the factors that play a role in defining fantasia styles are (1) thematic ideas, (2) spacing of entries, (3) cadential structures, (4) texture, (5) free passages, and (6) use of special contrapuntal devices. Before turning to an examination of two progressive fantasias from the *Hortus musicalis*, these analytical criteria will need to be elaborated upon.

One of the most important factors in determining the style of a fantasia is the number of thematic ideas it contains — along with their length and spacing of entries. The progressive fantasias are usually monothematic, while the archaic ones have several unrelated themes. Fantasias that have a number of related thematic ideas fall between these two extremes. Thematic ideas that are less than two bars in length might indicate an archaic style if the ideas are not melodically well-defined enough to be perceived as distinct themes. Spacing the entries in the manner of a Baroque fugue, with one voice entering upon the completion of the previous statement, is a progressive trait, whereas the overlapping points of imitation found in the Renaissance motet is not.

Cadences, texture, and "free" passages also help to define the style. By the time of Mertel's print, most lute fantasias used the types of cadences that theorists termed "imperfect" — that is, ones that avoided the typical motion of a major sixth expanding to an octave. Most late Renaissance music will also cadence on either the first or fifth scale degree of the mode. The number of voices active at a given time is a further consideration, since sparser textures and extensive duet sections are more characteristic of pieces written before around 1580. Fantasias in a more archaic style might have frequent or lengthy free passages lacking portions of the subject, while those that use motives derived from the subject in their free passages are more progressive because of their tendency towards thematic unity.

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11 The progressive ones are nos. 4, 6, 7, 13, 14, 19, 22, 24, 26, 28 29, 32, 35, 40, 42, 43, 44, 46, 48, 59, 71, 85, 87, 88, 93, 94, 96, and 106. A final determination of which fantasias are progressive or conservative, however, cannot be made until more transcriptions are available.

12 Fantasia no. 42 in the *Hortus musicalis* is a good example of a piece with a number of related thematic ideas. It has four related ideas that are presented in m. 1-21, 21-33, 33-41, and 41-59.

Example I: Mertel,

_Hortus musicalis novus_, Fantasia no. 19
Example 2: Mertel,

Hortus musicalis novus, Fantasia no. 96
Another indication of progressive tendencies in Mertel's print is the use of special contrapuntal devices. These generally involve melodic, rhythmic, or spatial alterations. The most common melodic alteration is inversion; spatial alterations occur when overlapping entries (stretto) are used to add variety. The rhythmic alterations in the *Hortus musicalis* fantasias are particularly interesting, since there are a number of pieces that use augmentation, diminution, or rhythmic displacement of the subject.

Examples 1 and 2 (fantasias 19 and 96) from the *Hortus musicalis* are both monothematic pieces that are rather progressive in style. The subject of Example 2 is basically two bars in length, while the subject of Example 1 is over four bars long, both in notation and performance time.\(^{14}\)

Both compositions have imitation that enters only after the subject has been completed with the exception of the first two entries in Example 1, which are stretto entries spaced one bar apart. The imitative entries are pitched on the first and fifth scale degrees of the mode, although there are a few notable exceptions to this general tendency.\(^{15}\) In Example 1, where the entries are normally on F and C, there is an unusual passage with entries on Db and Ab in m. 55-60; m. 47-49 also contain an incomplete entry on G that helps to reinforce the cadence to C in m. 52-53. Example 2 has an interesting pitch adjustment that anticipates the late Baroque procedure of tonal answers: The entries in m. 1-9, 35-36, and 44-45 all have an ascending fifth, while the other entries have the ascending fifth from D to A answered by an ascending fourth from A to D.

The cadences in both pieces are usually on either the first or fifth scale degrees of the mode; the only exceptions either precede or follow an unusual passage in the fantasia. In Example 1, all the cadences are on the first scale degree of the mode except for those in m. 52-55. Here the previously mentioned cadence to C is followed by a cadence to Db, which in turn serves as an introduction to the Db and Ab entries of the subject in the following bars. The cadences in Example 2 are all on the first and fifth scale degrees (D and A) except for the unusual one on F in m. 46-47, which is used to precede the inverted statements of the subject.

Although both fantasies are four-voiced compositions, they differ somewhat in texture. In Example 2, there is a clear preference for two-voiced rather than three or four-voiced writing, with these duets usually including stretto entries of the subject. Example 1, on the other hand, more

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\(^{14}\) In many cases, the consistent use of longer note values indicates a fantasia in an older style; this is not true of Example 2.

\(^{15}\) M. 33 of Example 2 is not really an exception, since it lacks the first two notes of an entry that would otherwise begin on A.
equally distributes two, three, and four-part writing, and the higher proportion of three and four-part writing here may be considered a progressive trait. 16

Of the forward-looking characteristics mentioned so far, one of the most significant is the frequent reoccurrence of the subject. Only approximately thirty-percent of each piece is taken up by free passages — those places that do not include statements of the subject. 17 Motives derived from the subject are usually the basis for these free passages; this is certainly true of m. 62-65 and 66-68 of Example 2, where the free passages are based on the descending third motive found between the fourth and fifth notes of the subject. Example 1 has several free passages that are lengthier than the ones found in Example 2; these occur in m. 18-24, 51-55, and 60-64. But they too are derived in a similar manner, in this case from notes 5-8 of the subject. 18

One common contrapuntal device is the stretto duet entry, which may be considered a progressive trait as long as it is not used too often. In the context of Example 1, where it is found in m. 1-6, 42-44, 47-48, and 55-57, it may be considered progressive because it adds variety to the texture. But Example 2 uses stretto duets so often that the result is a more archaic two-voiced texture with less variety. Here there are fifteen stretto duet entries of the subject that are spaced anywhere between an eighth note and a half note apart (See Example 2, m. 10-12, 13-14, 17-18, 20-21, 28-29, 30-32, 39-40, 41-42, 44-45, 52-54, 55-56, 59-60, 60-61, and 65-66). 19

Partial or complete melodic inversion of the subject is also found in both fantasias. Example 2 has the entire subject inverted in m. 47-52. In Example 1, there are inverted variants of notes 4-7 of the subject in m. 69-76; these variants appear in diminution, are imitated an octave apart, and rise sequentially by step to form an effective climax near the end of the piece.

Although both examples use rhythmic alterations of the subject, one fantasia shows a preference for augmentation and diminution, while the other tends to change the values of individual notes of the subject.

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16 Fantasia no. 42 is another example of a piece that favors two-voiced writing; nos. 44, 46, and 106 in the Hortus musicalis are additional examples of pieces that have denser textures.

17 In Example 1, 28 out of 83 bars have free material; in Example 2, 20 out of the 73 bars have free material.

18 Fantasias nos. 44 and 46 are also good examples of this. In no. 46, the ten statements of the subject take up a little more than half of the piece, and there is a free passage in m. 11-14 that uses material derived from the subject. In no. 44, only seventeen of the sixty-one bars in this piece consist of free material, and most of these free passages use motives derived from the subject.

19 Stretto entries may also be seen in m. 90-86 and 163-168 of fantasia no. 106.
Augmentation is found in m. 67-76 of Example 1, where the bass line has the last five notes of the subject expanded to four times their original duration. There is complete diminution of the subject in m. 42-60 of Example 1; partial diminution is more common, and is found in m. 31 (first three notes in diminution), m. 69-76 (inverted variants with the rhythm \( \text{\ding{64}} \text{\ding{65}} \text{\ding{66}} \text{\ding{67}} \)), and m. 77-79 (which introduces yet another variant\( \text{\ding{64}} \text{\ding{65}} \text{\ding{66}} \text{\ding{66}} \text{\ding{66}} \text{\ding{66}} \)).

Interesting rhythmic alterations are found throughout Example 2. Most of these changes either omit or shorten the opening note of the subject as in m. 28-36, where five of the six entries omit the first note of the subject and the remaining entry shortens it to a half note. In the same passage, either the third or fourth note of the subject is also changed from a quarter note to a half note. Two rhythmic variants are presented simultaneously in m. 39-45; the first variant has the opening note shortened, while the second variant has eighth notes instead of quarter notes for notes 3-5 of the subject. A final variant occurs in m. 55-58, where the alto and bass entries are syncopated, and the rhythmic displacement in the soprano, tenor and bass lines causes the distinctive leap of an ascending fourth or fifth to occur from a strong to a weak beat.

This analysis confirms the thesis that both fantasias are progressive in style. There are, of course, some differences between the two pieces: Example 1 has a denser texture and uses augmentation and diminution of the subject, whereas Example 2 is more conservative because of its predominantly 2-part texture and rhythmic alterations that affect only individual notes of the subject. But in this case, the similarities are more significant than the differences. Both examples are typical of the late Renaissance in their well-defined subjects and in their cadential motion and pitches. Of even greater importance is the monothematicism, the frequent reoccurrence of the subject in both free passages and fugal expositions, and the melodic or rhythmic alterations of the subject — all examples of the modern tendency towards motivic unity.

These examples are also more modern in style than the fantasias of Mertel's German contemporaries — Denss, Huet, and Reymann. The trend towards motivic unity places them closer to the fantasias of Mertel's Italian and Polish contemporaries, which leaves considerable room for speculation. One wonders whether these more progressive pieces are by

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20 Partial diminution is also found in m. 59-71 of Example 2, where notes 2-5 of the subject are eighth notes now instead of quarter notes. In Fantasia no. 106, partial or complete augmentation is found in m. 66-67. 88-89. 137-152, 159-165, 163-168, 173-180, and 182-191.

21 Similar variants of the subject may be found in m. 29-36 and 39-55 of Fantasia no. 44.
Italian or Polish lutenists, as Example 2 appears to be, or by unidentified Germans who favored a more progressive style than Denss, Huet, and Reymann.

When investigating historical trends, we tend to focus upon what is progressive rather than what is retrospective, and this article has been no exception. Like any good anthology, the *Hortus musicalis* includes pieces in a variety of styles. Those that deserve the most attention are the ones that exhibit the modern trend towards thematic unity, thereby demonstrating that imitative lute music, despite the obvious limitations of the instrument, could indeed be just as progressive as keyboard music of the day.

University of South Florida
TABLE I: Concordances with Mertel's *Hortus musicalis novus*

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>No.</th>
<th>Mertel, no.</th>
<th>Cited Work</th>
<th>Fantasy No.</th>
<th>Composer/Attribution</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>27</td>
<td>Cambridge, Fitzwilliam Museum, Mus. 689, f. 34'</td>
<td>**</td>
<td>(attributed to du Gast)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>55</td>
<td>Leipzig, Musikbibliothek, Ms. II.6.15</td>
<td>no. 11</td>
<td>(by Dlugoraj)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>56</td>
<td>Holborne, <em>Works</em>, ed. Kanazawa</td>
<td>fantasy no. 3</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>61</td>
<td>Cambridge, Fitzwilliam Museum, Mus. 689, f. 84</td>
<td>**</td>
<td>(attributed to Jacob)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>64</td>
<td>Cambridge, Fitzwilliam Museum, Mus. 689, f. 39</td>
<td>**</td>
<td>(attributed to du Gast)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7</td>
<td>68</td>
<td><em>Lute Music of Milano</em>, ed. Ness</td>
<td>fantasy no. 33</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8</td>
<td>69</td>
<td><em>Works of Dowland</em>, ed. Poulton</td>
<td>fantasy no. 6</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9</td>
<td>70</td>
<td><em>Works of Dowland</em>, ed. Poulton</td>
<td>fantasy no. 2</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10</td>
<td>77</td>
<td>Cambridge, Dd. 5, f. 58'</td>
<td>(no composer given)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11</td>
<td>80</td>
<td>Holborne, <em>Works</em>, ed. Kanazawa</td>
<td>fantasy no. 2</td>
<td>(up a step)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12</td>
<td>81</td>
<td>Leipzig, Musikbibliothek, Ms. II.6.15</td>
<td>fantasy no. 2</td>
<td>(by Raphael de Viola)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13</td>
<td>96</td>
<td>Hamburg, Universitätsbibliothek, Ms. M.B. 2768, pp. 36-37</td>
<td>(by Ortenzio)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Table I continued

14. Mertel, no. 104: Leipzig, Musikbibliothek, Ms. II.6.15, fuga no 7 (by Dlugoraj).


** indicates concordances identified by James Meadors.

Distribution:  

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Language</th>
<th>Fantasias</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>English</td>
<td>4 (2 by Dowland, 2 by Holborne)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>French</td>
<td>2 (by du Gast)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Italian</td>
<td>5 (1 by Cato, 1 by de Viola, 1 by da Crema, 1 by Milano, 1 by Ortenzio)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Polish</td>
<td>3 (2 by Dlugoraj, 1 by Pollac)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Pietro Paolo Melii, Musician of Reggio Emilia*

By Francesca Torelli

Between 1612 and 1620, Alessandro Vincenti published five books of tablature for archlute and theorbo by the composer and lutenist Pietro Paolo Melii. Aside from their contribution to the seventeenth-century Italian lute repertory, these books are particularly significant to lutenists for the author's discussion of playing technique and for the novel tunings Melii introduces in the first and third books. General histories of the period and bibliographical dictionaries have for the most part ignored his works, and some sources have even confused the lutenist with another Melii, ascribing, for example, the vocal works of Domenico Maria Melii to Pietro Paolo. The purpose of this article is to serve as the first documentary study of Pietro Paolo Melii, and to clear up some of the confusion that has resulted from earlier biographical accounts of the composer.

Although the two Melii were, in fact, related — Pietro Paolo refers to Domenico Maria in his Libro terzo as his "dearest relative" — they were not born to the same parents. Domenico Maria was born in 1572 to a noble family of Reggio. Fontanesi noted that they were counts, and he specifically mentioned Domenico Maria. In a later study, Fontanesi

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This article originally appeared in an expanded Italian version entitled, "Una prima documentazione sui Melii, musicisti di Reggio Emilia," in Il Flauto Dolce: Rivista per lo studio e la pratica della musica antica 10-11 (1984), pp. 35-39. I would like to thank Dr. G. Badini and Professors Orlando Cristoforetti and Paul Beier for their courteous collaboration.

1 Melii's five books were published in 1612, 1614, 1616, 1616, and 1620. The first book is lost. The surviving four have been published in facsimile by Studio per Edizioni Scelte, 19 (Florence, 1979).
produced the Melii family tree, which showed that the family was extinct by 1680. The name Pietro Paolo does not turn up in the lists of nobility up to this date, and it cannot be assumed that he was also a nobleman by virtue of his relationship to Domenico Maria. In 1516 the Melii were described as "merchants of Reggio," so it would seem that their noble status applied to only one branch of the family. This might explain the exclusion of Pietro Paolo.

Pietro Paolo was born in the town of Reggio in Emilia (then called Reggio of Lombardy) on July 15, 1579 "in St. Peter's parish at the eighth hour." There is no further mention of Pietro Paolo for the next twenty years, and we can only speculate about his upbringing and musical education. It is possible that he took part as an instrumentalist in the musical activities of the cathedral chapel, but his name does not appear in the incomplete and inconsistent cappella archives.

The first substantial document mentioning Pietro Paolo is a letter of 1599 from the merchant Virginio Ariotti of Reggio to Giovanni Battista Laderchi, secretary to the Duke of Modena, regarding a lawsuit brought recently against Melii (in this period, Reggio was governed by the Duke of Modena):

Illustrious and most respectable sir,

I can do nothing else but implore your illustrious person to be so kind as to support Melii, in accordance with the enclosed memorial [petition], both because of friendship and because of the justice of his request, and also because I feel that helping scholars and lovers of Virtue is a duty. Since the memorial explains his desire, and since his innocence is known from the judgement, I will draw your attention to the fact that this young man is in that age of life in which, according to the philosophers, going towards Evil and abandoning the right path is very easy. Therefore, if he loses the opportunity of continuing his

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4 I-REas, Archivio Comune, Vacchette dei battezzati, 1577-1580: "petrus paulus filius Domini Octavij de'Meliis ex uxore Laura Bapt. patrinij Dominus . . . Silvius et domina Claudia de Alpis natus in vicinìa Sancti petri heri hora octava." The "eighth hour" was around 2 p.m.; the first hour being around 6 to 7 a.m.
studies, diverted from them he might follow the wrong path. This would be an unfortunate thing as it can be so easily avoided. So I implore you with all my heart to support his just request. 5

The exact nature of the lawsuit against Melii is not clear from Arlotti’s letter. However, the suit did result in disciplinary action, even though Melii was declared innocent, and it appears that he was prevented from continuing his studies.

During the years 1600 to 1612 there is no documentation about Melii other than an inventory of documents — which have since been lost — in the holdings of the notary Stefano Melii. The inventory is as follows:

1600: End of controversy between Melii and Turricellio
1604: [Contract of] sale between Melii and Contino
1604: [Contract of] purchase between Melii and Contino
1605: Melii’s declaration
1606: [Contract of] purchase between Melii and Baisijs
1606: "Pauli Emilij Ancini—Petri Pauli Melij"
1609: [Contract of] assignment between Melii and Fabrelio
1612: End [of controversy] between Melii and Marchini 6

Although pithy and inconclusive, the above inventory does serve to establish Melii’s presence in Reggio until his appointment to the court of Vienna.

*  *  *

5 Archivio di Stato di Modena (I-MOas), Cancelleria ducale, Particolare (Arlotti), b23: "Illustrissimo Signor mio Colendissimo. Non posso restare di supplicare Vostra Signoria Illustrissima a compiacersi di favorire il Melio conforme al alligato memoriale, e per l’amicizia, et per la giustizia della domanda, et anco parmi essere obligato aiutati li studiosi et amatori della virtù, et perché il memoriale narra il desiderio suo, e dalla sentenza si conosce la innocentia de lui, solo a quella potè in considerazione, che questo giovine è in quella età che secondo li filosofi è tanto facile a piegarsi al male e a declinare dalla bona strada, e che se perde l’occasione di seguitare li studi potria in tutto da quelli sviatosi porsi su la male via, cosa che seria pur male potendo così leggiamente provvedervi a non vi providere. La supplico donche di tutto il core a favorire la sua giusta domanda. Com’anco la supplico a tenermi tra li suoi più devoti servitori che non ceda a chi si voglia in osservanza de lei, et che venendo occasione si voglia racordar di me e quella basciando le mani li auguro da Nostro Signore sommo contesto.”

