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Contents

Editorial

Douglas Alton Smith — Published Writings compiled by Kate Benessa and Arthur J. Ness

The Trecento Lute

Hiroyuki Minamino

Golden Cloth and Black Silk: Music for “Amando e desiando”

Richard K. Falkenstein

“Teaching for the Amicus”: Sketches from the Lute Tablature D-Mbs, Mus. ms. 267 within the Context of the Rhetorical loci communEs and compositio

Kateryna Schöning

Raucous? Penetrating?: The Sound Ideal of the “Calichon” Instruments

Pietro Prosser

“A musical instrument is a process”

Klaus Martius


Paul Beier

Contributors to this Volume

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Editorial

This volume of the Journal is the first of two that pay homage to Douglas Alton Smith (1944-2018) in what was to have been his 75th year. It is the Journal’s tribute to its longest-serving collaborator, and the Lute Society of America’s tribute to one of its staunchest members and strongest supporters. Douglas A. Smith’s service to this Journal spanned just over forty years. He served alongside Peter Danner as Associate Editor for six years (1976-1981), Co-Editor with Peter Danner (1982), member of the Editorial Board (1983-1985), then as Editor (1997-2006), Consulting Editor (2007-2015), and once again as Editor (2016-2017).

Smith’s commitment was deep and abiding. Even though he did not spend his professional life in the scholarly world, his greatest commitment was to the lute and to scholarship. His legacy is great ranging from his work on Silvius Leopold Weiss, including his initiating the collected edition of Weiss’s music, through to his comprehensive A History of the Lute from Antiquity to the Renaissance published by the LSA in 2002. The Weiss edition is representative of his concentration on the lute in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, especially in the German-speaking lands and Central Europe. On the other hand, his highly-researched history of the lute until around 1600 shows the breadth he gained, especially nourished by his editorial work for this Journal.

Doug Smith made his living as a professional editor and writer. He edited many computer manuals for Silicon Valley companies as well as serving as a music critic for the Palo Alto Peninsula Times Tribune, and a food critic. A resident of San Francisco all his life, he was also the author in 1984 of a local eating guide entitled The Midpeninsula Scotch Gourmet: The Frugal Epicure’s Guide to Eating and Drinking on the Lower San Francisco Peninsula. As longtime friend Arthur Ness recently brought to my attention, that book included some priceless lines that are testimony to Smith’s astute sense of observation and incisive precision with the pen. A fuller account of Doug’s life together with reminiscences from friends and colleagues is published in the Lute Society of America Quarterly, Vol. 53, no. 1 (Spring 2018).

In this, the first of the two volumes dedicated to the memory of Douglas A. Smith, we present a selection of articles that reflect his interests and tastes. The volume commences with a bibliography of Smith’s publications relating to the lute and lute music. It is followed by a study of the lute in fourteenth-century Italy by Hiroyuki Minamino drawing heavily from literary and iconographical material following the model established by Howard Mayer Brown in his studies of the harp and gittern. The Italian theme contin-
ues in an article by Richard Falkenstein, a homage from another former JLSA editor, focussing on the early sixteenth-century virtuoso Benedetto Gareth, known as “Il Cariteo,” improvised lute song in the early sixteenth century, and the earliest documented lute songs. Moving further north, the study that follows draws closer to Smith’s favorite territory examining aspects lute practice in mid sixteenth-century Germany as can be extracted from one of the Herwarth manuscripts in the Bayerische Staatsbibliothek in Munich. Kateryna Schöning delves into the annotations and marginalia in the manuscript in search of information that might reveal how lutenists learned and extemporised compositional techniques. The articles that follow retain the Germanic focus, but of a later period. Pietro Prosser explores the eighteenth-century calichon that was extensively used as a continuo instrument at that time, and Klaus Martius examines the trajectory of a lute built c. 1595 by Georg Kayser and its various transformations into a baroque lute, and eventually into a guitar in the nineteenth century. This instrument survives with visible traces of all these phases of development and Martius poses question concerning the way that relics of this kind should be preserved by museums today. The final contribution to this volume is a lengthy critical review of Peter Croton’s recently published method for renaissance lute.

— John Griffiths (November, 2020)
This list of the writings of Douglas Alton Smith was compiled by Arthur Ness and Kate Benessa and was originally published in the *Lute Society of America Quarterly* (Vol. 53, No. 1, Spring 2018) and is reproduced here without amendment.

**Books**


*Sylvius Leopold Weiss, 1686-1750. Sämtliche Werke für Laute in Tablature und Übertragung = Complete Works for Lute in Tablature and Transcription*, edited by Douglas A. Smith, Tim Crawford, and Dieter Kirsch. [Note: The edition of the complete works for lute by Silvius Leopold Weiss consists of 10 volumes: Vols. 1-4 were published by C. F. Peters between 1983 and 1990; Vols. 5-10 were published between 2002 and 2013 by Bärenreiter as Vols. 11-16 of the Special Series (Sonderreihe) of *Das Erbe deutscher Musik*.


**Articles**


**Reviews**


**Other**


The Trecento Lute

HIROYUKI MINAMINO

ABSTRACT From the initial stage of its cultivation in Italy in the late thirteenth century, the lute was regarded as a noble instrument among various types of the trecento musical instruments, favored by both the upper-class amateurs and professional court giullari, participated in the ensemble of other bas instruments such as the fiddle or gittern, accompanied the singers, and provided music for the dancers. Indeed, its delicate sound was more suitable in the inner chambers of courts and the quiet gardens of bourgeois villas than in the uproarious battle fields and the busy streets of towns.

KEYWORDS Lute, Trecento, Italy, Bas instrument, Giullari

Many studies on the origin of the lute begin with ancient Mesopotamian, Egyptian, Greek, or Roman musical instruments that carry a fingerboard (either long or short) over which various numbers of strings stretch. The Arabic ud, first widely introduced into Europe by the Moors during their conquest of Spain in the eighth century, has been suggested to be the direct ancestor of the lute. If this is the case, not much is known about when, where, and how the European lute evolved from the ud. The presence of Arabs in the Iberian Peninsula and their cultivation of musical instruments during the middle ages suggest that a variety of instruments were made by Arab craftsmen in Spain. A list of instruments made by Al Shaqandi (d. 1231) in Seville gives an indication of what was then in vogue in early thirteenth-century Spain. Among twenty instruments he cites, there appear to be several string instruments including the ud. Al Shaqandi testifies that the center for the manufacture of instruments was Seville, from where many instruments were exported to other parts of Spain as well as to North Africa. The flourishing craft of musical instrument making by Arabs in the thirteenth century is also described by Ibn Sa’id Al-Maghribi (d. 1280) (Steven-son 1960, 22; Salvador-Daniel 1976). Literary sources indicate that the lute

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1 This study pays homage to Douglas Alton Smith. His A History of the Lute is the first book-length study on the early history of the lute and includes a chapter on the trecento lute. As part of our common ancestry, I also dedicate this study to the memory of Howard Mayer Brown. He initially encouraged me to pursue research on the trecento lute and kindly placed his sources of trecento paintings at my disposal when I was one of his graduate students at the University of Chicago. I fondly remember the time I spent during the cold winter days in the basement of his Chicago house where he kept his files. Also, the location of the furnace, the basement turned out to be the warmest place in his house.

2 In addition to Smith 2002, see Wachsmann et al. 2020. On the question of the first appearance of the lute in Europe, see Brown 1989, 27.
existed in western European countries such as Italy, Spain, France, England,
and Germany at least by the end of the thirteenth century or early fourteenth.
The lute was called by various names: liuto or leuto in Italy; laud in Spain; leui, leüz, leutz, or luth in France; lute, leut, or loyt in England; and luta or laute
in Germany. All forms seem to derive from the Arabic ud or al-‘ud. (Al is the
Arabic definite article.) Ud means wood, which may have come from the
wood-bellied al-‘ud. Etymologically, the Spanish term laud is closest to al-‘ud,
although caution is needed in interpreting whether the term laud is used in
the sources to refer to the Arabic ud or the newly evolved European lute. In
Spain Juan Ruiz’s Libro de buen amor, the first version written c.1330 and the
second version in 1343 (stanza 1228), speaks of the corpulent lute (“el corpus
do laùd”) consorting with the Moorish gittern (“la guitarra morisca”) and the
Latin gittern (“la guitarra latina”) to accompany the tresque, a dance (Wright
The lute appears in many French sources, including the poem Blanchflour
et Florence, dating from around 1270, which includes gitere and dewte (Wright
1977, 38). In the Roman de la rose, written about 1275, the lute is mentioned
along with the gittern (“guitarres et leüz”) (Dick 1932, 58; Tobler and Lom-
Adnet le Roy mentions the lute and lutenist in his Li Roumans de Cleomadès,
written about 1285: “bons leûteurs,” “leuûs, quitaires et citoles,” and “leûûs,
rubebes et kitaires,” the last describing wedding celebrations in Seville, then
occupied by the Arabs (Tobler and Lommatzsch 1951-76, s.v. “leût”; Wright
1977, 38). In Li Roumans de Berte, Adenet mentions lutenists (“l’autres fu
leûteres”) (Tobler and Lommatzsch 1951-76, vol. 4, 354, s.v. “lëutëres”). Guil-
laume de Machaut in his Prise d’Alexandrie, written about 1367, includes the
lute (leûûs) among various instruments that welcome Pierre de Lusignan into the
Prague castle, an event that took place in 1364 (Mas Latrie 1877, 35-36). In
Remede de fortune, written after 1369, Machaut lists the lute (leùû) among other
instruments for an imaginary court entertainment (Bowles 1954, 118; Wright
1977, 41). Machaut’s pupil Eustache Deschamps in his Ballade pou Machaut
describes the lute (leuths) as one of the quiet instruments (“instrumens coys”) (Bowles 1954, 121). In Echecs amoureux, Deschamps regards the lute as having
the best sound among various instruments (“leuz qui sont de plus grant ton”) (ibid., 121). Gervais du Bus’s La Roman de Fauvel mentions the lute (leust)
(Dick 1932, 55). Jean Lefèvre in his La vieille lists the lute (luth) among the
vieille and gittern (Tobler and Lommatzsch 1951-76, s.v. “leût”; and Wright
1977, 41). In the anonymous Vieil testament, the lute (lutz) is mentioned to-
gether with the psaltery and harp (Dick 1932, 57; Bowles 1954, 127). The lute
rarely appears in musical illustrations in collections of chansons and poetry in
thirteenth-century French manuscripts. In the manuscript Paris, Bibliothèque
The Trecento Lute

Nationale, fonds français 854, f. 133v, there is a portrait of troubadour Albertez de Gaspenses, who is depicted inside the initial of his chanson playing the lute with a plectrum (Foster 1978, I: 98, and pl. 55).

In English sources, Janin Le Lutour first appeared in the royal records in 1285 and was mentioned in the Wardrobe books until 1327 (Bullock-Davies 1978, 113-15). Lutes are listed in the exchequer accounts in 1295 (Kuhn 1963, s.v. “lute”). The account books of Durham Priory under the fiscal year 1361-62 record a payment of two shillings made to a man who played the lute (“uno viro ludenti in uno loyt”) and his wife who sang before the monks of Beaurepair (Galpin 1965, 32). In Octavian of about 1375, minstrels are said to have favored the lute (“lute”) (Kuhn, 1963, s.v. “giterne”). Chaucer in The Canterbury Tales mentions that the lute is suitable for both aristocrats and lowbrows. In The Manciple’s Prologue and Tales (c.1390), the lute (“lute”) is regarded as a minstrel’s instrument (Kuhn, 1963, s.v. “giterne”). In “The Pardoner’s Tale” lutes (“lutes”) are found in the hands of people who frequent taverns playing dance music: “Whereas with harpes, lutes, and gyternes/ They dance and playen at dies both day and nyght.” (Wright 1977, 15; Kuhn, 1963, s.v. “giterne”). John Gower’s Confessio amantis of about 1393 lists “harpe and lute and with citole” (Kuhn, 1963, s.v. “lute.”)

Among German sources, Heinrich von der Neuen Stadt in his early fourteenth-century poem Gottes Zukunft (verse 4672) mentions “die kobus mit der luten.” Curt Sachs explains the kobus as one type of short lute. It may have been a type of gittern, for the kobus was sometimes called pandurion or guitara morisca (Sachs 1940, 251-52). A German philosopher, Konrad von Megenberg, who studied and taught at the University of Paris, in his Yconomica, written between 1348 and 1352, mentions the lute (luta) in Latin among a group of string instruments (Page 1982, 192-93).

A Florentine manuscript (I-Fn, Banco Rari 217), an anthology of poems dating from the end of the thirteenth century, includes an illumination (fol. 58) that depicts a poet playing a lute (Plate 1).³ This appears next to a lyric poem, “Tuctol dolor” by Guittone d’Arezzo. The poet sits on a low bench, pressing a lute to his chest while his left hand grips the fingerboard and his right hand comes from the lower side of the endcap. The poet’s lute has an oval-shaped body with multiple sound holes, a large one at the center of the soundboard and a small one between the large sound hole and the joint. The fingerboard is rather wide and long, encompassing approximately half of the total string length. It connects to a pegbox that bends almost to ninety de-

³On the manuscript, see Trésors 1950, 122; Caix 1880, 255-64; and Casini 1984, 161-91. The illumination is reproduced in D’Ancona 1925, figure 19.
grees. The pegbox carries seven short lateral pegs, and there are seven strings on the fingerboard, constituting four double courses. There are no frets, either tied or inlaid. If the illumination is a portrait of Guittone d’Arezzo, who was active in Florence until 1294, it is conceivable that the lute was already in cultivation in Italy by the fourth quarter of the thirteenth century. (For Guittone’s life and works, see Enciclopedia italiana, vol. 18, p. 270; and Molèta 1976.)

**Plate 1.** Illuminated initial depicting a lutenist, I-Fn, Banco Rari 217, fol. 58. Reproduced with the permission of the Italian Ministero per i beni e le attività culturali e per il turismo.

During the middle ages a hierarchy existed among musical instruments. There was a tendency to regard *bas* instruments—such as the psaltery, harp, fiddle, lute, and various keyboard instruments—as “nobler” than wind or percussion instruments. From the beginning of its existence in Italy, the lute held a high social standing because it was regarded as a representation of either the lyra, the classical instrument often mentioned in Latin hexameter, or the cithara, an instrument that appears in biblical texts. An illumination in the Neapolitan copy of Boethius’s *De institutione musica* shows the hierarchy of trecento musicians and musical instruments, if we consider the social status of the personalities, the location of the musicians, the relative size of their bodies, and the costumes they wear (Plate 2) (Brown 1984, 40-41, 62 [reproduction]). The center of this illumination is Lady Music playing a portative organ. Directly above her is King David playing a psaltery, flanked by a lutenist and a fiddle player. As opposed to the musicians in the higher place,

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4 On the hierarchy of instruments, see Winternitz 1979, 66-85. For the distinction between *haut* and *bas* instruments, see Bowles 1954, 115-40.
in larger size, and in courtly dresses, in the lower region there are seven smaller figures wearing fanciful costumes who appear to be professional minstrels playing wind or percussion instruments. If we take the anonymous illuminator’s conscientious effort to convey both the symbolism and the realism of the lute, it is inescapable to conclude the high esteem the newly cultivated lute held in fourteenth-century Italian society.

Plate 2. Illumination in the Neapolitan copy of Boethius’ De institutione Musica

The upper divisions of medieval education consisted of the trivium and quadrivium. Music was one of the four subjects of the quadrivium and often was represented by Lady Music in medieval iconography. Niccolò di Giacomo da Bologna’s illumination in Book III of Giovanni d’Andrea’s law treatise Novella in quinque Decretalium libros commentaria (I-Ma Ms B.42 Inf., fol. 2), for instance, depicts the personification of the virtues and vices on the upper register and the seven liberal arts on the lower one (Plate 3). Lady Music plays a lute and holds a gittern on her lap while Tubal hammers on an anvil. The segment of image that deals with the mathematical aspect of music also appears in a similar context where Lady Music tunes her lute with the help of the six syllables of the hexachord: ut, re, mi, fa, sol, and la, alluding to “rhythmic music” found in St. Augustine’s writings. She uses the lute to teach musical intervals and scales.

5 Reproduced in Brown 1984, 55.
6 Reproduced and discussed ibid., 49 and 26, respectively.
7 Musicians in Arab countries had been using the ud in a similar fashion to teach Arab music
Plate 3. Illumination by Niccolo da Bologna in Giovanni d’Andrea’s Novella in quinque Decretalium libros commentaria, 3-5

The images of Lady Music who plays the lute and Tubal who hammers on an anvil together convey the symbolism of harmony. This music symbolism also appears in an image where Lady Music is tuning a lute (Brown 1984, 52-56 [reproductions]). Significantly she plucks the strings with her right-hand thumb and index finger, the right-hand plucking technique that allows her to produce and hear multiple notes simultaneously. Plucking the strings with a plectrum, on the other hand, produces notes in arpeggio, the technique that allows her to hear the harmony successively. Tuning symbolizes an understanding of both musical harmony and cosmic harmony.

The education system of the upper and middle classes in fourteenth-century Italian society regarded the cultivation of music as a way to achieve social grace; Baldassare Castiglione later made clear that music was essential for the ideal courtier, without which he would not be considered perfect.8 Francesco da Barberino distinguishes between two classes of musical instruments, one particularly suitable for well-born young Florentine ladies and one for pro-

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8 Castiglione’s views on music are discussed in Becherini 1953, 84-96; Bukofzer 1944, 230-35; Kemp 1976, 354-69; and Haar 1983, 165-89. For the dissemination of The Book of the Courtier, see Burke 1995.
fessional musicians (Brown 1980, 140, n. 54). Although Barberino does not mention the lute, both literary and iconographical evidence supports that fourteenth-century upper-class Italian society cultivated the lute enthusiastically. (That the lute was not in the list suggests it was not widely cultivated at the time Barberino wrote his treatise in the early fourteenth century.) Indeed, literary sources note that some nobles were proud of their ability to play the lute. An anonymous fourteenth-century cantare, “La reina d’oriente,” for instance, praised the king of the east as a skilled singer and instrumentalist; the king “can sing and play the instruments, harp and lute with great superiority” (“cantar sapeva e strormenti suonare, di gran vantaggio l’arpa ed il liuto”) (Brown 1983, 39). Boccaccio inserts several music-making scenes in the Decameron in which he let his ten Florentine ladies and gentlemen sing, dance, and play instruments. One young gentleman by the name of Dioneo plays the lute to accompany singing, while a servant plays the bagpipe to accompany dancing.9

The level of cultivation and education of music among upper- and middle-class amateurs was such that some even became professional court musicians. Giovanni Frescobaldi, a member of the successful Florentine banking family, played the lute, gittern, and fiddle, and set his own poetry to music (Larner 1971, 172). Giovanni da Prato in his Il Paradiso degli Alberti tells of a well-born Florentine citizen Dolcibene de’ Torri who was an excellent player of lute, organetti, and other instruments (“e ottimo sonatore d’organetti, di liuto e d’altro stromenti”) (Wesselofsky 1867, vol. 3, 61; and Brown 1983, 59-60). Dolcibene became a knight and received from Emperor Charles IV a diploma that declared him “king of all the istrioni” (Larner 1971, 175). On the other hand, Francesco di Vannozzo, who came from a Paduan middle-class family and attended the University of Bologna, appears to have been unsuccessful if we accept his complaints about the discomfort and poverty of the life of the wandering musician (Brown 1983, 35-36). In one of his sonnets, Francesco tells of his miserable life thus: “I am esteemed much less than a madman/with everything, my lute and gittern/at tents or barriers I go scratching; and I go singing fables/at the head of others’ tables/with this one and that one/for a glass of wine” (“[C]h’ assai da men che matto/io son tenuto con tutto/’l mio liuto/over chitarra, /che per tenda o per sbarra io vo grattando;  e vo cantando/fole su per le tole altrui con questo e con colui pe-run bicchier di vino”) (Smith 2002, 29 and note 48).

