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The musical examples in this issue were prepared by Todd Lane.

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At Court and at Home with the Vihuela de mano: Current Perspectives on the Instrument, its Music, and its World

BY JOHN GRIFFITHS

THE VIHUELA DE MANO WAS THE MOST prominent solo instrument in sixteenth-century Spain. It enjoyed a popularity that extended across a broad social spectrum and—much more than has generally been recognized—was equally familiar to the middle-classes as to royalty and the nobility. For both pleasure and learning, it served court and domestic roles, and generated a substantial repertory of great diversity and character. The present essay does not pretend to summarize all that has been said about the vihuela and its music. It is rather a survey that provides a long-needed reassessment of the vihuela repertory in its social context, and that makes a critical review of its composers and music.

The Instrument

The origins of the vihuela can be traced back at least to the mid-fifteenth century, although no music survives from this period. It was not until the sixteenth century that the instrument reached its zenith; by the early seventeenth century, it had virtually disappeared. Recent research by Ian Woodfield has made significant headway in tracing the origins of the vihuela in Aragon and its subsequent development in the second half of the fifteenth century.¹ Largely through iconographical documents, he has traced the emergence of the instrument in eastern Spain. In their fifteenth-century form, bowed and plucked vihuelas de arco and de mano are virtually

indistinguishable, and it was not until the early years of the sixteenth century that the two species assumed independent forms and construction. The period of change and transmission to Italy appears intimately connected with the ascent of the Aragonese Alexander VI to the papacy in 1492. While the transformation of the vihuela de arco into the viola da gamba occurred through the intervention of Italian craftsmen, the specifically plucked version appears to have emerged in Spain around the turn of the century together with an Italian variant, the viola da mano. This latter instrument is widely depicted in Italian sources and is principally distinguished from the Spanish model by its sickle-shaped rather than flat pegbox.

The vihuela was tuned to the same intervals as both the lute and viol and was strung with six double courses as the lute, although in unison throughout and normally with a double-strung first course. G or A appear to have been the most common pitches of the outer courses among a number of theoretical possibilities. The instruments depicted in the well-known woodcuts in the two earliest vihuela books are indicative of the variety of instrument sizes that were known. Milán’s frequently reproduced depiction of Orpheus playing the vihuela in El Maestro (fol. 6v) shows a large instrument in the hands of its mythological patriarch, while the image of Arion in the opening folios of Narváez’s Los seys libros del Delphín (1538, fol. a iv)—a similar affirmation of the humanist spirit of the Spanish tradition—shows a much smaller instrument, of a size more suited to the technical demands of the music, due to what must have been a much shorter string length.

From both historical and practical points of view, lute and vihuela music are interchangeable. It is increasingly recognized that the Italian viola da mano was widely played in the sixteenth century by musicians such as Francesco da Milano, who are primarily known to us as lutenists, and, similarly, that the lute was not as unknown in Spain as the absence of musical sources might suggest.2 Some vihuela works also found their way into contemporary

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2 Attention was first focussed on the viola da mano by John Ward in “The Vihuela de mano and its Music: 1536-1576” (Ph.D. diss., New York University, 1953) and more recently by James Tyler in The Early Guitar (London, 1976).
non-Spanish lute anthologies. By extension, contemporary lutenists should not feel it inappropriate to explore the Spanish repertory on their instrument.

Sources

The seven books of tablature for the vihuela that were printed between 1536 and 1576 contain a total of 690 works and form the nucleus of the repertory. These books are discussed in detail below but are listed here in chronological order with short titles, using the standard modern spelling of their authors’ names:

- Luis Milán, El Maestro (Valencia, 1536)
- Luis de Narváez, Los seys libros del Delphín (Valladolid, 1538)
- Alonso Mudarra, Tres Libros de Música (Seville, 1546)
- Enríquez de Valderrábano, Silva de sirenas (Valladolid, 1547)
- Diego Pisador, Libro de música de Vihuela (Salamanca, 1552)
- Miguel de Fuenllana, Orphenica Lyra (Seville, 1554)
- Esteban Daza, El Parnasso (Valladolid, 1576)

To these can be added a small number of manuscript sources and the keyboard books of Cabezón (1578), Venegas de Henestrosa (1557) and Sancta María (1565), whose contents are designated as being for harp, keyboard or vihuela. The status of these latter books as vihuela sources, however, requires critical reassessment, as the interchangeability of keyboard and vihuela repertories has been accepted too readily in theory and, perhaps, too infrequently in practice. While there is strong stylistic similarity between vihuela music and the Spanish keyboard repertory, the epithet para harpa, tecla y vihuela should be understood in a highly specific historical context. The phrase, which is inclusive of all Spanish polyphonic instruments, was coined by Venegas because he included in his anthology keyboard adaptations—made with considerable licence—

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3 Some of Narváez’s pieces, for example, were reprinted by Phalèse in the anthologies listed in Howard Mayer Brown, *Instrumental Music Printed before 1600: A Bibliography* (Cambridge, Mass., 1967) as 1546₁₈ [=1546₁₉], 1568₁ and 1574₁, the latter being a parody. See Ward, “The Vihuela de mano,” pp. 383-84.

4 The locations of surviving copies and full inventories of each volume are given in Brown, *Instrumental Music*.

5 Full titles and inventories of these volumes are also in Brown, *Instrumental Music*. 
from three of the published vihuela books. The very title of the Libro de cifra nueva marks the invention of a new and specifically idiomatic keyboard tablature, a form of notation that is inhospitable to the vihuelist. This tablature could, however, also serve the harp admirably, given that its layout of one-string-per-note is essentially the same as the one-key-per-note of keyboard instruments. While this may account for the inclusion of the harp in Venegas’ title, it would appear that the reference to the vihuela is principally to acknowledge the sources of the author’s arrangements. It is understandable that Sancta María might have appropriated Venegas’ all-inclusive term a few years later in the full title of his Arte de tañer fantasia, as the half of it that is devoted to fantasia composition is as relevant to the vihuela as to the keyboard or harp. The use of mensural notation for all his music examples and pieces underscores its universal applicability, free of any commercial or musical limitations that either lute or keyboard tablature may have produced. In the case of Cabezón’s Obras, however, the case is quite different. The printing contract for this book makes it abundantly clear that in publishing his late father’s works, Hernando de Cabezón used Venegas’ Libro de cifra nueva as his model and point of reference with regard to many details of its production. This is the most likely explanation for the perpetuation of the title derived from Venegas. In short, it is likely that what has seemed to be a practice of playing the vihuela from keyboard tablature is a distortion of the real situation, and that this distortion is due to the appropriation and misuse by subsequent writers of the wording of Venegas’ title, originally conceived by him with different connotations. From a purely musical viewpoint, many of Cabezón’s works include passages that are either impossible or enormously difficult on the

vihuela, but this should not be taken as discouragement to any player wishing to explore music of the highest artistry.9

Manuscript sources of vihuela music, mostly small, are held by libraries in Spain, Austria, and Poland. The copy of Mudarra’s Tres Libros in the Biblioteca Nacional in Madrid has some pieces added by a Portuguese owner of the book, and some excellent pieces are appended in a similar way to the Vienna copy of Valderrábano’s Silva de Sirenas.10 Several works are copied into the anthology of poetry, MS 6001 of the Biblioteca Nacional in Madrid, known as Ramillete de flores, and another small collection has been found in Simancas.11 A single large collection of over 350 pieces for lute and vihuela, probably the work of a Neapolitan Spaniard, is among the former Berlin collection presently located at the Biblioteka Jagiellonska in Cracow.12

Editions and Studies

Tablature notation provides performers with the most direct access to the music although competent transcriptions provide vital assistance with decoding its polyphonic intricacy.13 The repertory also provides a great richness for singers, for whom modern

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9 See Antonio de Cabezón, Obras de música para tecla, harpa y vihuela... Recopiladas y puestas en cifra por Hernando de Cabezón su hijo, ed. Felipe Pedrell, revised Higinio Anglés, Monumentos de la Música Española 27-29 (Barcelona, 1966); and Antonio de Cabezón, Glosados del libro “Obras de música para tecla, arpa y vihuela, de Antonio de Cabeçon, músico de la Cámara y Capilla del Rey Don Philippe nuestro Señor.” Recopiladas y puestas en cifra por Hernando de Cabeçon su hijo, ed. Maria A. Ester Sala (Madrid, 1974).
10 The Mudarra additions are reproduced in the facsimile published by Editions Chanterelle (Monaco, 1980). See Brown, Instrumental Music, regarding the Vienna additions to the Valderrábano exemplar.
13 Facsimiles of the vihuela books are published by Minkoff and Chanterelle.
editions are more suitable. There exist two scholarly editions of Milán's *El Maestro*. The older one by Leo Schrade was first published in 1927 but is currently available in reprint.\(^1\) Despite its antiquated literal style of transcription, it is remarkably accurate and is accompanied by an excellent diplomatic facsimile of the entire book. This gives it an advantage over Charles Jacobs' 1971 edition, although Jacobs provides a much more useful commentary on the works and English translations of the original text.\(^2\) Emilio Pujol's transcriptions of Narváez, Mudarra and Valderrábano have become the standard critical texts.\(^3\) The single staff transcriptions do not always provide the most satisfactory polyphonic reconstructions and it is always prudent to compare the transcriptions with the originals; in the most extreme case, Pujol's transcription of Valderrábano's *Fantasia 6* is inexplicably nine bars longer than the original.\(^4\) No modern edition of Pisador's music has yet appeared, but one is presently in progress.\(^5\) Charles Jacobs' monumental edition of Fuenllana is informative and provides better transcriptions than his Milán edition.\(^6\) An edition of Daza's fantasias by this writer is available in an accessible volume that also includes a diplomatic facsimile,\(^7\) and handsome editions by Rodrigo de Zayas of both Narváez and Daza also include both transcription and a full

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\(^3\) Luys de Narváez, *Los seys libros del Delphin de musica de cifra para tañer vihuela*, ed. Emilio Pujol, Monumentos de la Música Española, 3 (Barcelona, 1945); and Enríquez de Valderrabano, *Libro de musica de vihuela intitulado Silva de Sirenas*, ed. Emilio Pujol, Monumentos de la Música Española, pp. 22-23 (Barcelona, 1965). Only the music by Valderrábano assumed to be original is included in the edition, principally his fantasias, songs and sonetos. The Mudarra edition is cited above in note 1.


\(^5\) The edition is being undertaken by Prof. W. E. Hultberg of Potsdam College, New York.


facsimile.\textsuperscript{21} The recent anthology of vihuela songs by Charles Jacobs complements those already found in his previous publications to provide a wide cross-section.\textsuperscript{22}

The classic scholarly text on the vihuela is John Ward’s dissertation cited above (n. 2). The articles on the vihuela and each of the composers in \textit{The New Grove Dictionary} provide perceptive and more up-to-date accounts of musical style and bibliography. Louis Jambou’s \textit{Les origines du Tiento} deals thoroughly with one genre of the repertory,\textsuperscript{23} and my detailed study of the fantasia repertory is cited above (n. 17). The bibliographies in these works provide references to numerous related articles and specialized studies.

\textit{The World of the Vihuela}

Art in sixteenth-century Spain existed in a climate dominated by severity, intellectual rigor and emotional austerity. These are the predominant moods of a culture fired by Catholic fervor, with an advanced humanistic consciousness, but humored by the freshness of a courtly-popular tradition. The sobriety that darkens the canvas of a Velázquez or Murillo, the absolute architectural symmetry of Herrera’s El Escorial, and the clear cold light that is the promise of mystic revelation in an El Greco are visual responses to the same impulses. They are the solemnity of faith, the might of empire and the excitement of discovery that nourished Spain in its \textit{siglo de oro}. In music, these currents gave rise to a great intensity of musical expression. The humanistic spirit of the vihuelists illuminated in the prefatory pages of their books and aptly discussed by Isabel Pope is also translated directly into their music.\textsuperscript{24} Both humanist and classical poetry are found in vihuela intabulations and original songs alike, and the musical settings reflect a consciousness of the emotive power of rhetorical textual interpretation. The popular counter-

\textsuperscript{22} Charles Jacobs (ed.), \textit{A Spanish Renaissance Songbook} (University Park, 1988).
\textsuperscript{23} Louis Jambou, \textit{Les origines du Tiento} (Paris, 1982).
current, however, lightens this sombre scenario. Court culture in the fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries had sought to emulate the exuberant and rustic charm of popular art, adopting its spirit and much of its artifice. Song was one of the principal genres affected by this trend; it is abundantly evident in the repertory that dominates the polyphonic cancioneros of the period. Many such villancicos and romances found their way into the vihuela literature to inject a warm life force into many areas of the vihuela’s otherwise severe polyphony.

The repertory contained in the seven vihuela books invites even broader generalizations concerning music and society because, within its own limits, it offers a valuable cross-section of sixteenth-century Spanish musical taste in all genres. The music appears also to have been destined for a wide market. Both the affordable retail prices of the books and large print runs suggest that the printed literature circulated far beyond the enclosed world of a noble elite. Compared to other areas of the Spanish publishing trade, editions of 1000 and 1500 copies of vihuela books were indeed large.\(^{25}\) While some liturgical books were published in similar numbers, the figures cited are approximately double the general publication norm, and many books in more specialized areas—medicine and law, for example—frequently appeared in small editions of less than three hundred copies. Considering that we are dealing with a living tradition of composer-performers, these numbers suggest a widespread practice, for it may be assumed that many players would also have compiled anthologies that have not survived, and possessed repertoires of their own invention that were never written down. The

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\(^{25}\) Known contracts show that 1000 copies of Orphónica Lyra and 1500 copies of el Parnasso were published, together with 1500 copies of Santa María’s Arte de tañer fantasía and 1225 copies of Cabezón’s Obras de música. The Cabezón contract is reprinted in Cristóbal Pérez Pastor, op. cit.; the Orphónica Lyra contract is reprinted in Klaus Wagner, Martín de Montesdoca y su prensa: Contribución al estudio de la imprenta y de la bibliografía sevillana del siglo XVI (Seville, 1982), pp. 110-11. The Daza contract is discussed in John Griffiths, “The Printing of Instrumental Music in Sixteenth-Century Spain,” to be published in the Proceedings of the 15th Congress of the International Musicological Society (Madrid, 1992); the Santa María contract is reprinted in his The Art of Playing Fantasia, trans. Almonte C. Howell and W. E. Hultberg (Pittsburgh, 1991) and discussed in J. Griffiths and W. E. Hultberg, “Santa María and the Printing of Instrumental Music in Sixteenth-Century Spain,” in the Festschrift for Marcario Santiago Kastner (Lisbon, in press).
manuscript collections described above are the fragmentary residue of such a tradition. In addition to the seven published vihuelists, references survive concerning only another sixty or so players, and numerous citations of instruments also appear in sixteenth-century Castilian inventories of deceased estates. The printed repertory, therefore, probably provides a representative sample of a larger repertory that no longer exists, although the manuscript collections give clues about an improvisatory performance practice that was more widespread than initially might be suspected. It is particularly noteworthy that the small manuscript collections are rich in variation sets, and the manuscript Cracow 40032 also includes many dances that are not well represented in the printed anthologies. I have suggested elsewhere that the distinction between the printed and manuscript collections may be the product of an innate characteristic of the Spanish temperament in which the formality of public ceremony—represented by publication—frequently obscures a deep-seated love of the improvised and spontaneous that is perhaps alluded to in these manuscript fragments.