6 I-REas, Archivi notarili, I Reggio f2, Repertorio del notario Stefano Melii (the term "finis" indicated the end of a controversy or boundary dispute): "1600: Petri Pauli Melii cum Turricellio finis; 1604: Petri Pauli Melij cum Contino pro (venditione); 1604: Petri Pauli Melij cum Contino (emptor); 1605: Petri Pauli Melij declaratio; 1606: Petri Pauli Melij cum Baisjs (reemport); 1606: Pauli Emilij Ancini—Petri Pauli Melij; 1609: Petri Pauli Melij cum Fabrelio cesso; 1612: Petri Pauli Melij cum Marchini finis."
Documents indicate that Melii was working at the Viennese court on December 1st 1612, in the service of the Emperor Mattia. His salary was an "ordinary" 25 florins. This rather high figure was supplemented by an additional 120 florins for the period December 1, 1612 to November 30, 1614.\(^7\) According to a receipt of February 22, 1614, he received another subsidy of 166 florins and 40 kreutzer for the expenses incurred during a trip to Italy. This journey was probably undertaken to oversee the publication of Melii's *Libro secondo*, the dedication of which is dated to March of that year. This latter payment is also referred to in a document of September 22, 1614, concerning the expenses of the counselor Christoph Weiss, who was sent by the emperor to Piacenza to collect 20,000 florins from the Duke of Parma for help in the war against the Turks. During his Italian trip, Weiss incurred the following expenses: 882 florins, 4 kreutzer "for a farm;" 500 florins to N. Rossi for Italian actors [*commedianti*]; and, 50 ducats (that is, 116 florins and 40 kreutzer) to "Pietro P. Melii player of the lute, for his expenses.\(^8\)

Melii may well have needed the money. His stay in Italy was probably extended due to insufficient funds for the publication of his book. He received a further 40 florins and 50 kreutzer, noted in a document dated July 29, 1614, and on December 4 of that year he received 12 florins for the purchase of strings.

In 1615, Melii received his annual salary and extra money for clothes, and in the following year he received his salary, money for clothes and a New Year's gift of 25 florins.\(^9\)

On April 20, 1617, Melii wrote a letter introducing himself to Alfonso, Prince of Modena. In his letter he enclosed a copy of his *Libro quarto*, which included a piece dedicated to the Prince. Alfonso was heir apparent to the Duke of Modena but not, at that moment, in a position of power himself. It appears that Melii was writing to ingratiate himself not so much for the moment as for the future, for he was still working for Mattia. Melii wrote the letter from Prague, where he was probably attending the coronation of Ferdinand as King of Bohemia:

*Most serene Prince, my Great Sir and Venerable Master,*

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\(^7\) Cited in Ludwig von Köchel, *Die Kaiserliche Hof-Musikkapelle in Wien von 1543 bis 1867* (Vienna, 1869), pp. 56-57. The documents are found in the Financial Archives of the Chambers of the Court of Vienna (hereafter, AfccV), *Libri di contabilità di corte*, 1614, f. 448, 277.


Having had the privilege of printing this fourth installment of my work, under the most serene name of Archduke Ferdinand of Graz; and having dedicated some *sonate* to their Majesties and other princes, I also include your most serene Highness, to whom I dedicated a *corrente* entitled "l'Alfonsina" on page 11 of the present book. This is but a small symbol of the devout affection I owe you. I beg you to accept this in lieu of the great amount for which I am obliged, until the time arrives when I will be able to dedicate to you a work worthy of your most serene Grace. And if I am not able to offer you something better, I will devote to you my very self. With reverence, I bow and kiss your most serene hands. Prague, April 20, 1617. The most devout and most indebted servant to your Most Serene Highness, P.P. Melij.10

Two more letters by Melii are found in the Archivio di Stato in Ferrara. They are addressed to the Marquis Enzo Bentivoglio. In reality, there must have been many more such letters, since in the second Melii signs himself as "the usual M." These letters dated May 5, 1618 and June 18, 1619, do not add much to Melii's biography, except to show that he was still in Vienna at the time. They are, however, interesting accounts of the turmoil surrounding the court of Vienna shortly before the Thirty Years' War as seen by one of its courtly residents.11 In 1618, payment records show Melii's receipt of his annual salary and a New Year's gift, and on March 23rd of that year he received an additional 6 florins for "preparation of the tomb," followed by another 6 florins for preparation of the coffin. Unfortunately, no other details survive of these unusual payments.12

On July 14th of the same year, Matteo Baracchi, presumably the Modenese ambassador to Vienna, sent a dispatch to the Duke of Modena (or to his secretary) in which among various other messages, Melii is

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10 *MOas*, Cancelleria Ducale, Archivio per materie, Musica e Musicisti, busta I A: "Serenissimo Prencipe mio gran signore et Patron collendissimo Essendomi presentata occasione di metere alle stampe la qui sgionta Hoppera, quarta parte delle mie composizione; soto il serenissimo nome del Arciduca Ferdinando di Graz et messa avendo dedicato alcune sonate alle lor Maestà et ad altri precipi; tra li quali ho posta Vostra Altzeza Serenissima con dedicarlo; una corrente detta l'Alfonsina a' carte II del presente libro; che servirà per darli segno d'una minima parte del devo to afeto ch'io li devo suppliandola acetare questo pocho segno, per il molto in che son tenuto; sin tanto che col tempo oportuno possi dedicarli cosa degna della sua serenissima grazia; et se non potrò altro consachreomi me steso, che sera per fine con ogni riferenza inchinandomi baciarti le serenissime mani; di Praga il di 20 Aprile 1617, di V.A. Ser. Devotissimo et Hobligatissimo servitore P.P. Melij."
11 These documents appear in "Una prima documentazione." pp. 36-37.
recommended to the duke. It is here that the lawsuit against Melii of nearly twenty years earlier is resurrected, but the letter is too short and ambiguous to permit any further deductions:

Melii, lutenist to His Majesty, asked me to recommend to your Highness the enclosed memorial. This I do willingly, as he asked [me] to do it, not so much out of its reasonableness, which I admit, but also out of good grace. Because, if indeed I am disgusted by what he writes, as he sends this [memorial] about the causa [lawsuit] thinking that I would not know about it; nevertheless, it follows that I have received the greatest pleasure from it, because his letter, and that of Florio, have served to justify myself with you concerning what I have [previously] written to you.\(^\text{13}\)

According to Von Köchel, Melii’s employment under the emperor Mattia terminated on April 30, 1618. The Viennese financial archives show, however, that Melii drew a salary until February 28, 1619. This date seems more plausible as Mattia died shortly thereafter, and there is no apparent reason why Melii would have been dismissed before Mattia’s death. Furthermore, in 1619, Melii received an extra payment along with more money for clothes.\(^\text{14}\)

At this point both Von Köchel and, in a much more recent study, Federhofer, note that the musician was rehired to serve the new emperor Ferdinand II. His annual salary was increased to 300 florins; Federhofer cites a document in his possession confirming this salary dated December 10, 1619. This would have made Melii one of the highest paid musicians at the Viennese court, second only to the Maestro di capella G. Priuli, the organist G. Valentini, the instrumentalist D. Gentilis and the singer A. Vischer.\(^\text{15}\)

On April 22, 1620, a few days after Melii’s Libro quinto was dedicated to him, Ferdinand II wrote a letter regarding Melii to Cesare d’Este, Duke of Modena. The emperor reminded the duke that his predecessors, acting

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\(^{13}\) MOas, Cancelleria Ducale, Dispacci degli oratori, Germania b.80 (also b. 81): “Il Melio lautista di sua Maestà mi ricerca di raccomandare a Vostra Altezza l’incluso suo memoriale, il che fo’ volentieri, non tanto perché come ragionevole glie l’ametta, m’anco per grazia la supplichii a farlo; perché se ben io ricevi da lui disgusto nello scrivere, che face a V.A. dell’expedition della causa con pensier che io non la sapessi, nondimeno dal seguito n’ho ricevuto un grandissimo piacere, perché la sua lettera, et quella del Florio hanno servito presso di lei per mia guistificatione intorno quello che le scrissi.”

\(^{14}\) AfecC, Libri di contabilità, 1619, ff. 127, 263, 264, 527.

\(^{15}\) Hellmut Federhofer, Musikpflege und Musiker am Grazer Habsburgerhof der Erzherzöge Karl und Ferdinand von Innerösterreich, (1564-1619) (Mainz, 1967).
predecessors, acting under the orders of the then-emperor Mattia, conceded the position of Captain of the Gate of Santa Croce in Reggio to Melii's paternal uncle, Ludovico. Melii had expressed the desire to succeed his uncle at his position in the event that he should outlive him, and Ferdinand was responding to Melii's request by recommending him for the position. It is puzzling, however, as to why Melii desired this kind of work and wanted to return to Reggio.\(^{16}\)

It is important to note that practically all musicological sources of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries indicate that in 1620 Melii returned not to Reggio, but to Ferrara. This theory originated with Van der Straeten who in a list of musicians, noted "Paul Melij 'musicus et citharoedus noster' (sous Ferdinand II), en 1620."\(^{17}\) First, in 1620 the court of Ferrara no longer existed—the Este had transferred to Modena. Second, the title given in quotation by Van der Straeten is identical with that issued in the letter from Ferdinand to the Duke of Modena which was written in 1620 while Melii was still working for the emperor.\(^{18}\) While it is possible that Melii could have been in Modena—given the imperial family's interrelations with the Este—it is more likely that Van der Straeten, in the likelihood that he personally examined Ferdinand's letter, simply misinterpreted it. In the final analysis, there is no trace of Melii in Modena or in Ferrara, and it is highly unlikely that in 1620 Melii served in any location other than Vienna.

The final payment notices to the lutenist are found in the Viennese account books of 1622, which state that the "ex" [geweste] lutenist of the chamber, Melii, received a supplementary salary for the period from December, 1617 to April, 1619, and the musician "declares himself satisfied more or less." Further on there is a payment for clothes money for the period from December, 1617 to April, 1618, and other payments to Melii are found in the Viennese Court Finance Records, but they contain no information other than the date of issue.\(^{19}\)

A final shred of evidence is given in another letter from Ferdinand to

\(^{16}\) At this time, Melii received a number of letters, unsigned, from Prague, Warsaw and Vienna. Here, as with the letters from Melii to the Marquis Bentivoglio, the subject is political in nature: Progress on the various battlefields, and movement by the various armies of the Empire at the beginning of the Thirty Years' War. See "Una prima documentazione..." pp. 36-37.

\(^{17}\) Edmund van der Straeten, La musique aux Pays-Bas avant le XIX\textsuperscript{e} siècle (Brussels, 1882; reprint 1969).

\(^{18}\) See "Una prima documentazione," p. 37.

\(^{19}\) AfCcV, Finanze di corte, 1613, February 16 & March 4; 1615, December 7; 1616, December 31.
the Duke of Modena, dated October, 1623. The duke has finally given his consent to Melii's request to become Captain of the Gate of Santa Croce in Reggio, but it is clear that Melii has not yet made use of his appointment. Ferdinand explains that he is now releasing Melii from his service so that he can take up his new post. After this, there is no further information about Pietro Paulo Melii.

Francesca Torelli teaches lute at the "C.A.M." school of Florence.  
[Translated by Paul Beier]
The Lute Collection of the Paris Museum of Musical Instruments: Its Character, Formation and Development

By Florence Getreau

THIS IMPORTANT COLLECTION, originally containing thirty-seven items, must be placed in the front rank of the world's public collections. Between 1979 and 1980, the French State acquired the Geneviève de Chambure collection of some thirty lutes, and with two more recent acquisitions (an anonymous lute and a lute by Hans Jordan, as an example of the Museum's deliberate interest in contemporary work), the Museum has now brought together seventy instruments, thus offering a true panorama of the great European schools of lute construction. At present, the collection is undoubtedly more developed than those of Brussels (twenty-five instruments), Nuremberg (twenty-five instruments), and Vienna (approximately twenty instruments) — without neglecting Prague or Leipzig — in spite of the essential importance of these collections.

The schools that are illustrated with the most diversity are those of Venice and Padua for Italy, and Paris for France (with numerous examples dating from the second half of the eighteenth century), but examples from the schools of Rome, Bergamo, Leipzig and Augsburg are also present. Regrettably, Parisian work of the seventeenth century is represented only by the Jean Desmoulin lute, but few such instruments can be mentioned today apart from the Claude Allard in the Brussels collection.

It is interesting to examine the genesis of the Rue de madrid collection more closely. In 1861, the State acquired 230 instruments which had been collected by Louis Clapisson, a composer and professor of harmony at the Conservatoire. He decided to offer the collection to the Conservatoire Imperial de Musique, and in doing so realized the wish of the Convention Nationale. Not content with simply selling his instruments, Clapisson requested and obtained the post of curator of the collection, and, to mark

the opening of the Museum, made a gift of an additional eighty-six items. Six lutes of high organological quality were among these instruments, such as the lutes by Kaiser, Stadler and Tielke as well as the anonymous theorbo (E 25).

The Paris Museum developed an active purchasing policy throughout the first decades of its history. Thus, in December, 1873, it responded favorably to a proposal by Julien Fau to acquire his collection of over 100 instruments. An article in the *Journal Officiel* reported that Fau travelled to Venice in 1869, where he obtained some fifteen instruments from the celebrated Correr-Contarini music collection, thus anticipating by some years the purchases made from the same sources by the Brussels Museum in 1886. Julien Fau, an amateur violinist, collected with an intuition rare for that period. Many of the instruments are unique, and a good many date from the sixteenth century. These include a bass viol and a lira da gamba made in Brescia, six comets, a cittern by Salvatori, the sole historical crummhorn in our collection, and approximately ten perfectly authentic lutes. (The acquisition history of the J. C. Hoffmann and Tiphanon theorboes is vague.) Moreover, being the first to acquire instruments from the Venetian collection, Fau was able to choose some exceptional instruments, such as the small instrument by Cocko or the archlute with five pegboxes.

In 1886, Baroness Charles Davillier, wife of the famous art critic, presented the superb 1638 Matteo Sellas archlute to the Museum, together with a lute (remodelled as a guitar) by Giorgio Sellas. Other benefactors included Baroness Nathaniel de Rothschild who enriched the collection with eight instruments, including the 1626 Giorgio Sellas theorbo and the anonymous theorbo E 1557.

Another important acquisition by the Museum was the collection of Dr. Paul Cesbron in 1934, containing over 400 items, among which were ten lutes. In this instance, quantity took precedence over quality. Cesbron often left traces of his rather clumsy repairs on instruments which were themselves not of the highest quality. The great age for collectors seemed almost over; instruments were already becoming rare, and those in circulation showed evidence of having been poorly treated. Cesbron thus notes in his handwritten catalogue that a small chitarrone was "entirely restored by me," meaning extensively repaired and treated like a piece of

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3 See René de Mayer, "Notes concernant la collection Contarini-Correr," in *Instruments de Musique des XVIIe and XVIIIe siècles* (Château de Larne, 1972), pp. XXXVI-XL.
Finally, we must end with an enrichment without precedent: the arrival of the collection of Geneviève Thibault de Chambure (1902-1975). In 1979, the State accepted seventy-one exceptional items as payment of inheritance taxes, including the Desmoulin lute. In June, 1980, the State purchased the 700 remaining instruments in order to keep the collection intact and housed in France. This collection contributed over thirty more lutes to the Museum, with several Italian specimens of great interest. In 1926, Mme de Chambure, together with Cdt. Le Cerf and Lionel de la Laurencie, founded the Société de Musique d'Autrefois, intended to promote forgotten repertories played on period instruments. After the death of Le Cerf, Mme de Chambure acquired 200 instruments which he had assembled for that purpose, thus forming the nucleus of her own collection, which was to remain always at the service of live music. Her instruments, therefore often show proof of their recent usage.

Joël Dugot offers here a selection of particularly interesting items as a supplement to his previously published studies. The Chouquet catalogue and its supplements listed twenty-four of these instruments, while Pohlmann — in his various editions of Laute, Theorbe, Chitarrone — selected seven. In 1978, Robert Spencer drew attention to two of our theorboes (E 1028 and E 528), while Friedemann Hellwig used seven instruments as the basis for his article on the morphology of lutes with extended bass strings.

Musée Instrumental du C. N. S. M. de Paris


5 See the exposition catalogue, Musiques anciennes (Paris, 1980), which contains a complete inventory.


Some Lutes in Paris Museums, Part 2

By Joël Dugot

The descriptions published in the last Journal\(^1\) are followed by these descriptions of instruments in the collection of the Musée Instrumental du Conservatoire National Supérieur de Musique de Paris. Regarding terminology and interpretation of measurements, please refer to the introduction in my previous article. Furthermore, I would mention that the criteria used for choosing the lutes to be described here are in part the absence of these lutes in the catalogue by Pohlman\(^2\) and also the fact that most of these instruments — not being displayed at the museum — remain thus perfectly unknown.

**Belly and back of a lute E 180-2-320 (Figs. 1, 2)**
(Formerly in Madame de Chambure's private collection.)

The back is made with nine bird's-eye maple ribs. The design belongs to the almond shape variety with undeveloped shoulders and a cross-section slightly exceeding a half-circle. The end clasp is quite wide (45 mm at its maximum width). The inside of the back shows traces of numerous repairs, and its edges are very worn and contain many pieces of new wood. The block is original and has three nail holes. The cut for the neck is about 100 mm wide. The upper face on which the belly is glued is very narrow, about 15 mm wide.