Music was an important part of the public and private life of many Italian courts. Such a pleasure is depicted in the illumination that shows King

Pelias commissioning Jason to bring back the Golden Fleece.\textsuperscript{10} Two minstrels play a fiddle and a lute, facing two trumpeters. The spacing between these two groups of musicians suggests that they are not playing together, but it is a depiction of two different occasions appearing simultaneously in one picture. Trumpeters are often shown when a king is present in a court scene in trecento paintings. The combination of fiddle and lute, on the other hand, may have been a real instrumental ensemble for courtly entertainment. The late thirteenth- or early fourteenth-century allegorical poem \textit{L'intelligenza} includes a court scene in a palace where an entertainment takes place. The poet speaks of hearing many instruments performed, among them “un leuto ben sonare.”\textsuperscript{11} Describing life at the court of Cangrande della Scala, Immanuel Romano, who was attached to the court after 1312, mentions in his onomatopoetic poem \textit{Bisdibis} many musical instruments, including lutes, fiddles, and gitterns (Brown 1985, 89, n. 17).

The court \textit{giullare} provided entertainment for his aristocratic patrons. His functions included composing poems, reciting tales, singing songs, and playing musical instruments (Brown 1978, 467-69). Immanuel Romano was one such court entertainer who likely recited or sang his poems accompanying himself on a lute. A Spanish \textit{giullare} Marco di Castiglia was in the service of Artalle Alagona, the ruler of Catania. When he drew up his testament in 1389, Marco left his lute, his only instrument, to his master Alagona (Bresc 1974, 37-47; and Brown 1978, 467-69). According to the chronicler Filippo Villani, the celebrated composer Francesco Landini played several musical instruments including the \textit{organetto} and the lute.\textsuperscript{12}

Teaching how to play musical instruments such as the lute was one of the \textit{giullari}’s sources of income. Francesco di Vannozzo made a contract on January 14, 1372, in Padua with a certain Giovanni Razio to run a music school and teach how to play lute and cetra (“pulsandum lautos et citaras”) as well as other instruments, presumably to the sons and daughters of aristocrats or wealthy merchants (Sartori 1977, 182; “cetra” may be the harp in this instance). Bonifazio Uberti, a member of a distinguished Florentine family, was highly educated in various aspects of music and was taught to play the lute by a “grande maestro dottissimo” (Brown 1983, 59).

\textsuperscript{10}Vienna, Nationalbibliothek, MS Nr. 84 Cod. 2571, f. 5v, in Benoit de Sainte-More, \textit{Roman de Troie} by an anonymous Bolognese illuminator, mid fourteenth century.

\textsuperscript{11}Compani 1871, 197; see Brown 1985, 89, n. 17; and Brown 1983, 39.

\textsuperscript{12}Landini’s tombstone includes the relief of a fiddle and a lute, suggesting that he played these instruments; reproduced in Ellinwood 1939. The so-called Squarcialupi Codex (Florence, Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana, Med. Pal. 87) includes a portrait of Landini playing a portative organ. In the border, he is surrounded with several instruments, including the lute. On Landini’s life and works, see Fischer and D’Agostino 2001.
The invention of a new instrument prompted the creation of a new occupation. A “magister de Regio” was a carpenter but became a maker of lutes (“faciendi lihudos”) in Palermo in 1308. There are no surviving specimens of lutes, nor any document concerning its structure or construction method from the fourteenth century, until Henri Arnaut of Zwolle, a physician and astrologer to Philip the Good, gave detailed information on its design and construction in a manuscript compiled in Dijon between about 1438 and 1446. Paintings and illuminations are the main sources for ideas on the physiognomy of the lute in the early stage of its development.

If iconographical sources can be trusted, there was a variety of characteristics found in the fourteenth-century Italian lute. It is conceivable that the Arabic ud and the European lute coexisted as well as the hybrid ones. The idan depicted in the Cantigas de Santa Maria, made between 1270 and 1290 under the direction of Alfonso el Sabio, shows an oval-shaped body with a long, narrow fingerboard that is curved into the body, a pegbox with long pegs, multiple sound holes, and a wide bridge (Plate 4). The “lute” in the Neapolitan copy of Boethius’s De institutione musica has the fingerboard gradually curving into the oval-shaped body with a narrow fingerboard and two sound holes, the features similar to the ud (Plate 4). A lute with a sloping soundboard with a short fingerboard and multiple sound holes and elaborate decorations on the edges of the soundboard—which may only have a decorative purpose without providing any significant effect on the sound resonance—is found in Andrea di Bartolo’s The Coronation of the Virgin (Plate 5). Agnolo Gaddi’s Coronation of the Virgin, dated about 1370, on the other hand, shows a lute with a pear-shaped soundboard without any decorations on the edge, a large sound hole, a string holder, a vaulted back (with ribs), a short but rather wide fingerboard, a nut, a pegbox bent at ninety degrees, and short (three visible) lateral pegs (Plate 6). These characteristics in Gaddi’s lute are similar to ones found in lutes depicted in fifteenth-century paintings.

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13 Bresc 1974, 39. The “maker of lutes” may have simply meant the “maker of musical instruments,” as the way used in the later centuries. Considering the early stage of its cultivation, it is highly reasonable to assume that Italian makers of the fourteenth century made a wide variety of musical instruments, not necessarily specializing in the lute.

14 Facsimile edition in Cerf and Labande 1932. On the manuscript, see Clutton 1952, 3-8; and Koster 2001. See Harwood 1960, 3-8, for reproduction and English translation.


Plate 4. *Ud* from *Cantigas de Santa Maria*

Plate 5. Lute in Andrea di Bartolo’s “The Coronation of the Virgin”

If we suppose that Gaddi’s lute shows the standard characteristics of the trecento lute (at least in the latter part of the fourteenth century), it clearly shows the separation in construction of the body and the fingerboard. The disruption at the joint can be seen by the different colors of the two. The fingerboard appears to be attached to the main body with the extension of the soundboard and the back of the body. This also suggests that the soundboard and fingerboard are two separate parts. The body of the lute was made with ribs, not curved from one piece of wood. This is clearly seen in an anonymous manuscript illumination of a lute that shows five ribs; the lutenist’s right arm possibly hides two or three more ribs (Silvestro de’ Gherarducci, Gradual from *Santa Maria degli Angeli* (folio 155v), Cleveland Museum of Art).

It is difficult to classify the sizes or to propose the standard size of the trecento lute, for measuring the differences in size from the iconographical sources presupposes that all players have the same size and body proportions. Examples such as a small lute in Giovanni del Biondo’s *Coronation of the Virgin* and a large lute in Lippo Vanni’s *Hierarchies of Angels* must be treated with caution, since they do not appear in the same painting. Therefore, it is inconclusive that the size of lutes in trecento paintings radically differ, as to categorize the lute having had several different sizes (for the sizes of the lute in the sixteenth century, see Brown 1973). On the other hand, the difference in size between the lute and gittern—the instruments that are frequently mentioned in close proximity in literary sources and depicted side by side in paintings and illuminations—suggests that the gittern was regarded and used as a small lute in ensemble performance.

Trecento paintings and illuminations show the shape of the soundboard as fig-, oval-, almond-, round, or pear-shaped. The back of the lute’s body is vaulted. This feature became significant enough to distinguish the lute from other string instruments of the time. In Canto XXX of *Inferno*, for instance, Dante makes a comparison of the body of a lute with a man’s swollen belly. One of three falsifiers who counterfeited money is a “maestro Adamo,” whose deformed body is shaped like a lute: “I saw one who would have looked more like a lute, if he had been truncated at the hip, where the division of man’s body starts” (“Io vidi un, fatto a guisa di leuto/pur ch’elli avesse avuta l’anguinaia/tranca da l’altro che l’uomo ha forcuto”) (Bickersteth 1965, 218). In fact, a fifteenth-century illuminated manuscript of the *Divina commedia* in

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17 Reproduced in Offner 1967, vol. IV/VI, pl. 36/3-4, and Berenson 1963, vol. 2, pl. 346, respectively.
18 Juan Ruiz in his *Libro de buen amor* mentions the corpulent lute (“el corpudo laùd”); see Wright 1977, 39 (text), 11 (translation).
Naples actually replaces Master Adam’s torso with a lute.\textsuperscript{19}

The questions of how many strings and how they were tuned remain unanswered. Guittone d’Arezzo’s lute shows the pegbox with seven short lateral pegs and seven strings on the fingerboard, constituting four courses. A relief by Luca della Robbia depicting Orpheus playing the lute also shows seven strings; the lower three sounding courses are doubled while the highest sounding course is single strung (Plate 7).\textsuperscript{20} No contemporary documents for tuning of the four-course lute survive if there ever was one. A treatise in the University Library in Ghent (MS 70 [71]), dating from 1503-04, depicts a four-course lute. It is a copy of a late fourteenth-century treatise on instruments and their tunings (the Library of University of California, Berkeley, MS 744). The Berkeley manuscript has a four-course gittern. The notes C, F, B, E are written on the strings of the gittern as its tuning. There is no tuning indication for the lute in the Ghent copy. The copyist of the Ghent manuscript may have substituted the four-course lute because he had to retain the four courses of the original gittern in order to conform to the text that discusses the number of strings on the gittern (on the tuning, see Page 1980, 17-35). Michael Praetorius, on the other hand, states that the tuning of the four-course lute is the same as the gittern: C, F, A, D.\textsuperscript{21} This tuning—that is, the intervallic relationship between the courses (fourth–third–fourth) and the theoretical application of the note names from the lowest sounding course to the highest (C, F, A, D)—conforms to the inner four courses of the standard tuning of the six-course lute tuned in the theoretical note G (for sixteenth-century lute tuning, see Minamino 1988, 110-39). How Praetorius, writing in the early seventeenth century, knew of the tuning for the four-course lute, which had been obsolete for more than two centuries, is speculative.\textsuperscript{22} If Praetorius’s tuning is correct and applicable to the tuning of the trecento lute, it could have the range of an octave and four notes in first position.


\textsuperscript{21} Praetorius, \textit{Tomus secundus de organographia}, second part, chapter 26, pp. 49-50. The diagram of lute tunings appears in facsimile in Gurlitt 1929, 26; and the relevant passages are translated in English in Blumenfeld 1949, 49-50.

\textsuperscript{22} Praetorius may simply have deduced the tuning for the four-course lute from the tuning for the five-course lute, which he may have deduced from the tuning for the six-course lute. He may have deduced how the additional courses were made by deducing from the German names for the courses. My study of the tuning of the five-course lute is to be discussed in an article in preparation.
The major constructional difference between fourteenth-century lutes and those in later centuries is the absence of frets in trecento lutes. No doubt both diatonic and chromatic intervals can be produced on the fretless lute. The choice of temperament must have depended on the player’s preference, and the adjustment can easily be made by shifting the fingers on the fingerboard. The installation of frets appears to have taken place in the late fourteenth or early fifteenth century. Andrea di Bartolo’s *Madonna and Saints* of c.1410–20, for instance, shows the lute with seven frets on the fingerboard (Sandberg-Vavala 1953, Fig. 92).

Trecento paintings depict the strings attached to the bridge. Agnolo Gaddi’s lute, for instance, shows that one end of the string is tied to a seemingly low bridge and another end to the nut. This may suggest that the strings are in low tension, therefore capable of producing soft, quiet sound. Bono Giamboni, a poet, magistrate, and one of the most gifted *volgarizzatori*, who was active in Florence between 1361 and 1392, noted that the lute could produce “bella boce e dilettevole suono.” The delicate sound of the lute is imitated in poetic fashion by Immanuel Romano as resembling a dove’s cooing: “**Tat-tat tatam/Tatam tatam/Tatam tatam/E’ liuti tubare.**” That many trecento paintings showing lutenists holding the plectrum or quill in the right hand for plucking the strings, on the other hand, suggests that a lutenist with a plectrum could have produced rather percussive sound than the soft sound

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23 Quoted in Battaglia 1961--, vol. 9, p. 161, s.v. “liuto”; for Bono Giamboni, see vol. 5, p. 346.

24 Quoted in Brown 1985, 89, n. 17. Eustache Deschamps, *Ballade pour Machaut*, had a similar opinion as to the sound of the lute when he wrote “rubebes, leuths, vielles, symphonie, psalte-rions, trestous instrumen coys”; quoted in Bowles 1954, 127.
produced by the fingertips. Indeed, the thicker-wooded lute played with larger and less flexible plectra may have produced a sound loud enough to be audible in an ensemble of instruments or outdoor dance accompaniment.\footnote{I am indebted to Dr. Joseph A. Baldassarre for his valuable suggestions on the medieval lute’s possible ability to produce loud sound.}

If the trecento paintings are to be believed to show realistic depictions of how fourteenth-century Italian lutenists held the instrument, they did not place the instrument either on a table or the lap, as commonly done in the sixteenth century (Minamino 1988, 110-39). (Lady Music, who uses her fingers to pluck the strings simultaneously, is depicted sitting and placing the lute on her lap, while Guittone d’Arezzo presses his lute to his chest.) Many paintings depict lutenists standing and holding the instrument, supporting it with the right arm stretching either from the bottom of the soundboard or from the endcap, while the left hand grips the fingerboard. The palm of the left hand is attached to the side of the fingerboard, and its thumb protrudes to the upper side of the fingerboard. A number of paintings depict lutenists’ left-hand fingers in the first position.

The technique and style of lute playing changed in the mid fifteenth century from the monophonic style with plectrum-plucking technique to the polyphonic style with finger-plucking technique (Minamino 1986, 291-310). In trecento painting lutenists are usually depicted with a plectrum held between the index and middle fingers or the thumb and index finger. The plectrum or quill is apt for producing single lines of music. The production of multiple notes, though in arpeggio, may be obtained by plucking the strings rapidly, especially if the notes appear on adjacent courses. Moreover, some three- or four-voice chords on the four-course lute may be strummed with a plectrum, presumably in arpeggio, from the lowest course to the highest, or vice versa. The technique of strumming is applicable only when all the notes are located on adjacent courses, thus in many instances limited to producing pseudo polyphony or to create a simple chordal drone effect. However, there is no evidence that fourteenth-century lutenists cultivated the strumming style.

Fourteenth-century lutenists may have been aware of the finger-plucking technique. As discussed previously, early pictorial evidence for the use of fingers to pluck lute strings can be found in a series of drawings that depict Lady Music tuning a lute by plucking the strings with her thumb and index finger (reproduced in Brown 1984, 52-58). However, that technique is shown only in the act of tuning the instrument; trecento paintings depicting lutenists performing with plectrum-plucking technique suggest that lutenists used their fingers when they tuned the instrument but preferred the plectrum when they performed.
Orpheus was a Thracian poet. His skill in lyre playing was such that he was said to tame wild beasts and move trees and rocks. When he made a relief of Orpheus, Luca della Robbia interpreted the lyra as the lute. According to Filippo Villani, Petrarch “played the lyra admirably” (“Doctus insuper lyra mire crevit”) (Boccaccio equates lira, cetera, and liuto; see Smith 2002, 28). It is certain that Villani meant the lute when he used the term lyra, for Petrarch is known to have owned a “good lute.” In his testament of 1370, Petrarch willed his lute to Ferrarese musician Tommaso Bombasio. The poet wished Bombasio would play the lute “not for worldly vanity, but to the praise of the eternal God” (“Magistro Thomae Bambasio de Ferraria lego leuthum meum bonum, ut eum sonet non pro vanitate saeculis fugacis, sed ad laudem Dei aeterni”) (Mommsen 1957, 82-32; and Smith 2002, 27). In one of his sonnets Francesco di Vannozzo says he finds solace in singing and playing the lute. Guitone d’Arezzo was a court poet. If he did play the lute, as the illumination in the Codice Banco Rari 217 implies, he might have entertained his aristocrat and bourgeois patrons, probably singing his poems to it. Literary sources are, however, silent on how poets accompanied themselves on the lute when they recited their poems, and no example of lute accompaniment for such performances survives from the fourteenth century if it was ever written down (for the unwritten tradition, see Pirrotta 1984).

In the Decameron there are scenes where the lute accompanies the singers, perhaps providing an instrumental prelude, interlude, and postlude. In the tenth story of the first day, for instance, Emilia sings the ballata “Io vegghio in quella” accompanied by Dioneo on the lute: “Emilia cantasse una canzone, dal lèuto di Dioneo ajutata” (Brown 1977, 332). Since the trecento lute was primarily a monophonic instrument, the lutenist may have played the tenor of the ballata if the song was in two voices. If the song was monophonic, he could have doubled the sung part, either with or without heterophonic variations. It is unlikely, however, that the lutenist provided a long-held drone above or below the melodic line, for the lute lacks sustaining power. Immanuel Romano describes a music performance of voices and instruments at a court where he heard “gitterns and lutes, fiddles and flutes, voices high and acute, who sing the lyric” (“chitarre e liuti/viole et flauti/voce alt’ed acute/qui s’odon cantare”) (Battaglia 1961–, vol. 9, p. 161; and Brown 1985, 89, n. 17).