The evidence presented above concerning printing, documentary references to performers and instruments, and the intimations of manuscript sources paints a social portrait of the vihuela that is significantly different from the one that has prevailed in scholarly writings. With a broader information base than the scant biographies of the published vihuelists, it can no longer be asserted that the vihuela was fundamentally a court instrument. All the evidence points to a much broader social context, to an instrument equally integrated into the households of the middle-class bourgeoisie as well as those of the nobility. It was thus an instrument widely played by amateur musicians, and not predominantly by an exclusive professional minority. In addition to its role at court, its function was equally for the education and edification of a substantial urban class, and through the intabulations of the many vocal works that form the largest genre of the printed repertory, its role in the transmission of mainstream vocal music and compositional

26 Some of these musicians' names are listed by Ward in Chapter IV of "The Vihuela de mano."
technique cannot be underestimated. It is quite possible that many Spaniards in the sixteenth century became familiar with Josquin, Morales, Guerrero, and other composers primarily through the ciphers of vihuela tablature.

The case for regarding the published vihuelists as a musical microcosm rather than a school of composers is confirmed by the surviving biographical patchwork of their lives. There is virtually no evidence to establish any contact between them that would be grounds for considering them a school. It is clear, for example, that Narváez was unaware of the existence of Milán’s 1536 tablature when his own was published two years later, although it can be confirmed that Daza modelled the prefatory text of his book on that of Narváez. Luis Milán was a courtier at the court of Germaine de Foix in Valencia, author of a book of courtly pastimes, his *Libro de motes* (1535), and of *El Cortesano* (1561), a book in the tradition of Castiglione’s *Cortegiano*, and his own account of Valencian court life. Narváez was employed by the house of Castile where he trained and looked after the choirboys. He accompanied Philip II, while still crown prince, on his first journey abroad in 1548. Of all the vihuelists, his music appears to have been the best known outside Spain (see n. 3). Mudarra spent the last thirty-four years of his life as a canon at the cathedral of Seville after having been raised by the third and fourth Dukes of the Infantado. Little is known of the life of Enríquez de Valderrábano. He is mentioned by the theorist Bermudo as a musician of the Conde de Miranda at Peñaranda del Duero in the vicinity of Burgos, but this could well have been an assumption made from the dedication printed in *Silva de Sirenas* and is possibly incorrect.\footnote{In the course of archival research in Valladolid, I have become aware of a well-established family in the provinces of Valladolid and Palencia named Enríquez de Valderrábano, and although no firm evidence has come to light to establish a connection with the vihuelist, the possibility that he may not have lived as a professional musician now appears stronger.} Diego Pisador was an amateur vihuelist whose passion for the instrument and money from an inheritance caused him to publish his own book at home. He lived in Salamanca where he managed his family’s affairs during the long absence of his father in Galicia, and he was employed by the municipal authorities as a *mayordomo* of the city. The blind Fuenllana was employed as a
musician by the Marquesa de Tarifa and later to Isabel de Valois, the third wife of Philip II. Even though Jacobs has cast doubt on the degree of his blindness based on his musical prowess and statements in the preface of *Orphenica Lyra*, his condition was certainly severe enough for him to have been unable to sign the contract for the publication of his book, and to have required a servant to track down the fraudulent copies already in circulation. A petition from his daughter for a pension cites his total service to Philip II and Philip III as more than forty-six years. It is also apparent that Fuenllana spent some time in Portugal. Esteban Daza, a university graduate, was the first of fourteen children born to a prominent Valladolid family. He was sustained by depleting rents from family land and property holdings and appears not to have sought a musical career nor practiced any other profession. He was in his late thirties at the time of publishing *el Parnasso* and died in impoverished circumstances. We have then, among this group, a sample that includes professional musicians, a courtier, a cleric, a civil servant, and a person of independent means, who operated in relative independence in Castile, Andalusia, and Aragon.

**The Music**

The emphasis given to certain musical genres is the primary feature that distinguishes the vihuela repertory from other European lute music. Intabulations and songs account for the largest proportion of the Spanish repertory. Fantasias form the second largest group, and together with the intabulations account for almost ninety percent of the surviving works. Smaller groups of variation sets, dances, and miscellaneous works make up the remaining portion of the literature. The absence of a greater amount of dance music is not typical of any other country, and is more likely due to the combination of austerity in publication with a strong improvised tradition rather than any Spanish dislike for dancing and dance music. The

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29 See Klaus Wagner, *op. cit.*, p.112.
30 See Jacobs, *Orphenica Lyra*, pp. xix-xxv.
31 Original lute songs and intabulations have been grouped together as both are generally intended for performance with vihuela and voice. It is not always possible to distinguish songs from intabulations with complete certainty.
inclusion of variation sets from as early as 1538 is a distinctively Spanish feature. The number of compositions by each vihuelist in each genre is shown in Table 1.

### TABLE I
Compositional Genres in the Vihuela Repertory

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Composer</th>
<th>I</th>
<th>F</th>
<th>V</th>
<th>D</th>
<th>T</th>
<th>M</th>
<th>total works</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Milán</td>
<td>22</td>
<td>44</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>72</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Narváez</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>33</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mudarra</td>
<td>28</td>
<td>27</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>75</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Valderrábano</td>
<td>111</td>
<td>33</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>171</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pisador</td>
<td>66</td>
<td>26</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>95</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fuenllana</td>
<td>121</td>
<td>51</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>182</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Daza</td>
<td>40</td>
<td>22</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>62</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>total</td>
<td>400</td>
<td>217</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>26</td>
<td>690</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>% of repertory</td>
<td>58</td>
<td>31</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>4</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

I = intabulations and songs  
F = fantasias  
T = tientos  
V = variations  
D = dances  
M = miscellaneous works (sonetos, duos, fugas, glosas)

### Intabulations and Songs

Intabulations by the vihuelists show a preference for making plain short-score arrangements. The importance of intabulations is paramount, but they are often unfairly discarded in an era that prizes originality in favor of works of a composer’s own creation. Josquin’s chanson *Mille regretz*, in the version intabulated by Narváez as the *Canción del Emperador*, is the only Spanish intabulation heard today with any frequency, due as much to its beauty as to its allusion to Charles V.

Intabulations served a twofold function for the sixteenth-century musician. On the one hand they provided entertainment and a means of enjoying one’s favorite ensemble pieces performed on a
solo instrument; on the other hand, they were didactic. Making
intabulations formed the most important part of the sixteenth-century
instrumentalist’s musical education. To intabulate vocal music was
the best way to absorb the compositional procedures of the leading
composers of the age. The greater part of Bermudo’s discussion of
the vihuela is based on the process of intabulation and its problems,
particularly regarding the adjustment of frets to ensure true
intonation. He offers vihuelists a scheme for how to proceed from
simple to complex music, implying that intabulations teach
counterpoint and are the necessary preliminary step to composing
one’s own works or “playing fantasia.” In fact, he ventures further
into the area of style and criticizes those who might wish to
circumvent their apprenticeship as intabulators, saying that “even
though they might know counterpoint (unless it were as good as that
of the above-mentioned composers [Morales, Gombert, Vásquez
and Tellez]) they should not play fantasia [i.e. invent music] so
soon, so as not to take on bad style.”

The performance of intabulations in Spain was undoubtedly a
very flexible affair. They could be played as solo pieces, or with one
or more of the voices sung, or together with other solo instruments.
The intabulation is the point of departure for the tradition of the
accompanied solo song, while in ensemble music it is the origin of
the basso continuo. Considerable discussion has centered on the
issue of whether or not sung vocal lines should be doubled by the
vihuela. Apart from specific cases where separate mensural notation
and tablature precisely declare the composer’s intentions, sixteenth-
century sources do not address the problem. There is no evidence
that it was a crucial issue for the sixteenth-century musician and no
suggestion that a particular practice existed. Performers today
should feel free to make their own decisions according to the desired
density of texture of the accompaniment, and their own capacity to
achieve an appropriate performance tempo. The only specific

32 Fray Juan Bermudo, *Libro llamado Declaración de instrumentos musicales* (Ossuna,
fuese tan bueno como el de los sobredichos músicos) no auían de tañer tan presto
fantasia: por no tomar mal ayre.”

33 See Jesús Bal y Gay, “Fuenllana and the Transcription of Spanish Lute Music,”
indication offered by the vihuelists concerns the preferred line of an intabulated work to be sung in performance for voice and vihuela. One voice is usually singled out in the tablature with red figures, or puntillos (apostrophes), and underlaid with text. No particular voice type is preferred; there are intabulations that provide solo songs for soprano, alto, tenor, and bass.

Spanish musical taste is reflected in the works that the vihuelists chose to intabulate. All musical genres are represented, with almost equal emphasis given to sacred and secular works. The intabulations show a balanced mixture of national and international styles. Fifty-five composers are either identified in the vihuela books themselves or have been subsequently identified through concordances. Arranged in order of the number of works intabulated (indicated in parenthesis), Table 2 shows the ten most favored composers in the vihuela literature.

**TABLE 2**
Composers Favored by Vihuelists as Models for Intabulations

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Composer</th>
<th>Works</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>Morales</td>
<td>(28)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>Josquin</td>
<td>(22)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>Gombert</td>
<td>(20)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>Vásquez</td>
<td>(19)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>Verdelot</td>
<td>(17)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>F. Guerrero</td>
<td>(13)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7</td>
<td>Willaert</td>
<td>(10)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8</td>
<td>Arcadelt</td>
<td>(9)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9</td>
<td>P. Guerrero</td>
<td>(8)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10</td>
<td>Flecha</td>
<td>(7)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Five of the composers are Spanish and five are Franco-Flemish, although all the northerners listed had considerable contact with southern Europe. Given the close cultural, linguistic, and literary relationship of Spain and Italy, the small number of Italian works and composers among those intabulated is surprising. It is only the intabulations of Italian madrigal texts set by oltremontani, especially Verdelot and Arcadelt, that provide the principal exceptions.

Seventy-five compositions are based on polyphonic settings of the Mass Ordinary, including eight entire Josquin Masses intabulated by Pisador (each counting in the statistics above as a single work). Morales is the only Spanish composer whose Masses were used; Franco-Flemish works provided the vihuelists with the vast majority of their models. Some of the shorter internal sections of Mass movements make the most successful settings, such as
those in the libro sexto of Silva de Sirenas, or the haunting intabulation of the three-voiced Pleni sunt from Josquin’s Missa Faysant Regrets in Mudarra’s Tres libros (No. 11 in Pujol’s edition).

Motets form the largest group of intabulated sacred music. Of the 132 works intabulated, nearly two-thirds are by Franco-Flemish composers while, of the remainder, the majority are by Spaniards. Even though many of these motets require considerable effort to bring them to life on a solo instrument, they are highly rewarding. In addition to their inherent qualities, they also demonstrate the music that the vihuelists most chose to emulate in their own compositions. Valderrábano’s motet intabulations for two vihuelas also offer excellent recompense.

The intabulations of secular music provide performers with a goldmine of little-explored music of varied style and character. Daza’s el Parnasso is one of the richest repositories. A work such as the potent setting by Pedro Ordoñez of an anonymous sonnet “¡Ay, mudo soy hablar no puedo!” is transformed through intabulation into an accompanied song as strong as any autonomously composed lute song. The anonymous romance, “Enfermo estaba Antioco,” is as charming as the better-known “De Antequera salió el moro,” intabulated by Fuenllana and attributed by him to Morales. It is the narrative dimension of the long strophic romance that enables it to escape the monotony inherent in many repetitions of a simple musical framework. Its very simplicity provides the greatest latitude for musical flexibility. Effective performance of romances demands a strong dramatic sense, where the text narrative can develop freely, not only through the declamatory nuances of the singer, but also through the invention and responsiveness of the accompanist. In the early phase of the vihuela’s development, the vitality of the romance tradition served as a crucible for the development of other areas of its repertory, variation writing in particular. While Daza gives the complete poem of “Enfermo estaba Antioco,” many romances in the vihuela books only include one or two stanzas. Complete texts of several of the poems set by the vihuelists are preserved in a number of the sixteenth-century literary cancioneros and many of these are available in modern editions. Daza’s collection also includes lighter villancicos from the courtly-popular tradition, such as “¿Quién te hizo Juan, pastor?” and “Gritos daba la morenica,” that are
described as *villancicos viejos*, affectionately preserved remnants of an older tradition. Valderrábano’s setting of “¿De dónde venís, amore?” and “¿Dónde son estas serranas?” are in the same vein, while his intabulations of Italian pieces, such as Verdelot’s “Dormendo un giorno” and others in Pisador’s *Libro de música*, represent the embryonic madrigal style. The Spanish songs by Vásquez in the *Libro segundo* of Pisador’s book and the intabulated *villancicos* and Italian madrigals in the fifth book of *Orphénica Lyra* also merit attention.

Milán, Narváez, Mudarra, and Valderrábano are among the earliest composers of autonomous solo songs where melody and accompaniment are conceived as separate entities. Milán’s *El Maestro* includes twenty-two songs with Spanish, Italian, and Portuguese texts. Nine of them are given in two versions, the second providing a highly embellished, virtuosic accompaniment. The *romances* “Durandarte” and “Sospirastes Baldovinos” are famous within their literary tradition and together with the *villancico* “Toda la vida os amé” are among the most attractive. In *Silva de sirenas* it is not always easy to distinguish Valderrábano’s intabulations from his solo songs. It is difficult to determine whether his attractive *proverbios de nueva manera* (proverbs in the new style), such as “De hazer lo que juré,” are of his own composition, but in other cases such as the dashing “Argimina, nombre le dió,” his authorship is unequivocal. Mudarra is the song writer *par excellence* among the vihuelists. The most masterly of his miniatures are the *romance* “Triste estaba el rey David,” the devastatingly simple setting of Jorge Manrique’s poem “Recuerde el alma dormida,” Sannazaro’s sonnet “O gelosia d’amanti,” a sonnet lamenting the death of Philip II’s second wife “¿Qué llantos son aquestos?” and the popular *villancicos* “Si me llaman” and “Isabel, perdiste tú la faxa.” In all of these songs Mudarra’s lyricism dominates, and the accompaniments both enhance the text setting and fall graciously under the hand.