The belly seems very old. It is apparently made of a medium quality spruce. The inside shows many traces of old bars, including a fan barring, as in modern guitars (Fig. 3). The area from the neck side to the bar under the rose is covered between the bars with new wood (epicea). The outside shows many cracks and is particularly damaged because the bridge

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\(^1\) See this Journal, XVI (1983), pp. 27-56.
Figures 1 and 2. Belly and back of Lute E 180-2-320
Figures 3 and 4. Barring and Rose of Lute E 180-2-320
was torn several times from the belly. One of the traces of a former bridge is very low. There is no trace of any border. The rose, which seems old, is inserted in the soundboard. (Fig. 4).

Nothing is known of the origin of this instrument, but the last owner kept it in its disassembled state, possibly in the aim of making the lute playable as the Laux Bosch lute (980-2-0; ee my previous article). In spite of this hypothesis, the very bad state of the belly makes the idea of restoration quite impossible unless the belly were replaced. With its "almond shape," the back is reminiscent of the old Bologna lutes, and the label "In Padua Vendelinus Tieffenbrucker" is obviously a fake. Nevertheless, we have to bear in mind that many instruments were made during the sixteenth century in this manner, particularly in Paris, and probably well into the seventeenth century. The name of Tieffenbrucker seems to be as well known as the violin makers of Cremona. Anyway, even if this instrument is a fake, it is an old one. The existence of three holes in the block, where only one nail is observed with the original neck, and the very thin area where the belly is glued onto the block might indicate that the instrument had been renecked for a wider neck about 100 mm wide on the block (see the width of the bridge area.). The rose is nicely cut, and its pattern can be seen on an anonymous theorbo of the same collection (E 25).

Archlute by Matteo Sellas E 980-2-375 (Figs. 5, 6, 7.)
(Formerly in Madame de Chambure's private collection)

This little archlute has a fifteen-ribbed back made with violet wood (a type of rosewood) spaced with ivory spacers (c. 2.5 mm wide). The belly design is very round and the cross section shows a flattening (Fig 8). The end clasp is made of one piece, and its ends are decorated with a round characteristic carving. The belly is made of a rather low-quality spruce and its edge is not protected by a border and is very damaged. Parts of the edge are missing and have been filled in with wood paste. The rose is cut inside the belly. The bridge is very large (high and thick) and we see around it traces of an earlier bridge. The neck is laminated with violet wood, and decorated with ivory spacers divided into two groups. The double pegbox is jig-sawed in a single piece of stained black hardwood.

In spite of a satisfactory state of conservation, this instrument has undergone several changes, having lost its original pegbox. In my opinion,

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Figures 5, 6, 7, and 8.
Archlute by Matteo Sellas E 980-2-375
this archlute had a double pegbox — as does the other 1638 Sellas archlute of the same collection — with 7 or 8 pairs of bass strings, as the Sellas archlute in the Museo Civico in Bologna or the Koch archlute described later in this article. Exactly when this change was made is impossible to specify, but the design of the present pegbox and the stringing in twelve courses implies, to my knowledge, a seventeenth or eighteenth-century German origin.

The belly does not show any maker's mark, and the pattern of the rose — very different from the usual ones by Sellas — could be the sign that the belly is not original. Nevertheless, we have to note that the general quality level is slightly inferior to the other archlutes of the same size from 1638 (now in Paris) and 1639 in the Witten Collection. The printed label glued inside the back reads: "MATTEO SELLAS ALLA CORONA/IN VENETIA 1640."

Lute by Magno Stegher E 980-2-332 (Figs. 9, 10) (Formerly in Madame de Chambure's private collection)

Once more, the fate of history has left us with only the back of what was probably a very fine instrument. This lute, in its present state, is a ten course lute, but this is a very recent restoration (see the angle of the pegbox!). The back is made with 39 ribs of shaded yew of a fine quality with black wood spacers. The end clasp is made of three pieces and equipped with a rough fastener.

Except for the back, the only original part could be the rose, which is inserted in a new cedar belly. The printed label reads: "MAGNO STEGER IN VENETIA." Another label, this one handwritten reads: "Réparé par Arnold Dolmetsch... 1893." Stegher seems to be a very fine maker. Only three other instruments by him are known: A bass lute in Bologna's Museo Civico, a very fine lute in Berlin, and a nice lute with a yew back, probably changed to a mandora during the eighteenth century. As I have just discovered this last instrument in the reserve of the Musée Instrumental du Conservatoire National Supérieur de Musique in Paris, I did not have enough time to present it here.

4”Matteo Sellas Alla Corona in Venetia 163(8) [ms]." Conservatoire National Supérieur de Musique de Paris, no. E 1028. A model of this type can be seen in the Witten Collection. This instrument is on display. A drawing and a set of pictures are available from my workshop.

5. "Magno Stegher in Venetia," ibid., no. 980-2-370. Formerly the property of Madame de Chambure. At this time the instrument has eight courses and a 666 mm vibrating length.
Figures 9 and 10. Lute by Magno Stegher E 980-2-332
Figures 11, 12 and 13.
Lute by Magno Dieffopruchar  E 980-2-321
Lute (?) by Magno Dieffopruchar E 980-2-321 (Fig. 11)
(Formerly in Madame de Chambure's private collection)

The back of this instrument is made with 29 ribs of very fine quality shaded yew. The cross-section is clearly flattened (Fig. 12). The belly outline shows well-designed shoulders. The end clasp is made of one piece. The belly, made of good spruce, is in two parts and the three roses are cut directly in the wood (Fig. 13). The edge is blackened with a sort of paint. The hardwood bridge is not stained and it is drilled for thirteen courses and decorated on top with "v" grooves. Its tips are nicely jigsawed and engraved. The neck is made of a resinous wood (probably fir) and covered with a very hard black varnish. The ebony fingerboard is strongly bowed and eight metal frets have been inserted. The pegbox is jigsawed in one piece of hardwood. A little recess has been carved on the treble-string side. The present state of this instrument is quite good, and it seems to have been played up to a very recent date, though, of course, not in its original version. Only the back, and maybe the soundboard, both of a high level craftsmanship, are possibly the work of Magno Dieffopruchar. The neck, with its bowed fingerboard, and the pegbox come certainly from an eighteenth-century German country. The present-day eight metal frets make a rather short neck in comparison to the nine or ten-fret necks standard in Magno Dieffopruchar's time. A simple calculation of proportion shows that the normal vibrating length should be about 85 or 90 centimeters.

In my opinion, this instrument was originally a theorbo with a long Italian double pegbox, and is now what the eighteenth-century Germans called "theorbo," even if the tuning was the same as the lute. 6 Eighteenth-century musicians certainly appreciated "old" lutes (or theorboes) because we find many from Padua, Bologna or Venice changed to fit baroque taste. The printed label reads: "MAGNO DIEFOPRUCHAR A VENETIA 15.8" (usually Dieffopruchar is written with a double "f"). Although this date has been partially erased, it stands that this instrument could be one of the oldest theorboes left, and at least as old as the instrument by the same maker pointed out by Smith as being the first "chitarrone." 7 A second printed label reads: MATTHIAS FUX/ (...unreadable) HOFFLAUTENMACHER WIEN 1696." If Fux was the builder of the present neck and

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6 According to Baron, "Today, however, it [the theorbo] commonly has the new lute tuning, which our own lute still has, because it was too much trouble for the lutenist to have suddenly to rethink everything when he picked up the old theorbo."


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Figures 14, 15, and 16. Anonymous theorbo E 25
Figure 17 (top) Anonymous theorbo E 25
Figures 18 and 19. Lute by Hans Burkholzer
pegbox, one could consider that he was among the first to use that particular type of pegbox along with other craftsmen such as Tielke. A third handwritten label reads "Reparavit J. L. Cattus 1808."

**Anonymous theorbo E 25 (Figs. 14, 15)**  
(Formerly in Clapisson's private collection: This instrument is on display)

The seventeen ivory ribs which form the back of this theorbo are separated by triple spacers (blackwood, ivory, blackwood). The top of the side outline is located in the middle of the curve and the cross section is almost a half-circle. The form of the block can be seen from the outside, particularly if seen from the side. The end clasp is of one rather narrow ivory piece. The soundboard is made of a top quality spruce, with a very fine and regular grain. The belly edge is protected by a border made of three linings (blackwood, ivory, blackwood). The bridge is stained in a dark color and the tips are sculptured flowers. The top is laminated with an ivory and ebony marquetry (diamond shaped pieces and spacers). The rose is cut in the belly with a very attractive pattern, the same as the previous lute E 180-2-320 (Fig. 16). There is an unusual ivory motif in the place where one usually finds a spade. The fingerboard is decorated with a rectangular cartouche surrounding three ivory sculpted medallions presented by small figurines; the first one shows a man with a broad brimmed hat, the center one shows a two-headed eagle. This symbol appears quite often as a rose pattern of which several examples still exist: On a large lute by Magno Dieffopruchar (?) preserved in the Kunsthistorisches Museum in Vienna (no. AR969); on an archlute by Christoph Koch (Cocko or Cochs) preserved in Paris (no. E 546) and some others; or as a maker's mark, used particularly by the makers mentioned above (both from Venice). Thus, it is possible to establish a relationship between those different occurrences and the eagle symbol which appears on a Koch (London, Victoria and Albert Museum, no. 7756-1862) instrument this time in a prime location, in the middle of a splendid marquetry decorating the back of the neck. The third medallion seems to be a sort of *rebus*, in the style of some early alchemical engraving: "Non Omnes," which one can read on a phylactery unfurled over the top of a mountain. A possible interpretation could be: The attainment of the top level (of luteplaying?) is not for everyone.

The pegboxes are decorated with two similar medallions, the first with the two-headed eagle, and probably the god Hermes on the second. All those symbols have Hermetical connotations which are reinforced by the presence, on the "grand jeu" pegbox, of an engraved ivory motif showing
an unusual double-tailed mermaid (Fig. 17) — which could have a relation to Venere’s mark — widely used in Western pictorial symbolism, particularly in Romanesque sculpture. The back of the neck and pegbox is decorated with garlands and bunches of musical instruments.

At present, this instrument is in good condition. The mark of the block is well visible from the side view, but this defect (frequent on other old lutes) is probably inherent in construction, as if the ribs had afterwards shrunk. This is altogether possible since ivory must be softened to be worked without breaking by means of a long soaking in water.

The belly shows many cracks, and seems to have been cleaned at a recent date. The rose is one of the most attractive I have seen, as by its design as well as the high level of workmanship. The neck and the pegbox are later constructions than the body which, in my opinion, must have been a lute. Similarly, I cannot leave this instrument without comparing its body with a lute by Hans Burkholzer 8 (Figs. 18, 19). The side views, cross sections are very similar, and the end clasps are both narrow and in one piece. For this reason, I propose a German origin at the end of the sixteenth century (possibly in Füssen) for the body of this instrument. Perhaps we will know the truth one day because the maker’s label is glued inside the body and hidden by a piece of linen used to reinforce a crack. The ribs are so thin that we can see the label with its letters through them, but it is still unreadable in spite of several tries by Florence Getreau, Assisant Curator of the Museum and myself.

**Theorbo by Matheus Buechenberg (?) E 1557 (Fig. 20)**
(Gift from Baroness Nathaniel de Rothschild)

The back of this theorbo is made with thirty-three shaded yew ribs. The cross section is very flat and the belly design shows rather round shoulders. Each rib is lightly hollowed, and one can notice a lack of spacers between the ribs and on the belly edge. The end clasp is made of two pieces and the entire back edge seems to have been heavily trimmed. The belly, of a very poor spruce, has two inserted roses of which the smaller one is on the bass side, nearer the bridge. Each rose is surrounded by inlaid frieze of ivory and ebony (Fig. 21). The bridge is very rough. The neck and double pegbox are stained in a black color, but inlaid with ivory or bone spacers, albeit in a rather crude manner.

A piece of wrought iron with a dovetail design is inlaid in the wood to reinforce the joint between the neck and pegbox. The fingerboard and the

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Figures 20 and 21.
Theorbo by Matheus Buechenberg E 1557
Figures 22, 23, and 24.
face of the pegbox are decorated with ivory inlay on ebony veneer with pastoral scenes.

It is obvious that this instrument is a sort of patchwork, probably made with pieces of several instruments. In my opinion the most interesting parts are the back and the two inserted roses which come from a high quality spruce and therefore from a nice belly. The back is very probably the work of Matheus Buechenberg as the label indicates. If one accepts this hypothesis, (to complete this master’s list of instruments) it could be interesting to estimate the vibrating length of the "petit jeu," assuming that this instrument was originally a theorbo. With a 585 mm belly length and a bridge one-sixth of that measure, a nine-fretted theorbo may have had about 877 mm of vibrating length — equivalent to three feet — instead of the present 720 mm. This seems to have been one of the standards of the time, as several old theorboes have this measurement. It should also be noted that theorboes with two roses exist in iconographical sources. One of them is the famous engraving from Praetorius (Fig. 23). Another one is the painting of Lady Mary Sidney by John Critz (1555-1641) (Fig. 24).

The authenticity of this instrument as the work of Matheus Buechenberg is of course difficult to establish, and only the yew back and perhaps the roses are concerned. One would expect to find the maker’s mark on the end clasp, but only a scratch remains from the mark, which was unfortunately trimmed with the edge of the back. Nevertheless, the calligraphy of the handwritten label seems identical to the example taken from Brussels (Musée Instrumental no. 1570) and Lisbon (Conservatorio National). Our text reads: "Matheus Buechenberg 1604." I believe one can discern the faded trace of the word "Rome" written before the date.

Theorbo by Jacob Stadler E 26 (Figs. 25, 26)

Formerly in the Clapisson collection, this theorbo, in spite of mutilations on the neck and pegbox, shows a nice back made with thirty-five yew ribs with black wood spacers. The contour of the belly, protected by an ebony border, is characterized by round shoulders at the top and a very low curve below the bridge area, which gives a good soundboard surface on the sides of the bridge. The cross section is, of course, clearly flattened as on many multi-ribbed theorboes. In the same way, one notices the greater width of the two ribs on which the belly is glued. The end clasp is made in six parts with spacers, and the tips are carved with a traditional motif. In its center remains the rectangular trace of a lost fastener.

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91 foot = about 282 mm
Figures 25 and 26. Theorbo by Jacob Stadler E 26
Figures 27 and 28. Theorbo by Jacob Stadler E 26
But most interesting are the little holes drilled on both sides of the fastener, about 15 centimeters apart, in which remain the remnants of old thick gut strings (Fig. 27). The original reason for these holes is quite mysterious at first glance, and my hypothesis is that these holes were made in order to attach the bridge more securely by means of a gut string passing through the bridge. This hypothesis is based on two observations. The first is a bridge of a theorbo by Kaiser, which is probably original and shows two extra holes drilled below the others and clearly destined for a different use than to fasten harmonic strings. The second observation concerns two holes in the end clasp of a theorbo marked "P. R." (probably Peter Railich) preserved in the Musée Instrumental in Brussels, no. 1569. The existence of these holes is not unplanned and probably was an ancient method used to secure the bridge, even if this method is not found on every theorbo of the period. As the "P. R." instrument and the Stadler theorbo have lost their original bridges, which could have provided definitive proof, my opinion remains a hypothesis.

The soundboard is made of a very nice spruce. The three roses are cut with good workmanship and the upper motif is quite unusual (Fig. 28). The bridge is clearly not original. The soundboard is protected by an ebony border. In the lower part of the belly is inlaid the traditional spade, made of brown hardwood. The neck had been roughly narrowed by trimming the sides, and it is nicely decorated with thirty ivory spacers (c. 1 mm wide). The neck is made with a white wood, probably lime. The pegbox had been cut just above the "petit jeu" pegbox and contains the same elements of construction found in the neck.

With the Stadler theorbo we have an example of what could be considered in the past to be a "good instrument" without heavy decoration, but with very fine woods and high level craftsmanship. As too often is the case, the instrument has been cruelly altered, but in spite of these "improvements," the instrument has still retained its original parts. To my knowledge, this is the only extant theorbo by Stadler, who is also known for several guitars. The label indicates: "Jacob Stadler tedesco Napopi/l'anno 1613."

Theorbo believed to be from the Venere workshop E 548 (Figs. 29, 30)
(Formerly in the collection of Dr. Fau, bought in 1869 from the Contarini-Correr collection in Venice)

This very large theorbo has a back with thirty-five yew ribs with clear wood spacers (maple?). Each rib is slightly hollowed and the edge ribs are wider than the others. The end clasp is made with six parts with spacers.
Figures 29, 30, 31 and 32. Theorbo E 548
Figures 33, 34, and 35.
Theorbo by Giorgio Sellas E 1556
The fastener is very crude and just over it one can see the trace of the original. In the same area there is a large depression which has deformed the shape of the body. The entire back is covered with a dark red-brown varnish.

The varnished belly is of good quality spruce, containing numerous cracks. The rose, of a well-proportioned size, is very nicely done and the motif is almost characteristic of the Venere workshop (Fig. 31). It closely resembles several other roses of that kind, particularly in the Kunsthistorisches Museum collection in Vienna. The soundboard edge is protected by a dark wood border, and we find the traditional spade inlaid in the spruce. It is made of ivory (or bone?) and dark wood. The neck and the double pegbox are laminated with violet wood. On the neck fourteen ivory spacers (c. 3 mm wide) have been inserted which are divided into groups. The double pegbox is decorated simply with a double ivory spacer on the edges.

The joint between the neck and the block is made in a very unusual way. We know that necks of theorboes and archlutes always lean slightly toward the bass side which allows for the bridge to be fastened more or less in the middle of the soundboard. This off-centering, which is usually no more than about 3 degrees,\(^{10}\) is made on the cut of the neck itself, the cut of the block remaining perfectly square with the body-axis. In the present case, we find exactly the opposite and the unfortunate result makes the two points inlaid in the fingerboard very uneven. We can guess that this is not the doing of the original maker; Moreover the quality of the neck and pegbox are inferior compared to that of the body. The fingerboard, made of violet wood, is made in two parts and is slightly convex. The pegs are made of an exotic brown hardwood.