Its elegant shape and delicate sound made the lute a suitable instrument for lovers’ courting. Giovanni da Prato noted a story that occurred in Palermo. Bonifazio Uberti serenaded a young lady with his song with lute accompaniment: “Then one night Bonifazio began to play his lute and sing his sweetest verses with a soft voice, together with his lute appealed for mercy with total compassion and sweetness” (“Bonifazio una notte quivi con suo leuto cominciò a sonare e a somissa voce cantare suoi dolcissimi versi, ne’quali
insieme col leuto mesericordia con somma piatà e dolceza chiamava”) (Brown 1983, 59). Some serenaders might have disturbed the order of the town, however. The Florentine statutes of 1325 sought to regulate the practice by laying down the penalty of confiscation for instruments played at night (Larner 1971, 172).

Despite its delicate sound, lutenists provided music for dancing. Boccaccio paints scenes where Florentine youths accompany their friends dancing to music played on instruments. One such scene involves the lute and fiddle: “Dioneo took up a lute and Fiammetta a fiddle, they started to play a dance music sweetly” (“Dioneo preso un liuto e la Fiammetta una vivòla, cominciarono soavemente una danza a sonare”) (Ottolini 1932, 20). The strumming style on the lute may be suitable for dance accompaniment, provided that this lute style was cultivated in fourteenth-century Italy. Dancing in a garden, the grass must have dampened the noisy footsteps of the dancers, allowing them to hear the delicate sounds of lute and fiddle.

Boccaccio is silent about the names of the dance tunes Dioneo and Fiammetta provided. Simone Prudenzani’s reference to the lute in Il Sollazzo may offer us an idea of how fourteenth-century musicians could have assembled a repertory of dance music: “Con lo liuto fe ballo amoroso/E ll’alvadanza, el trotto e la striana” (Ellinwood 1939, xli; and cited in Harrison 1966, 326). Pieces such as the monophonic canzoni a ballo or a set of pieces marked tenores in four canzone or canzonette tedesche, preserved in a fourteenth-century Italian manuscript (London, British Library, Add MS 29987) may have been available for moderately skilled lutenists.26 Competent lutenists may have preferred more technically challenging pieces such as four saltarelli, which consist of virtuoso fast-moving passages, in the same London manuscript. The range of these dances do not exceed more than a twelfth, therefore are most likely playable on the trecento lute.

Francesco di Vannozzo believes that the lute lost its prominence by the 1370s because of the rising popularity of the harp. In a dialogue between the lute and harp in a series of seven sonnets, Francesco tells us that he has begun to cultivate the harp, which he brought from France, almost to the exclusion of the lute. The lute laments his master’s (Francesco) abandoning him for the harp (“You have left me for love of the harp”) (Smith 2002, 29; see also Brown 1982, 35-37). As the literary and iconographical sources indicate, the lute continued to have been well cultivated after its initial introduction in the late thirteenth century and became more popular in the following century, producing virtuosi like Pietrobono de Burzellis in Italy, Jehan de Cordeval,

Jehan Ferrandes, and Henricus in Burgundy, and Conrad Paumann in Germany. Vannozzo’s sentiment most likely came from his preference for his newly acquainted harp over the well-established lute, not a reflection of social reality in late fourteenth-century Italy.

From the initial stage of its cultivation in Italy, the lute was regarded as a noble instrument, favored by both upper-class amateurs and professional court *giullari*. It participated in the ensembles of other *bas* instruments such as the fiddle or gittern, accompanied singers and poets, and provided music for dancers. Indeed, its delicate sound was more suitable for the inner chambers of courts and the quiet gardens of bourgeois villas than in uproarious battlefields and busy town streets.

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Golden Cloth and Black Silk: 
Music for “Amando e desiando”¹

Richard K. Falkenstein

Abstract The preserved music of the late fifteenth-/early sixteenth-century poet Benedetto Ga-
reth, also known as Cariteo, is represented by a single work, a setting of his strambotto “Amando 
e desiando.” It appears in two different versions: one as part-music in the ninth book of frottole 
published by Ottaviano Petrucci (1509) and the other for solo voice and lute in the second book of 
Franciscus Bossinensis (1511). It is not likely that either of the versions is directly from the hand of 
Gareth, however; instead, they are more likely to be arrangements of music Gareth performed as a 
practitioner in the oral tradition, and his original version was probably a solo song with the accom-
paniment of the lira da braccio. The musical characteristics of the arrangements, especially those 
of the lute accompaniment in Bossinensis, link the work to the repertoire of sixteenth-century arie 
da cantare, in particular to a specific aria that can be found in other sources for lute and keyboard 
during the period.

Keywords Benedetto Gareth, Cariteo, Amando e desiando, Franciscus Bossinensis, arie da can-
tare, oral tradition

In the early years of the sixteenth century, Vincenzo Calmeta gave the 
following advice to gentlemen who wanted to provide musical entertain-
ment for their ladies, saying that they

in their manner of singing must imitate Cariteo and Serafino [Benedetto 
Gareth and Serafino Aquilano], who have in our time held the palm in 
such practice of more refined styles of singing and striven to accompany 
their rhymes with smooth and relaxed music, so that the beauty of their 
profound and witty texts could be better understood . . . [and they should 
imitate] the judgment of a discerning jeweler, who, having to show the fin-
est and whitest pearl, will place it not on a golden cloth, but on some black 
silk, that it might show up better.²

¹ The earliest form of this essay was a paper I gave at the Thirteenth Congress of the Inter-
national Musicological Society held in Rome during the summer of 2012. I would like to 
acknowledge and thank those who attended the session and made comments, some of which 
have been considered for the revised and, I hope, improved present version.
² Calmeta’s text is quoted in Cummings (2004, 244, n. 53): “nel modo del cantare deveno 
Cariteo o Serafino imitare, I quali a’ nostri tempi hanno di simile essercizio portata la palma, e 
sonosi sforzati d’accompagnar le rime con musica stesa e piana, acciocché meglio la eccellenza 
delle sentenziose e argute parole si potesse intendere, avendo quel giudizio che suole avere un 
accorto gioielliero, il quale, avendo a mostrare una finissima e candida perla, non in drappo 
d’oro la tenerà involta, ma in qualche nero zendo, a ciò che meglio possa comparire.” The 
English translation is from Pirrotta 1994, 242; bracketed material is mine. Another translation
The distinction Calmeta made between musical settings—the golden cloth and black silk—appears to refer to two streams of secular music in late fifteenth- and early sixteenth-century Italy: the elegant, artificial, and often complex style of the written tradition of the contrapuntists, some of whom were *oltremontani*, and the style of the oral tradition of native performers. His point is that if one wants the words within a musical performance to be projected clearly and effectively, it would be better to avoid a complex musical setting that competes for attention in favor of one that acts more as background.

Considered in the present essay are two musical settings of “Amando e desiando,” a strambotto by one of the poets Calmeta mentions, Cariteo—that is, Benedetto Gareth. It is perhaps the type of poem Calmeta had in mind when offering his advice:

Loving and desiring, I live and feel
The pain that one feels in dying.
Love makes me live always in torment,
Neither do I want to live, nor do I want to die.
The more I weep, the more the satisfaction,
I feed myself upon tears and torment.
Take pleasure, cruel one, that I lament and weep:
I die, alas, that I die! alas, that I die!3

The two musical settings were issued a few years apart in books published by Ottaviano Petrucci with attributions to Gareth under the name Cariteo. They are different versions of the same piece—one scored as part-music for four voices and the other for voice and lute—with significant variants in their musical material. The essay that follows proposes that the settings most likely are based on music by Gareth rather than directly from his hand and repre-
sent the character of his music in a general way. Arriving at that understanding will require a look at Gareth’s activities as a musician, an analysis and discussion of the characteristics of the extant musical versions of “Amando e desiendo,” and a comparison of the work, in particular the version for voice and lute, with other pertinent musical examples from the sixteenth century.

**Gareth as Musician**

It will be helpful to points made below to begin by looking at Gareth’s activities as musician. A native of Spain, Gareth arrived in Naples in the late 1460s and remained there for the rest of his career except for a two-year stay in Rome at the beginning of the 1500s. He rose to the position of secretary of state in Naples and was as well a member of the Accademia Pontaniana. Rather than as a professional musician, his main activities were as poet, intellectual, and statesman. Certainly, as a man of letters he had a humanistic education that included some sort of musical instruction but to what extent is unknown. That Gareth composed music is clear from the quote at the beginning of this essay as well as other evidence presented below. Be that as it may, “Amando e desiendo” is the only music attributed to him known to have been preserved and the only example of his poetry, poetry that was highly esteemed, that comes down to us in musical dress by any composer.

Documentary evidence of his musical activities focuses primarily on his performances. He seems to have been a singer of some ability, perhaps having a good quality voice or a strong delivery style. An account of the 1496 marriage of Ferdinand II of Naples mentions Gareth singing “mille sue frottolé” (Pèrcopo 1892, 1:xliii, n. 1). Despite the exaggeration of the number of songs, we can accept that at least on occasion Gareth sang his poems in

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4 Gareth’s biography is discussed in detail in Pèrcopo (1892, 1: xv-xlili). For more up-to-date bibliographical material, see also Rosa (1999, 52:285-88) and Cardamone (2000).

5 A few other musical works have attributions that seem to point to Gareth, but they surely are not his. A work in a Neapolitan manuscript attributed to Petrus Caritatis has been proposed as a piece by Gareth, but this has been disputed by Atlas (1977, 64, n. 73). He rightly reasons that the name Petrus in the attribution precludes identification as the poet. The six works attributed to “Don Caritheo” in Ellezione de canzone alla napoletana a tre voci di Rinaldo Burno, con altre sciette da diversi musici . . . Libro primo (n. p., 1546) [RISM 1546 18] are not likely to be by Gareth either (Cardamone 2000).

At the same time there is some circumstantial evidence for his poetry circulating in music besides his own. Mantua, Biblioteca Comunale, MS A.I.4, a collection that was intended as a resource of verse for musical setting, contains a poem by Gareth, the strambotto “Qual fu del primo di,” raising the possibility that it might have been set: see Gallico (1961, 78; the poem appears on fol. 45v in the Mantuan source). If there ever was a musical setting for the poem, however, it does not seem to have been preserved.
extended performances. Paolo Cortese, writing in the second book of his *De cardinalatu libri tres* (1510), informs us that Gareth also sang the verses of others, specifically those of Virgil, and Gareth’s Neapolitan contemporary, Jacopo Sannazaro, mentions his singing in one of his poems (Haraszti 1955, 17-18, n. 5).

The accounts cited above do not tell about the medium of Gareth’s performances other than his singing, but there is evidence to suggest Gareth sang to his own instrumental accompaniment on the lira da braccio. Raffaele Brandolini’s 1513 treatise *De musica et poetica* discusses Gareth and other poets just after he praises singing to the lyra, implying perhaps that they performed in that way. More telling are Gareth’s references to singing and playing the instrument or to its sound in passages of his poems: in his Canzone VII he writes, “Cominci a resonar la lyra mia” (line 4); elsewhere, in the Cantico primo from “Libro di Gareth intitulato Pascha” he writes, “Cantai d’Amor con dolce lyra humile” (line 3); and there are other similar passages scattered throughout his verses. Such references could be poetic conceit, of course, but taken with the direct evidence of his singing and the prevalence of singing to the instrument in Italy at the time, especially by poets, it is reasonable to take the references at face value.

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6 The passage is given in facsimile and translation in Pirrotta (1984, 101 and 104); see also his commentary on p. 110.

7 The treatise has been published in a modern edition in Brandolini (2001). Brandolini names poets of vernacular poetry and identifies the centers for the art beginning on fol. 77 in the original 1513 publication (p. 96 in the modern edition). He discusses singing to the lyra and other stringed instruments on fols. 26 and 65 (mod. ed. pp. 30 and 80), and then gives specific instructions for singing and playing on fols. 72v-73 (mod. ed. p. 90). His praise for Gareth (under the name “Chariteus”) appears on fol. 78 (mod. ed. p. 98): “Chariteus Hispanus ad illam Francisci Petrarcae venustatem ac elegantiam proxime accedens sibi suisque magno olim fuit usui ac ornamento” (Chariteo the Spaniard, almost equaling that renowned grace and elegance of Francis Petrarch, at one time received great benefit and distinction for himself and his family; translation, mod. ed. p. 99).

8 The passages are from Pèrcopo (1892, 2:74 [Canzone VII] and 2:369 [Cantico primo]). Other examples of such references are given here with volume and page numbers in Pèrcopo: Canzone XI, lines 7-8, “Hor più non vi s’intende/Lyra, nè voce alcuna” (2:143); Sonetto CXXVI, line 9, “Lei ne portò la lyra, il suono e l’canto” (2:148); Sonetto CXXVII, lines 9-11, “Come può questa voce homai piacerti,/Se con la lyra par che non s’accorde,/Nè v’è più chi m’ascolte, o chi m’intenda?” (2:149); Canzone XIX, lines 33-34, “Fane sentir col suon di propria lira/ La clade de l’exercito Francese” (2:192); Sonetto CCVI, line 2, “La dolce lyra diero e l’dolce canto” (2:243); and Canzona “Luce de la età nostra,” lines 25-26, “Quando talhor la lyra/Meco piange & suspire” (2:428).

I have chosen to retain the spellings “lyra” and “lira” as they appear in the sources and quotes cited here and in the body of the present essay.

9 Besides providing an overview of the instrument, Brown and Jones (2000) cite Gareth as a singer to the lira da braccio. This also would seem to be supported by a passage in a letter from
The foregoing evidence, while fragmentary, places Gareth’s musical activities in line with the oral tradition. As a practitioner of such, he would not have written down his musical compositions, which would explain why no other works by him outside of “Amando e desiendo” have come down to us. Thus, it is likely that its original state was a performance in that tradition, most likely a solo song performed by Gareth accompanied by the lira da braccio.

Two Musical Versions of “Amando e desiendo”

The part-music setting of “Amando e desiendo” was printed in January of 1509 in Ottaviano Petrucci’s ninth book of frottole, his second-to-last publication before he moved from Venice to Fossombrone. The four-part setting appears at the very end of the collection on folio 55v with an attribution at the top of the page to “Cariteo.”

Example 1 provides a score of the setting. In general, it has the characteristics of other strambotto settings found in Petrucci’s collections, although it has some unusual aspects as well. Its formal design is the simplest for the verse form: two sets of phrases set the first couplet of the poem; the remaining three couplets are performed to the same music. In other pieces with the same design, the first line is usually set to one or two phrases, in the latter case breaking up the poetic line somewhere near its middle; the text of the second line might be set with up to three or more phrases with textual repetition. The setting for the first line of Gareth’s strambotto (“Amando e desiendo io vivo e sento”) is therefore unusual in that it is set to three phrases, which necessitates repeating text from the end of the line for the third of them.

Gabriel Altilio to Gareth that mentions the lyra: “Tu interim lyram intende ut cum plusculum otij fuerit, te canente illa audimus” (see Pèrcopo 1892, 1:ccxciii). That is the interpretation by Haraszti (1955, 17-18, n. 5), where the passage in Altilio’s letter is quoted and Haraszti identifies Gareth as someone who “sang to the accompaniment of the lyre.”

10 The colophon of Frottole Libro Nono 1509 gives January 22, 1508 as the date of publication, which is 1509 in modern reckoning. It is described in Boorman (2006, 707-11).
11 The critical notes at the end of this essay give details about transcription and editorial policies concerning this and the musical examples that follow.

Other modern editions of the piece are Disertori (1958, 39-40) and Facchin and Zanovello (1999, 254-55; see p. 59 there for bibliographical information and p. 104 for critical notes). Both differ from Example 1, most notably with regard to editorial chromatic alterations.
Tonally, the piece fits within the Hypodorian mode, with the superius encompassing a seventh from b to a’ with a final on d’. That voice is restricted for the most part to the uppermost third of its range for half of the entire setting, that is, for the entire first line of text: the first phrase begins with repeated pitches—a reciting tone—and descends a third, after which a new phrase moves back and forth between those pitches, and then a third phrase returns to a melodic contour similar to the first (mm. 1-13). For the second line of the couplet, the melody first expands downward a fifth and then to the lowest four notes of its range (mm. 13-24). The melismatic flourishes at the ends of some phrases are typical of strambotto settings of the time.

The part-writing for the lower voices is similar to other pieces falling under the general category of the frottola, although up to the fermata in measure 13 the bassus is somewhat unusual, often moving by step rather than jumping by fourths and fifths as is normal in the repertoire. From measure 13 on the movement is more typical. There is a bit of imitation between the bassus and altus at the beginning of the piece and parallel movement between the three upper parts in measures 6-8. Parallel movement between two parts, usually at the third, sixth, or tenth, is common in frottola, especially between the superius and tenor, and sometimes three parts might move together briefly; the parallelism in “Amando e desiando” is unusual in the length it is sustained, however.

Editorial chromatic alterations are needed for the superius (mm. 9 and 23) and tenor (mm. 4 and 12) at cadential points, and the chromatic inflections to b♭’ in the tenor in measures 19 and 21 are warranted since they belong to a scalar figure that includes f’ (despite the e’ in the superius in m. 21).

An aspect of the setting that, while not unique, deserves notice is the undulating scale passage in the tenor, clearly instrumental in nature, that continues for many measures leading to the end of the piece (mm. 17-23). Similar passages appear in the altus and tenor voices of other frottola, but they usually do not persist to such an extent.

To sum up: There is an interesting balance in “Amando e desiando” between simplicity and the more artful aspects of frottola composition. While utilizing the most basic formal design for its music, other elements of “Amando e desiando” are more elaborate than what is usually found in other settings of strambotti.

After his ninth book of frottola Petrucci published two volumes of arrangements for voice and lute by Franciscus Bossinensis under the title Tenori e contrabassi intabulati col sopran in canto figurato per cantare e sonar col lauto, the first in Venice in March 1509 and the second in Fossombrone in
May 1511. The latter contains “Amando e desiando” in the score configuration usual for the two collections, with the vocal part in mensural notation positioned above the lute part in Italian tablature. Prefatory material by Bossinensis that appears in both volumes implies that the contents of each have been arranged from settings in mensural notation since he says he has given the attributions for each work as they are found in other books, which seems to be a reference to part-music collections. Not all of the pieces in the Bossinensis books have part-music concordances in presently known sources, however, but those that do are mostly with works in Petrucci’s frottola series.

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12 Both volumes for voice and lute are described and cataloged in Boorman (2006, 711-17 [book 1] and 717-23 [book 2]) and in Brown (1965, 16-18 [1509,] [book 1] and 18-20 [1511,] [book 2]). The chronology of the Petrucci publications under consideration within the context of the publisher’s activities as well as within the historical and cultural context of the time is discussed in detail in Boorman (2006, 42-46).