*Abstract Works*

A large repertory of 217 fantasias, sixteen *tientos* and a few miscellaneous works make up the second large grouping within the vihuela repertory, and the main body of original music for the instrument. Works of vastly varying length, difficulty, and character
are to be found. The fantasias provide a clear view of the direction in which vihuela music developed over the forty years spanned by the published works. The fantasia was born in the world of improvisation but gradually came to assimilate more and more of the technique and aesthetic of Franco-Flemish vocal polyphony. It came to be scarcely separable from vocal music in its concept, although the text that generated the ideas of the vocal composer and that determined the shape of the musical entity was absent. Text as a form determinant was necessarily replaced by a more abstract image, and it is within this abstraction that the fantasy of the fantasia resides. The Spanish fantasia achieved its perfection by the last quarter of the century and then subsided into obsolescence. It was ousted largely by the simple strummed music of the five-course guitar that reflected the social mood and superficial nostalgia of a great empire on the wane. Because the instrument was inseparable from the style of its music, the vihuela fell victim to cultural change.

I prefer to use the loose associative term "instrumental motet" rather than any more complex definition to describe the fantasia. Fantasia resists definition because it is essentially a process and not a form: an expansive process of invention within definable stylistic limits. Imitation is the chief contrapuntal technique of the style, and structure may be seen as the product of polyphonic voice-complexes built into episodes, each usually based on a single theme. It is precisely the same process used in the point-of-imitation style of vocal construction. Within each episode, imitation is the main technique of thematic exposition. Once the theme is introduced, the episode may be continued as free polyphony or by devices such as sequence that extend the music to a cadence or cadential passage that signifies its conclusion. Complete works constitute an assemblage of episodes into larger paragraphs or sections or, in some cases, into a single paragraph.

One of the most striking features of these structures is the degree to which they reflect a renaissance concern with balance and proportion. Excluding only the fantasias of Milán, which are essentially more improvisatory, the fantasias of the vihuelists show a deeply entrenched sense of architecture analogous to that which guided painters and architects. Several scholars, notably Gombosi, Slim, and Vaccaro, have demonstrated the architectonic tendencies
of Italian lute fantasias and ricercars, and it is certain that Spanish composers responded to their age in precisely the same way.\footnote{Otto Gombosi, “A la recherche de la Forme dans la Musique de la Renaissance: Francesco da Milano,” in La Musique Instrumentale de la Renaissance, ed. Jean Jacquot (Paris, 1955), pp. 165-76; H. 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 University, 1960); Albert de Rippe, Fantaisies, vol. I of his Œuvres, ed. Jean-Michel Vaccaro, Corpus des Luthistes Français (Paris, 1972).} A characteristic example may be quoted from Fuenllana, Fantasia 21 in Jacobs’ edition.\footnote{Fuenllana, Orphénica Lyra, fol. 51v, Fantasia del Author, transcribed in Jacobs, pp. 244-48.} It is a work of 186 compases of tablature, double his norm, and is constructed as four episodes with a greater number of thematic entries than usual on account of its length. The four episodes are paired into two periods, dividing precisely at the work’s mid-point as illustrated schematically in Figure 1. The first period comprises episodes of almost equal length, while the second period is less proportionate, with episodes in a ratio of approximately 3:2. The protraction of the third episode is best explained as arising from dynamic necessity, the need for the musical discourse to evolve dramatically as it proceeds through time. The temporal dimension merely creates a slight distortion of the otherwise classical symmetry, and reflects the ever present tension between static and dynamic conceptions of the music. The division of the music at the precise mid-point is, however, a phenomenon that is not uncommon in vihuela fantasias.

**FIGURE 1:** Fuenllana, Fantasia 21, structural model

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Episode</th>
<th>I</th>
<th>II</th>
<th>III</th>
<th>IV</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Length</td>
<td>49</td>
<td>44</td>
<td>55</td>
<td>38</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Entries</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>27</td>
<td>18</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

With virtually all works structured according to similar principles, the repertory can be divided into nine categories according to
the predominant constructive technique of each work. Table 3 tabulates into these categories all the fantasias for vihuela including the two found in the *Ramillete de flores* manuscript, and also shows the stylistic orientation of each composer.

**TABLE 3: Fantasia Categories**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Mi</th>
<th>Na</th>
<th>Mu</th>
<th>Va</th>
<th>Pi</th>
<th>Fu</th>
<th>Da</th>
<th>Ra</th>
<th>Total</th>
<th>%</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ImP</td>
<td>30</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>43</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>129</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ImM</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>15</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ost</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Par</td>
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<td>1</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>23</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nIm</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nIm+Im</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>H</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>13</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Id+Im</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Id+nIm</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>total</td>
<td>44</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>27</td>
<td>33</td>
<td>26</td>
<td>51</td>
<td>22</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>219</td>
</tr>
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<td>%</td>
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<td>12</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>23</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Almost sixty percent of the fantasias are of the imitative polythematic style of the motet (ImP) and are based on models similar to the one described above. The majority of the imitative monothematic fantasias (ImM) share many of the same characteristics but deal only with a single theme throughout the entire work. The fantasias based on an ostinato theme (Ost) also handle a single theme, but in a different manner where thematic repetition rather than imitation is the compositional technique. Parody fantasias (Par) are those based on material from vocal or instrumental works by other authors, in which imitative techniques usually predominate. A small number of the works are written in the style of free non-imitative polyphony (nIm) and there are also works that alternate free polyphony with imitative episodes (nIm + Im). Compositions of a predominantly
idiomatic orientation (Id) are based on scales, chords, sequences and other devices. Other works are built from passages in two main styles: idiomatic and imitative (Id + Im), idiomatic and non-imitative (Id + nIm). Composers’ names in the vertical columns of the table are abbreviated to the first two letters of their names, and are shown in chronological order from left to right.

This general formulation of categories, combined with some brief observations on the orientation of each vihuelist, provides a cursory means of describing the basic trend of the stylistic evolution of the fantasia. The flexible and improvisatory tendencies of the earlier composers manifest themselves through the variety of techniques employed. Later composers show an increasing preference for imitative polythematicism. Within this chronological frame, personal idiosyncrasies are revealed, particularly in the case of Valderrábano. In the following discussion, the vihuela composers are examined according to the chronology of their publications.

Milán’s fantasias represent the mature closing stage of a tradition based on improvisation. His fantasias are loose assemblages of material drawn from an improviser’s reservoir. They utilize a type of quasi-imitation that is a clever instrumental derivative of polyphonic voice-pairing that produces much of their immediacy. His spontaneously generated structures are cohesive, yet flexible enough to permit manipulation by the performer into many shapes. The forty fantasias are arranged in the two libros of El Maestro both in order of difficulty and systematically according to mode. The works of the second libro are substantially longer and more demanding than the earlier works. Milán’s music has long been noted for the use of verbal tempo indications and the nine Fantasias de consonancias y redobles, Nos. 10-18, and the four tentos (always given Portuguese spelling) that alternate fast sections of passage work with slow sections of homophony. But texture is not the only feature that indicates the stylistic relationship between the two categories and the distance between Milán’s tentos and the tentos of Mudarra and Fuenllana. The two libros of El Maestro follow a parallel format both in the grouping of the works into imitative and idiomatic types as well as in the systematic treatment of mode as shown in Figure 2. In both function and musical content, Milán’s tentos are inseparable from the fantasias de consonancias y redobles.
FIGURE 2: Organization of the Fantasias in *El Maestro*

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Libro I</th>
<th>Libro II</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>fantasia</td>
<td>mode</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>23</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>25</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>27</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>29</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>31</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>33</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>10</td>
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<tr>
<td>11</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>12</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>13</td>
<td>22</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>14</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>16</td>
<td></td>
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<td>17</td>
<td></td>
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<td>19</td>
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<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>21</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>22</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

It is a pity that Narváez’s legacy is only the fourteen wonderful, transparent fantasias that represent the beginning of the rational and architectonic style of composition in Spain. In the preface of *Los seys libros del Delphín* he declared his intention that the book was only to be an introduction to his music, and that works of greater art would follow in subsequent publications. The six shorter fantasias of his *libro segundo* are the most concise introduction to his style. They are preceded by eight more complex works in the *libro primero* that are a greater challenge to both the intellect and the hand. Of all the vihuelists, it is Narváez and Mudarra whose fantasias are most similar. They have the same lightness and clarity in their textures.
The greatest difference is that while Narváez reveals himself as a consummate polyphonist in the sections that extend his ideas, Mudarra usually reverts to free polyphony embodying the beautiful lyricism that characterizes his songs. Mudarra’s most complex fantasias are those in the second of his Tres libros where fantasias are matched with tientos and glosas in a suite-like arrangement in each of the eight modes. The glosas imperceptibly alternate passages of freely-composed imitative counterpoint with intabulated passages from Masses by Josquin and Fevin. Mudarra also wrote some beautifully decorative idiomatic works under the didactic guise para desenvolver las manos (to develop the hands), and the well-known Fantasia que contrahace el arpa en la manera de Ludovico (which imitates the harp in the style of Ludovico) that uses exceptional dissonances and textures to create the effect of harp sonority. It is set in the mold of variations on the folia as a homage to a legendary fifteenth-century harpist.36

Enríquez de Valderrábano belongs to the same period of fantasia development as the previous two composers, but achieves individuality through the broad melodic sweep of his music, the large proportion of free counterpoint he used in place of imitation, the avoidance of cadences in order to create long uninterrupted sections, and the large number of fantasias that parody vocal and instrumental models. The two fantasias that commence the libro quinto of Silva de sirenas are set in the polyphonic imitative mold and demonstrate Valderrábano’s ability to manipulate musical materials with great skill in the mainstream tradition of his contemporaries. The parodies and non-imitative fantasias reveal other facets of his unique style. The parody fantasias vary greatly in the amount of borrowed material they appropriate. Fantasia 15, for example, modelled on Gombert’s motet Inviolata, integra et casta makes only a few obtuse allusions to its model, whereas over half of Fantasia 19 utilizes material from the second Kyrie from Josquin’s Missa de Beata Virgine. In the latter work it is also evident that Valderrábano was conscious of preserving many of the formal elements of

Josquin’s structure. In the predominantly non-imitative fantasias, Valderrábano frequently uses short passages of imitation to commence and conclude what are essentially essays in free counterpoint. Of the works in this style, Fantasia 6 is the one which has greatest recourse to imitative procedures, but it is a work that displays beyond doubt the height of Valderrábano’s art. It is music which is deserving of far more careful attention.

Despite certain attractive qualities in his music, it is difficult to deal with Pisador’s fantasias with equal enthusiasm, for they are works that reflect their composer’s amateurism. With only a few exceptions, Pisador’s structural conceptions demonstrate a strong intellectual capacity, and there is a certain underlying exuberance in his inspiration. However, these virtues are counterbalanced by grave deficiencies in his technical skills of musical craftsmanship. While he could manipulate contrapuntal themes with ingenious dexterity, he had trouble writing simple cadences or maintaining clarity and integrity within the polyphony, and he was unable to exercise sufficient control of harmonic direction. Thirteen of his twenty-six fantasias are monothematic with solmisation syllables underlaid throughout the tablature. The other thirteen are polythematic. His second fantasia (Libro de música, fol. 8) is the first of this latter type and differs from his normal style of dense polyphony, showing a clear awareness of the distinctive style of Luis Milán. A highly developed sense of formal architecture is evident in a number of works. The exact proportional distribution of the Fantasia a tres bozes sobre Mi la sol mi fa mi (fol. 23) is remarkable. Combined with a well-contoured theme set with careful attention to its rhythm and the constraint of a three-voiced texture, the formal aspect makes this work stand out as one of Pisador’s finest achievements. Despite its external appearance as a book of similar quality to the other published sources, it must be remembered that the Libro de música was produced by an inexperienced author-publisher, and it contains many typographical errors that add a further layer of complication for anyone wishing to pursue the music.

38 ibid., pp. 296-99.
39 ibid., pp. 327-33.
Fuenllana and Daza’s fantasias are of a different category. Fuenllana’s music reflects the same aesthetic aspirations as Narváez’s, but he extends his musical prowess in every dimension: the fantasias are longer, polyphonic interplay is denser, and the works are shaped with a more acute sense of architecture. They are expansive and masterly works that present the instrumentalist with a substantial technical and intellectual challenge. His bold use of dissonance may be seen at its finest in Fantasia 13, a work that is also crafted with typical architectonic finesse, while Fantasia 21, discussed above, is a characteristic example of Fuenllana’s longer works that exude mastery and grandeur.40 Daza’s twenty-two fantasies, by comparison, are miniature forms when compared to Fuenllana’s, but they deal with dense imitative textures in a rational and thoroughly approachable way. Their quality is remarkably consistent as is their polyphonic style, except for the four last fantasias para desenvolver las manos that alternate contrapuntal with highly-idiomatic episodes. Even though their spirit is less grandiose than Fuenllana’s large constructions, they are demanding and satisfying works to play.

The tientos in the vihuela literature, excluding Milán’s tentos, are quite different from their counterparts in Spanish keyboard music. They are short essays in the application of modal theory to practical music.41 Cabezón and other keyboard composers used the term tiento to denote what the vihuelist understood as fantasia. More than practical exercises in modal theory—the essence of Fuenllana’s tientos—Mudarra’s tientos use toccata-like devices and introduce each of the modally-based “suites” in his libro segundo. The comparison with the toccata is particularly apt in Mudarra’s case. The tientos are similar to those in Cracow 40032 where, at some time after its initial compilation, the expatriate Spanish owner of the manuscript added the subtitle “overo toccata” beneath the original titles of the works.

Other miscellaneous abstract pieces are two three-voiced canons by Valderrábano that he calls fuga, and a pair of duos by Fuenllana

41 See Jambou, op. cit., pp. 93-127.
that are nothing less than two-voiced fantasias. The sixteen sonetos of Valderrábano are also included among the miscellaneous works even though they are not abstract pieces in the purest sense. There is, however, no apparent connection between the music and the literary sonnet. The term occurs in no other sixteenth-century Spanish musical source except in reference to the literary form. Ward has shown in a number of cases that the son or melody of these pieces is borrowed from well-known music and given a new setting by Valderrábano.42 Several of the sonetos remain enigmatic, while the soneto lombardo that “goes in the manner of a dance” is Valderrábano’s version of a pavane that was apparently widely known throughout Europe. It appears in other versions for lute and instrumental ensemble in publications by Attaingnant and Newsidler.43 The Spanish version is excellent music, seldom heard today.