The back and belly are very fine examples of high level Germano-Italian craftsmanship as it was practiced in Padua workshops at the end of the sixteenth and the beginning of the seventeenth centuries. There is no doubt that this instrument comes from the Venere workshop. In spite of the label being obscured by a glued piece of textile, one can read the letters "...ova".\(^{11}\) probably from the end of the word "padova." In addition, the lower part of the "Venere" maker's mark is perfectly visible (Fig. 32) between the two points. The upper part has been cut perhaps when the new neck was glued. If we admit the hypothesis that there was originally a

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\(^{10}\) The off-centering of the neck depends on its length. On the archlute by Sellas (E 1028) of which the vibrating length is 585 mm, the angle is 3.8 degrees whereas on the large theorboes, the angle is seldom larger than about 2.5 degrees.

\(^{11}\) The label is usually: "In Padova Vvendelio Venere."
narrower neck, this might have been a big bass lute in its original state (the "Gros octav bass laute" described by Praetorius). This instrument can be related to some others from the same maker, particularly the 1592 lute preserved at the Academia Filarmonica in Bologna.

Theorbo by Giorgio Sellas E 1556 (Figs. 33, 34)  
(Legacy of Baroness Nathaniel de Rothschild)

This is the largest theorbo in the collection of the Conservatoire National Supérieur de Musique. The back is made with forty-three ebony ribs with ivory spacers (about 1.5 mm wide). The design of the soundboard, as in other big theorboes, shows a very elongated form with small shoulders. Although flattened, the cross section has some roundness. The end clasp is in six parts with ivory spacers. The spruce soundboard has its edge protected by a border made of ivory and ebony, and the three roses are almost identical and well cut (Fig. 35). The lower part of the belly is unglued, which allows us to see two little wedge-shaped bars, roughly made, and a curved bass bar. The back of the neck and the pegbox are decorated with an inlaid design of ebony on an ivory background. The fingerboard is in ebony with three ivory panels containing carved landscapes. One notices that the design of the back of the neck is clearly less delicate than the decoration on some Matteo Sellas or Koch instruments: See for instance the lack of refinement of the motifs which decorate the neck, and which remind one of several ornamentations used more than a century later by the well-known Tielke. In the same way, the panels on the fingerboard seem to have been made in haste and cannot compare to the nicely carved ivory panels on the Matteo Sellas instrument mentioned above.

The printed label indicates: "giorgio sellas, all stella/ in venetia (handwritten) 1626." A guitar by the same master, dated 1636, is preserved in the Musée des Arts Decoratifs in Paris (no. 27904).

Anonymous archlute E 528 (Figs. 36, 37) 
(Formerly in the collection of Dr. Fau who bought it from the Contarini-Correr collection in Venice)

The back of this nice instrument is made with twenty-seven alternated ribs of ebony and ivory with a double spacer. The shape is rather round, including the cross section. The end clasp is in two pieces with a spacer. The belly, made of quality spruce, has its edge protected by a border of dark wood and ivory (about 5 mm wide). The present bridge is of a hard wood stained black with a lamination of ivory and mother
Figures 36, 37 and 38. Archlute E 528
Figures 39 and 40 Archlute E 528
of pearl. The lower and upper parts of the belly are inlaid with ebony ornaments of a very large and uncommon design (Fig. 60). The rose is cut with care in a well-known pattern. But the most remarkable aspect of this instrument is a bent belly, as on mandolins, to improve the pressure of the strings on the bridge. The neck and the pegbox are decorated with a scrolled vine design inlay (ebony on ivory) edged with frieze. The fingerboard shows two nicely carved ivory panels, and the edges are also lined with ivory. The pegbox is laminated in ebony, while the pegs are ivory.

This instrument is in quite good condition, but we must note that it has been altered several times. Firstly, the neck is notably shortened and my estimation, based on historical criteria, is that the original vibrating length was about 650 mm ("petit jeu") and 940 mm ("grand jeu"). Secondly, I imagine that the "bending" of the belly is also an alteration: This can be assumed due to the excessive shortening of the end clasp tips. It should also be mentioned that the metal stringing of this instrument, made possible by the bending of the belly and the buttons on the end clasp (of which one can see the traces), was not the original stringing. Robert Spencer has already noticed the relations between this instrument and the engraving by Praetorius (Fig. 38), in which it is impossible to see if the belly is bent or not. Furthermore, a later alteration consisted of restringing the lute again with gut, removing the end clasp buttons and probably putting on a new bridge, suitable for gut strings.

Indeed, putting metal strings on an archlute or theorbo implies a specially fitted bridge, very different from the usual gut bridge. Examples of such bridges are found on several historical instruments such as an altered archlute by Hieronimus Brensio on which the strings lie in notches on the bridge, the pressure being increased by a bent belly. I am skeptical as to whether metal strings were extensively used during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries — but I’m quite sure that other solutions for metal stringing were found in which the bending of the belly could be avoided. To support this assumption, I will give two examples: The first is a theorbo by Venere (Fig. 39) which shows traces of buttons on the end clasp, but the original belly is definitely not bent. In this case, the instrument has obviously lost its original bridge, but it is quite certain

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12 There are usually ten frets on the neck.
Figures 41, 42 and 43. Theorbo by Matteo Sellas E 547
Figures 44, 45 and 46. Theorbo by Matteo Sellas E 547
Figures 47, and 48. Theorbo by Matteo Sellas E 547
that it formerly had metal stringing. The second is a theorbo (Fig. 40) with a lyre shaped body 16 (probably a theatre instrument from the end of the sixteenth or beginning of the seventeenth century), on which one can see a bridge perfectly suitable for metal strings. In this case, the system is clearly derived from harpsichord making with a "lower" bridge on which the strings are attached by means of nails and drawn to the left before they reach the upper bridge where their position is held in place by nails. This type of bridge was almost suitable for theorboes of the time. To return to the instrument in question here, one can say that the design of that instrument (body, pegbox) and the decorations make a Venetian origin very probable.

Theorbo by Matteo Sellas E 547 (Figs. 41, 42, 43)  
(Same origin as preceding instrument)

The body of this large theorbo is made with thirty-three ribs made of quarter sawn cypress, slightly hollowed, with black wood spacers (c. 1 mm wide). The belly's outline is elongated with very small shoulders; the cross section of the body is flattened. The end clasp is made with five pieces with spacers. A good quality belly has its edge protected by a hard wood border. The three roses are precisely cut in a rather simple design, which was a frequent practice of this maker (Fig. 44). Between the two fingerboard points, one can see the three Sellas marks, half worn away by time and repairs. The present bridge, very crude, is not original. The neck is laminated with violet wood inlaid with nineteen ivory spacers. The fingerboard, also made of violet wood, is slightly convex and made of two pieces.

The double pegbox is the most noticeable part of this instrument. It is fastened to the neck by a mitre joint reinforced by a wrought iron nail of which one can see the head on the edge of the "petit jeu" pegbox mortise. Figures 41 to 43 show the very unusual design of that pegbox, particularly the "crook" (Fig. 45) which ends in a panel showing the carved address of the maker (Fig. 46) where the spelling of the name differs from the inside label. 17 This unusual design prevents the offcentering of the pegbox that is found more commonly. This pegbox is laminated with violet wood and the


17 This was the same for the 1652 mandora, Musée de Cluny no. 7688, that was described in the previous article.
edges are decorated with a twin ivory liner (2.5 to 3 mm wide). Only the sides are stained black. On the lower face, a fastener — similar to the end clasp but longer — is glued just under the "petit jeu" mortise. An ivory spade with a very long tip decorates that area.

This instrument is in very good condition (except for the upper rose crack, which is recent) and in my opinion near to its original state. Several remarks are to be made. From an aesthetic point of view, the quality of the design and craftsmanship place this theorbo at the higher end of theorbo production in general. From an organological point of view, this instrument is similar to another Sellas theorbo, (E 545) in the same collection (Fig. 47) and a theorbo by Peter Railich (Brussels, no. 1569) (Fig 48). E 547 and Railich are both made of cypress ribs, and their roses are also very similar. These relations could reinforce the hypothesis that the two masters worked together for a time.

The theorbo E 547 also shows a very rare example of a "crook" on the "grand jeu" pegbox. It is highly regrettable that the original bridge of the E 547 theorbo is lost, but it is almost certain that the string arrangement was 6 x 2 for the "petit jeu" and 12 x 1 for the "grand jeu." That results in an eighteen-course instrument, similar to the nineteen-course theorbo described in Kapsberger's instructions of 1640, which allow for a chromatic scale on the "grand jeu." Finally, the label glued inside the body, which reads: "Matteo Sellas alla / Corona in Venetia," seems to be handwritten: The theorbo by Sellas in Brussels, no. 255, also has a handwritten label, whereas most instruments by this master have printed labels with a handwritten date.

Archlute by Christoph Koch E 546 (Figs. 49, 50)  
(Same origin as two previous instruments)

The Koch archlute is presently in restoration, enabling me to give a description of both the inside and the outside. The back is made with fifteen violet wood ribs with ivory spacers (2.5 mm wide). The thickness of the ribs is about 1.5 mm and their joints are reinforced inside by strips of woven paper, as Mersenne confirms in his Harmonie universelle (1636). The "contrebrague" is made of poplar (?) and measures 263 mm in length by 35 mm in height. The design of the back is very round and the cross

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18 One can note the similarity of decoration between these fasteners and some early bridges as on "Giovanne Hieber" (Brussels no. 1561) or "Vvendelio Venere" (Bologna, Academia Filarmonica) or "Martinus Kaiser" described in this article. This reinforces a stylistic aspect of Germano-Italian lute making during a long period, especially in Venice.

19 A drawing and a set of pictures of this instrument are available from my workshop.
section rather flat. Of the original lime-tree block, which is split at the level of the nail hole, there remains only the lower part; the upper part is new. The soundboard, which was broken into more than forty parts, has been partially reassembled by the museum restoration service. The preserved bridge does not seem original, in spite of its good quality, and there are only thirteen holes for fourteen courses! As far as I can judge, the spruce used is very densely cut, and the present thickness is about 1.3 mm. The rose, nicely cut, represents a two-headed eagle in a very stylized design. The two fingerboard points have been preserved. On the inside face of the belly, one can see clearly the traces of the bar positions. All the bars have been preserved. The barring arrangement is quite similar to those described by Friedemann Hellwig for contemporary Venetian instruments20 (Fig. 51). Two details must be described here: First, bars 1 to 4 are clearly asymmetrical in height (see Table I). Secondly, the visible part of the three bars that pass under the rose are carefully chanfered so that we see about half of the real thickness. All the bars are of good spruce and smoothly finished.

Table I  Measurements of the Bars (in millimeters)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Bridge</th>
<th>Nº</th>
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<th>Thickness</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Bass</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
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<td>12</td>
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</tr>
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<td>9</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>5.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>26.8</td>
<td>5.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rose</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
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<td>9.5</td>
<td>12</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
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<td>10</td>
<td>4/4.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
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<td>22.8</td>
<td>5.5</td>
</tr>
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<td>5.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9</td>
<td>14.5</td>
<td>14.5</td>
<td>5.3</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Block

---

Figures 49, 50 and 51.
Archlute by Christoph Koch  E 546
Figures 52, 53 and 54.
Archlute by Christoph Koch E 546
The neck and double pegbox are laminated with violet wood. The decoration of the back is an inlay of scrolled vine design of violet wood on an ivory background. An absolutely identical inlay is found on the pegbox of a Koch theorbo (Venice 1650) preserved in the Berlin Musikinstrumenten Museum (no. 3581) but reversed — that is to say, an ivory design on a violet wood background. This demands some explanation. When the craftsman wants to make the inlay motif, he cuts the design and the background at the same time. At the end of this faster and simpler job, he obtains two designs and two backgrounds of alternating materials: Two sets of inlay for two instruments. So it is quite certain that every instrument showing such a style of inlay has (or had) a twin instrument with the same design and reverse materials. Is the disproportionate size of the archlute of 1654, which is slightly too big, due to the use of the second set of inlay which was originally destined for a large instrument such as the instrument from Berlin mentioned above?

The ebony fingerboard and the upperface of the double pegbox are decorated with inset ivory carved ovals. The edges are lined with ivory. One can notice in Figure 52 the typical design of the "petit jeu" mortise with a large chanfer for the treble strings and the two semi-circle designs at the bottom of the mortise which are found on many instruments of that origin. As with the Sellas theorbo (E 547) the "grand jeu" pegbox is a "crook" which ends with the maker's name21 (Fig. 53).

In spite of its present state of deterioration, we can see that the Koch archlute is a very high level instrument with a rich decoration. The maker who signed his label "Christoforo Cochs all'insegna / Dall'Aquila d'Oro in Venetia / 1654" (Fig. 54) was not English as it was supposed,22 but most probably of German origin.23 The labels or carved marks which can be read on several instruments of that master are different: "Choc" on an archlute preserved in the Victoria and Albert Museum in London; 24 "Cocho" on a ten-course lute in Copenhagen; "Hoch" on an archlute (?) preserved in the Germanisches National Museum of Nuremberg, and at last, "Koch" on the aforesaid theorbo in Berlin. In the case of the Paris archlute, one can read at

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21 In the Friedemann Hellwig article (see note 16), the Sellas theorbo E 547 is listed among the most traditional double pegbox instruments, whereas it should be listed with the Koch archlute in a distinct "crook" type.
22 Gustave Chouquet, Le Musée du Conservatoire National de Musique (Paris, 1884).
23 See Phillip T. Young, The Look of Music (Vancouver, 1980), p. 44.
24 See Adolf Layer, Die Allgäuer Lauten- und Geigenmacher, (Augsburg 1978). The label of the Koch theorbo preserved in Berlin is in German; "Zu dem gulden Adler/in Venedig."
Figures 55, 56 and 57. Harp E 544
Figures 58 and 59. Archlute E 544
the same time "Cochs" on the label and "Cocko" or "Cocho" on the carved maker's label. One finds the two-headed eagle, implied in the 'slogan' "all aquila d'oro," used as a maker's mark in only one of Koch's instruments still existing today (Nuremberg, M155). Further research is needed to establish a relation with this same mark used by another Venetian maker, the well-known Magno Dieffopruchar (i.e. Tieffenbrucker).

**Anonymous Archlute E 544 (Figs. 55, 56, 57)**
(Same origin as three previous instruments)

The back of this curious instrument is made with eleven violet wood ribs with a very high and long end clasp which covers almost entirely the lower perimeter of the body edge. The belly outline is particularly round and the cross section is very flat (Fig. 57). The spruce soundboard is covered with a dark reddish varnish. The outside is protected by a border. The bridge, probably original, is also made of violet wood and has a very deep groove on the upper side as did several early lute bridges. The pegbox — the most interesting feature of the instrument — and the neck are laminated with a violet wood veneer. There is no real trace of a joint between neck and pegbox, as we usually see. The fingerboard is made with violet wood and ends squarely against the soundboard without any points. The pegbox, of spectacular design, has the same width and thickness as the neck. There are five "pegboxes" which allow different vibrating lengths on the bass string side. Each "pegbox" is nicely decorated with a little knob. Because the neck and pegbox are on the same plane, a special apparatus, used to increase the pressure of the strings, is located behind the "petit jeu" nut (Fig. 58).

In spite of a simple appearance (no decoration), this instrument is of a very rare and curious type. In my opinion it is in its original state. We can trust that it was made during the first half of the seventeenth century in Venice. There is no trace of alteration and the coherency of the parts suggest that the instrument is entirely made by the same maker. Except for the cracks in the soundboard, the condition is perfect. I am quite sure that the neck and pegbox are made from one solid piece, maybe to avoid a joint. The lack of ornament suggests that it was made quickly. A similar instrument, with a triple pegbox, is preserved in the Musée Instrumental in Brussels (no. 1565), labelled Matteo Sellas (without date) (Fig. 59). This last instrument comes from the same Contarini-Correr collection in

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25 This was told to me by the curator of this collection.
Figures 60 and 61. Theorbo by Martinus Kaiser E 24
Figures 62 and 63. Theorbo by Martinus Kaiser E 24
Venice. As is the case with the Sellas theorbo E 547 and the Koch archlute E 546 (which make a sort of pair with their similar pegboxes), our anonymous archlute E 544 and the Sellas instrument no.1565 make a pair as well. All those instruments may have the same origin.

**Theorbo by Martinus Kaiser E 24 (Figs. 60, 61)**
(Formerly in the Clapisson collection)

The label on this instrument indicates "Martinus Kaiser/Venetiis MDCIX." The back of this theorbo has twenty-seven ebony ribs with ivory spacers (c. 2mm wide). The design is attractive and the side view shows a very arched curve in the block area. The end clasp, made of two pieces of ivory, is carved with a fine double blackened line on the edge. A fastener, fixed in the middle, is made of ivory and ebony veneer. The belly, of a good quality spruce, is cracked, leaving the inside barring visible in several places. The edge does not seem spoiled; it is protected by a strip of woven textile of a blackish color, partly made with silver thread and oxidized at the present time. The three roses are finely cut (Fig. 62). The bridge is preserved separately, except for the tips which are now lost. It is made of solid ebony, very nicely made with grooves and little stars made with a punch. The neck and double pegbox are ebony veneered, and the back of the neck is decorated with an ivory herring-bone pattern. The ebony fingerboard is slightly convex. The double pegbox is decorated simply with ivory linings on the edges and in the center. This pegbox is broken in the neck joint area, which allows us to see two wrought iron nails which served to improve the quality of the jointing. The interior wood of the double pegbox is probably poplar. Finally, the block joint has been altered and we can see the traces of where the block has been cut. This cut, which implies that there was formerly a thicker neck, is now obliterated by a piece of wood, veneered with the same ivory-ebony herring-bone motif of the neck (Fig. 63).