13 “Amando e desiando” appears across fols. 11v and 12 in the second book; in the source, fol. 11 is incorrectly numbered “XIII.”

14 At the end of his dedication on fol. 2v, Bossinensis states, “Do not mind the varying forms of the names of the composers; I have entered them in my books just as I found them printed in the other books” (non resguardando ali nomi variii deli compositori: perche si come in li altri libri impressi ho trovato così in questo mio gli ho posti). The English translation and a discussion of the appropriate passage is in Sartori (1948, 241). He proposes that the prints Bossinensis refers to are those published by Petrucci in his frottola series. Sartori (242-45) provides a table that compares the attributions in the Bossinensis books with those in concordant part-music settings in the Petrucci series.

15 There are works in both books by Bossinensis that do not have concordances in any earlier printed or manuscript sources currently known, and there are works in the second Bossinensis book that have concordances with printed works in Petrucci’s eleventh book of frottole, which was published years later in 1514. Sartori (241-42) offers possible explanations. One scenario is that the eleventh book was printed earlier than 1514, with the 1514 printing a second or later edition; this seems unlikely in light of Boorman (2006, 50), who considers the character of the music in the eleventh book to strongly suggest that it was collected after Petrucci’s move to Fossombrone, making it doubtful that it was printed before the second Bossinensis book, the first publication there: Boorman does not posit an edition of the eleventh book earlier than that of 1514. Another possibility put forth by Sartori is that the pieces came from another, presently unknown source, which is plausible but difficult to prove. His third possibility is probably the correct one: the dedicatory material in the second book of Bossinensis is the same as that in the first, so it might not have been accurate for the second. Sartori thinks the last possibility the strongest and that Bossinensis took some of his materials from manuscripts or sources that may have been in the process of being printed, Petrucci’s tenth and eleventh books of frottole. The lost tenth book is often cited as a probable source of part-music concordances for works without them in the second book of Bossinensis.
Example 2 is a score of the Bossinensis version of “Amando e desiando.” At first glance its opening measures (mm. 1-6) do not seem to belong to the same piece as that in Example 1. Usually the lute part in a Bossinensis arrangement corresponds to the tenor and bassus lines in a part-music concordance and the voice is given the superius. While the superius part of “Amando e desiando” in Bossinensis is similar to that in the part-music, the lute part only vaguely resembles the tenor and bassus parts. The tenor (the uppermost notes) is similar in measures 1-5, but instead of the arching bassus line at the beginning of the part-music, the lute steadily repeats the pitch d. Measures 6-10 in Bossinensis match the part-music (mm. 5-9) with some minor variation, but in measures 11-14 of the lute accompaniment there is a discrepancy with the part-music (mm. 10-13) between the tenor parts, and the bassus parts are not exactly the same either. Close examination of that spot shows that the lute tenor in measure 11 corresponds to a decorated version of the part-music altus in measure 10 and the beginning of measure 11; then up to measure 14 the lute tenor is more like its corresponding voice in the part-music. This approach can be found in other arrangements by Bossinensis where in a similar way his part-writing incorporates into a single line pitches that correspond to those in both the altus and tenor of concordant part-music. In most cases this happens, as it does here, when the texture of the tenor and bassus is sparse or inactive and Bossinensis needs to fill out the lute part. Example 3 illustrates an instance of the procedure in the arrangement of Bartolomeo Tromboncino’s “Io cerco pur la insupportabil doglia” from the first Bossinensis book (compare mm. numbered 11-16).

16 Disertori published two transcriptions of the lute song: one in G-tuning (1958, 39-40) and another in A-tuning (1964, 478-79; he discusses the work on pp. 18 and 58). Another transcription in A-tuning appears in Cummings 2004, 95-96; the piece is briefly discussed on p. 93 there.
If the opening measures of “Amando e desiando” in the two versions seem dissimilar and have significant variants, the setting for the second line of text in both versions is remarkably similar, save for a normal number of alterations typical in arranging technique common to Bossinensis and other lutenists of the time (rhythmic displacement of notes, division of long notes into two shorter ones). In particular, the same serpentine line in the part-music appears in the lute tablature (mm. 17-23 in the part-music; mm. 19-25 in the lute part). This could hardly be coincidence, and when the two settings are considered in their complete forms, their voice-leading is similar enough in a broad, general sense to consider them versions of the same piece. The variants are more extensive than usual when comparing a Bossinensis arrangement with concordant part-music, but their character is in keeping with his arranging style, so it is likely he used the part-music in Petrucci’s ninth book of frottole as a model for his arrangement.

There are some other aspects of the Bossinensis arrangement that should be mentioned. Rather than the two-voice texture Bossinensis usually intabulates, the lute part in measures 1-6 consists of three-note chords that are rhythmically animated with a decidedly instrumental figure. It is not unusual for Bossinensis and other lutenist-arrangers of the period to thicken a lute texture with extra chord tones for a more sonorous effect, but other tablatures by Bossinensis generally do not do so to the same extent as in “Amando e desiando.” There is also a rare discrepancy between the superius parts in the two versions of the piece. With the exception of text placement and an occasional chromatic marking, the superius in a Bossinensis setting is usually identical, or very close to identical, with its part-music concordance, so the short flourish in measure 24 in his voice part that does not appear in the part-music is notable.

The most striking and surprising difference between the two versions, however, is the application of chromatic inflections in the lute accompaniment. Bossinensis intabulates the tenor pitches of the opening lute chords as f♯, and the same sharps briefly reappear in measures 11 and 15. The notation of the corresponding sections of the part-music version do not indicate the sharps, and they are not necessarily called for.17 The extent and character

17 The modern edition of the part-music version of this piece by Facchin and Zanovello (1999, 254-55) incorporates many of the chromatic alterations from the lute accompaniment as editorial suggestions. That is a possible realization of the work, but it is also possible that the part-music does not require them, and without them the mode of the piece remains the same throughout the work. Singers and other musicians of the time knew how to chromatically alter a note as a leading tone or to avoid an awkward melodic passage without seeing such a mark in their part, but this might not be the case in different musical situations, especially at the very beginning of a work. Passages in Petrucci’s publications often include a sharp or flat when...
of chromatic inflections in the lute passages go beyond what we would expect looking at the part-music and what we would expect from Bossinensis or any other lutenist-arranger, and they have the effect of changing the character of the mode. The result is a harmonic gesture at the beginning of the piece that described in modern terms starts on a D-major chord and moves to an F-major chord by measure 7. Because of its unusual character, this aspect of the Bossinensis arrangement has received some attention from modern scholars.\(^\text{18}\) Benvenuto Disertori has called the effect of the alternation between $f^\#$ and $f^\natural$ a “tonal contradiction” in its mode.\(^\text{19}\) He highlighted the piece as an example of the freedom sixteenth-century lutenists had in applying chromatic inflections to their arrangements of part-music.

**“Amando e desiando” as an *Aria da cantare***

We might, then, leave it there and consider the unexpected chromatic aspects in Bossinensis’s lute accompaniment as eccentric were it not for other pieces from the sixteenth century that suggest otherwise. One such piece is a setting of another strambotto, “La morte tu mi dai.” It, too, exists in two versions, one as part-music and the other as a lute tablature. The part-music version is for four voices and appears in a manuscript dating from the early 1500s of Milanese or Venetian origin.\(^\text{20}\) The text of the work might be by Bartolomeo (Baccio) Ugolini,\(^\text{21}\) who is best remembered today for his portrayal of the title role in early performances of Poliziano’s *Orfeo*. He was active primarily in Florence, and while he was not a professional musician, he was celebrated as an improviser and singer to the lira da braccio.\(^\text{22}\)

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\(^{18}\) Disertori (1958) is a paper devoted to the piece that the author read at a conference in Paris in the 1950s. Besides his paper, the published text includes comments about its chromatic aspects made by auditors at the conclusion of its presentation at the conference.\(^\text{19}\) The transcription of the Bossinensis version of “Amando e desiando” in Disertori (1958) does not propose most of the editorial sharps for the voice part in mm. 4-6 and 13-16 of Example 2 above, which makes the “contradiction” all the more striking.\(^\text{20}\) The source of the part-music setting is Milan, Biblioteca Trivulziana, MS 55, fol. 15v-16. Other modern editions of this work besides Example 4 in the present essay appear in Jeppesen (1970, 209-10) and Giazotto (1959, 36). Jeppesen (1969, 73-74) describes the source. Concerning its provenance, see the summary of the literature in Haar (1999, 6, n. 20).\(^\text{21}\) Pirrotta (Pirrotta and Povoledo 1982, 33-35) is unsure of where the attribution of the poetry to Ugolini derives (see his n. 80 on p. 33); see also Giazotto (1959, 36 and 119, n. 64).\(^\text{22}\) Shortly before his death Ugolini became bishop of Gaeta. Texts of documents pertinent to him are provided in Del Lungo ([1897] 2002, 307-12); see also Picotti (1955, 6-17, n. 2). Poliziano’s *Orfeo* and Ugolini’s part in it are discussed in detail in “Orpheus, singer of strambotti” in Pirrotta and Povoledo (1982, 3-36) and Del Lungo ([1897] 2002, 283-356, especially
A lute tablature under the same title appears in one of the earliest Italian manuscript sources for the instrument, a source currently among the holdings of the Bibliothèque nationale in Paris. It was copied during the first decade of the sixteenth century in northern Italy, most likely Venice (Thibault 1958, 44-48; Lesure 1981, introduction). The tablature is within a section of the manuscript that begins with a heading indicating the contents are intended for voice and lute performance.

A transcription of the tablature appears in Example 4 below the part-music version. Unlike Bossinensis, the arranger for the lute did not provide a vocal part to accompany the tablature or any text other than the incipit that identifies the piece, but there is enough similarity between the tenor and bassus voices of the part-music and the tablature to show they are different versions of the same piece. The superius of the part-music can be sung to the lute accompaniment, although it is not a perfect fit—see the beginning of measure 11—but it does work for most of the piece. There are variants between the lute accompaniment and the part-music setting that are typical of those between other tablatures in the source and their part-music concordances (see mm. 4, 6, 7, 11, and 13-15); in the “La morte tu mi dai” tablature the variants result in a considerable number of parallel fifths.

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23 The lute accompaniment is in Paris, Bibliothèque nationale, Rés. Vmd. MS 27, fol. 39. A facsimile of the manuscript with an introduction and index is in Lesure (1981). The source is described by its onetime owner in Thibault (1958). It is interesting that in discussing the piece Pirrotta (Pirrotta and Polovedo 1982, 35) created an arrangement for voice and lute of “La morte tu mi dai,” basing it on the part-music version; it is not clear whether or not he was aware of the sixteenth-century tablature.

24 The heading at the top of fol. 36 reads “Tenori da sonar & cantar sopra il lauto.”

When comparing measures 1 and 3 of the lute accompaniment and the part-music, we find a chromatic inflection to $f^\#$ in the tenor voice of the lute tablature similar to what one finds in the lute accompaniment of “Amando e desiendo.” Furthermore, there is a similar harmonic gesture in “La morte tu
mi dai” that moves from a D-major chord to an F-major chord in measures 1-5. The approach to the F-major chord from G in the bassus is common to both this and Gareth’s piece, so it too must be part of the gesture.

The beginning of the superius parts in the part-music versions of “Amando e desiando” and “La morte tu mi dai” are similar as well, although they start on different notes: both begin with a reciting tone, then descend a third, and then return to their opening pitches at the end of the first line of text. Another remarkable similarity between the part-music versions is the inclusion of passages containing parallel motion in their three upper voices. As noted above, it appears in Example 1 in measures 6-8, at the conclusion of the first line of text; in Example 4 it appears in measures 12-15, at the end of the second line of text. The parallel sonorities have the same harmonic character—a third above a fourth—and are very similar in their contours. This is not as apparent in the lute tablatures for different reasons: since the Bossinensis tablature does not include the altus, the parallel movement is between two voices, the superius and tenor; in “La morte tu mi dai” there is parallel movement in the passage under consideration, but as a result of its variants, the parallelism is between the tenor and bassus voices at the interval of the fifth.

While the voice and lute versions of the strambotti begin in a similar manner, it must be noted they have different finals and modal characters—“Amando e desiando” has a final on D and alternates between Hypomixolydian and Hypodorian modes, and “La morte tu mi dai” has a final on G and is in Hypodorian mode throughout—but this does not discount their points of resemblance. Indeed, the aspects they have in common are characteristics of a general musical setting for the strambotto, or in sixteenth-century terminology an aria da cantare, used for performances within the oral tradition.26 The difference in the modal aspects of the two examples could represent personal or regional variations.

Traits of this aria da cantare appear again in other sources later in the 1500s, although not intended there for the strambotto, a verse form that lost popularity as the century progressed. Two such arie intended for accompanying the singing of poems in terza rima are preserved in Florentine lute sources dating from the late sixteenth century (Examples 5 and 6).27 They are not

25 They do start on the same degree of their respective modes (see below), however: a fifth above the final.
26 Pirrotta (Pirrotta and Povoledo 1982, 34-35) speculates that the superius of the part-music version of “La morte tu mi dai” might be based on a melodic formula that Ugolini adapted to other strambotto texts with adjustments to accommodate the particular needs of each.
27 The handwriting in the section of the manuscript that contains the piece in Example 5, Florence, Biblioteca Nazionale Centrale, MS Mag. XIX 109, is the same as that in Florence,
supplied with vocal parts, so to use them a singer must memorize a melody or improvise one. The opening harmonic gesture in each is the same as that in the lute parts of the two strambotti discussed above.


Example 6. Anonymous, “Terza rima,” excerpt, Brussels, Bibliothèque royale de Belgique, MS II 275, fol. 20. (Lute in G tuning.)

This sharing of musical material between arie for disparate verse forms is not the only example. A manuscript in Vincenzo Galilei’s handwriting that dates from around 1570 contains two simple tablatures entitled “Aria di capitoli” and “Aria di sonetti,” which are presented here as Examples 7 and 8. Bar lines in the examples are reproduced as they appear in Galilei’s tablatures: they correspond to where the melody for each line of poetry would end in the vocal parts, which are not supplied by Galilei (nor are texts). The first aria is divided into three parts for the three lines of a capitolo verse. Since it is essentially a poem in terza rima, it is not surprising to find that it contains the same opening harmonic gesture as the pieces in Examples 5 and 6.

Bibliotheca Nazionale Centrale, MS Mag. XIX 30 (fol. 22), which bears the date 1595; see Hill (1983, 194). The source of Example 6, Brussels, Bibliothèque royale de Belgique, MS II 275 (lute book of Raffaello Cavalcanti, compiled in Florence), is dated 1590 on its first folio.

Palisca (1969) discusses the source for the tablatures transcribed in Examples 7 and 8. The manuscript is currently bound with a copy of Galilei’s 1568 edition of Fronimo dialogo.

The opening might be characteristic of the “common aria for terza rima” (aria comune della terza rima) Galilei refers to in his essay “Dubbi intorno a quanto io ho detto dell’uso dell’enharmonico, con la soluzione di essi” (1591), fol. 64v, the text of which is transcribed in Rempp (1980, 182); an English translation of the pertinent passage appears in Palisca (1960, 348).

In addition to the examples already discussed, the gesture under consideration can also be found in lute tablatures in Vienna, National Bibliothek, MS 18821 (lute book of Octavianus Secundus Fugger, compiled in Bologna), fol. 18v, “Aria”; in various transpositions in Rochester, NY, Sibley Music Library, University of Rochester, MS Vault M.140. E.398 (lute book of Hyeronimo Ferrutio of Udine), fol. 27v, “Terzetto in tenore,” fol. 28, “Il ditto terzetto in
The tablature for sonetti uses the same material. It expands it by including a repetition of the first section between the second and third in the pattern ABAC as indicated in the example. This expansion accommodates the two quatrains of the opening octave of the sonetto, which would require the performance of the entire tablature twice. Galilei does not provide instructions, but the performer could then play the tablature two more times, leaving out the second A section, perhaps, to accompany the final sestet of the verse form. Another possibility is that the setting could be sung in its entirety for the sestet with its third and sixth poetic lines repeated during the C section.


dotalto,” and fols. 28v-29, “Il ditto terzetto in sopran,” (with its “alio modo”); and in Paris, Bibliothèque nationale, Rés. Vmd. MS 50, fol. 3v, “Terza rima.” The second tablature on fol. 14, “Terza rima,” of Florence, Biblioteca Nazionale Centrale, MS Mag. XIX 109, is probably also based on the same aria, but it is missing the crucial major third of the initial harmony. Another tablature with the opening gesture appears in Florence, Biblioteca Nazionale Centrale, MS Mag. XIX 106; see Coelho (1995, 439, ex. 6B). There are keyboard pieces with the same opening in Florence, Biblioteca Nazionale Centrale, MS Mag. XIX 115, on fol. 1v, “La 3a rima” and fol. 6, “3a Rima.” Because of its widespread appearance and the length of time it remained in the musical culture of Italy, there probably are more preserved examples of this aria.
Transmission

It is very likely that the musical material of Gareth’s “Amando e desiando” as he produced it in the oral tradition was closer in character to the *arie* presented above rather than to the part-music version in Petrucci’s ninth book of frottola. That would align better with Calmeta’s description of his music in the quote at the beginning of this essay. If that were the case, then questions arise about who wrote the part-music version and why. While its complexity does not rise to the level of that found in the chanson and sacred music of the time, it does show the hand of a composer with a level of skill requiring training in counterpoint. It cannot be ruled out that Gareth had that training, but we have no evidence to confirm it. It is more likely that the part-music is the work of a contrapuntist who arranged Gareth’s piece after experiencing one or more of its performances.