Variations and Dances

The variations and dances that form the remaining component of the repertory are the most immediate and extroverted of all, and it is for this reason that they are more widely known today. The six pavanas in El Maestro and Narváez’s Diferencias sobre Guárdame las vacas are the most renowned. The relative absence of dance music has already been noted. Variation sets occur in the books of Narváez, Mudarra and Valderrábano, those published in the dozen years prior to the middle of the century. They are based on a variety of material: plainsong was used by Narváez, villancico tunes provided a basis for both Narváez and Valderrábano, and the harmonic scheme of the pavana—in fact, the embryonic folia—was used by

42 See Ward, “The Vihuela de mano,” pp. 189-93.

25
Valderrábano. However, it was the harmonic schemes associated with romances, particularly Guárdame las vacas and Conde Claros, that were set with deftness and individuality by all three. While Trend was correct in emphasizing the nexus between romance and diferencia, his assertion that “the variation form seems to have arisen, in Spain, through the necessity of relieving the lute-accompaniment during the recitation of a long romance” appears an unduly negative reason for the generation of a new and vital area of compositional enterprise.44 It can only be speculated that it was the dramatic declamation of the simple romance tunes that sparked Spanish interest in variation writing earlier than elsewhere. The nexus is also strengthened by Woodfield’s convincing hypothesis that the late fifteenth-century flat-bridged vihuela de arco served, among other functions, to accompany chordally the declamation of romances.45

The use of fixed harmonic schemes as the basis for solo instrumental improvisation in at least the half-century preceding Narváez’s publication is also supported by my observations regarding the folia structure of Mudarra’s Fantasia que contrahaze la harpa (see note 36).

* * *

By the early seventeenth century, new creative urges pushed the vihuela to one side. Its decline was lamented by an educated and conservative minority that included the dictionary writer Sebastian Covarrubias. In the final part of his definition of the vihuela, he sums up its changed status:

This instrument has been highly esteemed until the present time, and it has had excellent players: but since the invention of the guitar, only very few people give themselves to the study of the vihuela. It has been a great loss, because on it one could put all kinds of notated music, and now, the guitar is nothing more than a harness bell, so easy to play, especially in the strummed style that there isn’t a stable boy who isn’t a guitarist.46

45 Woodfield, op. cit., pp. 78-79.
46 Sebastian Covarrubias, Tesoro de la lengua Castellana o Española (Madrid, 1611): “Este instrumento ha sido hasta nuestros tiempos muy estimado, y ha avido
Covarrubias’ description of the guitar is far from the renaissance neo-classicism that was the spiritual guiding star of the vihuelists. There is no inkling in the guitar repertory of the renaissance spirit that is reflected in the titles of the vihuela books. It is the antithesis: the vihuela was swallowed up by a countercurrent that asserted itself in Spain with considerable urgency. This current was a short-lived impulse that sought and brought change, that made the vihuela and its music a cultural irrelevance, and that cast it into three centuries of eclipse.

The University of Melbourne

In the next issue of the Journal of the Lute Society of America...

Compositional Process in the Renaissance Fantasia
(Guest Editor: John Griffiths)

with articles by Victor Coelho, Dinko Fabris, John Griffiths, Robert Judd, Stefano Mengozzi, Piotr Pozniak, and Jean-Michel Vaccaro

excellentíssimos músicos; pero después que se inventaron las guitarras, son muy pocos los que se dan al estudio de la vigüela. Ha sido una gran pérdida, porque en ella se ponía todo género de música puntada, y aora la guitarra no es más que un cencerro, tan fácil de tañer, especialmente en lo rasgado, que no ay moço de cavallos que no sea músico de guitarra."
The Lute Quartets in the Thysius Lute Book

BY TODD LANE

THE THYSIUS LUTE BOOK (Leiden, Rijksuniversiteitsbibliotheek: Ms. Thysius 1666; hereafter Thysius) is the largest extant single source of lute music, consisting of 521 pages and containing almost 900 pieces in French tablature. It was copied by at least four hands between 1595 and 1645. The two known owners of the manuscript were Amsterdam minister Adrian Joriszoon Smout (1578/79-1646), who was probably the last contributor, and Johan Thys [Thijs] (1621-1653), a lawyer, from whom the manuscript derives its name. Prior to its present location, the manuscript was housed in the Bibliotheca Thysiana, which Thys founded, in Leiden, The Netherlands.¹

The first and only large-scale study of the manuscript is J. P. N. Land’s Het Luitboek van Thysius, published over a century ago.² This work devotes each of its chapters to one of the categories of pieces in the manuscript. Each chapter includes an introduction followed by a thematic inventory of all of the pieces in the category. While Land’s work remains important, an updated scholarly edition, transcription and study of the manuscript, written in light of the insights and knowledge gained in over 100 years of research, is long overdue.³

The contents of Thysius are diverse in musical style, form, and origin. Their scope is especially broad for the time, ranging historically from the mid-sixteenth century to the early French Baroque, and their variety is a reflection of the eclectic musical atmosphere in The Netherlands at that time. The varied contents include English, Italian, Dutch, and French Renaissance dances,

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² J. P. N. Land, Het Luitboek van Thysius (Amsterdam, 1889).
³ For a bibliography of other works somewhat related information to Thysius, see Boetticher, RISM, p. 163.
early French Baroque dances, undesignated solo ground bass variations, intabulations of motets and French and Italian songs, dances and fantasias by John Dowland and Francesco da Milano, anonymous fantasias, battle pieces, technical exercises, Reformation psalm settings, and several duets.

The focus of this study, however, is on the thirteen ensemble pieces, which appear to be lute quartets. Because of various problems in the tuning and nomenclature of these pieces, the quartets have long puzzled modern lutenists. In this article, I shall confront these problems by first discussing authenticated lute ensemble music, focusing on tuning patterns, instrumentation and the function of individual instruments within the extant lute ensemble repertory. This will then serve as a model to which the pieces in Thysius may be compared.

Authenticated Lute Ensemble Music

The history of lute ensemble music spans approximately a century, from Pacoloni in 1564 to Strobel in 1668. There exist over 130 pieces contained in eleven printed books and four manuscripts, and the wide-ranging styles of this particular medium parallel the many changes that occurred in music of other genres during this period. Approximately half of these pieces are composed over Italian ground basses, such as the passamezzo antico and the passamezzo moderno.

While the musical styles vary from melodic Italian Renaissance dance divisions in Pacoloni to harmonically- and texturally-oriented vocal arrangements in Adriaenssen, the types of lutes on which the

4 "Lute ensemble music" is defined here as music for three or more lutes.
6 Valentin Strobel is reputed to have written four pieces for various combinations of lutes, mandora, theorbo, angelicas, discant and bass, published in Strasbourg between 1648 and 1668. They have not yet been located; see Ernst Pohlmann, Laute, Theorbe, Chitarrone: die Lauten-Instrumente, ihre Musik und Literatur von 1500 bis zur Gegenwart, 5th ed (Lilienthal/Bremen, 1982), p. 121.
music was performed do provide one thread of commonality throughout most of the repertory. The tuning of the lutes also falls into a pattern: the upper and lower lutes tend to be grouped in pairs, either in unison, or a second or fourth apart. All of the known lute ensemble music, with the exception of Besard\textsuperscript{10} and the \textit{Conserto Vago},\textsuperscript{11} is played on lutes in d", a', g', e', and d', which provides valuable insights into the instrumentation and tuning of the quartets in \textit{Thysiус}.

A second feature that is consistent throughout this repertory is the function of parts within the ensemble. Two considerations are at stake here: 1) composed dances and Italian ground bass pieces, and 2) arrangements of vocal music. The following excerpt from Pacoloni's \textit{Passamezzo Milanesе},\textsuperscript{12} based on the \textit{passamezzo antico} ground, serves well to illustrate pieces of the first category (Example 1). One of the most important features of this style are the divisions in the upper two parts. It is common for the top lute to divide throughout the piece, although the second lute divides on occasion, particularly in repeat sections, as seen in this excerpt. These simultaneous divisions between the upper two parts were often written with little attention to the counterpoint, resulting in breaches of the contrapuntal rules of the period, such as unisons (m. 18), parallel octaves (m. 30), fourths (m. 21), fifths (m. 29), and even parallel sevenths (m. 21), to name but a few. In addition to melodic rule-breaking, there are also polychordal harmonic clashes, as in the following examples: G minor/F major (m. 19) and G minor/C Major (m. 29).\textsuperscript{13} It is not uncommon for the upper parts to cross (mm. 19, 22, 27), nor is there a sense of voice-leading within each part, but

\textsuperscript{9} For a survey of authenticated lute ensemble music and the types and tunings of lutes upon which it was played, see Rooley and Tyler, “The Lute Consort,” pp. 15-23. The list of works is complete except for the \textit{Conserto Vago} (1645) which was discovered after that writing.
\textsuperscript{11} \textit{Conserto Vago di Balletti, Volte, Corrente, e Galliarde} (Rome, 1645).
\textsuperscript{12} Pacoloni, \textit{Longe Elegantissima}, f. 1v. With the exception of Example 3, all transcriptions are my own. I produced all of the examples in this article with The Note-processor\textsuperscript{TM} software from Thoughtprocessors (Brooklyn, NY), on a 286 PC.
\textsuperscript{13} Although harmonic departures of this nature from the ground bass pattern do occur without problems in solo lute music, they produce dissonances when used in ensemble parts and when combined with other parts that maintain the pattern.
rather scale passages interspersed with three- and four-voice chords (see any measure, upper parts).

In contrast to the top two parts, which display the most activity in their upper lines, the main point of interest in the bass part is the lower voice. The melodic, “walking” bass line draws attention to the *passamezzo antico* ground upon which the piece is constructed, while the other voices of the bass part primarily provide chordal accompaniment. These pieces are generally improvisational in character, since dances and ground basses were the main basis for improvisation of the period. The focus of this style is on the flurry of melody over familiar rhythms and bass patterns, while the rules of counterpoint, voice leading, and harmonic considerations play a subservient role.

**Example 1**
*Passemezo Milanese* by G. Pacoloni, *Longe Elegantissima* (1564) f. 1v (mm. 17-32)
To illustrate the stylistic continuity of composed dance and Italian ground bass lute ensemble music throughout its history, let us also examine the same characteristics in an excerpt from the *Canzone Franzese* movement of the *Conserto Vago* (1645), scored for chitarrino (Renaissance guitar), lute, and theorbo (Example 2). As in the *Passemezo Milanese* of Pacoloni (1564), the chitarrino (*C*) has by far the most divisions, but the lute (*L*) and even the theorbo (*T*) also divide occasionally. Once again, these simultaneous divisions result in dissonances: parallel ninths (m. 9 *C*-*T*); parallel sevenths (m. 11 *C*-*T*); stepwise motion into dissonance (mm. 12-13 *C*-*L*, m. 24 *L*-*T*, m. 26 *L*-*T*). There are also several bichordal harmonic clashes: A minor/A major (m. 6); G major/A major (m. 14); D major/G major (m. 18). As in the Pacoloni piece, the focus of the upper parts is on the flurry of divisions, whereas the theorbo is generally more chordal, with the melodic activity occurring in the bass line.

**Example 2**

*Canzone Franzese* from the *Conserto Vago* (1645) p. 9 (mm. 1-27)
Arranged vocal music, the second category of lute ensemble music, is influenced by the vocal model, and differs markedly from composed dance and ground bass pieces. The texture is thicker and more chordal, with considerably fewer divisions. There is also a greater sense of part writing, with each lute being assigned specific voices from the original, and voice crossing of parts is rare. A good example of this style is Adriaenssen’s lute ensemble arrangement of Waelrant’s *O Vilanella*, as shown in Example 3.14 One can readily see that the lute ensemble arrangement closely follows the vocal model melodically, harmonically, and texturally. In this example, the soprano, alto, and tenor lutes play the soprano, alto, and tenor lines, respectively, of the original *villanella* in their upper voice, and play the bass line, at pitch or an octave lower, in their lower voice. The bass lute plays the tenor line of the model in its upper voice, and plays the bass line an octave lower in its lower voice. The original vocal lines are played on the lutes to which they are assigned without variation, with the exception of short melodic embellishments in the soprano lute at two cadential points (mm. 10, 13). The rich, homophonic texture of the model and the careful attention to proper voice-leading are preserved intact in the lute arrangement. This example illustrates that the character of arranged vocal pieces for lute ensemble is more carefully constructed and restrained, following traditional vocal practice, than the improvisational character of the dance and ground bass pieces.

While the the two types of lute ensemble music are separated by the above characteristics, they nonetheless share an important feature in common: the upper lute(s) divide and have the most activity and focus on the treble, whereas the lower lutes are more harmonically- and functionally-oriented, with emphasis on the bass.

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EXAMPLE 3
Hubert Waelrant, *O Vilanella* from Adriaenssen, *Pratum Musicum* (1584) f. 49v
Et quando ti baciai, o dolce Villanelle?
The Lute Quartets in the Thysius Lute Book

There are thirteen anonymous pieces in Thysius that appear to be quartets. This supposition is fostered by the existence of four parts for each title, and by the close proximity of the parts to one another in the manuscript. They appear as follows:

1. *Galliarda La Carracossa*
   - Bassus: f. 4
   - Contratenor: f. 4
   - Superius: f. 4v
   - Tenor: f. 4v

2. *Galliarda La Gamba*
   - Bassus: f. 5
   - Contratenor: f. 5v
   - Tenor: f. 5v
   - Superius: f. 6v

3. *Galliarda Chi Passa*\(^{15}\)
   - Superius: f. 7
   - Contratenor: f. 8
   - Bassus: f. 9
   - Tenor: f. 11

4. *Gallarde de Royne d’escosse*
   - Superius: f. 13v
   - Bassus: f. 13v
   - Contratenor: f. 14
   - Tenor: f. 14

---

\(^{15}\) This piece is based on the villotta *Chi passa per questa strada* by Filippo Azzaiolo, published in *Il primo libro de villotte* (Venice, 1557). For a modern edition, see Filippo Azzaiolo, *Six Villotte*, ed. B. Thomas (London, 1985). According to Thomas (p. 1), the harmonic language of Azzaiolo’s villotte is very similar to Italian ground basses such as the *passamezzo antico*, and *Chi passa per questa strada* lent itself so naturally to variation that its harmonic pattern itself became a ground bass. This is certainly tenable in light of this particular setting in the Thysius, in which the arranger maintains the harmonic pattern of the villotta, but abandons the melody in favor of divisions.
5. *Gallarde Belle qui me vas martirant* 16

Superius: f. 14v  
Bassus: f. 15  
Tenor: f. 15v  
Contratenor: f. 15v

6. *Galliarde Franchoyse*

Superius: f. 16v  
Bassus: f. 19v  
Tenor: f. 20  
Contratenor: f. 20v

7. *Wie sal mijn troetelen* 17

Superius: f. 24v  
Bassus: f. 25  
Tenor: f. 25v  
Contratenor: f. 25v

8. *Passomezo Italie*

Superius: f. 39  
Contratenor: f. 47  
Tenor: f. 55  
Bassus: f. 73

9. *Passomezo haubois*

Superius: f. 94  
Contratenor: f. 102  
Tenor: f. 108  
Bassus: f. 116

---

16 Although I have not located the *chanson* model of this piece, there is a concordance, entitled *Gaillarde Belle*, in Adriaen Valerius, *Nederlandtsche Gedenck-clank* (Haarlem, 1626/rpt. Amsterdam, 1968), p. 160, in which Valerius provided a Dutch text to be sung with the original melody. (The chanson model may be listed in Karel Philippus Bernet Kempers, *De liederen uit Valerius’ Nederlandtsche Gedenck-clank* [Rotterdam, 1941], of which a copy was not available in the collections of the major San Francisco libraries.