The Kaiser family worked with musical instruments during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. Several instruments labelled Kaiser still exist. But this particular instrument has several problems. First, the aforesaid alteration of the block joint suggests that this instrument was originally a lute. The second point is the very unusual end clasp which does not suit the rest of the instrument and may not be original. On the other hand, the bridge seems to be from the seventeenth century and the lace of

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26Gustave Chouquet, op. cit., wrote: "this nice piece was made in Venice, but it is not labelled."
Figures 64, 65, 66 and 67. Six-course Lute E 1184
silver textile on the belly edge seems to be very old. This is, to my knowledge, a very rare example of edge-covering, a feature which is frequently found in the iconographical sources and which was recommended by Thomas Mace. In this case, the wear of the lace in the lower part of the belly could be due to the position of the musician's arm.

Anonymous six-course lute E 1184 (Figs. 64, 65) (Origin unknown at this time)

This lute has a nice flamed maple back with nine ribs. The cross section is rather round. The end clasp, in one piece, is not well glued on the body and its tips show characteristic motifs. The belly, which seems to be of spruce, has its edge covered with a border. The rose is crudely made (Fig. 66), and there is no carved border around it. In the block area one notices the traces of a larger neck; the two slots found on the soundboard were the points for the former neck and have been filled in with new spruce, and new slots were cut higher for the new neck (Fig. 67). In the same way, one notices the trace of a larger bridge. The present neck is made of wood from some fruit-tree. The pegbox, without any bottom, is provided with a chanterelle rider (pulley), and the entire instrument is covered with a light yellow varnish.

This is a very simple lute in good condition. Several characteristics infer an eighteenth-century German origin: The tips of the end clasp, the "quick-made" quality of the work, the external lining on the body edge, and the bridge tips. The only traces left of its original state are the former neck and bridge width. The 100 mm width of the original neck (on the block) and the 130 mm of the original string spacing on the bridge suggest that this was an eleven-course lute.

Theorbo (?) by Georg Aman E 234 (Figs. 68, 69) (Formerly in the Cesbron collection)

This very large theorbo has a back made with nine figured maple ribs covered with a rough reddish-brown varnish. The cross section is semi-circular, and the end clasp, very wide, has decorated tips in German style (Fig. 70), (i.e. Schelle, Buchstetter, etc.). The instrument is in very poor condition: An enormous hole appears in the body with many open cracks and parts missing, and the soundboard appears in several pieces with missing parts. The present neck and pegbox are very crude but one can seen traces of the former neck which was about 96 mm wide. The belly, made of medium quality spruce, has many repairs and new wood parts. The three roses were well cut but are now in poor condition (Fig. 71). The
Figures 68 and 69. Theorbo by Georg Aman E 234
Figures 70 and 71. Theorbo by Georg Aman E 234
bridge is very rough and is fastened on a piece of hard wood glued on the belly, probably as a reinforcement. The soundboard barring seems rather well preserved, except in the bridge area. The inside label reads: "Georg Aman, Lauten und/Geigenmacher, in Augfpurg./17 (39) [m.s.]."

Without the original bridge and pegbox, we can only hypothesize about the original string arrangement. I believe that the instrument was provided either with a German pegbox, similar to those of Hoffman's instruments (Leipzig, Musikinstrumenten Museum no. 506 or the following lute described in this article), or a long double pegbox of Italian style. The Musikinstrumenten Museum in West Berlin owns a similar instrument by Aman (1707) of which the stringing arrangement (1 x 1, 5 x 2 and 10 x 1) brings to mind an angel-lute. Both hypotheses are based on possible historical proportion. The Aman theorbo must have had about a 900 mm vibrating length on the "petit-jeu."

From a typological point of view, it is possible as a first step to categorically eliminate the term "lute" for this instrument because of its large size. We must next consider whether the term "theorbo" is accurate because it seems that the term "chitarrone," after having fallen into disuse around 1650 in Italy, was used in German countries in the eighteenth century along with the term "theorbo." One can quote as a very significant example of this the Weiss letter to Mattheson28 in which he says: "The theorbo and the chitaron, which are moreover different one from the other..."

The distinctions German lutenists made between theorbo and chitarrone remain mysterious, but it seems sure that two different instruments did exist in eighteenth-century German lute practice. On one hand, one could have instruments with the characteristic German double pegbox with typical arrangement — eight courses on the "petit-jeu," five courses on the "grand jeu." This type of string arrangement was called in France "à la Maltot" by the theorist Francois Campion.29 Several instruments by J. C. Hoffmann are preserved, of which vibrating lengths ("petit jeu") are between 700 and 840 mm. On the other hand, German instruments made during the eighteenth century exist with a double pegbox in the Italian style with six courses on the "petit jeu" and eight courses on the "grand jeu." Their vibrating lengths ("petit jeu") are equal or superior to 800? mm as the Aman instrument described here. The tuning of this last

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Figures 72, 73 and 74.
Lute by Johan Christian Hoffmann E 529
Figures 75 and 76.
Lute by Johan Christian Hoffmann E 529
type is not known, but another part of the Weiss letter refers to the theorbo tuning:30 "I also transformed one of my instruments for accompaniment in an orchestra and at church. It has the size, the length, the strength and the resonance of a real theorbo and thus produces the same effect, only the tuning is different." Four years later Baron wrote, "Today, however, it [the theorbo] commonly has the new lute tuning, which our own lute still has..."31

Lute (or theorbo?) by Johan Christian Hoffmann E 529
(Figs. 72, 73)
(Formerly owned by Dr. Fau)

The back of this instrument has eleven ribs of figured maple with black wood spacers (c. 1 mm wide). The cross section is quite round and supposing that it represents a half-circle, the center is situated above the surface of the belly. The outside of the belly is fairly rounded below the bridge area and well-shouldered at the neck. The end clasp is of one piece and we can see rounded notches in the middle and on the two tips (Fig. 74). The edge of the back is protected by an external lining (about 3 mm wide). The varnish, which seems original, is of a nice red-brown color, very dark yet translucent. The soundboard is made of resinous wood of ordinary quality and the edge is protected by an ebony border. The unusual rose pattern is quite large and decorated by a carved border (Fig. 75). The bridge seen in the picture was not original and has since been removed.32 The neck is veneered with ebony and shows a very characteristic design which becomes flat and thin in the pegbox area. The ebony fingerboard is strongly rounded. The pegbox is made of a solid piece in a hardwood and stained black. The external face of the bottom and parts of the side are carefully carved (Fig. 76).

J. C. Hoffmann was born in 1683 and was one of the best instrument makers of his time. He worked in Leipzig where he learned from his father Martin Hoffmann (1653-1715). He built lutes as well as bowed instruments. According to Baron, his reputation, greater than that of his father, reached France, the Low Countries and even Great Britain, especially for the good action which made his instruments very easy to play.33

30Mattheson, op. cit.
32A new bridge is now glued, designed after several Hoffmann bridges supposed to be original.
33Baron (op. cit.) wrote: "It is worthy of special note that in the building of his lutes, he not only
While it was quite forgotten in the reserve of the museum, the discovery of this instrument has been for me a very important event. The manuscript label reads: "Joh. Christian Hoffmann/Kon H. Poln und Chorfurtslsachs/Hoffinstrument und lauten macher/Leipzig 1720." Several points should be mentioned. First of all, the design and carved motifs of the pegbox are very similar to the lute preserved in the Germanisches National Museum in Nuremberg (Mi245) labelled Martin Hoffman. The only differences in the one in Paris are the carving on the sides, and the precision of the work. The end clasp shows the same particular design as other lutes by the same maker. More important, some relations of identity exist with the thirteen-course lute preserved in Brussels (no. 3188). In spite of the different pegboxes, the backs of those instruments are very similar (eleven ribs) and could have been constructed from the same mold.

The restoration of this beautiful instrument has been done recently. During this operation, we remarked an alteration of the soundboard barring, particularly under the bridge, where a large piece of pine has been glued to reinforce the belly. The bridge has been replaced and we had the privilege of hearing the instrument during a concert played by Konrad Junghänel.34

Asnières, France

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34 This concert as given at the Musée Carnavalet in Paris, February 16th, 1986 at the end of a mastercourse organized for the first time in the Conservatoire National Supérieur de Musique de Paris by the Musée Instrumental and the French Lute Society.
**Table II  Soundboard Measurements**

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<th>Width</th>
<th>Rose Diameter</th>
<th>Rose Center</th>
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<td>308</td>
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<td>336</td>
<td>96</td>
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*All measurements are in millimeters
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<td></td>
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A Computerized Approach to the Early Italian Lute Ricercar

By Richard d'A. Jensen

ALTHOUGH COMPUTERS HAVE been indispensable to scientists for decades, scholars in other disciplines have only recently discovered their usefulness. In this article I will describe a data base with a musicological application and show how it might be used in the study of sixteenth-century lute music. The techniques described below may be applied to any repertory, providing the researcher has access to a microcomputer and data-base software.

In an effort to trace the development of the early Italian lute ricercar, a data base of ricercars by Francesco Spinacino, Joan Ambrosio Dalza, Franciscus Bossinensis, and Vincenzo Capirola was assembled. Each record consists of a number of fields containing analytical information about a specific ricercar, including primary and secondary sources, length, tessitura, note value range, mensuration, tactus, texture, ornamentation, and other relevant data. The database was created using Microsoft® File Manager software on a Macintosh 512K personal computer. This software allows for the creation of records with a large number of fields of nearly unlimited size. Relational data bases such as dBase III for the IBM computer can manipulate an enormous number of records, but the size of each is severely limited. A Macintosh 512K personal computer with "File" by Microsoft® Corporation was used for this study.

1 This article is taken from the author's forthcoming dissertation of the same name.
2 To see how musicologists are using computers, see the Directory of Computer Applications in Musicology (Menlo Park, 1985) and the Directory of Computer Assisted Research in Musicology (Menlo Park, 1986). Copies may be obtained by writing the editors, Walter B. Hewlett and Eleanor Selfridge-Field, at 525 Middlefield Rd., Suite 120, Menlo Park, CA. 94025.
3 The best software for musical analysis is the "file manager," which is a type of data base that allows the user to create records with a large number of fields of nearly unlimited size. Relational data bases such as dBase III for the IBM computer can manipulate an enormous number of records, but the size of each is severely limited. A Macintosh 512K personal computer with "File" by Microsoft® Corporation was used for this study.
mode and cadences. The advantage of the computer is the way in which it can manipulate data. Ricercars may be sorted by mode, length, mensuration, or any other field. Once sorted, the computer will generate a report in tabular form that only includes material relevant to the study at hand. This is extremely useful when each record has a large number of fields. (A report generated from the ricercar data base appears in Example 1. Its significance is explained below.)

In order to demonstrate the capabilities of this system, I will show how it helped explain the meaning of mensuration signs in ricercars by Franciscus Bossinensis. In 1509, Bossinensis published the first of two volumes of frottole arranged for solo voice and lute. He included a set of ricercars at the end of each volume, which he designated as preludes to the vocal works. About half of the ricercars bear the mensuration sign indicating imperfect time and minor prolation, viz. "c" (equivalent to the modern time signature 2/4). The other half bear the same sign with a slash through it (\(\frac{1}{2}\)), sometimes called "cut c." According to Apel, by the early 16th century the latter sign began to replace the former and despite its earlier association with temporal change, "there really was no change in tempo, the \(\frac{1}{2}\) [semibreve] having approximately the same value now under \(\frac{1}{2}\) as it had formerly under c."\(^5\)

With this in mind, one has to wonder why Bossinensis would use the two signs interchangeably. The following experiment was conducted to see if there is a relationship between the sign of mensuration and the tempo of the ricercar. First 14 ricercars were selected: seven with the sign c and seven with the sign \(\frac{1}{2}\). Copies were made and mailed to fifteen Lute Society of America members known to be proficient in reading Italian tablature at sight. In order to obtain the most reliable results the subjects had to be unaware of the purpose of the experiment. For this reason slashes were added to the signs lacking them, i.e. each c was altered to look like a \(\frac{1}{2}\) and no hint of the reason for the experiment was given.

Fifteen questionnaires were sent out and 5 were returned.\(^6\) The results are shown in Example 1. This information is not useful in itself, although it does provide the raw material for some interesting calculations. The tempo

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6. I am very grateful to the following lutenists for their help in the experiment: James G. Lidgett, Kevin Mason, Ronn McFarlane, Bonnie Robicsek, and Robert Strizich. I also wish to thank Mary B. Hinely and Paul O'Dette for providing the names and addresses of possible participants in the survey.
that each piece was played at may be determined by the following equation:

\[
\text{Tempo} = \frac{\text{Length} \times 60}{\text{Time}}
\]

where tempo is in semibreves per minute (s.p.m.), length is in semibreves, and time is in seconds. This calculation becomes tedious when repeated 70 times (14 ricercars x 5 lutenists); fortunately the computer manages such arithmetic instantaneously. The results are given in Examples 2 and 3. Note that each of the lutenists took the pieces in the first group faster than those in the second. Lutenist 1, for example, played the seven pieces in \( \varepsilon \) at an average tempo of 51 s.p.m. (This is another calculation that the computer makes automatically.) This same musician found a slower tempo (39 s.p.m.) to be more appropriate for the pieces in \( \epsilon \). In fact, all of the lutenists played the pieces in the first group more rapidly, despite the fact that the mensuration signs had been altered to look identical in both groups.

One may argue that the experiment was invalid because the lutenists tested were born nearly 500 years after the composer. Nevertheless, the results are intriguing enough to cause one to look for a possible explanation within the music itself. A superficial study of the note values used reveals no significant difference between the pieces in \( \epsilon \) and \( \varepsilon \) (compare Examples 4 and 5). However, the pieces in the faster group (i.e. with the mensuration sign \( \varepsilon \)) have a much lower average percentage of fusae (5%) than the pieces of the slower group (31%).

The experiment seems to indicate that there is a temporal difference between the pieces in \( \varepsilon \) and those in \( \epsilon \). Because the pieces in \( \varepsilon \) include fewer quick notes (i.e. fusae), there is a natural tendency to play these pieces faster than the pieces in \( \epsilon \). If this is the case, why did Bossinensis bother to use two signs, or any sign at all, for that matter? Many lute tablatures from the early 16th century lack mensuration signs entirely.\(^7\) The answers to these questions may have to do with the people who bought this collection. An examination of the tablature suggests that the frottola

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\(^7\) No signs are found in the Capirola (Chicago, Newberry Library, Case MS VM C.25), Pesaro, (Pesaro, Biblioteca Oliveriana, Ms. 1144), or Thibault manuscripts (Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, Rés. Vmd. ms. 27). Spinacino uses signs for the intabulations, but not for the ricercars. (The one exception to this is found in the "Recercare de tous biens" in the first book.) Dalza is the only composer who uses mensuration signs in all his pieces. See Composizione di Messer Vincenzo Capirola (1517); facsimile by Studio per Edizioni Scelte (Florence, 1981); Tablature de luth italienne: Cent dix pièces d'œuvres vocales pour luth seul et accompagne pour luth... (ca. 1505), facsimile by Minkoff (Geneva, 1981); Francesco Spinacino, Intabolatura de lauto libro primo (-secundo) (1507), facsimile by Minkoff (Geneva, 1978); and Joan Ambrosio Dalza, Intabolatura de lauto libro quarto (1508), facsimile by Minkoff (Geneva, 1978).
accompaniments and solo ricercars were designed for the amateur lutenist. Indeed, it seems likely that the singer accompanied himself on the lute. As this is primarily a collection of vocal music, and mensuration signs are normally associated with vocal notation, it is not too surprising that these signs should find their way into the tablature as well.

But why the two signs? Why did Bossinensis feel the need to indicate the tempo of the ricercars, if a natural variation of tempo occurs according to the relative concentration of quick notes in each piece? Again, the answer may be found in the amateur status of the book's audience. Bossinensis may not have trusted the musical instincts of the typical reader. Furthermore, the inclusion of tempo markings may be seen as part of a trend that led to written instructions, such as those found in Luis Milan's vihuela tutor of 1536.

Apparently Bossinensis was not the only composer using mensural signs as tempo indicators. A number of Renaissance theorists confirm the practice among composers of vocal music. In his _Proporionate musices_ (1473-1474), Johannes Tinctoris writes that "it is characteristic of this sign [?] to indicate quickening of tempo, either in _Tempus perfectum_ or in _Tempus imperfectum_..." The following statement by Heinrich Glareanus (Dodecachordon, 1547) is even more convincing:

"Every time when musicians want the tactus to go more quickly--and they do so to prevent weariness when they think that the listener has grown tired--then they write a line through the circle or semicircle from top to bottom, Ø, € and they call this situation 'diminutio.' They call it such not because the real value and the number of the notes is diminished, but because the tactus is beaten more quickly.

The modern scholars Curt Sachs and A. J. Bank would appear to agree with the theorists. Sachs writes that "As a rule, the non-proportional

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8. _Libro de musica de vihuela de mano intitulado el maestro..._ (1536), facsimile by Minkoff (Geneva, 1975). For a modern edition see Charles Jacobs, ed., _Luís de Milan: El Maestro_ (London: [1971]). The vihuelists also used proportional signs to indicate tempo. For a detailed account see Charles Jacobs, _Tempo Notation in Renaissance Spain_ (Brooklyn: [1964]).

9. "Nam proprium est ei mensores accelerationem significare, sive tempus perfectum sive imperfectum sit..." Liber III cap. 3. Translation by J. A. Bank in _Tactus, Tempo, and Notation in Mensural Music from the 13th to the 17th Century_ ([Amsterdam: 1972]), p. 163.

10. "Quoties autem volunt musici tactu festinandum esse, quod tum faciendum censent, cum auditum iam fatigatum putant, ut scilicet fastidium tollant, lineam per circulum vel semicirculum deorsum dabunt sic Ø €, atque hoc quidem Pathos diminutionem vocant, non quod notularem aut valor, aut numerus diminutur, sed quod tactus fiat velocior." (cap. 8 p. 205) English translation by Bank, op. cit., p. 215.
was slightly faster than c" and Banks, having surveyed a large number of vocal compositions and theoretical writings from the period 1460 to 1520, reaches a similar conclusion. This view coincides with the results of the experiment tabulated by the computer.

We have seen how effective computers are at organizing information. The way in which the information is used, however, is still the responsibility of the scholar. While it is true that every function described could have been done manually, the computer makes the process much easier, allowing one to pursue avenues that were once too time consuming or impractical.