If so, it would not be unique. In another instance, a piece by a Roman musician was collected, written down, and arranged for Isabella d’Este after one of her correspondents heard it performed in the late 1490s. Bernardino da Urbino sent the work to her with the explanation that it had been sung often in Rome and that he and another person had arranged it to suit Isabella’s taste:

I have heard from Messer Zuanfrancesco [Palazzo] how much your Ladyship wants new songs, and the above-mentioned Palazzo asked me for a little strambotto composed a few days ago at Mantua by Marchetto, even though it does not seem very serious to us. Be that as it may, I am sending it gladly to your Excellency, together with a calata that is sung (!) quite often in Rome; accordingly, we have fixed it up a bit, since I know that your Ladyship would like to have it sound well. I am sending it even though I took it and wrote it down so as to hear it sung. I have added those consonant parts, but the contralto was done by someone else whom we have here.30

Bernardino probably wrote down the superius from a performance and then added voices, a bassus and a tenor, and as he says, another person added

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30 The translation is from Prizer (1980, 38), and the material in brackets is Prizer’s. The letter is preserved in Archivio di Stato, Mantua, Archivio Gonzaga Busta 2445; its full text is transcribed in Prizer (228). The pertinent passage reads as follows: “Io ho inteso per messer Zohan Francesco quanto ha dessiderio la Signoria Vostra havere canti novi e esso Pallazo me domandò uno stranbotino de Marchetto facto poci dì a Mantua, benchè a noi non para troppo solenne. Como sia, el mando volontiera ala Excellentia Vostra e insieme con quello una calata che se canta forte assai a Roma e anchora noi l’inpiastramo un pocho. Perchè so che la Signora Vostra la farà parere bona; la mando benchè io l’abia tolta e notata per udirla dire e poi li ho gionto quelle consonante, ma el contralto l’à facto uno che havemo qui” (dated “Gonzage, die 24 madij 1494”).
an altus to create the typical four-part texture of frottola publications. That Bernardino writes he knows Isabella “would like to have it sound well” hints that the work in performance by the unnamed musician in Rome might have been a quite simple affair.

It is likely that in a similar way a contrapuntist arranged a part-music version of Gareth’s “Amando e desiando” after hearing a performance of it in Naples or in Rome when the poet made his visit there. The contrapuntist wrote down the melody and like Bernardino “fixed it up a bit” by elaborating on the aria identified above to create the three lower parts.

Another mode of transmission is possible as well. Gareth had his emulators, most notably Andrea Coscia (or Cossa) and Serafino dell’Aquila. Both spent time in Naples and then traveled to northern Italian courts, and both were singer-lutenists. Our source for this information is again Vincenzo Calmeta, who also says that Coscia sang Gareth’s strambotti, and although Calmeta is not perfectly clear on the point, Coscia might also have emulated his musical style.31 If so, Coscia or another Gareth emulator could have brought “Amando e desiando” to northern Italy as an instrumentally accompanied song, and a contrapuntist there created the part-music in Petrucci’s book of frottole.

If a singer-lutenist were the means of transmission, we might consider whether the voice and lute version in the Bossinensis print provided the material for the part-music version rather than being an arrangement of it. That does not seem likely, however. Despite the variant opening of the lute accompaniment, voice leading in Bossinensis otherwise follows that of the part-music, and rather than providing material for the part-music, the Bossinensis version looks like an attempt to reshape it into something closer to what may have been the original character of the material, a performance in the oral tradition. In any event, the Bossinensis version is not likely to be

31 The text of Calmeta’s Vita del facondo poeta vulgare Seraphino Aquilano from a 1504 Bolognese print is included in Menghini (1894, 1-15; notes follow on 17-22). The passage concerning Coscia and Serafino as emulators of Gareth is on pp. 3-4: “un notabile Gentilhomme Napolitano chiamato Andrea Coscia dil Duca Ludovico Sforza soldato, il quale molto soavemente cantava nel liuto, e tra i altri modi una sonata, ne la quale dolcemente strammoti di Charithee esprimeva” (a noted Neapolitan gentleman named Andrea Coscia, soldier of Duke Ludovico Sforza, who so delightfully sang with the lute, and among other modi [arie?] a sonata [lute accompaniment?], with which he sweetly expressed the strambotti of Cariteo). It is not clear from this passage whether Coscia sang the strambotti with Gareth’s music or something else. Calmeta seems to be using the term “modi” in the same sense as in the title of the fourth book of the Petrucci frottola series, Strambotti, Ode, Frottole, Sonetti. Et modo de cantar versi latini e capituli 1505, for general settings to accommodate particular verse forms: the “Aer de versi latina” on fol. 36 and the “Aer de capituli” on fol. 55v. The terms “modo” and “aer” appear to be equivalent in that instance.
an accurate representation of what Gareth performed. As already noted, the original version of Gareth’s work or one by an emulator probably was much simpler, more like “La morte tu mi dai” or the *arie da cantare* discussed above.

If one is looking for a piece in the Bossinensis books that might be originally written for voice and lute and perhaps closer in style to a work in the oral tradition, a better candidate is the setting of the capitolo “Se mai per maraveglia” (Example 9), an anonymous work published in the same volume as “Amando e desiando.” It has no part-music concordance, and while it is possible that such a version has been lost, its character does not lead one to think that is the case. The restricted range of its superius (a sixth) and the sparseness and contrapuntal simplicity of its lute accompaniment for a good portion of the piece might be similar to the “smooth and relaxed” style mentioned by Calmeta. It also shares some characteristics with the works discussed above. Although its material differs, like “Amando e desiando” there is similar tonal contradiction concerning the third above the final of the mode: c♯’ in the lute part (mm. 1, 11, and 23-24) and c♮’ throughout the vocal part. The last phrase of the voice part in “Se mai per maraveglia” is accompanied by parallel motion in the tenor and, although it is not as obvious, in the bassus. Rather than the parallel sonority of thirds above fourths as in “Amando e desiando,” “Se mai per maraveglia” has parallel root position triads with fifths between the outer voices (mm. 19-21), similar to what occurs at the end of “La morte tu mi dai” between the tenor and bassus in the lute tablature.

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32 Disertori (1964, 464-65) provides a transcription and discussion of “Se mai per maraveglia,” noting that the repeated figures in the solo lute sections indicate an instrumental origin. Minamino (1998, 43-57) cites the piece as an original work for voice and lute (see especially pp. 48-51, which include a transcription of the piece).

With the foregoing observations in view, we might at this point speculate that some general elements of the extant versions of “Amando e desiendo” could represent at least to some degree the original work of Gareth, keeping
in mind that as a work in the oral tradition, it is entirely possible that it varied from one performance to the next. The original probably had a simple formal design, a superius narrow in range that used a reciting tone, and an instrumental accompaniment that incorporated the aria the Bossinensis version shares with other lute tablatures. Parallel movement within the texture might have characterized Gareth’s original work as might an instrumental flourish at the end of each couplet or during the singing of the last line of the strambotto.

The different versions of “Amando e desiando” provide an example of flexibility and interconnectedness in early sixteenth-century Italian secular music traditions and show how they could shape a work. Because of its initial creation by Benedetto Gareth, the music for the strambotto most likely originated in the oral tradition as a song with a simple instrumental accompaniment, probably played on the lira da braccio—Calmeta’s “black silk.” Afterward, a contrapuntist recast it into a four-part setting, a “golden cloth,” preserving it within the written tradition. This might have occurred in Naples or Rome, where Gareth was active, or in northern Italy after a performance by another instrumentally accompanied singer who emulated him. Petrucci published the four-part setting, and the work was subsequently arranged for voice and lute by Bossinensis. In creating his arrangement, Bossinensis made alterations that reconnected it more closely to the practice of singing to instrumental arie accompaniments, reflecting elements of the oral tradition. The Bossinensis version is not a transcription of Gareth’s original work—that is irretrievable—instead, it blends characteristics of both oral and written traditions.

Critical Notes for Examples

For all examples, note values have been halved from their original values. The mensuration signs from the original sources appear in the examples in place of modern time signatures; those examples without signs do not have them in their sources. Bar lines have been added in Examples 1, 3 (Libro Septimo excerpt), and 4 to allow easy reference and comparison with other compositions discussed in the present essay; the other examples have bar lines that correspond to those in their sources. Texts are presented as they appear in their sources with regard to punctuation, spelling, and diacritics; changes to original texts are signaled by brackets in the examples, usually without comment in the notes below. As is typical of texted works of the time, only the first strophe or couplet of text is underlaid in the superius, and that is followed in the examples. Editorial changes to the music are enclosed in brackets; the original readings in the sources are listed below under the appropriate example. Editorial chromatic alterations
appear above the notes to which they pertain and apply only to the notes that appear directly below them. Non-editorial chromatic signs (those next to notes) are viable for the remainder of the measure in which they appear as in modern practice. Other details appear below in the information for the individual examples.

Example 2: Benedetto Gareth (Cariteo), “Amando e desiendo io vivo & sento”

Some of the individual syllables are repeated in the text underlay in the source, which is not followed in the transcription.

Normally lutes were in A-tuning during this period, but a G-tuning has been adopted for this score and for the lute part in Example 4 to make it easier to compare with other examples.

Editorial changes to the music:
m. 24, lute, 1st rhythmic cipher, tenor: source has minim instead of dotted minim (quarter note instead of dotted quarter note in transcription).
m. 24, lute, 3rd rhythmic cipher, tenor and bassus: source has semiminim instead of minim (eighth note instead of quarter note in transcription).
m. 24, lute, 4th and 5th rhythmic ciphers, tenor and bassus: source has minims instead of semiminims (quarter notes instead of eighth notes in transcription).

Example 3: Bartolomeo Tromboncino, “Io cerco pur la insupportabil doglia” (Frottole Libro Septimo)

Only part of the text appears in the source; the text in brackets (from the end of first measure—numbered m. 9—to end of the example) is missing in the source.

The score is transposed up a perfect 5th.

Bartolomeo Tromboncino, “Io cerco pur la insupportabil doglia” (Libro Primo. Francisci Bossinensis)

Editorial change to the music:
m. 11, lute, last note in tenor: rhythmic cipher missing in source; as a result, source reads semiminim instead of minim (eighth note instead of quarter note in transcription).

Example 4: Anonymous, “La morte tu mi dai pel mio servire” (Milan, Biblioteca Trivulziana)

The score is transposed up a perfect 4th.

Anonymous, “La morte tu mi dai” (Paris, Bibliothèque nationale)

Lute in G-tuning (see the note on tuning for Example 2 above). There are no rhythmic ciphers in the tablature, so the part-music versions of the tenor and bassus have been consulted for the transcription. Bar lines in the example do not represent those in the original source: there they appear only at points corresponding to the end of m. 8, the middle of m. 12, and the end of the piece.
Example 9: Anonymous, “Se mai per maraveglia alzandol viso”

Notes: The reading of the text in the source from the middle of m. 15 to m. 17 is “cica giente.”

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“Teaching for the Amicus”: Sketches from the Lute Tablature D-Mbs, Mus. ms. 267 within the Context of the Rhetorical *loci communes* and *compositio*

Kateryna Schöning

**Abstract:** The sketch group in the lute Tablature D-Mbs, Mus. ms. 267 from the collection of the humanist Hans Heinrich Herwart (1520–1583) is considered as rhetorical exercise models—*commonplaces*—and a basis for several *compositio* created in the sixteenth century. Both, the collecting of phrases and technical patterns (*commonplaces*) and the creation of possible variants of “pieces” (*compositio*), permit insight into sixteenth-century musical practise and into what might be learned about producing ad-hoc instrumental music and how it might have been taught. The rhetorical methods were assimilated with immanent music techniques. The lutenist not only learned about diminutions, but above all about compositional construction from shorter excerpts to longer pieces, with harmonic, modal, and technical variables. The background to this teaching was sixteenth-century Latin language-related rhetoric and pedagogy. In this way, we can understand non-literal intabulation and ad-hoc music making. The article also offers an insight into the humanist backgrounds of Augsburg lute practice around 1550 and includes some examples of reconstructions, possible variants of a “piece” written out in examples fully.

**Keywords:** Herwart, sixteenth-century lute tablature, commonplace, compositio, ad-hoc music making, improvisation.

Sixteenth-century instrumentalists, including lutenists, were known to be constantly concerned with imitation, thus *imitatio*. This practice can be seen in numerous prints and manuscripts, from intabulations, especially in the case of literal intabulation, to ever-reproducible dance models or other standard pieces. But what did lutenists rely on when they were not playing a literal intabulation? Were they freely improvising or did they—like all educated people of that time—use rhetorical exercise models and practices such as commonplaces to control their ad-hoc music making and transcribing of “compositions”? An answer to these questions would clarify what could be

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1 Taught as an essential component and basic method in humanist education, as well as practiced in all humanist production from the late fifteenth century throughout the sixteenth century, was the use of commonplaces—also called “loci communes,” “lieux communs,” or “Gemeinplätze,” depending on language and tradition. Commonplaces have been a matter of scholarly interest since the 1930s, though especially after the 1960s, mainly in the fields of literature, philology, and philosophy. Basic studies on commonplace practice in these disciplines include Lechner 1962 and Moss 1996. A helpful guide to research on commonplace practice can be found in Victoria E. Burke’s recent article, under such headings as “Commonplace Books and Memory,” “Commonplace Books and Education,” “Commonplace Books and Reading,” “Commonplace Books and Science” (Burke 2013). A brief, methodical look at the problem of researching commonplaces including current discussions is offered by Heinrich

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learned in the sixteenth century about producing ad-hoc instrumental music and how it might have been taught. Reconstructing this pedagogical path would facilitate reading of numerous manuscript tablatures, especially their sketchy or fragmentary entries or excerpts, opening up perspectives for their modern scholarly and practical interpretation, and permitting insight into sixteenth-century musical practice. The “chain reaction” question would then arise as to whether these entries in lute tablatures are actually related to their so-called concordances, and, if so, to what extent? If, on the one hand, instrumentalists worked with commonplace books or something similar, manuscript entries and concordant pieces would not necessarily have to be related, because the concordant pieces could also be derived from (unknown) models without meaning a concrete piece (as is often the case in the lute music tradition up to 1550). If, on the other hand, instrumentalists used practices involving commonplaces (in oral, written or a combination of both), they transferred language-related practice to instrumental music. Therefore, the genuine instrumental entries like ricercari or pieces without obvious models can be considered in relation to language- or text-related music forms in general.

Research on the use of commonplace books in instrumental music leads first of all to the manuscript lute tablatures, sketches, or pieces produced for or by humanists directly within their humanist circles. Excellent material for this is provided by lute tablatures from the collection of the humanist Hans Heinrich Herwart (1520–1583), Augsburg patrician and city councillor.2

F. Plett’s article (Plett 2000).

The investigations by Cristle Collins Judd and Jessie Ann Owens already called attention twenty years ago to early sixteenth-century sources directly referencing commonplace practice in music (Murmellius 1505, fol. B2v; Frosch 1532; cf. Judd 2000; Owens 1997). Musical practice and sources using commonplaces were further discussed by Peter Schubert (Schubert 2010). These investigations show that the use of commonplace practice was handed down directly in the form of “commonplace books” within the theory of counterpoint, composition, and/or keys in Glarean’s Dodecachordeon (1547), Francis de Montanos’s Arte de musica teorica y practica (1592), and Pedro Cerone’s El melopeo (1613), as well as in vocal pieces by Juan Pablo Pujol (1573–1626). Instrumental music, including lute music, was still not considered in these studies, except for an article explicitly examining certain prints (Lawrence 2013).

2 The Herwart collection’s reception history began as early as the second half of the sixteenth century. From the sale of the collection in 1585–87 to William V, Duke of Bavaria, and its handover to the then court library in Munich (now the Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, music collection), it was first cataloged by the librarian Wolfgang Prommer. The collection included several manuscript lute tablatures in French, Italian, German, and Spanish tablature systems as well as numerous tablature prints. See the summary of the collection and history of cataloging in Martinez-Göllner 1969. Many manuscript tablatures from the Herwart collection were left in still unbound loose folios up to the end of the 1870s when Julius Joseph Maier reorganized them by genre and had them partly bound. (Cf. the critical analysis of the catalog in Marti-
Available to him through his collecting activities spanning the 1540s to 1570s were not only representative items, but also manuscript notations and sketches used in practice either by himself or within his circle of lutenists. Among the sketches and pieces for lute are therefore also tablature folios with many markings evidently having a practical purpose. In 1969 Marie-Louise Göllner first emphasized that examining manuscript lute tablatures, together with all sketches, fragments, and preparatory work, “shows us the working methods of lutenists, both in intabulations and freely composed pieces” (Martinez-Göllner 1969, 44). Musicologists did not at first pay any attention to this observation: up until the late 1980s they sought to identify the works or the models of the completely inscribed pieces without evaluating the sketches and unfinished pieces, let alone considering them within a performance practice or humanistic context. The studies by JoAnn Taricani (1986, 1993) and Marie-Louise Göllner (1984) marked the turning point in researching the Herwart collection (Taricani 1986, Taricani 1993, Göllner 1984). Taricani’s studies of codicology and repertoire established the relationship between the earlier part of the collection (1538–1546) created in Augsburg and Herwart’s patronage there. She viewed all the tablature entries, including sketches and reproducible pieces (Taricani 1993, 1376), as “creative process at work within the corpus of manuscripts from the Herwart library,” and thus blazed the trail for further research.

This article aims to go a step further and question exactly how the “creative process at work” functioned. Here, I shall address three aspects: (1) humanist backgrounds in Augsburg lute practice around 1550; (2) commonplaces as a collection of single sections and phrases; (3) compositio as a method of ad-hoc music making and notating. The last part deals with the reconstruction of possible variants of a piece. Three exemplary variants of pieces are fully written out in Exemples III-V. Readers can themselves also reconstruct other variants from suggested schemata and examples, and practice them in the manner of the sixteenth-century scribe.

An in-depth study to re-catalog the manuscript and printed tablatures and examine them paleographically was begun in the 1960s by Marie-Louise Martinez-Göllner, Christian Meyer, and Arthur Ness. This effort’s chief result was identifying twenty different scribes, five main writers (A, B, C, D, and F) among them, together with establishing the date of origin and respective relationships of sources within the whole Herwart collection corpus. Also identified were which of the manuscript lute tablatures and prints were originally part of the collection (Martinez-Göllner 1969, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Ness 1984, Slim 1964–77).

3 Ness focused his research on comparing the Herwart collection’s manuscript lute tablatures with the prints by Francesco da Milano, Marco dall’Aquila, and Melchior Newsidler. The remaining sketches and the variants of pieces were referred to as amateur entries. It was only as an aside that Ness indicated the practice of the “common-place book” without, however, explaining this (Ness 1984, 128, 286).
The present article is, however, only a short excursus into the aforementioned problem based on only a single case study: the sketch group on the following folios of the lute tablature D-Mbs, Mus.ms. 267 from the collection of Hans Heinrich Herwart: fols. 32r¹7, 43v¹7, 44r¹2, 44v/45r⁵7, 45v/44r¹7, 48v¹8, 49r¹4.¹ I deal extensively with humanism and manuscript tablatures in the sixteenth-century German-speaking world within my research project Soloistic Instrumental Music in the Central European Cultural Region (ca. 1500–ca. 1550): Instrumental Praxis and Humanistic Contexts, funded by FWF (Austria Science Fund), in the course of which I am writing a book on this topic, presenting, inter alia, the tablatures from the Herwart collection in more detail.