17 To the best of my knowledge, the model of this piece has not yet been located. However, there are several concordances: Sebastian Vreedman, *Nova Elegantissima Cithara* (Leuven, 1568), f. 50v; Pierre Phalèse, *Luculentum Theatrum Musicum* (Leuven, 1568), fol. 82, 85v; Elias Nicolaus Ammerbach, *Orgel oder Instrument Tabulaturbuch* (Nürnberg, 1583), p. 177.
10. *Passomezo La Romanesqua*

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Part</th>
<th>Page</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Bassus</td>
<td>f. 127v</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Superius</td>
<td>f. 128</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tenor</td>
<td>f. 128-128v</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Contratenor</td>
<td>f. 128v-129</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

11. *Passomezo del Zorzi*

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Part</th>
<th>Page</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Bassus</td>
<td>f. 130v, 131v</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Contratenor</td>
<td>f. 130v, 131v</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Superius</td>
<td>f. 131, 131v</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tenor</td>
<td>f. 131, 131v</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

12. *Si vous estes belle*¹⁸

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Part</th>
<th>Page</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Superius</td>
<td>f. 365v</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bassus</td>
<td>f. 365v</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tenor</td>
<td>f. 366</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Contratenor</td>
<td>f. 366</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Part</th>
<th>Page</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Tenor</td>
<td>f. 366v</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Superius</td>
<td>f. 366v</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bassus</td>
<td>f. 366v</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Contratenor</td>
<td>f. 367</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

13. *Grande Bataille*

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Part</th>
<th>Page</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Superius</td>
<td>f. 471v</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bassus</td>
<td>f. 472v</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tenor</td>
<td>f. 472v</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Contratenor</td>
<td>f. 472v</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

These pieces are obviously not in performance arrangement, as it is rarely possible to view all of the parts in a single opening, and there is no consistent order in which the parts appear. With the exception of *Wie sal mijn troetelen* and *Gallarde Belle qui me vas martirant*, all are dance or ground bass pieces. This collection is thus similar to the repertory of Pacoloni.

In addition to there being four parts under the same title in each instance, labeled “Superius,” “Contratenor,” “Tenor,” “Bassus,”

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¹⁸ Although I have not located the model of this piece, there are concordances in Pierre Phalèse, *Carminum quae chely* (Leuven, 1549), fols. B3, I4; Pierre Phalèse, *Hortulus Chitharae* (Leuven, 1582), f. 69v; Thoinot Arbeau, *Orchesography*, trans. Mary Stewart Evans (New York, 1967), pp. 182-95. See also Land, *Het Luitboek van Thysius*, p. 34.
and their close proximity to one another in the manuscript, the parts also have the same number of measures (except in two quartets), and they use the same ground bass. It would thus seem logical that these pieces were intended to be played as quartets. Upon closer scrutiny, however, there are problems in the coordination: the nomenclature of the parts is not consistent with their function in the ensemble, and there are discrepancies with the normal tuning patterns in lute ensemble music.

Perhaps the most puzzling feature of these quartets is the nomenclature of the parts. They seem to be consistently mislabeled, in that most of the parts do not function according to their designation. For example, the most melodically-active part in the treble is always labeled “Bassus,” whereas the slowest-moving and most chordal part, with the most melodic activity in the bass line, is always designated the tenor. This is most striking in the first quartet, Galliarda La Carracossa, in which the parts are grouped in pairs on consecutive pages; the two lutes with the most upper divisions precede the lutes with the simpler parts and “walking bass” (see Plates 1 & 2). This agrees with Vallet’s arrangement of parts, as seen in Plates 3 and 4, which demonstrates a logical layout of lute quartet parts where space allows pairs of parts to be grouped on single openings.

While the parts of the Galliarda La Carracossa are grouped logically and in a typical arrangement of lute ensemble parts on two pages, they are labeled, however, as follows:

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{f. 4: } & \text{Bassus / Contratenor} \quad \text{f. 4v: } \text{Superius / Tenor}
\end{align*}
\]

This labeling is inconsistent with both visual and functional logic, as well as with all other works in the established lute ensemble repertory. Nevertheless, it occurs throughout the manuscript: the part consistently labeled “Bassus” functions as the superius; the part

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19 Gallarde Belle qui me vas martirant contains an extra measure in the tenor part (labeled “Superius”) and a missing measure in the bass part (labeled “Tenor”). Wie sal mijn troetelen contains a missing measure in the superius part (labeled “Bassus”).

PLATE 1
Galliarda La Carracossa, Thysius, f. 4
PLATE 2:
Galliarda La Carracossa, Thysius, f. 4v
PLATE 3:
Nicolas Vallet, *Ballet à 4 Luts, Het Tweede Boeck...* (1616) p. 30
PLATE 4:
Nicolas Vallet, Ballet à 4 Luts, Het Tweede Boeck... (1616) p. 31
consistently labeled "Contratenor" is the only part that functions according to its labeling; the part consistently labeled "Superius" functions as the tenor, and the part consistently labeled "Tenor" functions as the bassus. If the labeling is modified as follows, it better corresponds to the function of the parts in the Galliarda La Carracossa and in all subsequent quartets in the manuscript:

Superius / Contratenor    Tenor / Bassus

Based on the function of the parts of each quartet in Thysius, and in light of the function of the lutes in all lute ensemble music as discussed earlier, I submit that the labeling of these pieces is false (with the exception of the contratenor), and should be corrected as follows:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Part labeled</th>
<th>Should be labeled</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Bassus</td>
<td>Superius</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Contratenor</td>
<td>Contratenor</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Superius</td>
<td>Tenor</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tenor</td>
<td>Bassus</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Any explanation of exactly how the parts came to be mislabeled will perhaps always be a matter of conjecture. One explanation is that since every quartet in this collection dates stylistically from the third quarter of the sixteenth century, they may have been copied into several earlier manuscripts before reaching the copyists of Thysius. The original nomenclature could have been lost at any point in this transfer. Whatever the cause of this mislabeling, the fact remains that it is inconsistent with the function of the parts in this manuscript and in the entire authenticated lute ensemble repertory.

A further problem that must be resolved concerns the tuning between the instruments. Using the Galliarda La Carracossa once again as an example, we can see that the top two parts are clearly a major second apart, as the contratenor (labeled "Contratenor") is intabulated a full step above the superius (labeled "Bassus") in order to match its higher pitch. Similarly, the bottom parts are also intabulated a full step apart to account for the same difference in their own respective tunings. Thus, we have two pairs of lutes a full step apart. In assigning to them the common tuning for this
circumstance, as employed in the Adriaenssen quartets, we arrive at this configuration:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Part</th>
<th>Tuning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Superius (&quot;Bassus&quot;)</td>
<td>a'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1 step</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Contratenor</td>
<td>g'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1 1/2 steps</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tenor (&quot;Superius&quot;)</td>
<td>e'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1 step</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bassus (&quot;Tenor&quot;)</td>
<td>d</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Not only is this a documented and traditional quartet arrangement for lutes, it is also the only way in which the lutes can fit together harmonically. If the nomenclature of the parts is left as designated in the manuscript, the parts do not function according to their labeling, nor are they in the same "key" by any conventional tuning arrangement. In order for the parts to play together harmonically under the original nomenclature, the tuning would have to be as follows:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Part</th>
<th>Tuning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Superius</td>
<td>a'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Contratenor</td>
<td>c'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tenor</td>
<td>g</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bassus</td>
<td>d</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

In addition to the fact that this is an impossible tuning arrangement—the bottom two lutes of this "quartet" never existed (they would be tuned an octave lower than existing g' tenor and d' bass lutes)—the function of the parts is also inconsistent with their labeling.\(^{21}\) If, however, the parts are designated according to the

\(^{21}\) Land (Het Luitboek van Thysius, p. 172) hypothesizes the following tuning arrangement, and uses it in his transcription of Galliarda La Carracossa (pp. 334-37):

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Part</th>
<th>Tuning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Superius</td>
<td>a&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Contratenor</td>
<td>e&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tenor</td>
<td>g'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bassus</td>
<td>d'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
revised nomenclature, the tuning not only falls into place, but the function of the parts is also consistent with the entire known repertory of lute ensemble music. The convincing fashion in which the parts of each quartet fall together functionally and harmonically in the reconstructed arrangement leaves little doubt regarding their purpose, nomenclature, and tuning.

One final point in the performance of the Thysius quartets concerns the treatment of dissonance. A representative example is the Galliarde de Royne d'escosse (Example 4), in which breaches of the contrapuntal rules of the period abound: parallel unisons (mm. 15, 23 contratenor-tenor); parallel seconds (m. 21 contratenor-tenor); parallel fifths (m. 22 tenor-bassus); stepwise motion into dissonance (m. 3 superius-tenor, m. 14 contratenor-tenor). There are also polychordal harmonic dissonances: D minor/G major/F major/B diminished (m. 9); A major/C major (m. 10, 18); G major/E major/C Major (m. 21). While this piece contains considerable dissonance, it certainly reveals no more than Pacoloni's Pasemazzo Milanese which predates it, or the Canzone franzese from the later Conserto Vago. It is also one of the most dissonant pieces in the entire collection. Interestingly, there exists a concordance of the Galliarde de Royne d'escosse in the Liber Primus, Leviorum Carminum published by Pierre Phalèse and Jean Bellère (Leuven, 1571), f. 16v, which contains the same melody in the superius. The fact that this melody appears only in the superius part of the lute quartet under the modified nomenclature helps substantiate the validity of this nomenclature. This relationship also occurs between Gallarde Belle qui me vas martrant, Wie sal mijn troetelen and their respective concordances, listed above.

If the quartet parts contained in Thysius are headed as I suggest, the following would result: the tuning falls into place as it does in the Adriaenssen quartets; the parts function according to their labeling as they do in the entire authenticated lute ensemble repertory; and, the pieces contain no more dissonance than other pieces in the lute ensemble repertory, such as Pacoloni's Pasemazzo Milanese (1564) and the Canzone franzese from the Conserto Vago.

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In this arrangement, the top two lutes never existed, and the function of the parts is also inconsistent with their labeling.
(1645). If treated in this manner, these works are clearly quartets, and constitute a substantial addition to the lute ensemble repertory.

San Francisco, California

Example 4:
Galliarde de Royne d'escosse, Thysius, f. 13v
Reviews of Books


Lutenists with even a superficial knowledge of the present state of the art and its recent development need no introduction to Diana Poulton, who is certainly one of the most influential players, teachers, and historians of the lute in this century. Her first tutor for the renaissance lute, An Introduction to Lute Playing (London, 1961), was written in response to a surge in enthusiasm in lute playing and research in Britain during the 1950s, culminating in the formation of the English Lute Society at the end of that decade. It was intended, to some extent, as an antidote—for the more historically-minded player—to the specious tendency then to play the lute as one would play the guitar, particularly with respect to technique.

When I decided, in the early 1970s, to set aside the guitar in order to give the lute a try, I came by chance upon Diana Poulton’s method. In about twenty pages she had set out, with clarity and precision, a great deal of information about the instrument, its tunings, notations, and technique. What was most astonishing was her ability to convey the idea of the lute as an historical instrument, giving a flavor of its historical atmosphere, of the importance of viewing the instrument with a certain mystery, a sense of caution, a reverence; she opened a window, but just barely, on a seemingly vast panorama, which left me above all with a great desire for more information. Diligently studying her method, memorizing the twelve short pieces and trying to follow every indication in the text, I realized that the book was not in itself sufficient to deal with all of the problems and questions I was having. So, I planned to study with the maestra in person.

At my first lesson, somewhat to my dismay, I realized the extent to which Ms. Poulton herself felt the need to update her tutor. As we progressed through each piece, she informed me of new discoveries, ideas, and reevaluations she had made since its publication. I was told to ignore much of the right-hand fingerling, as she now advised the use of the “thumb and index finger” technique; to get used to reading not just French tablature but Italian and German as well; to become aware of the stylistic differences in the interpretation of different periods and national styles of renaissance lute music. Ms. Poulton was an extremely careful and self-critical historian and researcher, and the success of that tutor perhaps caused her some embarrassment. She was not content to prepare a simple revision or second edition; she felt increasingly the need to produce a completely new and different sort of tutor, one which avoided the pitfalls created by offering simple solutions through the presentation of a wealth of historical information and insight gained from a lifetime of teaching. Despite an extremely intense decade of activity which saw the publication of the complete works of John
Dowland and standard biography of the composer, as well as articles for *The New Grove, Early Music*, and other publications, she never abandoned the idea of writing a new method and continued to collect material and ideas. It was not until the early 1980s that she showed me the first manuscript draft of an entirely new tutor to which she was able to devote her time and energy at last.

Now, after ten years, the book has finally appeared. A handsome, well-bound, soft cover volume in slightly larger than A4 format, it is instantly recognizable by its cover, which reproduces a color detail of Annibale Carracci’s *The Lute Player*, one of the finest portraits of a 7-course lute. Indeed, a great deal of care has been put into the book’s physical appearance: the pages are uncluttered, containing wide margins for the text and extra space between paragraph headings and chapters. A very elegant, historically-constructed and legible font has been employed for the French tablature. The Italian tablature font is less attractive but legible enough. Almost all of the seventy-five complete pieces in the book fit onto a single opening of the book, eliminating page turns. Facsimiles of sixteenth- and seventeenth-century lute manuscripts and printed books are scattered throughout the text in order to prepare the student to read and interpret any possible source of lute music he or she may come across, though photographs of instruments themselves (other than of lute roses to fill empty space and a very characteristic photograph on the back cover of the author holding a lute made for her by Arnold Dolmetsch) are a curious omission. Despite the book’s excellent overall appearance, there are unfortunately a small number of minor typographical errors and editorial oversights that remain.

The lessons begin following a brief introduction dealing with the instrument and its tuning, choosing strings, holding the lute, and reading French tablature. The first five lessons gradually introduce all of the elements necessary for developing a basic playing technique: chapters on the right and left hands, fingering, playing chords and using the *barré*, useful short exercises, and a collection of easy English and German pieces in French tablature replete with fingerings for both hands. Beginning with the Lesson 6, modern two-stave notation and all types of lute tablature are gradually presented. Included are numerous tablature variants, including the frequent changes undergone by German tablature during its 100 years of development, and rare mutations such as the tablatures of Luys Milan, Hernando de Cabezón, and Neapolitan.