University of California, Los Angeles

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<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Ricercar No.</th>
<th>Mensuration Sign</th>
<th>Length (semibreves)</th>
<th>Time (sec.) lutenist 1</th>
<th>Time (sec.) lutenist 2</th>
<th>Time (sec.) lutenist 3</th>
<th>Time (sec.) lutenist 4</th>
<th>Time (sec.) lutenist 5</th>
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<td>ґ</td>
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<td>ґ</td>
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<td>ґ</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>21</td>
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<td>27</td>
</tr>
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<th>Tempo 3 (s.p.m.)</th>
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Average: 51 50 38 40 37

### Example 3

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<th>Tempo 3 (s.p.m.)</th>
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Average: 39 37 29 35 30

112
### Example 4

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Average: 5%
Minimum: 0%
Maximum: 12%

### Example 5

<table>
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<th>Shortest note</th>
<th>Percentage of Fusae</th>
</tr>
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<td>Sm</td>
<td>f</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
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<td>M</td>
<td>f</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
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<td>c</td>
<td>M</td>
<td>f</td>
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Average: 31%
Minimum: 13%
Maximum: 58%
Transformation in Intabulation*

By Hiroyuki Minamino

The change in Renaissance lute technique that took place in the third quarter of the fifteenth century as a result of the practices of German lutenists, among them Conrad Paumann, enabled the simultaneous playing of various polyphonic voices on non-adjacent courses. Such a development in technique would seem to be the result of lutenists' awareness of the current polyphonic vocal styles in the late fifteenth century, and their desire to adapt this music to their own instrument. Indeed, intabulations of masses, motets, madrigals, chansons and lieder made up a substantial portion of the sixteenth-century lute repertory. Yet, the surviving sources of this music transmit only the lutenists/composers' final versions of their intabulations from vocal models. Many more must have existed in sketches and in preliminary versions.

On its basic level, lute intabulation requires the arrangement of music from mensural notation into lute tablature. The process, however, was

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* This essay is a summary of a paper read at the fifth biennial New College Conference on Medieval-Renaissance Studies at the University of South Florida, March, 1986, and at a joint meeting of the Pacific Southwest Chapter of the American Musicological Society in Berkeley, California, April, 1986.


2 Some sketches of intabulations may be found in Uppsala, Universitetsbiblioteket, Vokalmusik i handskrift 76b and 76c. The manuscripts are listed in Jan Olof Rudem, *Music in Tablature: A thematic index with source descriptions of music in tablature notation in Sweden*, Musik i Sverige V (Stockholm, 1981), pp. 49-51. The origin and the scribes of Uppsala 76b are discussed in Thomas Gregg MacCracken, "The Manuscript Uppsala, Universitetsbiblioteket, vocalmusik i handskrift 76b," (Ph.D. diss., University of Chicago, 1985). I am indebted to Professor MacCracken for making available to me some chapters of his dissertation.

more complicated since the intabulator was faced with the time-consuming process of transferring voices originally contained in partbooks and aligning them on a single stave. Some intabulators made intermediate scores to encipher vocal music, and intabulation treatises included scores to assist the student in comparing the vocal model and its intabulation. Although the use of a score does help to coordinate polyphonic voices, it was a more common practice to intabulate the voices directly into tablature, perhaps to avoid setting the vocal model twice.

The "literal" intabulation, then, is the faithful presentation of a vocal model in tablature form. By enciphering each voice separately, the intabulator strives to ensure that no note should be changed or omitted from the model unless there are compelling reasons to do so. Indeed, the

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intabulator often preserves the contrapuntal fabric of the original work even when this results in unidiomatic or technically difficult passages.

More commonly, the technical limitations of the lute force the lutenist to abandon a literal intabulation and rework what cannot be realized in tablature. Discrepancies such as the omission or premature termination of notes are thus inevitable. In fact, the lutenist's technical prowess may both determine his main reasons for arranging a particular work, and provide the means by which he can alter the linear counterpoint of the vocal original.

In the literal intabulation, only the skeleton of the music is presented. The lutenist's artistic license stimulated the addition of ornaments, and the skilled lutenists employed ornaments to help sustain the sound of the lute. Yet some instrumentalists preferred to violate the integrity of the original music with their idiosyncratic ornaments; they omitted notes or rearranged the original counterpoint in order to facilitate the fingerings. Other lutenists created an instrumental version of the vocal model by transforming certain ornaments into a network of motives independent of the original concept. Many intabulations are based not on the vocal model but on a pre-existing intabulation resulting in the creation of an instrumental variation. Finally, pre-existing intabulations became the basis for making abstract instrumental compositions, through the use of parody and paraphrase technique. In this method, bits and pieces of the original intabulation were incorporated with newly composed music. In sum, lute intabulations came to mean not just

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the mere transcription of vocal music but its recomposition, resulting in the creation of an autonomous instrumental genre.

University of Chicago
Studies in the Lute and Its Music: Prospects for the Future

An open forum at the annual meeting of the American Musicological Society, Cleveland, November 7, 1986

In November 1986, The American Musicological Society hosted an important roundtable discussion on the future of research into the lute and its music, involving seven specialists and some fifty participants. This project grew out of conversations between Arthur Ness and myself during the AMS meetings in Vancouver the previous year. We discussed among other things the fact that over the past ten years, scholarly work on lute music had gradually slipped out of the mainstream of contemporary musicology. Since the "boom age" of lute scholarship — the 60s and 70s, and of which this Journal is a product — there has been a scarcity of studies about the lute in journals of major standing. Furthermore, of the articles that were published, usually in "specialized" journals, too many seemed preoccupied with minutiae. Major composers such as Francesco, Melchior Neusidler, the 17th-century Italians, and most of all Weiss, were neglected, as were hard-hitting analytical studies and archival research.

Beyond this, there was the ever-present reference tool vacuum. How far had we come since the publication of Brown's Instrumental Music Printed Before 1600 (Cambridge, 1965)? Not very, and once again Arthur and I returned to our hotel that night with our pockets stuffed with paper napkins on which we had scribbled new concordances and incipits, later to be added to our own databases.

Finally, lute scholars, unlike our colleagues who work with medieval polyphony, opera or 19th-century music, are rarely represented at national or international meetings, nor do we often bother to arrange our own. Even if we did, we wouldn't know exactly who to invite. Who was working on what? What was the current state of research? Lute scholars seemed like several branches in search of a familiar trunk.

1 The Forum was moderated by Victor Coelho (University of Calgary) and included the following panelists: David Buch (University of Northern Iowa); Thomas Binkley (Early Music Institute, Indiana University); Arthur J. Ness (Amherst, N.Y.); Craig H. Russell (California Polytechnic State University); James Tyler (University of Southern California). In absentia: Douglas Alton Smith (Stanford, CA).
The success of any trend (be it writing twelve-tone music or wearing torn Levis), organization (be it the Democratic Party or the Hare Krishnas), or field of study (be it existential psychology or lute music), of course, is measured by its ability to attract new members. Twenty years ago, when lute topics were in abundance, university-trained graduates hunted them down, one by one. Is the lower profile of lute scholarship in 1987, we asked, the result of all the significant topics having been eradicated years ago? Absolutely not! The way to attract new "members" is to demonstrate how fertile the field still is for research, what topics cry out for investigation, and how studies of the lute can fill large gaps in our knowledge of early music history.

The AMS forum took a step in this direction. With the assistance of Douglas Alton Smith, an agenda was planned and a list of specialists to sit on the panel was compiled. A session of papers devoted to baroque lute topics was also proposed and accepted by the AMS. We decided that the main focus of the forum would be a handout listing some seventy-five topics in lute music that deserve further investigation. Panelists contributed about a dozen topics each. The handout was then distributed to all who came to the Forum, and one by one the panelists briefly introduced the topics they contributed. During the ensuing discussions, many fresh perspectives were reached. The possibility of comparative studies, such as between builders and scholars, was suggested, as was a project to study the lute music of Eastern European lute composers. There was a suggestion to compile a bibliography of individual microfilm holdings, and there was a great deal of interest in computer-generated studies. Finally, the presence of Craig Russell added yet another dimension — that of the Baroque guitar and the tantalizing research areas associated with its repertoire.

The entire handout that was distributed is printed below. The list contains many items that could be adequately treated only in a doctoral dissertation or major monograph, and others whose scope is much smaller.

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2The Baroque lute session, entitled "Topics in Baroque Lute Music," was held on Thursday, 6 November, and included papers by the following: David J. Buch ("Concepts of Mode in La Rhétorique des Dieux"); James Tyler ("Vivaldi and the Italian Baroque Lute"); Victor Coelho ("The Colascione and the Commedia dell'Arte"); and, Arthur J. Ness ("The Rostock Tablatures: "Lauten-Galantieren for Princess Louise of Württemberg 1722-1791"). The session was chaired by Alexander Silbiger (Duke University).

3English Renaissance topics are not fully represented on the handout due to the absence of Lyle Nordstrom, who was to have provided the bulk of this section but was unable to attend the forum due to a prior commitment.
The titles and even their implicit scope are to be regarded as provisional, since they will inevitably change in the course of further research.  

*The Editor-in-Chief*

**ANTIQUITY**

*On the origins of the lute*
— A systematic description of instruments with separate body and neck in the ancient Near East and Africa (the pandore and lute)
— The appearance and development of the earliest lutes to 1300
— A history of the plectrum

**MIDDLE AGES**

*General Studies*
— The introduction of the oud into Europe
— The dissemination and use of the lute in medieval Europe
— The lute in Spain
— The lute in medieval literature: Its sociology and use in folk, popular, and art music
— An interpretation of the construction and significance (musical and philosophical) of the medieval oud

*Editions*
— English translations of Arab lute treatises, particularly of al-Kindi

**RENAISSANCE**

*General Studies*
— Styles of Renaissance ornamentation and familial relationships in the lute and keyboard settings of *Susanne ung jour*

Prints of lute music often served to disseminate the improvisations of noted virtuoso players. To avoid the tortuous process of intabulating from the model, players usually reworked existing intabulations. A comparative study of all keyboard and lute intabulations of *Susanne ung jour* (just Lasso’s setting, or including...

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*4I would like to thank the entire panel for their participation and cooperation in this event. I particularly wish to thank Douglas Alton Smith, without whose help in organizing and preparing the handout this Forum might not have been possible.*

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settings of the text by others as well) could reveal much about individual styles of ornamentation, as well as map the international diffusion of lute music during the late Renaissance.

—Parody and paraphrase in 16th-century lute intabulations

The techniques used in intabulating a vocal work parallel those in paraphrase and parody and, as such, are extensions of the general Renaissance concept of imitation. A study of intabulation methods could introduce new topics for comparative studies.

—Parody in the fantasias and ricercars of Francesco da Milano

Only a few of Francesco’s parody ricercars and fantasias have been identified. With computer assistance a comparison of vocal music by composers represented in his intabulations might well reveal additional examples. Until we have a fuller understanding of this extremely significant compositional procedure in Renaissance instrumental music, we will fail to understand the music itself. Such a study might also provide suggestions about the stylistic differences between ricercar and fantasia, for example. (Perhaps motives could be interfaced with Harry B. Lincoln's database.)

—Venetian dances of the early 16th century

Transcription and study of Mus ms 1511b at Munich will augment Jeppesen’s work in this era. (Boetticher’s RISM description of this source is misleading.)

—Supply and demand: Commercial aspects of lute building, publishing and distribution, 1507-1599

A study of the business side of Renaissance lute music might yield valuable data concerning transmission of repertory, popularity of genre, publisher-composer relations, profit by the composer, and relative prices (did they reflect the fame of the composer?)

—A social history of lutenists and their patrons

—The disintegration of modality as evidenced in the 16th-century repertory of dances for lute

—The advent of chromatic subjects in the late 16th-century lute ricercar and fantasia

Personages

—The lute music of Melchior Newsidler (ca. 1531-ca. 1590)

Perhaps the most important of the German Renaissance lutenists. His surviving output numbers about 240 works, and since Newsidler made two or more versions of some pieces, complex, but interesting editorial problems may result. Parody appears to have played an important role in his ricercars and fantasias.

—The lute music of Vincenzo Galilei

Galilei’s manuscripts and revised prints require special attention in view of his Fronimo dialogo, recently available in English
translation.
—Girolamo Virchi and the cittern

Virchi was one of the greatest instrument makers of all time — so great that some of his surviving instruments have been attributed to Stradivari. This 16th-century Brescian developed and perfected the cittern to its highest degree, and much could be learned about the art of this neglected instrument from a study of Girolamo's instruments, and by the cittern compositions of his son Paolo.

—A history of lutenists and lute music at the (court of ???) during the (???)


—Studies of identities: Laurencini, Lorenzo Allegri, Equitis Romanis, Il Cavaliere del Liuto, The Knight of the Lute

Editions

—A complete edition of 16th-century Continental lute duets

—A complete transcription and edition of the Siena lute book

This manuscript, now in The Hague and slated for publication in facsimile by Minkoff, is unquestionably the most important surviving source for the study of 16th-century Italian lute music. It contains many unique pieces and its readings are unusually accurate. The repertory of about 150 items extends from pieces in the style of Petrucci's lutenists to proto-baroque toccatas, and thus its retrospective contents span nearly the entire cinquecento. With composers such as Andrea Feliciani, Giulio da Modena (Segni), Francesco da Milano, Perino Fiorentino, Fabrizio Dentice, Giulio Severino, et al., it contains music of unusually high quality and encompasses schools of lutenist play from throughout Italy. A transcription of the manuscript would well serve scholars and performers with general interests in the history of the ricercar and fantasia and in instrumental ensemble music of the Renaissance.

—A late 16th-century South-German lute manuscript at Donauesschingen

With 340 pieces MS G.I.4/11-13 (3 vols.) at Donauesschingen is one of the century's largest sources of lute music. (It is not listed in RISM.) Many sections (about a third of the total) are copied from known Italian prints (the Italian tablature being changed to German), but other now lost Italian prints are represented (and identified by the scribe) as well. Indigenous pieces include unica by Conrad and Melchior Newsidler, Georg Hofstetter, Christopher Volcker, Bocquet, and other lutenists whose names are indicated only with initials and in Hebrew script.

—Works by unidentified lutenists in the Phalèse prints

That is, those not already identified by Brown (Instrumental Music Printed Before 1600). Do, for example, works by Gian Maria
Alemanni lurk in Phalèse's early prints?

TRANSITIONAL TOPICS (RENAISSANCE AND BAROQUE)

—Musical references in the diaries of Philippe Hainhofer, lutenist, diplomat and patron (1598-1647)
  Hainhofer's activities have never been fully traced, and his diaries (which are scattered in several German libraries) might provide valuable observations about the music that surrounded him. His large two-volume manuscript of lute music and its relationship to Besard's prints also requires additional study.

—Lutenists and lute making in Bologna-Ferrara-Modena, 1530-1630
  The B-F-M triangle fostered the careers of many lutenists and lute makers, which may testify to a particularly strong tradition of lute music in these cities. A study focusing on the careers of Bernia, Pittoni, Castaldi, the Piccininis, and the lute makers Maler and Frei within the patronage systems of these cities would yield valuable information.

—Transitional sources, 1580-1610
  A number of large manuscripts and printed anthologies appeared in the late 16th to early 17th centuries, such as the Cavalcanti, Siena, and Como manuscripts, and the Besard and Fuhrmann anthologies. A study of these sources can tell us much about changing tastes in the late Renaissance, and the presence of a standard repertoire.

—John Daniel Mylius (ca. 1584-ca. 1628) and his Thesaurus gratiarum (Frankfurt/M. 1622, 2/1644)
  A large retrospective anthology of lute music spanning Renaissance and baroque styles, Mylius' print contains music by Dowland, Montbuisson, Gaultier, Rosseter, Tessier and others. The sources and readings that Mylius relied on for his anthology should be considered.

—A lutenist-composer between two eras: Joachim van den Hove (1567-1620)
  In addition to his prints, two autographs with dated pieces survive (MS autog. Hove 1, E. Berlin, and the so-called Schele lute book at Hamburg). His relationship with his patrons should be explored.
ITALIAN BAROQUE

— Dance music in printed lute tablatures, 1611-1750

A continuation of Lawrence Moe's important study ("Dance Music in Printed Lute Tablatures from 1507 to 1611") centering on both lute and theorbo sources. The study can be largely quantitative (frequency of appearance), and should include a list of concordances.

— Italian popular music found in 17th-century lute and guitar sources

The plucked instrument manuscripts of this time provide an important key to the study of the vast and important topic of Italian popular music.

— Pedagogical books for lute and theorbo in Italy, 1600-1650

Many of the extant 17th-century Italian lute and theorbo manuscripts were copied for use in teaching. The contents and marginalia of such books offer fascinating looks at teachers' assignments and students' solutions in realizing figured bass, composing variations on bass patterns, transposition, and so forth. Several of these MSS, such as the Giulio Medici book in Florence and the Ascanio Bentivoglio book in San Francisco testify to the lute-playing skills and musical prowess of their important owners.

— Italian monody with guitar continuo

There are approximately 300 collections of vocal music from the 17th century with alfabeto continuo notation for the guitar, which include music by Monteverdi, Caccini, Frescobaldi, Grandi, Cavalli and many other outstanding composers of the time. A study of guitar notation, 17th-century playing techniques, and guitar continuo in relation to this enormous repertory is an important historical performance topic.

— Lute makers of the Italian baroque

It appears to have gone unnoticed that the lute making tradition in Italy continued well into the 19th century, and that there is evidence of an actual flowering of late 17th and 18th-century makers, which is backed up by a surprising number of surviving examples of their instruments.

— Plucked instruments in the Italian baroque opera and oratorio

There are many archival sources which show the abundant use of the lute, theorbo, guitar and mandolino in the orchestras of the 17th and 18th centuries, and which illuminate an important area of performance practice.