1. Humanism and Lute Practice in the Augsburg Milieu c.1550

Emblematum Liber (1531) by Italian jurist and humanist Andrea Alciato, the humanist commonplace book then known during the whole sixteenth century, we find an illustration of the lute (Illustration 1), in this case as a symbol of the humanistic alliances, a foedera (Emblematum 1531, fols. A2v-A3r):²

This lute, which from its boat shape is called “halieutica,” my Latin Muse now claims for her own service. Receive it, O Duke. May this offering of mine be pleasing to you at this moment when you are preparing to enter into fresh agreements with your allies. It is difficult, except for a man of skill, to tune so many strings, and if one string is out of tune or broken, which so easily happens, all the music of the instrument is lost and its lovely song disjointed. In like manner, the leaders of Italy are now forming alliances. There is nothing for you to fear if affection lasts for you and stays in concord. But if anyone should slide away, which we often see, that harmony is all dissolved into nothing.

The Emblemata book is of interest in this article insofar as it directly

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¹ Superscript numbers after folios point to their lines (staves). Folios 44v/45r and 45v/44r are written across together and were later numbered upside down.
² English translation from online platform Alciato at Glasgow: http://www.emblems.arts.gla.ac.uk/alciato/emblem.php?id=A31a002. The Latin original reads: “Hanc cytharam à lembi, que [=quae] forma halieutica fertur / Vendicat & propriam musa latina sibi. / Accipe Dux, placeat nostrum hoc tibi tempre munus, / Quo nova cum sociis foedera inire paras. / Difficile est, nisi docto homini tot tendere chordas, / Unaque si fuerit non bene tenta fides […] / Ruptave (quod facile est) perit omnis gratia conchae, / Illaeque praecellens cantus ineptus erit. / Sic Itali coëunt proceres in foedera, concors, / Nil est quod timeas si tibi constet amor. / At si aliquis deciscat (uti plerunque videmus) / In nihilum illa omnis solvitur harmonia” (Alciato 1531, fols. A2v–A3r).
addresses the practice of Augsburg humanists before and around 1550: the humanist Konrad Peutinger first had the book issued in Augsburg (1531); the drawings stem from the Augsburg painter Jörg Breu the Elder. The lute symbol also apparently emphasized one of humanism’s fundamental ideas, that is, the establishment of its own network of like-minded people (cf. Hirschi 2010, 40).


This humanist network in and around Augsburg came to be associated with lutenists, the cultivation of the lute, or lute tablatures. We can assume that Hans Heinrich Herwart himself not only played the lute and the gamba (BMLO), but also had a chapel and lutenists (Ness 1984, 132). His close contact with lutenists, especially from Italy, whom he possibly met during his humanist studies, probably in Padua during the late 1530s (Ness 1984, 75), is reflected by the extensive part Italian lute music played in the collection and, inter alia, by Herwart’s interest in the Scotto and Gardano lute
prints of 1546–1547 (Tarciani 1993, 1364). Herwart was linked with at least two earlier scribes of his collection, scribes B and F. 6 According to previous research, both were active before 1550, both probably came from Italy (or were of Italian origin), and both were mainly interested in Italian dances and Italian instrumental genres originating in prints between 1528 and 1545 (Martinez-Göllner 1969, 42–43). However, scribes B and F were supposed to have written their music, including sketches, in Augsburg (Tarciani 1993, 1381–82, 1388), so they ought to have been familiar with Augsburg lute practice. Herwart had a friendly relationship with scribe B in the humanist Libri-Amicorum tradition, for just scribe B in particular left some dedication entries in the lute tablature collection, two of which speak for themselves: “Ricercata a Joan Henrico Herwart,” D-Mbs, Mus.ms. 267, fol. 32r, and “CARO A. H. HE,” D-Mbs, Mus.ms. 266, fol. 48v, to be read as “Caro Amico Henrico Herwart” (Martinez-Göllner 1969, 37). During the 1560s to 1570s, another scribe—scribe C, probably Herwart himself (Martinez-Göllner 1969, 42)—added to and corrected works of scribe B, providing us with the material for analyzing the later covenant reception (with scribes B and F).

Still known to us was the connection between Martin Crusius (1525–1607), humanist, collector, and Tübingen professor of Greek and Latin, and the lutenist Georg Reismüller, who worked in Augsburg c.1554, moving to Stuttgart in the 1570s (Reichert and Lechner 1953, 191). 7 The reference to northern Italy, especially to the Padua University milieu so characteristic of the humanists, was to be found not only from Herwart: Crusius was said to have been known “to a lutenist from Padua as a musical personality” and presumably supported wandering Paduan scholars (Ibid., 196–97). His friend Felix Platter (1536–1614), the Basel humanist and physician, also played the lute. 8

6 The scribal classification is taken from Martinez-Göllner’s article. To be found there is also a list of all the scribes with their respectively ascribed lute tablature folios (Martinez-Göllner 1969, 40–3).

7 Martin Crusius dealt with music in a profound and wide-ranging way. In his studies he was interested in music’s educational and ethical value, which he, humanistically influenced, attributed to the ancient authors. He collected music instruments, owning among others “a virginal, a chitarra, a larger and smaller lute,” which he liked to play. His immediate milieu additionally included musicians of the “Princely Scholarship” of the Tübingen monastery, among whom M. Blasius Braun was also mentioned as singer and lute player (Reichert and Lechner 1953, 187, 189, 190–3 (footnote 1).

8 The Platter name refers to a well-known humanist family whose estate contains several references to the cultivation of instrumental music. In the memoirs of Felix Platter, son of Thomas Platter the Elder (1499–1582), the wandering humanist scholar and teacher of ancient languages in Basel, we can read a report from July 1543 about Felix’ youth: “Ich hatt ein sundere inclination und neigung zu der music, sunderlich zu den instrumenten, dorumb ich dan, als ich noch gar iung, selbs anfieng seiten uf schindlen und dugen, die man zu den buchenen steckt [hölzerner Buchdeckel], zien [ziehen], ein steg dorunder machen und doruf mit den
Among recognized humanists was the Augsburg lutenist Georg Sigismund Seld (1516–1565), who, having studied in Padua, was in imperial service from 1547 (Zuth 1926, 254). That lutenists and lute playing were highly valued among humanists was also shown by a medallion produced with another Augsburg lutenist, Veit Bulling. The medallion is inscribed “VIT. BVLLING. LVTINIST” (Vit. Bulling. Lutenist), with a six-course renaissance lute and the engraved date 1525 (Illustration 2). Bulling appears within the Platter family context as “the person from Augsburg” because he taught eight-year-old Felix Platter lute as well as arithmetic and writing. From this example, lute mastery is not only substantiated as an obligatory humanist occupation within high circles, but also as a part of universal pedagogical competence in the sixteenth century, and thus of humanist virtue (virtus). Achieving this mastery had thus to be built into the educational system. The teaching of lute playing could not, in other words, be completely avoided as a basic humanist priority within the domains of philology or (school) pedagogy, nor could verbal practices of the commonplaces. On the contrary, instrumental teaching should be derived from features of humanist education, especially if within a group of humanists and friends the instrumental annotations originated as a kind of exercise book such as is represented by the contributions of scribes B and F in the Herwart collection.

henden herigbogen [behaarter Bogen] retzgen [kratzen], welches mir gar / wol gefiel. Hort [hörte] auch meines vatters truckeren [Druckergesellen] so uf der multrummen [Maultrommel] und uf dem hackbret (das domolen [damals] seer brüchlich) schlugen, [...] und anderen dischgenger, so uf der luten schlugen [...]. (“I had a special inspiration and inclination to the music, especially to the instruments. Therefore, when I was very young, I started drawing and bending the strings myself, pulling them over the wooden lids, making a bridge under it and bowing on it with my hands, which I really liked. [I] also heard my father’s friends beating on the jaw's harp and on the dulcimer [...] also other companions beating on the lute [...]” (Fechter 1840, 124; cf. Platter 1878, 135–6).

Bulling’s birth and death dates are not known, though that he was subject to Augsburg taxation up to 1554 can be verified (Maué 2003–2005, 59).

The medallion probably comes from the south German medalist Hans Schwarz, who worked in Augsburg, Nuremberg, and Worms (Ibid., 57).

From Felix Platter’s diary (Platter 1878, 135). The diary conveys a very impressive picture of learning several instruments as a natural part of the education.

The historian Anthony Grafton wrote about the essential meaning of commonplaces (“a general account of commonplacing”) for music with respect to the humanist system as a whole and concurrently in light of renaissance pedagogy: “[...] one feature of Renaissance musical practice in particular demands comparison with the literary methods that every educated person mastered in school. The Renaissance, in music, was the great age of the musical commonplace book: the anthology that circulated, first in manuscript and then in hundreds of editions in print, reshaping musical lives and tastes just as the humanist school reshaped literary lives and tastes” (Grafton 2010, 142).
What did lutenists have to do? According to humanist pedagogy in general, facilitating an *imitatio* of patterns, that is, the “controlled imitation of exemplary speeches and texts” (Grafton 2010, 329), involved collecting, memorizing, repeating, and compiling speeches, adages, and other axiomatic sayings, and recording them in special notebooks, even commonplace books. The technique adopted in its main features from Aristotle and Cicero was further developed by Erasmus at the beginning of the sixteenth century (*De ratione studii* 1511–1514, and *De duplici copia rerum ac verborum* 1512) and elevated over time to be the “central tool of cognitive thinking” (Sturm 1565; see Ueding and Steinbrink 2011, 238f.), as well as “indispensable learning and teaching aids” in scholarship, poetry, and everyday life (Plett 2000, 229; Strum 1565, 329, 341). The foundations summarized by Erasmus transferred one of the essential aspects of the process into humanist practice: the possibilities and strategies of continuous text or performance construction (*compositio verborum*). This influenced both the producing of music itself and the teaching of this music production.

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13 Many lute tablatures contain actual verbal sentences, namely, dicta, sayings, and quotations from the works of Ovid, Seneca, Aristotle, Cato, and other Greek and Roman authors. The sentences are placed either on the cover or title pages, or directly on the music pieces. This feature can no longer be ascertained in the Herwart collection tablatures, since most of the tablatures, as mentioned, have no original covers and were compiled from single folios. Thus, there are no verbal sentences on the music pieces in this collection’s lute tablatures.
2. Commonplaces

Dealing with commonplaces, according to Erasmus, was the first step toward an elaborate and successful presentation (Erasmus *De ratione* 2016, 678). What did the commonplace technique look like, specifically, given that it was implemented by one or more humanist lutenists? Let us turn to one of the often-cited passages from Erasmus’s *De Copia*:¹⁴

Then after you have collected as many headings as will be sufficient and arranged them in the order you wish, and have placed the appropriate divisions under each, and to the divisions have added the commonplaces or *sententiae*, then whatever you come across in any author, especially if it is very noteworthy, you will immediately mark down in its proper place whether it be a fable, an apologue, an *exemplum*, a strange occurrence, a *sententia*, a witty or otherwise unusual expression, an adage, a metaphor, or a parable. This method will also have the effect of imprinting what you read more deeply on your mind, as well as accustoming you to utilizing the riches of your reading…. Finally, whenever the occasion demands, the stuff of speech will be ready to hand, as if safe nests had been built, whence you can take what you wish.

Collecting and dealing with commonplaces proceeded on two vaguely separable levels, initially enabling orientation by the headings, but also functioning as *exempla*, models, or *sententiae*. More elaborate verbal entries (suggestions, arguments, etc.) formed actual commonplaces (“new meaning,” according to Moss), rhetorically assimilating the basic models (headings, exempla, etc.) and defining them in the process. The commonplaces hence included both the basis, *exempla* in the broad sense, as well as also rhetorically regulated technique,¹⁵ which was correspondingly very extensive, and introduced not only ornamental means (in music, this would be diminutions).¹⁶

¹⁴ Quoted from Schubert 2010, 166.

¹⁵ Moss thus stipulated the difference as: “The examples of commonplace-headings listed by Erasmus take the form of propositions (*sententiae*) or comparisons (*comparativa*) susceptible of debate… By calling them ‘loci communes’, Erasmus has brought the notebook, or, rather, commonplace-book, firmly into the ambit of rhetorical and dialectical discourse....” (Moss 1996, 110; cf. Schubert 2010, 165–7.) Moss termed the whole process as “commonplacing.” Schubert formulated a two-level overlapping distinction: “In sum, the term ‘commonplace’ can refer both to the heading and to the thing collected under it; it can be a single abstraction or a more composite proposition, proverb, lesson, or maxim; it can be drawn out of an exemplum or it can be used to label a box to put exempla in; and it can refer to different angles from which we question an argument.”

¹⁶ Peter Schubert considered embellishments as the only possibility of forming commonplace technique in music, though he focused only on Francisco de Montanos’s treatise *Arte de musica teorica y pratica* 1592: “Strictly speaking, music can serve as a heading to other music under
**Choosing the Exempla**

The first step, according to Erasmus, should be to collect a suitable number of *exempla* or headings (“as many headings as will be sufficient”). One way was for lutenists to select text excerpts from esteemed lute-music authorities. Francesco da Milano and Marco Dall’Aquila were named as providing sources for the headings by scribe B in Herwart’s tablatures. The scribe also indicated by exact titles several intabulation models by Josquin des Prez, Ludwig Senfl, Claudin de Sermisy, and Adrian Willaert. He was evidently attempting not only to label the entries precisely, but also to determine them generically, thus the inscription “Ist ain Madegal” (it is a madrigal), D-Mbs, Mus.ms. 266, fol. 65r, or “[…] de Jannequin / Voglsang der erstthaill” (Jannequin, birdsong, the first part), D-Mbs, Mus.ms. 267, fol. 41v. Entries in the manuscript D-Mbs, Mus.ms. 267 do, however, occur with hardly any headings, possibly indicating a different approach to the repertoire. For obtaining the exempla did not necessarily mean copying the model from start to finish and recognizing that it was to be treated as a “work” per se. The model could have been “excerpted” at any point. The order of the excerpts was irrelevant. The procedure differed fundamentally from intabulation, where the lutenist copied the piece measure by measure and voice by voice and actually referred to it as “the piece.”

If we take fols. 48v–1–8 and 49r–1–4 of D-Mbs, Mus.ms. 267, according to Christian Meyer’s *Catalogue*, a “parody” of the Fantasia no. 24 by Francesco da Milano (= Ness 1970, no. 24; Meyer 1994, 213), we see that Francesco’s fantasia was not a model for the sketches: only the first two fantasia sections conformed to it, that is, mm. 1–11 and 12–28 out of ninety-two measures (five sections) of the entire fantasia. Moreover, these sections were presented in a very reduced, simplified form, not to be considered at all in conjunction with some restricted circumstances. Consider the case of a simple version acting as a heading for different ornamented versions of the same basic framework, as in the example by Montanos [...].” (Schubert 2010, 188, fn. 38). “The musical example, like the emblem, will be a specific *exemplum* at the lowest level. Yet the headings above a given example may be divided and subdivided” (Schubert 2010, 168).

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17 D-Mbs, Mus.ms. 266: *inter alia*, “Recercare de/ MD.LA” or “Ricircar de M.MD.Laqla” (= Marco Dall’Aquila), fols. 21r–9, 21v–1–8, 22r, 23v–26v; *inter alia*, “Recircare de Francesco” or “Re[cer]car Fran[ces]co de Mil[ano],” fols. 29r–5–9, 38r–38v.
18 D-Mbs, Mus.ms. 266: *inter alia*, fols. 41v–43v; 46v–47v, 51r–51v.
19 Lutenists were well aware of these two opposing techniques: the selection of *exempla* in the sense of commonplace practice and intabulation that was faithful to the original. Both techniques were used by the same scribes, both being provided also for learning purposes. Göllner described in detail the intabulation technique utilized by scribe B in the literal intabulation of the motet “Aspice domine” from D-Mbs, Mus.ms. 1511c (Göllner 1984, 87f.).
with Francesco’s fantasia. Another example: in musicology, the often mentioned “Recercata a Joan Henrico Herwart” has been considered an entire piece, probably the only one with the completely formulated dedication to Herwart. Closer examination has shown that “the piece” had at least one break on fol. 32r: between the end of the third line and the beginning of the next or fourth line in both variants, from the sign “/” and from the sign “⁺”. The music added as marginalia also did not fit with any variant. Thus, the “Recercata” was not a whole piece, as if this repertoire were in line with Erasmus’s recommendations not to copy foreign works, but to show personal initiative and creative power in using commonplaces.

As with other commonplace collections, Herwart’s folios consisted of small units that could be combined and exchanged as in a patchwork. Rarely were they bound with each other continuously together, and never were they presented as a whole piece. When a linkage of commonplaces did occur, only one of the text construction possibilities was shown, that is, how a piece could be created, without presenting a finished result (see Part 3 of this article).

With exempla, the scribe focused on the basic technical pattern of com-

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20 Measures 4–6, the actual continuation of the fantasia opening, were canceled; Herwart also did not show the change of register for the paired imitation, mm. 12–3, with the help of which Francesco exposed the second soggetto in order then to append a longer section. Omitted was likewise Francesco’s entire dynamic and inventively rich fantasia continuation—the real attraction of this piece. We might have expected that Herwart’s scribe would at least have exemplarily adopted the embellished formulas from the further course of Francesco’s fantasia, but this also did not interest him either, for the exempla remained without diminutions, the scribe offering his own diminutions, far removed from Francesco’s fantasia.

21 “Now in reading authors I should not like you to follow the practice of today’s common run of teachers who, through some perverse ambition, attempt to treat every passage as a text for exhaustive disquisition, but would like you to confine yourself to those points alone which are relevant to the interpretation of the passage under consideration—unless the occasional digression seems appropriate to enhance their enjoyment” (Erasmus De ratione 2016, 682).