Every major repertory of renaissance lute music (English, Italian, German, and Spanish) is presented in one or more chapters. Ample discussion is provided for major stylistic and technical questions, such as ornaments and their execution, intabulations of vocal music, the use of lute in accompaniment, the hexachord, and purely technical matters such as scales, whole and half *barrés*, and lute diapasons (up to the tenth course). The seventy-five pieces comprise all levels of difficulty, from the simple ones of the first chapters to quite advanced works such as the magnificent “Rosa” pavan by John Danyel which concludes the book. A useful index gives the precise source for each piece as well as information on modern editions where possible.
But the book’s real value lies in the text. It is here, in the short comments and explanations, well-timed suggestions, and uncanny anticipations of questions and problems the student may encounter, that Ms. Poulton’s sterling qualities as an instructor shine through. Her bias as a teacher is her reliance on the primary source, interpreted in the light of careful research into its historical context. Thus, everything pertaining to what one actually finds in renaissance tablature is discussed in great detail. The section of four chapters on the tablature indications for left-hand graces, for example, is in itself a model of thorough and painstaking research, and possibly the best account of this subject yet published. Ms. Poulton avoids giving an easy or dogmatic answer to any particular problem; she presents the historical evidence clearly but without trying to “clean up” its occasional ambiguity. Thus, she is sometimes equivocal about issues of technique where, presumably, she feels the jury is still out, as, for example, whether to move the right-hand thumb under or over the index finger. This could pose some problems for the student working without the benefit of an instructor, but it also constitutes what I think is one of the greatest strengths of the book: it can be used confidently and without conflict by teachers with widely differing approaches to the solution of particular technical problems.

There is in this, however, a serious drawback. It is not always clear what exactly the book’s intentions are—whether it is meant principally as a tutor for the beginner, or as a general manual and source of reference for lutenists and instructors of all levels. The first five chapters are certainly an excellent introduction for the novice, but the level of difficulty rises very steeply by the thirteenth piece of Lesson 5, which already introduces the difficult fully-stopped D-major chord. The work succeeds brilliantly as a general manual of lute technique, but the true novice might need to supplement his or her course of study with one or more of the easily available collections of beginning lute pieces, or even with one of the recently-published tutors that deal almost exclusively with the first steps to lute playing (Lundgren or Boquet, for example). This tutor is perhaps best suited towards bringing the already somewhat competent player to a professional standard. It is also an indispensable tool for the lute instructor; in fact, it represents an ideal course of instruction at the college or conservatory level. For the sake of completeness, I would have preferred the inclusion of some material on beginning continuo playing, at least to the level of an early seventeenth-century song accompaniment (well within the book’s historical time span), for in every other respect the course is truly complete, and it is to be recommended without reservation to every lutenist.

Paul Beier
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Reviews of Music


During the last quarter of the seventeenth century the works of Charles Mouton and Jacques Gallot (le vieux) constituted, qualitatively and quantitatively, by far the most significant new repertory within the style brisé tradition. Even so, Parisian enthusiasm for the lute and its music seems to have faded during the final years of the century, though the instrument retained some measure of prominence elsewhere for awhile. It is striking that about half of the works by these two composers are unica. Further, most of those by Mouton that appear in more than one source are merely hand copies of works included in his first printed collection. The contents of his second print are even more poorly represented in manuscripts; only thirteen concordances have been discovered, all within only two sources. By contrast, many pieces included in the prints of Gautier and Gallot were widely distributed in manuscripts compiled before (and after!) their publication. Even allowing for the likelihood that many of Mouton's lute compositions have disappeared forever and that still others will resurface in manuscripts now slumbering unrecognized on mansion bookshelves, this serves to illustrate the historical position Mouton's work occupies, at least in regard to France.

The character of Mouton's music displays a fin-de-siècle quality, too. While the severe stylistic and formal constraints marking its ancestry are respected, greater harmonic and textural richness, among other subtly modern traits, reveal its chronological place within the tradition. Thus, preludes, allemandes, courantes and sarabandes abound, the brisé texture dominates (as always, more prominently in allemandes, duple-meter gigue and courantes than in sarabandes, gavottes and the like), and brevity remains the rule. Richer harmonic flavor stems from relatively prominent chromaticism, most often manifest in rising bass lines and de facto secondary dominants, more frequent suspensions and appoggiaturas (more harmonic than melodic), and generally a somewhat faster harmonic rhythm. Rollin astutely notes in her prefatory remarks about the composer's style that he seems to have been receptive to Italian influence (due to his stay in Turin?). This may explain his tendency to engage in brief, understated moments of imitation (only in those genres receptive to the technique, to be sure). But, although motivic recurrence generally is more prominent here than in earlier French lute music, the motives themselves lack the incisiveness of Italian music; often they are simply clichés, including descending tetrachords and a tedious overabundance of mi-re-mi-do contours. His harmonic flow, too, lacks the directionality of, say, Legrenzi. Mouton knows the steps but can't do the
dance, it appears. Other modern features, such as more regularity of phrase length and stronger melodic continuity, can be viewed as reflective of the trend towards the *galant* style that came to dominate French music after 1700.

As time has passed, the scholarly reports contained in the CNRS editions, buttressed by increasingly thorough concordance study and archival spadework, have grown more and more impressive. Little had been known previously of the lives of the *luthistes*, partly because they seldom held significant official posts, and partly because most belonged to the *petite bourgeoisie*. Were it not the habit of the times to register events such as marriages with notaries, even less would be known now of their existence. As it happens, work attributions rarely transmit the given names of these musicians, and for some we do not yet know how they were called. But in recent years French scholars have ferreted out scraps of information about the *luthistes* heretofore buried in the mountains of prose, poetry and documentary evidence that characterize the seventeenth century, and there is emerging a better sense of who they were and where they worked. Nevertheless, incongruous, conflicting, and inconsistent data continue to surface, providing occasions for imaginative speculation within these biographical thickets. Monique Rollin’s Mouton edition illustrates this condition exception-ally well.

The editor reports that Charles Mouton was born in 1617, was active by his thirtieth year within the aristocratic Parisian literary salons, perhaps as a pro-tegé of the poet Jean-François Sarasin, seemed to have had connections with the high society of Rouen, performed (though documented only as within a theater orchestra) in Turin in 1673, likely published the first of his extant prints before 1679, had his portrait painted in 1690 (Paris, Musée du Louvre), at a later time paid for engraved copies of the painting by giving lessons to the engraver’s daughter, paid, as did other musicians, an annual tax (*capitation*) in 1696, and must have died before 1699 because a *Tombeau* in his memory appears in a manuscript bearing that date. But if he was born in 1617 he would have had to be still active as a teacher well into his seventies, to have then taught the engraver’s child. The *tombeau* (for theorbo, by Visée) may well have been copied in its source somewhat later than 1699, although it seems unlikely Mouton would have lived long into the new century. An early owner of his portrait, Rollin reports, later wrote that Mouton had been sixty-four when he posed, though there exists no corroboration for this assertion. The data discovered by Kenneth Sparr and used for dating his (presumably) first printed collection, discussed fully by Rollin and considered further below, is rather ambiguous. Finally, the evidence regarding his early activity in the realm of high society is based largely on a rather obscure poem which is chock full of “inside” references common in the world of *les précieuses*.

Even if by some chance the composer was not the Charles Mouton born in 1617, he nonetheless clearly lived a long life, and the evocative titles that grace his compositions, many identified by Rollin with notable personages who at mid-century frequented the literary salons, are redolent of the atmosphere of that time. In the application of verbal plumage to his compositions Mouton far
outstrips even Jacques Gallot, the only other lutenist to employ sous titres frequently. They serve as catalysts for Rollin’s informed and fascinating discussion regarding possible cultural and personal associations he may have had. In addition, her ability to extrapolate from fragments of data leads her to intriguing speculation about his presence in Turin and to ruminations based on other biographical hints.

Rollin may have accepted too readily Sparr’s suggestion about the publication year of Mouton’s first—and undated—print, however. The document cited as evidence has long since disappeared; it was reported in a 1779 library catalog to have been a clavecin book “signées des Notes de Tabulature,” and which contained the Avertissement of Mouton about the pieces contained in his print. The book contained the signature of its owner, Mänta Ribbing, and her entry of the date “1679,” but she added that it had been inherited from her father! Assuming the 1779 catalog transmitted an accurate report, there remains the question of the date and to what it refers (when did she acquire the book? was the Mouton material entered by her father much earlier than 1679? was it added later?). One longs to examine the book, for it has long been thought that his two extant prints (two additional may have been issued) probably dated from the 1690s. Mouton is not represented by any works in manuscripts that can be dated before 1670 at the very earliest; almost all sources date from 1680 and later. An apparent exception, a handful of pieces (not his own) entered in a hand explicitly identified as his in the manuscript referred to by Rollin as “Monin,” is located in a portion of the source demonstrably later than the 1664 date given for its first (and unrelated) tablature entries. If Mouton’s printed works were composed within the milieu of the mid-century salons, as their titles imply, then no source for them stemming from anytime close to the period of their composition has survived. If many do date from mid-century, then Mouton must have been reflective of the Italian influence early in his career. In any case, the only other major source for his music, a manuscript now in Prague that Mouton prepared in his own hand and which contains works perhaps to have been included in his third and fourth prints, dates from no earlier than the 1680s.

In her comments about the music Rollin discusses the unusual (but not unique) circumstance in which the latter portion of one exemplar of his second print was completed in manuscript by Mouton himself, who in the process incorporated a few changes. She also notes his penchant for composing doubles, not only based on his own works but also on several by Denis Gautier, and that he supplied arrangements of popular tunes taken from Lully’s theatrical works for a student, a court official named René Milleran. She rightly rejects a set of pieces appearing under his name in a Swedish manuscript (these were published recently in an edition by Kenneth Sparr) because two pieces of the group were arrangements of guitar pieces published by Robert de Visée. Other attributions are questioned as well, including some in the manuscript she labels “Bal. Crawford,” which mainly consists of Scottish song settings. But one of the pieces from this source she does include, no. 112 in the edition, seems defective in that it initially consists of a courante, the second couplet of which Rollin
suggests may be a menuet, which in turn is followed by bourée-like couplets in duple meter! Although it is extraordinary, almost the very same version occurs in another manuscript, though with the bourée-like segments (plus one more) following on the next page (thus a separate piece?).

Rollin’s transcriptions demonstrate the same character that marks other recent CNRS collections of music from this period. No tablature transcription can be completely satisfactory, because it will be inherently inferior to the original in one or more respects. Nevertheless, transcription can be informative, even for lutenists who play from tablature, because it can produce a visual analogue to the musical process; motivic correspondences thus can be more readily identified, for instance. Success in transcription partly depends on the transcriber’s interpretive sense, but also on conscientious indications of performance realities. Regrettably, these transcriptions sometimes fail to reflect what is feasible in performance, particularly in regard to pitch durations and part writing, those facets often not explicit in tablature notation. For instance, in La Cavalière, Courante (piece no. 12) the sixth tablature measure requires lifting a barré on the third beat, but the transcription fails to take this into account. In the ninth measure, on the other hand, an open-course low “G” can be easily sustained and should be; that it is not sustained in the transcription forces an appearance of a characteristically “temporary” third voice to be obscured. Often it seems that the quest for neat appearances, avoiding messy rests, ties and part-writing infelicities, has taken precedence. The staff notation is sometimes too tidy, too pat; transcription can obscure as well as reveal.

Aside from the concerns expressed above, the reader can have confidence in tablature and transcription accuracy in all respects. There is yet one more troubling matter, however, which concerns the transcription of the so-called “unmeasured” preludes. It is the business of an editor to edit, to present informed interpretations of material that may be difficult to comprehend. But we find here mere staff-notated analogues of the tablature preludes, without so much as a hint about harmonic groupings, sustains, voice leading implications, etc., not to mention rhythm. Readers unfamiliar with tablature nuances and implications are left to puzzle things out unassisted, ignorant of the performance conditions tablature notation imposes. Performers will work from the tablature, anyway, ignoring such bare bones transcription. These transcriptions have little purpose in their present form. A final matter: I wish the physical layout of these editions could have been prepared with more regard for their use by performers. With the insertion of a few blank pages and occasional reordering of the succession of pieces, page turns within a work could have been minimized. A beneficial side effect would have been to put less stress on the flimsy bindings of these volumes.

Yet more music of this period awaits CNRS editions; names like Vincent, Emond, and Dupré pop up occasionally in manuscripts of the time. But the most urgent need for the future is an edition of the music of Denis Gautier, whose voluminous work was then by far the most widely distributed, both in tablature and in versions for keyboard.

WALLACE RAVE
Arizona State University
COMMUNICATIONS

To the Editor of the Journal:

HARDLY A SENTENCE in the review of The Königsberg Manuscript in this Journal XX-XXI (1987-88), pp. 170-91, does not in some way misrepresent what the editors have written and done. The appendix of “addenda and corrigenda” lends an air of authority to the review that it does not merit: most of the entries represent not what the editors did, but what the reviewer would have them do. To set the record straight, we quote in the following pages the reviewer’s words in italics, without quotation marks, and follow them with the editors’ corrections and comments, printed in roman type. (Due to limited space, the editors are able to respond only to a portion of the reviewer’s many remarks to which exception might be taken.)

Page 170: A Record of Provincial Lutenists in Lithuania is not part of the title and does not accord with the facts as presented in the introduction to the facsimile. There are, moreover, several other small errors in the reviewer’s citation of the book's title, among them, Preußisches Staatsarchiv in Berlin [recte: in Königsberg].

...a surprisingly large proportion of...concordances in other sources. Thirty out of 275 is hardly surprisingly large.

p. 171:...no doubt contains names which may easily have been associated is the kind of conjecturing the editors took pains to avoid.

Stobaeus...with whom this manuscript has often been linked. By whom? Where?

...the copying has once again returned to the recording of dances.... What evidence does the reviewer have that the manuscript was copied from beginning to end? The reviewer apparently did not read the description of the layers of hand detailed on pp. 15-16.

There is a great deal of repetition throughout the manuscript, suggesting that [the Königsberg MS] had a number of owners or compilers... As noted on p. 12, sixteen scribes contributed to the MS, which may well account for the repetition noted, though eight concordances and 32 cognates is hardly a great deal of repetition. Whether any one of the scribes ever owned the manuscript is an open question. It may for a time have served as the commonplace-book of an English acting company headed by John Spencer, “Branndenburg Cammer Musicus
vnnd Comoediant,” resident at the Königsberg court during the first two decades of the seventeenth century; the consort parts for pandora suggest as much.

n. 5. Hortus Musicalis [add: Novus]; (Amsterdam 1516 [recte: 1616].

n. 7. The third passamezzo setting, 272a-73 (fols. 76-77v), is not part of the repertoire of the Königsberg MS, properly speaking, but one of three complete and two fragmentary pieces written on a bifolium and an inserted leaf taken from one, possibly two manuscripts unrelated to the large manuscript in which they are found.

p. 172: The version of [Lachrimae] is clearly recognisable as a slightly varied version of the more familiar published account. The reviewer’s reference is to the Poulton-Lam edition of CUL D5, fos. 9v-21r. The Königsberg version is a cognate, not a concordant of the CUL D5 text; among other differences it lacks varied reprises.