Personages

— Ludovico Fontanelli and Bolognese baroque lute music

A composer for lute, guitar and mandolino, whose music survives in several sources, Fontanelli is worthy of a full
investigation. His family included notable instrument makers, and a study of his life and work would provide a fascinating insight into both 18th-century Bolognese musical activity in general, and lute music in particular.

—Angelo Michele Bartolotti: Guitarist and theorist

As a guitar composer and theorist of the 17th century, Bartolotti stood head and shoulders above his contemporaries in the quality and inventiveness of his compositions. Throughout his career he was associated with some of the best musical establishments in Europe, yet today he and his music are virtually forgotten.

GERMAN BAROQUE

General Studies (includes personages and editions)

—The baroque lute concerto: Editions in facsimile

Large repositories of lute concerti (such as MS II, 4086, 4087, 4088 and 4089 in Brussels) have gone virtually unnoticed by performers and scholars. A series of facsimile editions with introduction would bring an entirely fresh body of music into the concert hall, and provide an entrée into the musical styles of late baroque lutenists such as Kropfganß, an acquaintance of both Weiss and Bach.

—Silvius Weiss in Rome, 1708-1714

A search for and study of the Roman documents of Queen Maria Casimira Sobieski and her son Prince Alexander, whose musical entourage included not only Weiss but also Alessandro and Domenico Scarlatti, would probably give us valuable information about the Italian influences on Weiss, as well as Roman musical life in the era of Corelli and Ottoboni.

—The lute music of Bach's pupils Rudolf Straube and Johann Ludwig Krebs

—Musical references in Uffenbach's diary (ca. 1715)

John Robert's article in LSJ 8/1966 on this diary (now in the library of the University of Göttingen) used as its source the published excerpts, not the original, which contains, among other lutenistic information, an account of lessons with Gallot in Paris.

—The lute books of Graf Wolckenstein-Rodenegg

The count travelled widely during the 17th century. Several manuscripts exist in addition to those listed in Boetticher's RISM inventory.

FRENCH BAROQUE

—French music in 17th-century Roman lute sources
A number of Roman sources testify to the influence of French music on Italian lute music. These sources include a treatise advocating the 'nouveau ton' (Valentini, 1640?), preludes in the French style (Kapsberger, 1640) French music published in Rome (Gautier, 1638), an entire manuscript of French dances in Italian tablature (Rvat 4180), and MSS which contain unmeasured toccatas.

—French 17th-century performance practice as reflected in parallel German lute manuscripts

French pieces in German manuscripts are often more precise in specifying matters such as notes inégales, graces of play, and so forth, than are the original sources. Some formerly raging controversies will be fueled anew with examples from the lute repertory.

—A thematic catalogue of the French lute repertory

This major study could be modelled after Gustafson's catalogue of French harpsichord music of the 17th century (Ann Arbor: UMI Press).

**Personages**

—The lute and its music as seen by Sebastian de Brossard (1655-1730)

Brossard (a lute player himself) examined and took notes on a variety of materials for his dictionaries. His papers and lute books (now in the Bibliothèque Nationale in Paris) are worthy of a thorough investigation. He examined sources now lost.

—Robert de Visée: Theorist and guitarist

A good treatment of de Visée’s life and music is needed. He is one of the few baroque guitarists who truly merits his own comprehensive study (the others being Bartolotti, Campion, and perhaps Sanz or Le Cocq). Pinnell's transcription of de Visée's complete works has many admirable points but is not complete. There is an abundance of primary source material both musically and biographically.


**Source Studies and Editions**

—The Suites faciles... (Amsterdam, 1703)

This book, containing French repertory with continuo accompaniments based on solo lute pieces has important implications for textural concepts of baroque music.

—Louis de Moy's *Le Petit Bouquet* (Paris, 1631)

One of the few prints the preserve the first layer of French baroque lute music (old tuning).
Miscellaneous

—English lute music in Continental sources

Lutenists and troupes of actors fleeing the religious turmoils of the 17th century brought much English music to the Continent. Although many Continental sources appear to be corrupt, these materials still deserve careful examination for a number of projects such as the transmission of traditional tunes. Even a corrupt reading may shed valuable information on the authentic version of a composition.

ROCCO/CLASSIC

—The lute music of Friedrich Wilhelm Rust
—The lute music of Karl Kohaut

17TH AND 18TH-CENTURY GUITAR

—Modal and tonal concepts in Spanish vihuela music and guitar music

Most of the vihuelists and guitarists take great care to label compositions by their mode or tonality, and many give some verbal explanations revealing their precepts concerning this issue. Although several scholars treat the writings of an individual composer or a single concept, there is no authoritative study that cuts across the various sources and untangles the web of information. Sanz, Murcia, Guerau, Minguet y Yrol, Urtasun de Yrarraga, de Hita, and Nassarre discuss eight modes. A twelve-mode system is discussed by Valls, Ulloa, and Joséf de Torres. Félix Máximo López, Miguel López Remacha, and Antonio Rafals discuss a relatively modern tonal system with 24 major and minor keys. This topic is not just speculative in nature; there are important implications concerning the compositional art of the vihuelists and guitarists, performance practice, continuo realization, and even sociological relationships between the guitarist and his role in society. The monograph should deal not only with modal scales (their range, ambitus, "centonized" gestures, cadences, and structural application in music) but would similarly need to deal with the guitar's alfabeto, the labyrinth of guitar chords, movable chords, transposed chords, the progressions of B quadro and B molle in the alfabeto books, and so forth.

—The performance technique of the baroque guitar

There is a wealth of material that could be gathered and compiled under various subheadings such as: playing position, preferred or desired sonority, stringing (type of gut, thickness, use of agudos or bordones, tunings, etc), left-hand fingerings, right-hand fingerings,
accompanying style (differences between Italian monody, French song, Spanish theatrical style), and perhaps even continuo realization. Again, there have been some good studies, but in general they have either been brief or dealt with only one author. Someone needs to pull together the iconographic, literary, and musical evidence.

—The guitar and popular dance in the late 17th and early 18th centuries

The guitar was an essential element in popular and theatrical dance in the late 17th and early 18th centuries. The various guitar books provide a wealth of primary source material for the study of French contredances, danse a jeux, dans a bal; the Spanish dances such as the españoleta, seguidillas, jácaras, etc.; and the rich variety of popular Italian dances. Links to the New World with regard to dance styles should be thoroughly examined (an area that is often ignored). Specific guidance as to tempos would aid the performers of this literature. Comprehensive concordances could prove useful to dance and music scholars alike.

—Rhythmic notation in baroque guitar tablature

There are a remarkable number of baroque guitar sources that have long been disregarded as sloppy and error-ridden due to "mistakes" in their rhythmic values. It is not altogether clear, however, that these are mere foolish mistakes: authors are often consistent and even meticulous in the placement of these rhythmic values. Suspicions are further aroused when no similar "sloppiness" occurs in other aspects of the manuscripts but are instead highly accurate. It appears that there might be a certain rationale to their systems that could be deciphered. Several of the sources have alternate versions of the same or similar pieces (but notated in "correct" traditional rhythmic notation) and could be used as "Rosetta Stones" for deciphering the riddles.

—The baroque guitar in Mexico

Recently several important baroque guitar sources in Mexico have become accessible to modern scholars. They are treasures of our own early musical heritage and deserve major scholarly attention. Mrs. Elisa Osorio Bolio de Saldivar has been increasingly open to scholars in recent years and has permitted some of the jewels in her collection to be examined. The Mexico City Biblioteca Nacional contains valuable material. There is hope of tracking down other sources as well in Mazatlán, although one cannot count on locating material there. In addition to tablature sources, this topic could deal with the evolution of some Mexican folk instruments from their baroque ancestors. Just as Renaissance and baroque language is preserved virtually unaltered in some regions due to the geographical isolation from developments that altered the language on the Iberian Peninsula, so some of the baroque instruments are still preserved in the folk musics of Mexico today. The Veracruz region, for example,
preserves the vihuela and five-course baroque guitar under different names.

—Plucked string instruments and their role in baroque European theater

Many of the important theorists and guitarists in the baroque had connections with major theaters. Corbeta, de Visée, Grenerin, and Campion were all active in the French theater. There is a wealth of extant musical material clearly related to theatrical productions. Compositions from Lully's and Campra's productions occur in abundance in French and Spanish guitar sources. The guitar in Spanish theater is also a fertile area. The guitar played a major role in Madrid's public corrales of the Principe and Cruz Theaters. Their payment records are extant. Santiago de Murcia probably composed some of Francisco de Castro's dramas. A comparison of texts with some of Murcia's textless pieces could likely turn up some matches. The archlute in Spain is also a neglected topic — there are pertinent payment records and even some extant compositions.

—Baroque guitar and song

Almost all present guitar studies concentrate on the solo literature or continuo realization and merely gloss over the compositions for guitar and voice. There is a wide variety of material: alfabeto tablatures with accompanying texts or tunes; later punteado art songs with carefully arranged accompaniments; and pieces with guitar accompaniment intended for theatrical productions. A comprehensive concordance of songs and sources would prove invaluable.

—Pablo Minguet y Yrol: Spanish publisher of the 18th century

The only major music publisher in 18th-century Spain was Minguet. He published abbreviated versions of the Sanz and Murcia treatises as well as countless similar condensations of other popular music and dance treatises. Although this topic does not pertain exclusively to baroque guitar, it nevertheless is highly relevant and is a desperately needed study in Iberian and sociological studies of the 18th century.

—Social history of the guitar in the 18th century

Due to the relatively small number of extant musical sources, this subject often receives a quick gloss in the music and guitar histories. There is much written information from this era, however, and it provides a fascinating and important picture of the guitar and its relationship to society. Until now most observations have been cursory, over-generalized, and have failed to make real distinctions between the guitar in different geographic locations. A careful and thorough examination of the evidence is needed.
STUDIES OF GENRES

—The chorale in the lute repertory
  Hundreds (thousands?) of German chorale settings and chorale
  preludes appear in collections of private devotional music for lute.
  Most have never been fully catalogued and identified, and as a result
  this entire repertory is virtually unknown to historians of Protestant
  church music and the chorale prelude.
—Preludial pieces in lute music: Function and form
  Trace the development of lute toccatas, preludes, entrées,
  entradas, and related forms.
—Battle pieces in 16th and 17th-century lute and theorbo sources
  Lute sources of the 16th and 17th centuries contain many semi-
  programmatic battle pieces such as the battaglia and barriera. These
  works frequently offer interesting performance indications such as
  dynamic markings and make use of extended techniques.
—The tombeau for lute in the 17th and 18th centuries
  A widely influential genre that is deserving of reappraisal in
  view of newly discovered sources. Identification of the persons
  memorialized would assist in many problems of dating and
  attribution.

ICONOGRAPHY

—A comprehensive catalogue of illustrations of the lute, organized
  chronologically
  This would be a massive work, whose value and usefulness to
  lute scholarship would equal its size.

PERFORMANCE PRACTICE

—Continuo style and technique for plucked instruments
  Despite the proven importance of guitars, lutes, and theorbos as
  continuo instruments, and the considerable amount of source material
  available on the subject, a systematic study has yet to be done.
—Embellishment and improvisation in lute music: A handbook
—An anthology of English translations of old lute tutors and commentaries
  on lute performance practices
—A comprehensive tutor for the Renaissance lute
—A comprehensive tutor for the baroque lute
—The use of the right hand in lute and vihuela performance: the plectrum,
  plucking techniques in Renaissance and baroque, the relationship
between string materials and tensions, and the mutual influence of plucking technique and musical style.

ARCHIVAL STUDIES
— The Bolognese lute makers, especially Frei and Maler
— The Tieffenbruckers in Venice and Padua
— The Roman lute makers (Buchenberg, Graill, others)
— An edition of the *Rimasuglio*... of Bellerofonte Castaldi

ORGANOLOGY AND STUDIES OF SPECIFIC INSTRUMENTS
— The mandolino and its repertory in the 17th and 18th centuries
  The small member of the lute family called the mandolino or mandola, with its gut strings, tunings in 4ths, and finger-style technique has a fine and considerable repertory by such composers as A. Scarlatti, F. Conti, Bononcini, Gasparini, Vivaldi, G.B. Sammartini, Hasse, Stamitz, and Handel, which, like the instrument itself, has scarcely been studied at all.
— An illustrated study of old lutes, together with an explication of the techniques probably used to make them
  Several hundred lutes from the 16th-18th centuries survive in museums and private collections today, but most are altered to a greater or lesser degree, and some are modern fakes. Those by Harton, Venere, the Tieffenbruckers (especially Magnus) and a few contemporaries represent the pinnacle of the art of lute making. A scholarly study of the best surviving examples should be undertaken by a serious modern lute maker, or preferably a team of them. Such works exist for most other major musical instruments. The lute will continue to be underrated until this and subsequent studies appear.
— The lutes and theorboes of Magnus Tieffenbrucker
  This study would ideally bring together photos, measurements, and commentary on all surviving lutes and theorboes of one of the seminal figures in lute making. Organized chronologically, it could provide much insight into the development of the lute and theorbo in the late Renaissance and early baroque
— A soundly researched book on how to make lutes
  The volume should focus on modern how-to techniques based on knowledge of historical practices, goals and materials.

LIBRARY SCIENCE, REFERENCE BOOKS
— A catalogue of lute music in North American libraries
Dozens of lute manuscripts and prints are scattered in libraries in Washington, D.C., New York, Berkeley, San Francisco, Los Angeles, Chicago, Montreal and elsewhere, many of which are not generally known to the scholarly or performance communities. Many of these would provide ideal subjects for Masters theses.

— Lute music in facsimile: A checklist

Locate not only published facsimiles (Minkoff, SPES, etc.), but also those of complete pieces in dictionaries and encyclopedias, monographs and articles.

— A checklist of lute-type instruments in American collections

— Lute music: A discography

A full listing of the contents of recordings with references to modern editions of the score.

— 20th-century compositions for lute: A checklist

— A summary of theoretical writings about the lute

Contents and format could be arranged as in Strunk's Source Readings...

— A summary of prefaces and dedications in (???) printed lute books

Italian? German? French? English?

COMPUTER-ASSISTED STUDIES

— Transcription

Create a program that will permit easy encoding of tablature and simple transcription into modern notation. Should interface with one of the commercial music-writing programs to permit additional on-screen editing of the transcription.
Reviews


Minkoff's facsimile edition of the Barbe manuscript (Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, Rés. Vmb ms. 7) is a welcome addition to the Swiss publisher's catalogue of lute music. The manuscript is a pristine and carefully written document from ca. 1690 that preserves a small retrospective of French baroque lute music from the earliest lutenist-composers writing in the nouveau accord (e.g., Dubut, Ennemond Gaultier) to fin de siècle repertory (Gallot le jeune). It also includes rare examples by some obscure figures (Labolle, de Launay, Raveneau, Claquenel), and substantial selections of pieces by Pinel, Dufaux, Denis Gaultier, Mouton, Gallot le vieux, and Claude Edmon (or Edmond), a mid-century petit maître whose work has been neglected by modern lute scholarship. The scribe of Barbe (Barbe is the name of the probable first owner) used a layer of red ink for left hand fingerings and indications of tunings, in addition to the black ink that was used for the rest of the notation and the titles.

Students of lute music will note the improvements in the scholarly apparatus supporting the tablature facsimile. We might hope that similar improvements will appear in all subsequent editions of this sort. Most of Minkoff's earlier editions offer only the briefest introductory paragraphs with no substantial analysis of the contents and no list of concordances or variants. In at least one case — the Béthune manuscript for Angélique — a large number of pieces are incorrectly indexed with page numbers based on the second halves of the binary dances rather than the first!

Here, Claude Chauvel provides a short manuscript study in which provenance, dating, repertory, and notational peculiarities are touched upon. In addition to a listing of the pieces in the order that they appear in the manuscript (which is organized by tuning/key), he offers an index by composer and a concordance study comprising only modern editions and facsimiles. Chauvel states that a full concordance study would occupy too much space, but I wonder whether a complete listing of concordances is even a realistic hope at the present time. This repertory is drawn from approximately 200 sources, most of which have never been analyzed or properly catalogued.

A few of Mr. Chauvel's more facile assertions might be challenged. He claims that brisé textures in the manuscript are restricted because they go against the "desire for clarity and verticalization of style which tends to dominate towards the end of the century." Yet in Wallace Rave's fine dissertation on the sources of
17th-century French lute music* (strangely ignored by most French lute scholars), the author rightly singles out the addition of séparées to many of the readings. Chauvel also states the lute transcriptions of Lully's music brought about "un renouveau d'inspiration non négligeable." However, from all available evidence, the lute was in a period of steadily increasing decline, and the sporadic intabulations of music from the tragédies-lyriques (many of which are artless and insipid caricatures of Lully's original music) are symptomatic of creative exhaustion rather than renewed inspiration.

In his remarks on the Barbe manuscript Professor Rave points out the personal touch of a meticulous and experienced lute master behind the readings. This sense of individuality supports a slowly emerging picture of the rather free attitude among the French lutenists towards compositions. Thus, finding an authoritative version of a piece is probably an impossible dream. Even in the work of a composer who left behind both manuscript and printed sources (Denis Gaultier), we find pieces evolving over the decades in widely divergent directions. Any one reading is therefore a snapshot in time and a glimpse at how a lutenist conceived of his piece at that moment. The full picture of an individual piece is found in the stylistic limitations within which freedom and variety of treatment enjoy expression during the "lifetime" of a piece.

As such, this is part of the response one experiences in the welcome availability of manuscripts like Barbe. As more of these come to the public, we will have further insights into this still obscure world of the French baroque lute repertory.

David J. Buch
University of Northern Iowa


Adam Falckenhagen's six sonatas, opus 1, and six partitas, opus 2, are without doubt his best known works for solo lute. Both sets were published while Falckenhagen was in Bayreuth at the court of the Margrave of Brandenburg, where he was appointed "Virtuosissimo on the Lute and Chamber

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Musician, Second in Rank to Kapellmeister Pfeiffer" in 1736. The sonatas are dedicated to the Margravine Friederike Sophie Wilhelmine, a lutenist herself and the sister of another aristocratic musician, Frederick the Great of Prussia. Falckenhagen stated in his dedication that he had endeavored to compose in accordance with the "modern taste;" the works do indeed exhibit characteristics of the then current galant style. The first movement of Sonata V in F major approaches the Empfindsamer Stil with its shifts of mood and in its expressiveness.