22 Owens described this characteristic of commonplacing: “The impression that these examples [the commonplace sketched four- and six-voice compositions of Juan Pablo Pujol] create […] is of a piece constructed like a mosaic. In Frosh’s case the stones are interchangeable. The segments are often contiguous, and as a result we see a passage divided up into tiny components, too small to make much sense musically, but evidently large enough to be thought of as building blocks.” (Owens 1997, 193). Schubert showed this as an example from Francisco de Montanos’s Arte de musica teorica y pratica 1592 and Pedro Cerone’s El melopeo 1613: “[…] these commonplaces suggest that we should be focusing on very small compositional units. The ones given by Montanos and Cerone are just the beginning of the compositional process; like sententiae borrowed from famous authors, they are meant to be varied, expanded, and worked into long passages with more entries” (Schubert 2010, 185). With the analysis of “modal commonplaces” and “places” based on formal structure, he emphasized another perception of music in the commonplace tradition: “So, to truly participate in the commonplace tradition, we must run music ‘through the places’, asking questions that lead to new headings under which we could collect more examples” (Schubert 2010, 168).
position necessary for teaching or practicing alone. The scribe took, for example, the three- to four-part harmonization of the scale-like descending motion within the structure of parallel tenths in g (Example II, Aa), a cadential formula with characteristic dotting and suspension in the upper voice in g (Example III, section b), an imitation model—indicating three-part imitation with a distinct soggetto beginning with repeated pitch d’’” (Example II, Ca). Despite the simple appearance of the exempla, it could be seen that the scribe was interested in varying the ways of filling in chords (harmonizing of scales, repetitive tones, and circular melodic motions), as well as in elementary contrapuntal processing of distinct soggetti. Cadential formulas had an essential closing function in these entities, or the exempla looked completely like cadential models.

Instrumentalists’ knowledge of rhetoric and their use with musical text forms and speech melody (in vocal genres) were also fundamentally significant in selecting and processing the musical commonplaces mentioned to reproduce the melody and the technical compositional gestures of the chansons and especially of the madrigals of the 1540s. Most of these parallels can be found in Jacob Arcadelt’s oeuvre. Phrases A and C in Example I.1 can be heard in the madrigal “Quando talhor el mio unico sole” from Il Terzo Libro de’ Madrigali (Venice 1539; RISM 153923, 154111, 154320, 155622) (Example I.2). Phrase C is similar to soggetti from the madrigal “Luce creata in terra” of the same madrigal book or “Qual mai più vagh’e bella” from Di Vicenzo Ruffo il terzo libro di madrigali (RISM 155531, 155532; Exemples I.2 and I.3). Phrase A can be found as the essential soggetto in “Gite sospir dolente” from Il primo libro de madrigali (RISM 154115). On fol. 45r1 we can see that the scribe was immediately working with a vocal template when selecting Phrase C: he wrote the bass voice in mensural notation (Example I.5) on seven lines. So far, I have only been able to find a very close variant among the surviving madrigals of Arcadelt in “Deh quanto fu pietoso degli amanti” from Il Terzo Libro de’ Madrigali (Example I.4). We cannot rule out that on fol. 45r4 scribe B has already modeled the voice, because the melody always returns to the g and does not take up the area of repercussion d, as Arcadelt usually did (compare Exemples I.4 and I.5). In any case, the lutenist adopted the most concise, short, and correspondingly memorable head motifs just as in the sense of commonplace practice. In addition to its linguistic clarity and syntactic explicitness, he was obviously interested in the contrapuntal and harmonic transfer of such patterns (see the parallels between Exemples I and II and the variants of Example C). We can assume that the madrigals, just like classical texts by Cicero or Aristotle, were analyzed in detail in terms of the text excerpts or phrases to be derived. Since scribe B was of Italian origin and most of his intabulation models date to 1545, he could quite conceivably have
worked directly with the Arcadelt madrigals likewise originating up to 1545.

Organizing the Exempla as Desired

The next step that Erasmus spells out in the passage quoted above was that of organizing headings or exempla as desired: “arranged them in the order you wish, and have placed the appropriate divisions under each.” At first glance the Herwart collection folios would give the impression of being a matter of chance. Many tablature lines really make no sense in the usual, continuous reading direction from left to right (Ill. 3–4). Exempla, together with elaborated variants, nevertheless formed a carefully thought-out system of relevant signs helpfully conveying practical skills. The places where diminutions could be inserted, like the diminutions themselves, were marked with signs *, °+, #, or + (fols. 48v5 and marginalia; 48v7 and marginalia, 45v3 and marginalia; 32r3 and 32r7; compare fol. 48v in Illustration 3). The symbol °+ also indicated diminutions and harmonic variants in single formulaic phrases (fol. 48v7 and bottom marginalia). Harmonic variants without diminutions were marked with the sign +° (fol. 49r4 and marginalia, compare fol. 49r in Illustration 4). There was also a number of symbols indicating the addition or omission of other (new) compositional sections. These structural changes were marked with familiar graphic symbols: * and +° (both with added diminutions: fols. 43v4 and 43v7, 32r4 and marginalia), and a fermata-like sign (fol. 48v2).
Illustration 3. D-Mbs Mus.ms. 267, fol. 48v, © Bayerische Staatsbibliothek.

Illustration 4. D-Mbs Mus.ms. 267, fol. 49r, © Bayerische Staatsbibliothek.
The scribe furthermore endeavored to clarify graphically the syntactical boundaries of the commonplaces—essentially earmarking the fact that, among other things, short musical contributions were actually to be understood as relatively independent entities. Included here was attention to the bar line, functioning in a way that was often not metrically accented, but rather syntactic or phraseological. Bar lines framed a commonplace, usually concluding with a cadence, separating it from the other commonplaces or their variants. Such marking of commonplaces would guide players even when the scribe might be writing hastily, entirely without any rhythmic markings (fol. 45r⁶ first and last measures). They helped to indicate when the scribe was innovating, for example, a different end to a commonplace transposed to a new lute register (fols. 43v¹, Example II, Cp), or connecting to an embellished section (fol. 43v⁷, Example IV, the last line). Extending a commonplace by enriching its own sections, for example, by sequenced cadential formulas, was also a reason for including the whole entity within a syntactical measure (fol. 44r¹, the first half of the tablature line).

The boundaries of the commonplace could be recognized by symbols: crosslike lines or + (fols. 49r³; 45/44r², 48v², Illustrations 3–4). Corrections of small errors were also indicated by an extended cross. To delimit commonplaces the scribe also utilized Greek alphabet letters: φ, ρ, and ψ (fols. 48v², 49r¹–³, Illustrations 3–4).

Working Out the Exempla: Variatio—Musical Specifics

The variatio summed up the basic method of processing rhetorical material. The given pattern should be written down, analyzed, and memorized in as many variants as possible, ideally in all conceivable variants.²⁴ Erasmus recommended dividing the basic examples into segments, placing the variants for the headings or exempla one beneath the other, and adding commonplaces or sententiae.²⁵ In practice Erasmus showed hundreds of combinations

²⁴ “Sometimes they [the pupils] should express, again and again, the same proposition in different words and style. Sometimes they should vary the expression of the same proposition in Greek and Latin, in verse and prose. Sometimes they should express the same proposition in five or six kinds of metre which the teacher has prescribed. Sometimes they should recast the same proposition in as many forms and figures as possible” (Erasmus De ratione 2016, 678; cf. also Erasmus De Copia 2016, 301–2). According to Cicero, Ornatus is said to “offer variety” and “thereby counteract the weariness and disinterest (taedium) of the listener” (Ueding and Steinbrink 2011, 284).

²⁵ “and arrange them as you please, subdivide them into the appropriate sections, and under each section add your commonplaces and maxims.” See the quotation from Erasmus above (Erasmus De Copia 2016, 638).
written together above a sentence, such as, for example, 147 variants of the sentence “Your letter pleased me mightily” (tuae literae me magnopere delectarunt) and 200 variants above the sentence “Always, as long as I live, I shall remember you” (semper dum vivam tui meminero) (see Erasmus De Copia 2016, 349–64). The student had to memorize all these examples and practice them together in a group, either orally or in writing (Erasmus De Copia 2016, 303). The student, furthermore, should also be able to master variatio, on both a semantic and syntactic level.26 Several examples of variatio in “Syntax or Construction” and “Change in Sentence Form” can be found in Erasmus De Copia (see excerpts: Erasmus 1514, Cap. XXXII, Cv–Ciiir; Erasmus 2016, 350–353):

Tuis ex literis singulari sum affectus laecitia.
Maximae voluptati mihi tua fuit epistola.
Nimisque iucunda nobis tua fuit epistola.
Ubi mihi tuae sunt redditae literae, laetitia sum expletus.
Tuis literis oppido que laetabundus sum effectus.
Verbis eloqui nequeam quantis gaudiis me tua oneratit epla.
Ita me Musae bene ament, ut nihil antehac accidit tuis literis gratius.
Nulla voluptas, nullae sunt delitiae, quas cum tuis literis conferre velim.

Your missive was to me a very great delight.
Your epistle was an incredible joy to me.
Your epistle was to us one of great delightfulness.
Once I had read your affectionate letter, I was carried away with a strange happiness.
I was both pleased and delighted that you communicated with me by letter.
I cannot find words to tell the joys that your letter loaded on me.
As I aspire to the love of the Muses, nothing more gladsome than your letter has ever ere this befallen me.
There is no pleasure, no delight, that I would willingly compare with your letter.

Musicians reviewed rhetorical techniques and brought out their own specifically musical main points for best addressing their instrumental theoretical and practical needs. Scribe B from Herwart’s tablature wrote at least nine variants for Example C, adding to only one of the versions diminutions created from the marginalia (Example II, Ca–Ce, Cl). He provided a total of twenty-eight variants, including two with short diminutions inserted (Example II, Cg–Cn). Since the lutenist did not seem to have had enough space to

26 “We can also vary our expression by changing the way our phrases are linked together” (Erasmus De Copia 2016, 345).
place the variants strictly one below the other, he used his sign system (see above), though in individual cases he also used this technique to further comprehension (fol. 45r).

The lutenist’s aim was to try out as many practicable chordal and contrapuntal variants as possible, offering as options added diminutions or specific technical performance possibilities (such as changing register or fret positions). He was also supposed to convey all elements in all their possible contexts, that is, in terms of their musical, syntactical connotations. For example: the three-part beginning and the contrapuntally moving cadence of Example II, Ca, was simplified to two parts and a modestly interpreted chordal cadence in Example II, Cd. The two parts of the beginning could also be learned just in the lute’s upper register in parallel sixths with a new harmonic variant—a “deceptive cadence” at the end (Example II, Ce). When Example C was to be played simply in three parts, it would be possible to add a typical diminution model offered in the marginalia with the corresponding asterisk marking (Example II, Cb). Exactly how this would happen was spelled out in Example II, Cc, the scribe having shifted the bar lines in the excerpt by a whole note, thus achieving in the phrase a fine metric variability. The addition of a diminution formula would also be possible a half note later, with immediate cadencing (indicated in Example II, Cf). The next variant, however, had moved on to the original final cadence closing by the bar line (Example II, Cg). It was nevertheless to be understood as an entity, in that case without a double cadence, as in Example II, Ca. This example showed how important for the lutenist the possibilities of syntactically changing the Example were: shortening it down to the small motto, or expanding it up to the longer phrase, concluding with a cadence.

Erasmus saw the use of synonyms as an important path to elegance and persuasiveness. He analyzed in detail which words could be replaced by which other words and went separately into different groups of words: in “vulgar,” “unusual,” “poetic,” “archaic,” “obsolete,” “harsh,” “foreign,” “indecent,” and “new” (Erasmus De Copia 2016, 308).

The lutenist set similar priorities in the treatment—and accordingly in the study—of the modal-harmonic profile of commonplaces, since changes in their modal profile were most likely to promote their practicability: the more pitch registers and modes learned, the more flexible in practice the options became for adaptation and combination. Parallel to forming synonyms in language, this technique offered the greatest number of possible combinations: The commonplace C was formed with cadences on almost all scale pitches with variable modal solutions: on g, a, B flat, c, d, D, and F (Example II). This ensured that harmonization was as variable as possible. The beginning of the c sound (mostly chordal) was coupled to the cadences in d, e, and
Teaching for the Amicus 67

g (Example II, Cp, Cj). The beginning of the E-flat sound (mostly chordal) merged into the cadences in F, e, and, indicated as a deceptive cadence, also in E flat (Example II, Co, Cn). The commonplace, starting from the g sound, was finally concluded with the cadence in g, d, or in B flat (Example II, Cg, Cl). There were also commonplaces based on the sequencing of these cadences, which could be used to arrive at other pitch registers: e, C, and G (fol. 44r1).

That musical syntax was a high priority for the lutenist could be seen in the teaching of diminution conveyed in the sketches. The scribe understood diminutions in two ways: they could form a basic pattern and belong to exempla in the sense, for example, of being in the form of a short cadential set phrase. They could, however, also appear (in the sense more usual in musicology) as that of ornamenting the basic pattern. The lutenist, though, showed the possibilities of diminution mainly in conjunction with the compositional structure (syntax) of the commonplaces. The emphasis was therefore on the part of diminution theory not considered in traditional sixteenth-century music theory sources, though having come from the rhetorical realm. One of the techniques was to change the commonplace from within with the aid of short, individual diminution formulas. The length and overall impression of the commonplaces were not altered (fol. 48v7-8, Illustration 3, Example V, last line with the first two embellished variants from marginalia). The commonplace could also be extended from within through expanded passages (fols. 49r2). The lutenist furthermore demonstrated the formation of variants from without, in fact—the extension of the musical phrase by short diminution formulas or other separate commonplaces with diminutions placed beforehand or afterward (Example II, Co). Only one of these options was to eliminate the commonplace completely with diminution. There were only two examples of this in which the sentence basis was clearly identified, and the derived variants were also written here “one beneath the other” so that the reader would not be confused (Example II, Cp and Cq).

3. Compositio: Teaching of Instrumental Composition

What more would now be done with the commonplaces studied and already worked out in versions? How was the lutenist supposed to spin out, improvise, or write down a piece? Erasmus wrote, “Finally, whenever the occasion demands, the stuff of speech will be ready to hand, as if safe nests had

27 Short diminution clichés are a normal element in musical commonplaces (Owens 1997, 193).
been built, whence you can take what you wish.”28 What was meant here by “nests”?

It was probably a matter of finding connections and transitions, that is, everything that could ultimately but not necessarily lead to a text or performance attempt. Rhetorical compositio, as well as overall instrumental practice around 1550, existed in two intertwined areas: in the form of either extempore composition or written texts, in which “creating” predominated (Historisches Wörterbuch 1994, col. 301). It was therefore also more important for practical reasons to notate as many variants of connections as possible, than to put forth a finished piece.29

The lutenist left behind on folios analyzed in this article at least ten compositio suggestions that could be reconstructed based on his signs or ordering of commonplaces and their variants. Most of them had generally known compositio characteristics, such as recommending that shorter rather than longer sections first be assembled, that individual sections (ideas) be memorable and self-contained as well as clearly structured.30 The lutenist’s compositio proposals formed just as clear parallels to the Erasmus instructions as if these were part of their possible practical realizations. It was an absolutely special feature of this material that learning compositio from it—learning to improvise and write instrumental music—was made possible for the lutenist.

Let us now compare some passages from *De Copia* and *De rationi studii* by Erasmus with music suggestions by the Herwart scribe B.

As a first step, according to Erasmus, the performer could put together a short but expressive compositio, as if writing a letter: “At one time he should set out the subject-matter of a short but expressive letter in the vernacular which has to be construed in Latin or Greek or both” (Erasmus *De ratione 2016, 678*). One of the initial exercises was structuring the existing material into at least two parts and then expanding it. This compositio could either conclude without a known end or with a fixed end (Erasmus *De Copia 2016, 572–6*, classified them as variatio 1 and variatio 2; cf. Ueding and Steinbrink 2011, 217).

Taking the series of exempla A, B, C, D, the lutenist might possibly continue with the starting commonplaces in reverse order, and in fact with

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28 Quotation from Erasmus, see above.

29 Erasmus recommended practicing a compositio this way: “have the general statement set out right at the beginning, and then take it up again in a different form of words, returning to the basic idea as if you have wearied of enumerating details, even if in fact nothing has been omitted” (Erasmus *De Copia 2016, 574*).

30 “The period has at least two divisions. […] Your achievement must be to bring an idea to a conclusion. It should be clear enough to be understood, but not so inordinately long that it cannot be kept in mind” (Ueding and Steinbrink 2011, 328).
the variants of C and B (Example III). This continuation remained without diminution, ended in the starting mode (in g), but was compositionally largely open (according to Erasmus—variatio 1): the cadence in g followed sequenced chords that were graphically concluded by several lines, but not musically finished. If the lutenist were now to follow the asterisk, the end of the ordering process would be with Co, concluding with the cadence in c (Example IV). This section would insert the diminutions and contrast into his compositio. Formed overall as a result was a two-part compositio analogous to the Erasmus variatio 2.

Another option was, according to Erasmus, to omit shorter, briefly presented events, writing instead flowery clarifications of their circumstances (variatio 4; Erasmus De Copia 2016, 576–7). The Herwart scribe built an analogy to this: in his compositio he suggested replacing the commonplace C with its very close variant, placed two lines below (fol. 43v6, Example II, Ce). He could thus achieve harmonic and technical compositional variability even before the asterisk sign, and then choose a suitable (conclusion?) section in g (as in variatio 1) or in c (as in variatio 2), with or without diminutions. If he went to the variant in fol. 43v2 (Example II, Cq) before the asterisk sign, he arrived at the continuation with complete diminutions, now with sequential diminutions and cadences in d and twice in g.

So that the reader could follow the intention, the scribe repeated the beginning exempla several times, thus articulating the start of a new compositio suggestion. The lutenist could now basically opt to produce a longer and multipart compositio through juxtaposing and repeating, chainlike, the commonplaces or their variants. Erasmus described this method in detail (Erasmus De ratione 2016, 678–9):

On another occasion he should set a fable, on another a short but meaningful narrative, on another an aphorism composed of four parts, with a comparison between each of the two parts or with an accompanying reason attached to each. At one time the adducing of proofs should be dealt with in its five parts, at another the dilemma in two, at another what is called expolitio or refinement should be developed in its seven parts. Sometimes, as a prelude to rhetoric, the pupils should deal with one of the parts separately.

For Erasmus, it was important that the performer practice in different forms or genres and in various versions and lengths, in order to be able to try out the extension—thus, the multipart system with up to seven parts—as well as to insert contrasting sections. It was clear from his description that Erasmus found working separately with a part or section and figuring out its variants useful (Erasmus De Copia 2016, 589f., 605).

The lutenist implemented these recommendations as follows: playing the
new *compositio*—from fol. 48v²—the lutenist could insert a longer extension of variants C: after the first part with sections A B C D, he combined C three times and B with C twice, clearly concluding with two fermatas the whole *compositio* that finally cadenced in g (Example V). One of the next exercises created by the lutenist is the possibility of using the marginalia and embellishing separate sections (see Example V, penultimate line, and fol. 48v⁷-⁸, with marginalia). In general, the exercise was carefully written on the three last lines of fol. 48v and contained a small number of additional signs (Illustration 3). We can assume that the scribe considered this exercise as being relatively finished in form, the next, resulting stage being the writing of “Ricercata a Joan Henrico Herwart” (fol. 32r).