In fact the true size of the manuscript is unknown to the editors... As stated in the colophon: “The image was enlarged to 89% of original size, assumed to be that of a direct Xerox copy also received from Vilnius (within the tolerances of xerography).”

n. 10. 1974; on p. 182 the year is given as 1982.

...accepted masters of the time... Georg Fuhrmann... Fuhrmann, an anthologist, is not known to have composed for the lute.

...the compilers do not appear to have been entirely provincial in their tastes... To the nine continental composers named by the reviewer in n. 11 as represented in the manuscript can be added the Englishmen John Johnson (5 pieces), Peter Philips (2), John Dowland (25, 17 unascribed), Richard Sellowes (1), John Hoskins (3), and Cooper (1). In addition, the manuscript includes 48 unascribed pieces on English tunes for which concordant or cognate versions are found in English sources. Quite possibly one of the compilers was English. Thus provincial is not the right term to associate with so mixed a company and with a manuscript compiled in such an international venue.

n. 11. Melchior and Conrad Newsidler, and Valentin Strobel are not among composers represented in the Königsberg MS.

p. 173:...the refoliation of the manuscript from f. 12 is unexplained.... On p. 12, n. 16, of the introduction it is stated, “The film received for the...facsimile edition did not include some of the blank leaves, and the third set of numbers (which begins on folio 3r) tabulates the manuscript with those blank leaves removed.” Therefore the reviewer’s statement, n. 13, that the subsequent
correction [of the foliation] back to the original foliation, misrepresents the facts.

...deleted writing on folios 23, 57-58, and 64v-67 remains unexamined. As stated in the colophon, “the resulting enlargements [from microfilm] were not retouched.” The writings are inked out in the original, not deleted by the editors or publisher. As for being unexamined, on p. 11 of the introduction it is observed that “verses dot pages that Stobaeus copied in the Königsberg Manuscript, but nearly all were subsequently inked out,” perhaps because they were of a nature that offended the Calvinist views of one of the manuscript’s owners.

There is no record of the quiring of the book.... There is no drawing or description of the watermark.... The facsimile “was reproduced from a microfilm provided by the Central Library of the Lithuanian Academy of Science in Vilnius,” as noted in the colophon. At the time the edition was being prepared travel to the capital of Lithuania to examine the manuscript was not possible.

The Inventory is extensive, concentrating mainly on central European printed and manuscript sources.... Of the ninety-two sources listed in the bibliography, twenty-six, or more than a quarter, are English, and nine are Dutch.

...a complex and highly plausible table...based on a premise which may be faulty.... This is a bit of hit-and-run: what makes Table 2 highly plausible and at the same time possibly faulty? Surely, the editors deserve chapter and verse.

One would like to know which of John Dowland’s “hands” the reviewer had in mind when she had to draw breath at...[the] statement that “lack of consistency suggests...an amateur” among the Königsberg scribes.

p. 174: Regarding the reviewer’s suggestion about adopting the terms used by Fuhrmann—mensura gallica and mensura germanica—in order to describe different “flagging systems,” these terms, suggesting national origins, are a matter of debate (for example, Hainhofer’s copyist calls Fuhrmann’s mensura gallica Italian and his mensura germanica French), and to the editors’ knowledge they have not been often used. Furthermore, the reviewer errs: Mensura germanica is stems and flags, not grid systems; see Fuhrmann 1615, sig. (;) 3v.

Defining and distinguishing the contributions of the sixteen scribes who worked on the Königsberg manuscript requires more than an academic exercise in paleography. Descriptive terms, such as “club-like flag” and “triangular notes with s-shaped dots” are surely preferable to unwieldy seventeenth-century labels. Finding words to describe the formation and slant of ciphers, different shades of ink, the form of final bars and fermatas, the way titles are supplied, etc., is necessary if the attempt to distinguish the different hands at work in the manuscript
is to be more than superficial. Nor are graphics or photographs an adequate substitute for verbal analysis of what the hands have wrought.

...the standard [sic] of the player and type of lute each was using. This assumes: 1) that the sixteen scribes responsible for the tablatures in the book were all players, none of them non-playing copyists; and 2) that the player-scribes were all one-instrument men, which is not likely to have been the case, since some of the scribes copied pieces for a variety of instruments (as spelled out on p. 16 of the introduction, nn. 30 and 31).

p. 175 & n. 24: Apropos the Moll and Mall question on which the reviewer spills considerable ink, see Simpson 1966, pp. 481-82; also Dr. James Smith’s ballad of “The Miller and the King’s Daughters,” in Wit Restor’d (1658), which includes mention of the tune “Moll Sym’s” (see Chappell, Popular Music of Olden Time, 1:177).

n. 22. ...the two parts of the title [Jigge of Cooper / NB] should be reversed. "N.B." (nota bene) is not part of the title and is separated from it by "ë."

pp. 175-76: The Boethius facsimiles...are at least uniform, and most importantly they are accurate. To imply that the facsimile of the Königsberg manuscript is neither uniform in ways not specified nor accurate in ways not specified is irresponsible reviewing. As stated in the colophon:

The photographic reproduction process employed uniform exposure and contrast control throughout the book. Any inconsistencies observed are due to differences in paper colour and ink density in the manuscript, and to variations in the microfilming process. The resulting enlargements [of the microfilm of the manuscript received from the Central Library of the Lithuanian Academy of Science in Vilnius] were not retouched.

Has the reviewer evidence this statement is false? Later, in n. 35, the reviewer states that It may be that the facsimile represents a precise reproduction of the contents of the microfilm sent from Vilnius. If so, this fact should be recorded at some point. Again one must refer the reviewer to the colophon and to page 12, n. 16, of the introduction.

p. 176: The Königsberg typesetter [sic] has over-used his range of fonts: the title page alone shows an alarming eight typefaces. As stated in the colophon, one typeface (New Century Schoolbook 12/14) is used throughout the volume, not eight, and four fonts (Roman, Italic, bold Roman, and bold Italic) are used for the titlepage.

...various forms of misreadings...such as Allemand for Almande.... As the reviewer is no doubt aware, no publication is ever free of small errors and
inconsistencies, witness the consistent misspelling of "La Vecchia" in her review, p. 183, the substitution of Allmande for "Almayne" and Almane for "Almone," p. 189, Beckmann for Beckman and Herholder for Herold, pp. 190-91, etc.

...some references give only editorial piece numbers, without folios, making the concordances extremely difficult to locate.34

The examples referred to in n. 34 include Vallet 1615, a work available in a modern edition (both tablature and transcription) in which the pieces are numbered; this is a form of the work the editors made use of and the one more likely to be available to the reader of the Königsberg commentaries than a copy of the original tablature. (The reviewer's reading of titles from Vallet in the appendix to her review appear to have been taken from the 1970 Souris edition, not from Vallet's original.)

Another of the works referred to is Robinson 1609, which has neither pagination or foliation; the numbering of the pieces is not editorial but that of Robinson.

And the numbering of the pieces in the Fabritius MS, the third of the sources referred to in n. 33, is also not editorial, but that found in the manuscript itself. (Robinson and Fabritius are among the sources the reviewer states, p. 191, that she was unable to examine.)

...some words are omitted altogether.33 Note 33 lists Nos. 2, 148, and 233. Here as elsewhere the reviewer is not always fortunate in her choice of examples:

The reference should be to Nos. 1, 2 and 3, not just No. 2: the word, "Pandora," written in the right-hand margin, belongs to all three pieces on the page.

Item Ps:67 is not part of the title of No. 148, but a reminder that Psalm 67 can be sung to the same music.

Amicus amico,... inserted after No. 233, is one of numerous humanist tidbits (many inked out) on numerous pages of the MS, and is in no way a part of the title. Why the reviewer cites the inserted verbal matter on fol. 65r and not the still-legible insertions of a similar nature on fols. 55r, 56v, 57v, and 58v is not explained.

n. 34. Considering the fifty-odd sources the reviewer was unable to examine, it was surely premature to declare that very few scribes or printers numbered their pieces, and those that did are usually unreliable.

The order of some of the words is reversed. Four instances are cited, Nos. 44, 188, 225, and 254.
In No. 44 the editors reversed the order of the wording, "Bas. Kahn auch ein trauriges hertz," taking the title of No. 43, "Kahn auch ein traurigs Herz. Disc," as their cue.
No. 188 is dealt with above, under n. 22.
No reversal of wording occurs in No. 225; however, the reviewer finds three words, all obscure where the editors find one word in writing that is less obscure than illegible.
With No. 254 the reviewer has mistaken a scribal error, "Pue,", and misread it as &c. The scribe began to write "Puer natus," the title of No. 255 instead of the title of No. 254, realized his error and made a vain effort to rub the "Pue" out.

p. 177:...what the editors recognise as cognate as opposed to concordant would be useful. Apparently the reviewer failed to read the heading to the inventory on page 18:

"Con...is used to indicate pieces that are in all essentials identical with the one in the Königsberg Manuscript; Cog....[for] pieces that share the same thematic materials, but may be differently harmonized, or ornamented, or otherwise transformed."

...the search for concordances [and, presumably, cognates]...relied upon...people who...recognize pieces which they have played...and the catalogues of scholars like Rudén and Lumsden. Surely the reviewer would wish to add the names of Robert Spencer, to whose inventories for Boethius facsimiles we are all indebted; Lyle Nordstrom, who has done so much to catalogue the literature for ensemble lute; Diana Poulton for her pioneering work on Dowland's music; Mary Joiner for her inventory of British Library Add. 15117; Monique Rollin and François-Pierre Goy for their work on the French sources, to name but a few of those whose work has relevance for the study of the Königsberg MS. Moreover, to write that Most of the readings of ascriptions [in Lumsden's 1955 dissertation] are inaccurate is both untrue and ungenerous in a reviewer whose own work is far from faultless.

n. 36. By omitting the last two words—in Sweden—from the title to Jan Olaf [recte: Olof] Rudén’s work the reviewer misrepresents the contents of the work.

n. 37. 1630 [recte: 1620]; 1954 [recte: 1955]

p. 178: ...the three Dublin manuscripts...are misnumbered. Ballet and 'Ballet' should be MS 408, whilst Dallis is MS 410, not vice versa. Stuart O Seanóir, Assistant Librarian, Manuscripts Department, Trinity College Library, Dublin, in a letter to Ward dated 16 March 1988, states that "the correct references" for the two TCD MSS are as follows: TCD MS 410, formerly D.1.21 (the Ballet
and "Ballet" MSS), and TCD MS 408, formerly D.3.30 (the "Dallis" and DVM MSS).

...the lists...are often inadequate, using enigmatic [sic] short-cuts such as: "etc."... The reviewer persists in criticizing the editors for doing it their way, not hers. The listing of concordances and cognates in the inventory was never intended to be comprehensive: there wasn't room for a list of fifty-odd English plus an X-number of continental settings of the passamezzo moderno, an equal number of "Spanish Pavans," the thirty-plus versions of the "Delight Pavan," the same number of versions of "Flat Pavan," etc., etc., etc. She does not attempt comprehensive lists herself in her appendix, so why here?

The numbers beside the pieces [in the facsimile]...are useful, or would have been if they were all there. Despite the omission of three out of 273, the numbering of the pieces proved convenient enough for the reviewer to make use of it in her appendix.

...the publisher's pagination...is...redundant... Not only has the reviewer made use of the publisher's pagination, the numbering accounts for blank folios omitted in the facsimile.

The reviewer cannot have read pp. 12-16 of the introduction, for n. 43 completely misrepresents the discussion of the scribes.

APPENDIX: ADDENDA AND CORRIGENDA

Pages 180-90: The appendix to the review is mostly a listing of every instance where the reviewer found the editors "undiplomatic." More than half the "corrigenda" represent, not errors, but a difference of opinion about the purpose of an introduction to a facsimile edition. The reviewer would have had the editors reproduce all titles in the inventory and commentaries "diplomatically," by which she means not just original punctuation, spelling, and capitalization, but any word, abbreviation, or scribal error adjacent to a title, no matter how illogical the result (see, e.g., the comments on n. 22, above, and Nos. 36, 120, and 127, below).

For example, fifty-six of the "corrigenda" concern nothing more than a period, comma, or colon, sometimes even a flyspeck, in the citation of a title (e.g., No. 234, Passamezo:-- for the editors' Passamezo). Twenty record each instance of the editors' failing to repeat a title when it appears twice in the manuscript or printed book (e.g., No. 227, Johnsons Delight [index:] Johnsons Delight). And six record where the editors chose not to indicate what the reviewer refers to as a decorated capital (e.g., No. 4, Courante), etc. At no point is it acknowledged that the editors' purpose was to provide practical assistance for those using the facsimile, nothing more.
n. 44. The misreadings in the Königsberg inventory were no more caused by using David Lumsden’s catalogue (Lumsden 1954 [recte: 1955]) than were the reviewer’s misreadings in her appendix.

n. 46. See n. 44 above. The reviewer is unfortunate in her choice of example. The reference to Hove 1601 106v in the Ward-Ness inventory does not include a title (hence no misreading of a title is involved), and Hove 1601 is not included in Lumsden’s catalogue of “The Sources of English Lute Music” (hence no corrupted reading of a title is possible).

1. ...‘Subplementum folii.’ What makes this information relevant?

...‘Fortuna Englesae’ [recte: 106 ‘ORlando Chanson Englesæ’]

*Other Cogs. for lute:* If the reviewer is implying that the Thysius, Strobel, and vanden Hove pieces listed before this entry are concordances, then she is mistaken: all three are cognates of the Königsberg piece, are for lute not pandora, and are solo pieces, not consort parts.

*Orlando Treble Consorte.* [slashes omitted as this editorial procedure is not followed elsewhere ...] The slashes were added by the editors in this entry to indicate: 1) that “Orlando” is the title of the piece, 2) that “Treble” is the voice-part, and 3) that “Consorte” is the type of ensemble; or, as explained in the commentary, this is the treble lute part of a consort setting of “Orlando sleepeth.”

3. Thysius MS 484 ‘Allemande Monsr’. What is the point of citing only one of the four settings for solo lute in the Thysius MS, fol. 484r-485? All four are cognates of the Königsberg piece which is a consort part for pandora.

*CUL D5 70v/2-71/1* is a set of four variations on a ground of the “Hunt’s Up” family, not a setting of “Monsieur’s Almaine.”