The same overall design is followed in each sonata: three movements arranged in a slow-fast-slow pattern of tempo markings, with the outer movements in triple meter and the central movement in duple. The partitas of opus 2 are similarly uniform, being composed of five movements that invariably include a minuet, a polonaise and a light concluding piece (entitled "Réjouissance," "Scherzo," or "Drôle") in duple meter.

Falckenhagen's prints indicate neither publisher nor date of publication. Nevertheless, the Minkoff reprints assign 1740 and 1742 to opus 1 and opus 2, respectively. It is likely, however, that both prints appeared before 1740. The book dealer Peter Conrad Monath advertised a collection of sonatas for lute solo by Falckenhagen in the Easter issue of the Leipzig "Gross" catalogue in 1736. The "Gross" catalogue, published semiannually in conjunction with the Leipzig book fairs, was a trade book in which merchants announced the titles that they would have for sale at such events. Although a listing in the catalogue is not sure proof of publication — it was made up in advance, and book dealers sometimes advertised in anticipation of what their publishers would have ready at fair-time — Falckenhagen's opus 1 could have been published by 1736. The partitas were published by 1738, for in that year Monath advertised them in the Wiener Diarium, a newspaper published twice a week that reported the affairs of the Viennese court. The partitas were engraved by Johann Wilhelm Stör of Nuremberg, who identified himself by inscribing his name on the title and dedication pages (this is barely legible in the Minkoff reprint). Monath was a publisher as well as a book dealer and therefore could have published both prints.

In 1746, Rudolf Straube published his two sonatas for lute solo in Leipzig. They were dedicated to Carl Heinrich von Dieskau, the same patron to whom J. S. Bach had dedicated his Mer hahn en neve Oberkeet (Peasant Cantata, BWV 212) four years earlier. Straube's sonatas are similar to Falckenhagen's in that they contain elements of the galant style. The first sonata has a three-movement design in a fast-slow-fast arrangement, whereas the second is actually a suite consisting of four movements, of which the last three are dance pieces.

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3 Hannelore Gericke, Der Wiener Musikalienhandel von 1700 bis 1778 (Graz, 1960), p. 38.
Besides Minkoff, two other publishers offer facsimile editions of the Straube and Falckenhagen prints. Editions Chanterelle (Monaco) reprinted Straube's sonatas in 1981 with an introduction by Tim Crawford, and Falckenhagen's opus 1 and opus 2 appeared in the same year with commentary by Joachim Domning in the complete works edition published by Der Volksmusikverlag (Hamburg). Both Minkoff and Editions Chanterelle present clean, legible musical texts. The Domning edition, however, is poorly reproduced and some passages in the tablature cannot be read.

Although the works of Falckenhagen and Straube do not attain the artistic heights of Sylvius Leopold Weiss's sonatas and parthien, they nevertheless display the craftsmanship of competent musicians and are attractive examples of German lute music from the second quarter of the eighteenth century.

Richard K. Falkenstein
State University of New York at Buffalo


In 1501, Ottaviano Petrucci made publishing history by printing a collection of polyphonic vocal music with the title Harmonice Musices Odheceton A. Six years were to pass before he attempted to set instrumental tablature and five more before he combined the two notational systems (i.e. mensural notation and tablature) in a collection of frottole arranged for solo voice and lute by Francesco da Bosnia (Franciscus Bossinensis in Latin). A second collection was released two years later in 1511. Thanks to the efforts of the Minkoff publishing house, it is now possible to own both books in facsimile.

The historical importance of Petrucci's publications cannot be overstated, for they represent the very first printed instrumental music in Europe. The fact that all six books were devoted to the lute is an index of the popularity of the instrument at the turn of the century. The 126 frottole contained in Bossinensis' publications began a tradition of lute songs that spread to France and then England, culminating in Dowland's masterful works.

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1 During the sixteenth century more music was written (and published) for lute than all other instruments combined. See Howard Mayer Brown, Instrumental Music Printed Before 1600: A Bibliography (Cambridge, MA, 1965).
Students of music history know of the frottola as the precursor to the madrigal and that is where their knowledge generally ends. The music itself is little-known to contemporary lovers of early music, despite the tremendous popularity it enjoyed in its heyday (c. 1470-1530). The frottola is thought to have been derived from the improvised performances of poet/composers, who accompanied themselves with a lute or lira da braccio. This movement away from the stylized art songs of the trecento was led by Italian humanists who sought to imitate the Greek and Roman bards. With time the frottola lost some of its spontaneity as composers sought to preserve their efforts in mensural notation. Petrucci published a total of 11 books of frottola for 3 to 5 voices, with the majority à 4. Frottole could be performed either a cappella or with solo voice and instruments. Bossinensis preserved the top voice of Petrucci's songs and intabulated the tenor and bass; the alto was omitted. This resulted in a setting that was somewhat more akin to the performances of the 15th century. The voice part fits within the range of a high alto or low soprano when sung to a tenor lute, a modern tenor when sung to a bass lute tuned to E. Either performance may be considered quite "authentic," as will be shown below.

Of particular interest to lutenists are the lute ricercars included with the frottola. A series of letters link groups of ricercars to specific songs, although scholars disagree as to whether the ricercars should serve as preludes, interludes, or postludes.\(^2\) The fact that nearly one in five end with a half cadence suggests a preludial role, however.

The 46 ricercars are among the very first examples of a genre that played an important role in the development of an idiomatic style of instrumental music. Their brevity and technical simplicity make them more akin to those of Dalza (1508) than those of Spinacino (1507). The mixture of modes (Dorian + Aeolian and Lydian + Ionian are the most common) and frequent cross relations may perplex some lutenists, but the language is consistent with that of the sixteenth-century lute ricercar and fantasia.\(^3\)

Despite their musical and historical importance, these ricercars and frottole have escaped the attention of all but a few musicologists and performers. This may be due to the shortcomings of the only available edition prior to the

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\(^2\)Gombosi and Murphy, for example, believe that the ricercars could be played before and after frottole, as well as between verses. See Otto Gombosi, ed., *Vicenzo Capirola Lute Book* (1955; reprint, New York, 1983), p. xxxii-xxxiii; and Richard Murphy, "Fantasie et recercare dans le premières tablatures de luth du XVie siècle" in *Le Luth et sa musique*, ed. by Jean Jacquot (Paris, 1958), pp. 135. Slim, on the other hand, believes that the tonal relationships between the ricercars and frottole preclude use as an interlude or postlude. See Harry Colin Slim, "The Keyboard Ricercar and Fantasia in Italy c. 1500-1550 with Reference to Parallel Forms in European Lute Music of the Same Period." (Ph.D. diss., Harvard, 1960), pp. 248-9.

Minkoff reprints, that of Benvenuto Disertori 4 While this large volume may have piqued the interest of some readers (the introduction is excellent), it must have frustrated others by his omission of the original lute tablature. Disertori's erroneous claim that Bossinensis wrote for lutes in D, E, G, and A may have discouraged still more would-be performers. His confusion is understandable. Before each song Bossinensis has given the singer instructions for finding his or her note on the lute. Preceding "Per fuggir damor" (Book II, fol. 9r), for example, is the cryptic note "La noce dil sopra il canto uoto," i.e. "the soprano's note [is the same as] the unstopped first course." Since the singer's pitch is given in mensural notation as d', this implies that the lute must be tuned to D-G-c-e-a-d'. Using Bossinensis as his guide, Disertori concludes that the two books contain a total of 12 frottole for D lute, 29 for E lute, 7 for G lute, and 78 for A lute.5

Disertori was apparently unaware of the concept of "imaginary lute tunings," 6 a subject discussed in an important article by John Ward six years before the Disertori edition.7 When intabulating vocal music, lutenists and vihuelists would "change the instrument for the music" rather than the music for the instrument. If the music required a low D, the intabulator would imagine a D tuning. This was often indicated by a rubric, as used by Bossinensis and later Bottegari.8 In practice there was no fixed pitch, and the lutenist simply tuned his instrument to the highest note obtainable on the first course. As interesting as these songs are to musicologists, the best reason for publishing them is for the opportunity to hear them performed. The music is delightful and Minkoff should be commended for making it available to a larger audience.

Richard d'A. Jensen
University of California, Los Angeles

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4 Benvenuto Disertori, Le frottole per canto e liuto intabulate da Franciscus Bossinensis (Milan, 1964).
5 Disertori, p. 95. When following these rubrics this writer arrived at slightly different numbers, viz. 12 frottole for D lute, 38 for E lute, 7 for G lute, and 69 for A lute.
6 The author of this review was also unfamiliar with the concept and wishes to thank James Tyler for bringing it to his attention.
Communications

To the Editor of the Journal,

I AM SORRY TO HAVE TO TAKE ISSUE with Craig Russell again, but I'm afraid that his observations on Murcia and Le Cocq (this Journal XV [1982] and XVI [1983]) are based on false premises. The first is that we can identify the sources which Murcia used when compiling Passacalles y obras, and therefore determine the extent of his responsibility for the versions of the pieces found in his anthology. The second is that the movements of the suites for which concordances have not yet been traced are original compositions by Murcia himself.

Castillion made his manuscript copies of Le Cocq's work for his own use. Unless Russell has evidence to show that Castillion and Murcia were acquainted with one another, it is impossible to prove that there is a link between Receuil des pieces de guitarrre and Passacalles y obras. We do not know what copies of Le Cocq's work Murcia had at his disposal, and we cannot therefore tell to what degree he was responsible for the versions of Le Cocq's pieces which appear in his own manuscript.

The same is true of the pieces found in Martín y Coll's Flores de música. This manuscript anthology, copied by Martín y Coll, contains organ pieces by various unnamed composers and is dated to the year 1706. Martín y Coll must have copied the pieces from other, unidentified sources, and the extent of his own editorial activity is unknown. It is possible that he and Murcia were acquainted. We don't know that this was so, however, and Murcia could just as easily have obtained the pieces from another source.

The point which Professor Russell has overlooked is that a manuscript copy is unique. We are fortunate if we know who owned it at any particular time, and it is rarely possible to find out who else may have had the use of it. Even when a piece is found in an earlier printed volume, we cannot be certain that Murcia used the printed version. Much music which appeared in print also circulated in manuscript copies; moreover, pieces may sometimes have been transmitted aurally without the aid of a written copy at all.

More than half the movements in Passacalles y obras are now known not to be by Murcia himself. It would therefore be dangerous to assume that the remaining movements are Murcia's original compositions, since there is always a chance that they may turn up in another source attributed to someone else. The resemblance between the gabota on f. 79/81 of Passacalles and other movements by Le Cocq in Receuil des pieces suggests that the gabota is also by Le Cocq.

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and belongs to the same suite, not that "Murcia is taking Le Cocq's material and recomposing it in the manner similar to that of the parody mass of the Renaissance." Since Russell himself acknowledges that "almost every dance movement of [Murcia's] manuscript has been borrowed from other sources" and that "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 attribution of this *gabota* to Murcia cannot be accepted uncritically.

Re-intabulating a piece of music using a different tuning, transposing it into a different key, or arranging it for a different instrument does not essentially alter its musical content. Nor does varying its ornamentation or combining it with movements from different sources. Such procedures are the stock-in-trade of an editor, and do not really constitute "recomposition." The point about the Le Cocq pieces is that they *have* in some cases been substantially rewritten, whole phrases having been added or omitted, and entire passages reworked.

It was not absolutely essential for composers to be present at the press when their works were being published. There is evidence, however, that Spanish composers not only had their works printed abroad, but travelled abroad to arrange for the production. Francisco Guerrero, for example, visited Venice in 1588 to arrange for the printing of two volumes of his works, and returned later to proofread the plates. He also obtained a year's leave of absence from his post in Seville to travel to Rome, where he arranged the publication of his second book of masses. This does not prove, of course, that Murcia visited Antwerp in 1714, but it does suggest such a visit as a possibility.

Professor Russell suggests that "Murcia may have travelled to France, and possibly Belgium, about the year 1730" because Le Cocq's music circulated only in unpublished form. He goes on to say that "such a trip [in 1730] would explain Murcia's intimate familiarity with the music of his French contemporaries." It seems equally possible that such a visit might have taken place earlier, when Murcia had an obvious reason for making it. And does Russell really think that Murcia was not familiar with the work of his French contemporaries before 1730, because that it what he is in effect saying. The work of his French contemporaries appeared in print between twenty-five and sixty years earlier. If he was able to obtain copies of Feuillet's work as soon as it was published, he probably had little difficulty in obtaining other French publications, such as François Campion's *Nouvelles découvertes* (1705). Moreover, Russell states that both de Visée and Corbetta enjoyed international fame. Thus, Murcia might well have been familiar with the works of his French contemporaries without ever leaving Madrid.

In his article, Russell writes that "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 statement implies that the pieces were recently composed in 1730, and that there was something remarkable about the fact that Murcia included them in his manuscript only two years later. If Russell does not think that the pieces were recently composed in 1730, he must surely concede that there is a possibility that Murcia obtained copies of them
earlier. It was careless of me to have overlooked the date of the preface to Receuil des pieces, which indicates that the copying of the manuscript was begun and completed in 1730, although it was not finally bound until after 1739. But this does not alter the fact that there can be no proven relationship between Murcia and Castillion.

In summary, Russell commits himself to some elaborate theories about Murcia and his music which are unsupported by any real evidence, and he often contradicts himself in order to defend these theories. There are other equally valid hypotheses which he seems unwilling to consider. Since Murcia is a composer about whom we know virtually nothing, it is better to keep an open mind. \footnote{I refer my readers to my doctoral dissertation, "The Guitar Anthologies of Santiago de Murcia" (Open University, Milton Keynes, 1983) ; also my article "Le antologie per chitarra di Santiago de Murcia" Il Fronimo , 46 [1984], 9-22.}

MONICA HALL
Westminster City Libraries, London

Craig Russell responds:

To the Editor of the Journal,

IN HER LATEST LETTER, Monica Hall raises several objections to my work that appeared in the 1982 and 1983 editions of the Journal to which I would like to respond.

Her first objection concerns a premise (that she mistakenly attributes to me) that begins: "we can identify the sources which Murcia used when compiling Passacalles y obras..." I have never claimed to know precisely the avenues that Murcia used to obtain his information. I have merely pointed out that some pieces found in Murcia's books also appear in other sources and have attempted to explain how the two versions are related musically.

Furthermore, in presenting her case Ms. Hall repeatedly argues that there can be no proven relationship between two manuscripts unless there is a proven relationship between their authors. That is not necessarily true. There are a multitude of situations that could explain the same compositions being present in different manuscripts without the authors or scribes of those manuscripts knowing each other. The main point when viewing Le Cocq's and Murcia's manuscripts should be that a demonstrable relationship between the material in these manuscripts exists even though we cannot reconstruct the precise circumstances that made it possible.

Secondly, she objects that I assume that "the movements of the suites for which concordances have not been traced are original compositions by Murcia himself." I agree that we cannot be certain of authorship. We simply must wait for more evidence before making any final decisions. Any present theory (be it
my own or Ms. Hall's) must unfortunately be based largely on a tenuous foundation of uncertainty, conjecture, and educated guess.

With respect to reworked compositions in Murcia's books, Ms. Hall accurately notes that some alterations are more substantial than others — a point that I emphasize. Although Ms. Hall objects to my use of the term "recomposition" to some types of minor alterations, I feel that her objection is primarily one of degree and of semantics. In issues of substance we appear to be in agreement.

Ms. Hall implies that I totally reject as impossible a trip by Murcia in 1714 to Antwerp to oversee the publication of his Resumen de acompanar la parte con la guitarra. This is not the case. I stated clearly (and restate here) that her theory of a possible Antwerp trip is plausible. I only observed that as of yet we have no conclusive proof. Unfortunately, Ms. Hall uses my observation to conclude — quite erroneously — that I therefore "think that Murcia was not familiar with the work of his French contemporaries before 1730." Those are neither my words nor my beliefs.

In closing, I too would like to mention Ms. Hall's dissertation "The Guitar Anthologies of Santiago de Murcia." It is a thorough and laudable piece of scholarship containing many gems of new information, extremely useful appendices, and an elegant transcription of Murcia's music.

CRAIG RUSSELL
California Polytechnic State University

To the Editor of the Journal,


"Lutes" of this type outnumber mainstream lutes of the same period in Pohlmann. The P. J. Horemans paintings of the Munich Court Musicians with their instruments, dated 1772, contain two such 6-course "lutes" and one 13-course lute. A lot of literary references and 6-course MS music survives in which these instruments are called Mandora/e or Gallichona/e (or Colachon, Gallizona, and several other cognates). The most generally known are the Partitas for
'Gallichone solo' by Brescianello, for which the Buchstetter 6-course No. 40382 would be ideal, tuned D/F G c f a d'.

There are, of course, a number of unsolved problems, one of which is how one would tune and use the Techler No. 32667, with five-courses and a string length of 743mm? There is a similar instrument by Marino Hell in the Claudius collection, according to Pohlmann. Then what was the eventual difference between a mandora and a gallichone? At the end of the 17th century they were clearly distinguishable but by the 1740s they were tuned identically (D/F-d') and both names were used in some sources. I wonder whether the gallichone retained single strings and the mandore paired courses, or was there more to it than that? Or was there perhaps no real difference between them. All the reported surviving instruments have paired courses (chanterelles excepted in the majority).

A third problem is the residual group of smaller, often rather short-necked instruments that are left over when you have extracted the 'classic' ones with ten fret length necks and an overall size suitable for D-d' tuning. How were they used? Is there surviving music? They seem to inhabit a vague area between the mandolinos and big mandores/gallichones at present, and it would be nice to know more about them. The Sellas No. 7688 seems to come in this category.

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