The first twenty-four bars of *Wickhambrook 17/2* and *CUL D2 33v-34/1* are concordant.

*Dowland 1610 27-28v* [recte: sig. O-O2v; the Varietie is not foliated]

What is the point of listing 22 settings of “Monsieur’s almaine,” with English pieces mixed with continental, solo lute with consort parts, single settings with variation sets? Far more useful is Daphne Stephen’s annotated list of fifteen of the same pieces in the notes to her edition of the
Wickhambrook MS (1963), p. 124; she makes some attempt to distinguish one version from another.

4. Other Cons: Cherbury 27/1...15117 2v...Board 29/1 lack Königsberg’s third strain;

*CUL D9 75 has concordant strains, cognate varied reprises.

de Bellis No.24. Though the de Bellis MS is cited here, it is among the sources the reviewer claims (p. 191) she was *unable to examine.*

8. Cons: Schele...Besard...Vallel...Cherbury...Pickeringe, etc. The settings listed are cognates, not concordances.

*The bibliographical references supplementary to those given in the facsimile, here and elsewhere in the appendix, are far from comprehensive and frequently duplicate work done by others. For example, of the eleven “Monaca” cognates cited by the reviewer, all but two are mentioned in the critical notes to the CNRS edition of Vallet (1970/1989). And the title of one—*Hove 1612 57 ‘Ultima Parte Joachimus van den Hove’*—is incomplete and misleading: the title, “VNE Jeune Fillette,” which the reviewer omits, is on f. 55v; the continuation is on f. 56v and headed “Vltima Parte”; the composer is identified on f. 57r, at the end of the piece; and the composer’s name is spelled “Ioachimus vanden Hove.”

The identification of *Besard 1617 4 ‘Vne Jeune fillette TESTVDO MINOR. I.B.B.’* is even less satisfactory: the piece is No. 4 in the tablature; is on sig. Dv–D4; is for three lutes and two unspecified instruments; the title is “Vne Jeune fillette”; “TESTVDO MINOR” identifies one of the lute parts; and “I.B.B.” identifies the composer.

16. *Hove 1612 55 not 54.* The piece begins on f. 54v, ends on f. 55r.


18. Other cogs. Why are these three settings of “La Durette” listed apart from the seven listed for No. 17?


*Nota bene 59/1 is not concordant with No. 24 and 59/2 is not related to No. 24, but a version of “Lady Laiton’s Almain” by Dowland. See No. 240 below.*
27. Robinson 1603 18v/1 [recte: sig. 12v; Robinson 1603 is not foliated]

Poulton 1982, No. 70, is an edition of CUL D9 29v-30, listed separately below. Is the Dowland setting of “Bonny Sweet Robin” a cognate, concordance, or one of the other settings, whatever they are? All but two of the reviewer’s fifteen “Robins” are among the 30 listed in Sternfeld’s *Music in Shakespearean Tragedy* (1963), pp. 76-77.

31. cog: Lodge 12v/1 ‘Labeckae.’ Unrelated to “La Vecchia.”

*Ballet 46v ‘A galliard for two Lutes after Laveche’. Unrelated to “La Vecchia,” despite the name; for the second lute part, see below.*

In citing the title of “La Vecchia Pavan” in the Brogyntyn, Folger, Königsberg, Mynshall (twice), Sampson, and Add 38539 MSS, “Leueche” is misread as “Lauecha,” “Lauache,” or “Lauecho.”

*Pickeringe 4v/1...ii [recte: ij] Wickhambrook 16/1. See Wickhambrook 16/2 below for the second lute part.*

*Ballet 47 [inv] ‘A Galliard for two Lutes after Laveche’. Unrelated to “La Vecchia”; for the first lute part, see above.*

*Weld 2v/1 ‘Pauane Lauecha’ = Mynshall = Sampson = 38539 = all concordances, not cognates.*

*Vilnius [recte: Königsberg!]*

*Dalis [recte: “Dallis”] 85/2 [add: Laueche pauan]*

Wickhambrook 14/2 = first 13 bars only.

Wickhambrook 15v/1. See Wickhambrook 15v/2 below for second lute part.

*CUL D3 61v ‘Laveccio’ [recte: La veccio]*

What purpose is served by the random listing of a handful of the cognate and concordant versions of “La Vecchia” plus two unrelated pieces? And why are galliards to be added to the commentary on No. 31, the “Paven Levecha”?

32. *Thysius MS 185v/2. This is a setting of “Se la fortuna” NOT “Fortune my foe.”*
33. *Probably by Robert Ballard.* As noted in the editors’ commentary to No. 33, the “Courante Ballard à Paris annos 1615” in the Schele MS, No. 45, is a concordance. Does the reviewer know of a reason to doubt the ascription?

36. *Ejusdem Das* [recte: das] *mein betrubsies* [sic] *hertz = “In the same manner that my afflicted heart”!* Here and elsewhere (e.g. No. 43, *Kahn auch ein traurigs hertz. Disc. Bass eg.* [sic] *fol. ceg* [sic]; No. 86, *Galliarda. Anglosa Disc.*), the reviewer has produced nonsense like the above by adding to titles words and abbreviations that belong, if anywhere, in the commentary.

73. *kalten froms* [recte: kalte frost]

83. Dowland *1610 25* [recte: sig. N; Dowland 1610 is not foliated.]

86. *Stobaeus 43v/2-44r.* There are two “galliardes angloises” on these folios, not one.

87. *Frisco* [recte: Frisce; i.e. a German frog.]

92. *Other Cog:* [Query: what are the four non-concordances that precede this one?]

*Sampson 12v-13 ‘for ii lute[s]* [recte: lutes] *5 / a galiard for ii lute[s]* [recte: lutes]’

Here and elsewhere in the appendix the reviewer apparently failed to recognize a common sixteenth- and seventeenth-century abbreviation for *es.*

105. *Thysius 141r.* This is no more a concordance than the other eleven settings of the “Pavane d’Espaigne” in the Thysius MS.

110. *NB* is not part of the title and is written in a different hand.

127. Consistency is not one of the reviewer’s strengths. She begins her “correction” of the editors’ reading of the title with the word *Sequitur* (i.e., to follow after, or next), though it is not part of the title; fortunately, she omits the same word from the titles of Nos. 126 and 128, where it would be equally out of place.

128. *Greene fleses* [sic] [recte: Greene sleses]. Here and elsewhere the scribe’s £ hooks to the left at the bottom, his $ to the right.
130. 2d us modus of 9dm [recte: Seguit3 2d9 modus ej9dm, i.e. Seguitur secundus modus ejusdem] This note comes, not at the beginning of No. 130, but at the end of No. 129; it is not part of the title of No. 130.

134. Cog. Nos. 24, 110, 220, 292-93. Cf. No. 211. [All the reviewer has added to the editors’ entry is 110.]

196. Why cite only five of the more than 30 sources for “The Flat Pavan”? Why this particular five? And why not indicate that D2 87 and Königsberg 55 are concordant; and that Ballet 18, Euing 8v, and Mynshall 4v are concordant; and that Dallis 92/1, unlike the other four sources, lacks varied reprises? In other words, what’s the point of listing these particular sources?

197. Folio number for Nürnberg unknown. It is, in fact, fol. 23v.

199. Folio number for Prague MS unknown. According to Tichota 1967, referred to in the editors’ note, his transcription of the piece is from unfoliated fragments now lost.

200. Haslemere MS 148v-149 is listed twice, first as a concordance, then as a cognate.

206. Other Cog: No. 86. The two pieces are unrelated.

215. unmenscheliche [recte: unmenschliche; a hyphen has been taken for an e.]

226. Ground: Bergamasca. The ground is identified and cross-referenced in the note to No. 16 in the inventory and included in the editors’ index; how many times does it need to be identified? Besides, the note doesn’t belong here, but with No. 226a.

Brogyntyn 7/1. The Brogyntyn setting is concordant with Pickeringe 9/2.

227. Cogs. Solo versions: Folger 14v-15 'Delight pavin Jo: Johnsonn'. If the reading is to be “diplomatic” (which is what the reviewer appears to be attempting), note should be made of the fact that the tablature is in one hand, the title in another, and the composer’s name in a third hand, and that the third hand is the composer’s.

Because the relationship between them is not indicated by the reviewer, this list of versions of the “Delight Pavan” is a disordered miscellany, which is surprising, since on p. 178 we are told that cognate/concordance lists should contain precisely that information [required by the user] to forestall unnecessary research on the part of the reader. A meaningful organization of
the thirteen versions the reviewer lists would be something like the following:

FOR SOLO LUTE:
Folger 14v - 15r, a copy of the pavan signed by the composer.

CONCORDANT STRAINS, COGNATE REPRISES:
Willoughby 25v - 27v;
Marsh, 164-65;
‘Ballet’ 92-94;
Welde 3v - 4;
Board, 6v - 7;
Wickhambrook 10 (fragment)

COGNATE STRAINS, NO REPRISES:
‘Dallis’ 84-85;
Mynshall 7v

FOR MIXED CONSORT:
CUL D3 20v - 21 = Königsberg 62v;
CUL D3 59v - 60 = Board 6v - 7

FUGITIVE CONSORT PART:
Brogynyn 12

228. NB / The marrigolde pauane p er [recte: per]. NB is not part of the title; it appears on fol. 63v, at the beginning of the pavan, whereas the title proper comes at the end of the piece on fol. 64v. If NB is to be made part of the title, then by all rights Finis should follow the /, since it precedes the title on fol. 64v.

230. Which of the two “bergamascas”? Cognate or concordance?


line 2: Cogs: Hove 1612 59/2 ‘Ballet Englese Incerte [recte: Englese. / Incerte.] [index:] Ballet,’ [sic]; N.B. 59/1 is a setting of “Mall Sims” and not related to No. 240.

What is the point of combining Fuhrmann and Add. 2764(2); Schele and Weld?

Schele 145/2-146/1 ‘Almayne...’ [recte: Allmande].

241. CUL D9 more likely cognate than concordant. Why the uncertainty?
248. *Bargamasco by Giovanni* [recte: Giovani in both vanden Hove’s *Delitiae musicae*, fols. 54v-55, and the Schele MS, pp. 10-11] Battista Domenichino. Presumably the reviewer believes Domenichino’s 48 variations on the bergamasca and the ten in No. 248 of the Königsberg manuscript are concordances. In fact, only the first four of Domenichino’s variations are shared by No. 248; therefore vars. 1-4 are concordant and vars. 5-10 cognates to the extent that being variations on the same ground makes them a cognate.

Pages 190-91: ...therefore 114 should not exist. The inventory lists items, not pieces; see, e.g., Nos. 88-89, 90-91, 123-25, 129-30, 226-226a, etc.

**BIBLIOGRAPHICAL REFERENCES**

Of the 31 manuscripts and printed books listed by the reviewer 25 are neither addenda nor corrigenda but provide a bibliography for the reviewer’s additions to the commentaries and should have been printed separately at the end of the article-review.

Of the six titles relevant to the work of Ness-Ward,

*Trumbull* is listed because *At the time of writing, this manuscript is due to be sold by auction*, which makes it neither addendum or corrigendum.

Including the *Welde MS* enables the reviewer to point out that *The John Welde Lute Book is actually the Dorothy Weld Lute Book*, though on what evidence she does not say: the name on the front of the cover of the manuscript is that of John Welde.

*Wickhambrook Yale, University Library, School of Music Special Collection Ma.21.632* [recte: Ma.21.W.623] (c.1595)....[recte: Beinecke Rare Book Library, Music Deposit No. 1 (according to Kenneth Crilly of the library staff, on 25 July 1992).

Dowland and Edwards appear because they were inadvertently omitted from the Ness-Ward “Bibliography.”

1. Manuscripts

*15117...the Swarland Book of lute songs*. The inscription, “John Swarland / His Booke,” is written on the verso of fol. 1, and though the format of the manuscript is portrait, the inscription is written as though the format were landscape. These observations raise the question: was Swarland responsible for the contents of the manuscript or only the owner of the manuscript at some time in its history? Until that question can be answered, it is
misleading to give the manuscript his name. If one feels compelled to do so, it should be in quotation marks, as with the listing of the so-called “Cozens” and “Dowland” manuscripts in the reviewer’s bibliography.

Anonymous Fragments. Presumably the reference is to the three recently discovered tablature leaves in New York City. Their inclusion here is puzzling. The reviewer makes no reference to them in her review, though she might have noted that the fragments include a setting of “Selengers Rounde.”


Dresden...Handschtiftenabteilung [recte: Handschriftenabteilung] MS M.297 (1603). The shelf number is M.297; 1603 is not part of the shelf number, it is the date stamped on the front cover of the volume.

Folger...Ms.1610.1 . The shelf number was long ago changed to MS V.b. 280; see e.g., the Journal of the Lute Society of America IX (1976), p. 5. The same mistake is made on p. 173, n. 17.


2. Printed Books

Barley, William. A New Book of Tabliture...for the Lute and Orpharion [recte: A nev Booke of Tablaiture ...to play on sundry Instruments, as the Lute, Orpharion, and Bandora....]

Dowland, Robert. Varietie of Lute Lessons [recte: VARIETIE OF LVTE-lessons]
Haussmann...1598 [recte: 1599]


Among the sources the reviewer was unable to examine are:

Danzig 1 & 2, noted as “lost” in the Ness-Ward “Bibliography,” also in Boetticher 1978, pp. 81-82; have they surfaced?

Haussmann 1598. According to The New Grove, viii: 35, no copy survives, which explains why it is not listed in the bibliography; the reviewer has a second reference to the 1598 edition on p. 178: has a copy surfaced?

Since the reviewer was unable to examine the Holmes MSS, on what does she base the many readings in her “Addenda and Corrigenda”?

The reviewer believes the Königsberg inventory probably did not receive an adequate circulation before publication (pace Tim Crawford). Alas, the same can be observed of her review. The editors are grateful for the handful of emendations offered, and are preparing a little list of errata of their own, including those the reviewer overlooked. Now that Lithuania is once again a free nation, it is possible for someone like the reviewer to examine the Königsberg manuscript first hand and begin to answer some of the questions she raises.

What the editors found disappointing in the review of The Königsberg Manuscript is the absence of any discussion of the music—the English unica, the composers with English names, many of them not previously reported abroad, the surprising number of consort bandora parts, and more surprising still, their English concordances and the light these throw on the history of the mixed consort, the presence of music with a strong hint of grease paint cheek-by-jowl with Calvinist psalmody, etc. The reviewer admits (p. 171) being surprised to find only one Fantasia and three [recte: two] passamezzo settings in the manuscript; a closer look at Nos. 229, 233 and 234 would have made clear why there aren’t any more of the same; so would a close look at the rest of the music in the manuscript.

Arthur J. Ness
Boston

John M. Ward
Cambridge, Massachusetts

82
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