Scribe B left behind c.1550 an instrumental teaching of commonplaces and compositio, together with instruction to the lutenist on using which building elements in improvising and recording exercises. He not only taught about diminutions, but above all about compositional construction from shorter excerpts to longer pieces, with harmonic, modal, and technical variability. The background to this teaching was sixteenth-century Latin-language-related rhetoric and pedagogy.

The technique briefly shown here opens up perspectives for investigating so-called nonliteral intabulation and reconstructing it in today’s performance practice, in general. The detailed results of this study could become a basis for further researching Herwart’s manuscripts.

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Baden-Baden, Bouxwiller: Valentin Koerner.


Example I.1: Jacob Arcadelt, Madrigal "Quando talbor el mio unico sole", Il Terzo Libro de i Madrigali, Venice 1539, RISM 1539/23
Example I.2 and I.3: Jacob Arcadelt, Madrigals "Luce creata in terra" and "Lasue che pur hormai", Il Terzo Libro de i Madrigali, Venice 1539; RISM 1539/23, in both Discantus and Altus
Example I.4: Jacob Arcadelt, Madrigal "Deh quanto fu pietoso degli amanti", Il Terzo Libro de i Madrigali, Venice 1539; RISM 1539/23, Bassus, D-Mbs, Mus.ms. 95#B, fol. 44v-45r

Examples II–V: these examples from D-Mbs, Mus.ms. 267 have been decrypted from the tablature as close as possible to the original (lute in A).

All pitch errors, crossed-out notes, rhythms, and bar lines are authentic. If rhythmic markings were absent, black notes were written without stems.
Ex. II (continuation)

Cf fol. 45r

Cg fol. 45r

Ch fol. 45r

Ck fol. 44r

Cm fol. 48v

Cn fol. 48v

Co fol. 43v
Ex. II (continuation)
Ex. V

[Music notation image]

Journal of the Lute Society of America
Raucous? Penetrating?: The Sound Ideal of the “Calichon” Instruments

PIETRO PROSSER

ABSTRACT The members of the lute family known as calichon (galizona, calchedon, gallichona, etc.) and mandora are now commonly used in the historically informed practice of music of the late baroque and classical periods. Research has advanced considerably since the 1970s through the systematic collection and interpretation of documents, sources, and iconography. In spite of this, many lutenists approach the calichon and mandora in a way that is still too simplistic and utilitarian, especially with regard to tuning, but even more so with regard to their ideal sound. The present study, focusing on the calichon (more widespread than the mandora in modern musical practice), seeks to open the way to an investigation of its sound qualities by rereading the documents already known and proposing new ideas about the origin of the calichon. Research in recent decades has sought to define the individual identity of the calichon, looking with growing suspicion at the association with the Italian colascione made by early scholars (Daniel Fryklund and others), which was used simplistically and based on overly populist connotations. A more careful analysis of the relationship between the colascione and calichon and the calichon’s use in the Jesuit monastic environment leads to interesting developments not only concerning the ideal sound of the calichon, but also on the use of the instrument for teaching, solo playing, and accompaniment.

KEYWORDS Calichon, Mandora, Colascione, Jesuits, sound, penetrating

Prologue

For more than twenty years researchers have been working systematically and in depth toward definitions of the so-called lutes known as calichon and mandora.¹ They have been studied with respect to their geographical spread, repertoire, similarities, and differences, creating a more than convincing picture.² This situation has pushed some more intrepid contemporary lutenists to use the calichon, above all for performances of ensemble music from a more historically informed perspective. However, this trend is still influenced by personal ideas and habits not only in terms of tunings, but especially in terms of the ideal sound of the two instruments. Since the calichon has a greater practical profile, it will be the focus of this study.

¹ The complexity of the terminology is discussed in Prosser 1996, and a classification is proposed in Schlegel 2020. Pending a definitive resolution, I prefer to merge “colochon” and “gallichona” under the single term “calichon,” as I did in my thesis.
² Much work remains before a complete bibliographic review can be completed. The situation to 1996 can be found in Prosser 1996. See further studies by Kirsch, Schlegel, and Reipsch.
**Act One: The Penetrating Kuhnau**

Every informed lutenist associates the word *calichon* with the German verb *penetrieren*. As is well-known, the term was used by the cantor and trade unionist Johann Kuhnau who, in a memorial letter addressed on December 4, 1704, to the “regierenden Herrn, Bürgermeister zu Leipzig, und getreuen Vorsteher der Kirchen zu St. Thomae, Herrn D[omini] Johann Alexander Christen,” reminds his superiors:

> [...] Die weil wir auch bey unsrer Kirchen *Music* die so genannten *Co-lochonen* (eine Art von Lauten, die aber *penetrieren* und bey, allen izigen *Musiquen* nötig sind), immer von andern borgen müßen, sie aber nicht allermahl geliehen bekommen können; So ist zum wenigsten ein gut Stücke von solcher Art mit einem Futterale vor beyde Kirchen nötig, und befindet man in deren Verfertigung den Stadt Pfeiffer, *Marcum Buchnern* sonderlich glücklich [...]\(^4\)

(because we always have to borrow the so-called colochons [a kind of penetrating lute that is necessary for all our church music] from others, but we cannot borrow them all the time; so at least one good example of this kind with a case is needed for both churches, and those made by the town musician Marcum Buchnern are particularly suitable.)

The spread of the term “penetrating” in the imagination of lutenists is due not so much to Spitta, who first published the document together with two others in 1709 and 1717 (Memorial 1704, Memorial 1709, Memorial 1717—see note 4) but to the well-known work of Laurence Dreyfus (1987) on Bach’s continuo group. Dreyfus was the first to focus attention on the calichon. The enthusiasm aroused among lutenists, both professionals and amateurs, by the possibility of having a lute with a *penetrating* sound, more “intuitive” than the baroque lute and that “resolved” the problems posed by the lute parts in J. S. Bach’s music, makes it increasingly difficult and almost controversial to have a divergent objective opinion, even if Bach (in whose music we find no direct or indirect reference to the calichon) uses the more

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\(^3\)Johann Kuhnau graduated in law in Leipzig. His thesis was published as Kuhnau 1688.

common “lute” as the name of his concertante instrument.\(^5\)

The topic of the Kuhnau Memorials was taken up more recently by Ralph-Jürgen Reipsch in two documented articles that systematically address the topic of the massive presence of the calichon as a continuo instrument in the works of Georg Philipp Telemann (Reipsch 1998, Reipsch 2007). Reipsch also reports the three Kuhnau accounts in their entirety (Memorial 1704, Memorial 1709, Memorial 1717), analyzing them in relation to Telemann’s stay in Leipzig (1701 to 1705), when the composer must have known the potential of the calichon. In these accounts Kuhnau makes pragmatic and detailed requests to his superiors (the mayor of Leipzig, the dean of the Thomasschule, the city council), based on his experience in the Thomasschule and the Leipzig churches of St. Thomas, St. Nicholas, and St. Paul. From the documents, even the later ones (Memorial 1709 and Memorial 1717), we get interesting documentary, aesthetic, and acoustic references that can be summarized as follows:

- Kuhnau considered the calichon not only suitable, but necessary for “modern” church music.

  [...] Die weil wir auch bey unsrer Kirchen Music die so genannten Colochonen (eine Art von Lauten, die aber penetriren und bey, allen izigen Musiquen nötig sind). [Memorial 1704]

  [...] in ganz Europa und auch bey uns starck bestellet wird, da bey denen beyden Violinen immer zum wenigstens 8 Personen stehen, und folgeng- tlich zu denen gedoppelt besezten Braccien, zu Violonen, Violoncellen, Caliconen, Paucken und andern Instrumenten mehr. [Memorial 1709]

  [...] in meinem ersten Chore bey der heitiges Tages gewöhlichen starck- en Music von viel Sing- als Concert- und Capell-Stimmen, oder den sogenannten Ripieno, und Instrumenten, als viel Violinen, Violen, Bässen, als Violonen, Violoncellen, Calichonen, Basonen nötig […] [Memorial 1717]

- He contrasted the calichon with the baroque lute, which he implicitly considered less suitable for continuo.

  Colochonen (eine Art von Lauten, die aber penetriren […] [Memorial 1704]

- He reports that a calichon was already being used at the Thomasschule, privately lent by a Herr Keeß, head of the Leipzig post office:

  Der selige Herr Ober Postmeister Keeß hatte einen dazu ergeben, der aber vor dem Jahre, weil man die Donation nicht erweisen können, dem

\(^5\)On the basis of unknown information or beliefs, the syllogism is now widespread: J. Kuhnau used the calichon / J. S. Bach was the successor to J. Kuhnau > Bach used the calichon. My opposition to this reasoning was explained in Prosser 2012.
• He considered it necessary to have more than one calichon, both for the Thomasschule and for the churches of St. Thomas and St. Nicholas. It leads to the conclusion that three instruments could be used:

Doch wäre [...] hingegen zum wenigsten ein guter Colocion so wohl zum Gebrauche in der Schule, als auch sonderlich bei der Kirchen Music, dabei auff's wenigste ihrer zwey zu seyn pflegen, von nötigen [Memorial 1709, §3]

So ist zum wenigsten ein gut Stücke von solcher Art mit einem Futterale vor beyde Kirchen nötig. [Memorial 1704]

• The calichon is almost always named in the plural (Memorial 1704: “Colochonen,” [Memorial 1709, §3]: zum wenigsten ein guter Colocion [Memorial 1709, §12]: “Calicionen,” which suggests the use of more than one instrument at the same time, according to a practice compatible with the “modern” practice of the ripieno with its instrumental doubling as observed by Kuhnau [Memorial 1717]: “in meinem ersten Chore […]”

• To ensure the use of more than one calichon, a case was requested so that the “nonresident” instruments could be transported from one institution to another (Memorial 1704: “mit einem Futterale”), as was done with trombones and violins.

Futteralen, wie wohl nicht ohne Beschwerung und gänzlichen Schaden allemahl aus einer Kirche in die andere trüge; (for the violins): ein einiges Futter mit 6 Fachen. [Memorial 1704 (for the trombones)]

• Kuhnau twice recommended a builder of his acquaintance, Marcus Buchner from Leipzig:

befindet man in deren Verfertigung den Stadt Pfeiffer, Marcum Buchner sonderlich glücklich [Memorial 1704]

Der Stattpfeiffer Buchner, macht dergleichen gute und von starken Klangen. [Memorial 1709]

The data available so far do not allow us to know if the cantor finally obtained the desired calichon, or if he had to continue the occasional loans from Herr Kees; the very fact that the pleas take place over thirteen years go against the hypothesis. Nor, to my knowledge, are there any documents that the instruments were granted under the subsequent cantor (J. S. Bach), although the sound and organological qualities of the calichon make it, in terms of today’s performance practice, entirely suitable for his music.

The situation in Leipzig, therefore, seemed to have frozen, and is somewhat emblematically depicted in a print of 1710, showing the cantorei of St. Thomas, with a calichon of not large size (apparently in D, as an amateur like
Herr Kees might have owned) that seems to struggle to penetrate the wall of sound of colleagues and the church organ at which Kuhnau himself probably sits (Unfehlbare Engel-Freude 1710).

Plate 1. Unfehlbare Engel-Freude oder geistliches Gesang-Buch, 1710. Title page.

The most eclectic Georg Philipp Telemann—well-known for self-promotion and more independent of the city’s institutions—after having caught
wind of the acoustic possibilities of the calichon during his stay in Leipzig, adopted the instrument and used it systematically in three (maybe six) concerti grossi (Reipsch 1998, 89) and about 450 of his cantatas.

Entering into the field of hypothesis, Telemann himself may have used the calichon made by Marcus Buchner, and that must have really existed if Kuhnau was able to judge it (unless it was an advertising _boutade_) as “of strong sound” (Memorial 1709: von starckem _Klange_). This is the characteristic pointed out by Reipsch but without delving deeper, perhaps because of its subjective quality, instead dwelling on the verb _penetrieren_, which he describes as a sound rich in upper harmonics, necessary, as with the harpsichord, to give better definition to the sound of the lower bowed strings and winds. Reipsch writes (2007, 209-10):

Für die Kirchen unter Kuhnaus Direktion wurde eine Basslaute verlangt, die einen stärkeren Ton als die “normale” (Bas-)Laute besaß, eine Laute die _penetriert_ (durchdringt) und von starckem _Klang_ sei [...] Interessant ist diese Äußerung, weil sie auf das klangästhetische Bedürfnis hinweist, die mit Violone, Violoncello, Bassano und Organo besetzte Generalbassgruppe dur die gerissenen Saiten der durchdringenden, vielleicht obertönigeren Basslaute zu konturieren und aufzuhellen—ähnlich wie man vom Cembalo kennt, das in Kuhnaus Memorial wohlweislich nicht erwähnt ist.

(For the churches under Kuhnau’s direction, a bass lute was required that had a stronger tone than the normal (bass) lute, a lute that “penetrates” and is “of strong sound” [...] This statement is interesting because it points to the aesthetic need to outline and brighten the basso continuo group with violone, violoncello, bass, and organ with the stretched strings of the penetrating, perhaps more overtone bass lute—similar to the harpsichord, which Kuhnau’s Memorial does not mention.)

Finally, Reipsch reports, without necessarily accepting it, the hypothesis that emerged at a conference (12th Arloser Barock-Festspiele, 1997) that identified the _penetrirend_ sound with “a particular kind of stringing, e. g. metal strings” (Reipsch 1998, 106: “eine besondere Art der Bespannung [...] z. B. Metallsaite”). I do not know any calichon in its original state that carries traces of a tailpiece and pegs for metal strings such as found on plectrum

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6 The syllogism sound loud / high tension > metal is another of the fixed ideas of the modern practical lutenist who, sometimes armed with documentation interpreted ad hoc, nonhistorical material (nylon), and convinced (not always rightly) of the greater resistance to bending of metal compared to gut, believes that metal will be the panacea to cut through the sound mass of the orchestra.
instruments, and I think that the use of fingers on the gut (documented and independent of whether with single or double courses), combined with the proportions of the instrument, guarantees that distinct sound (penetrierend) that enticed Kuhnau and Telemann.

**First Intermezzo: An Anthology of Misunderstood Definitions of the Sound of Lutes**

Every modern lutenist develops an arsenal of survival techniques that, in the case of the calichon, is expressed in three equations, applied *mutatis mutandis* to other lutes:

- strength = long string length
- chordal capability = tuning in D
- sound projection = single-strung instrument

These beliefs are often documented, but as you know, documents can be interpreted subjectively with sometimes opposite results. To give just a few examples, I want to start from afar, recalling the preface “A’ Gli studiosi del Liuto” that opens the Alessandro Piccinini lute book of 1623. A passage in it is often taken as proof of the use of metal strings on lutes to obtain a loud sound. In the chapter headed “Dell’origine del Chitarrone, et della Pandora,” we read (Piccinini 1623, 5, cap. 28):

Il chitarrone armato di corde di cetra, come s’usa particolarmente in Bologna rende armonia molto suave [...]. Hora che gli ho levato alcune imperfezioni [...] havendogli rimesso la quinta corda, e la sesta, et li contrabbassi di fila d’argento [...] et chiamato questo stromento così fornito Pandora [...], tiene l’armonia longhissima, e profonda assai, che è cosa rara per accompagnare una voce che canta, e sta accordata assaiissimo

(A chitarrone strung armed with *cetra* strings, particularly as used in Bologna, renders a very sweet sound [...]. Now that some imperfections have been removed from them [...] having put back the fifth string, and the sixth, and the contrabass strings with a silver wire [...] and called this instrument strung in this way a Pandora [...], it sustains the sounds for a long time, and very deeply, which is a rare thing when accompanying a singer’s voice, and accords with it very well.)

The passage describes a sound that is sustained, free, with a deep timbre that I would dare to call chest voice, but it is very difficult to turn it around
so this “very soft sound” should be a “strong sound” (*starckem Klange*). Even the reference to strings with a “silver wire” seems to refer more to wound strings than to solid metal strings and, even so, it is not an unequivocal interpretation.

Another case of aesthetic-acoustic overturning is the case of the guitar. When a lutenist is not able to stand out (*penetrieren?*) from the orchestra even with the theorbo, he starts a storm strumming the guitar. I even remember that once, assuming the use of the calichon for a Telemann production, the conductor, making an explicit rasgueado gesture, asked me: “But can you play like a guitar?” As we know, however, the guitar was not only used for rasgueado, indeed the opposite sound ideal appears more common in the imagination of the time. If we take, for example, the following song from Henry Purcell’s *Ode to St. Cecilia* (1692, Z.328), the text by Nicholas Brady (inspired by John Dryden) reads:

In vain the am’rous flute and soft guitarr  
jointly labour to inspire  
wanton heat and loose desire;  
whilst thy chaste airs do gentle move  
seraphic flames and heavenly love

In the corresponding *Ode for St. Cecilia’s Day* (1739, HWV 61) by Georg Friedrich Handel, John Dryden’s text answers (substituting the guitar with a lute):7

The soft complaining flute  
in dying notes discovers  
the woes of hopeless lovers,  
whose dirge is whisper’d by the warbling lute.

Also in this case, it is not a demonstration of strength but of soft vitality, in keeping with a text into which an obvious double meaning can easily be read and in which, whether the guitar or the lute, they are gentle actors (feminine, in the viewpoint of the age) and “schmeichelnd” as the term used to translate the Handelian “warbling.” We will encounter this term again, used by the fiery Johann Mattheson (1713, Pars III, Cap. III, §14, p. 274).

Similar aesthetic meaning is found in a description of the mandora contained in a manuscript preserved at the Státní Archív in Brno, but originally

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7 The characterization remains in the German version by W. A. Mozart: “Der Flöte Klangton/beseufzt in Trauernoten / die Qual trostloser Lieber, / zu Grabe wispert die sanfte Laute” (no. 5 in Mozart, *Ode auf St.Caecilia Day* K592 [1790], text by John Dryden, translated by Gottfried van Swieten).
from the Benedictine monastery in Rajhrad (Czech Republic). On the back cover you can read the poem that tells how the mandora is “. . . a comforter of hearts, / a relief from pain, / a pleasant bride, / but also / an image of vanity” whose “best string . . . springs into play when lovingly pressed” (CZ-BA, Ms. Kart. 296. E. 6. fol. 139):

Die Mandora ist für wahr
   eine Trösterin der Herzen,
   eine Linderung der Schmerzen,
   eine angenehme Braut,
   doch ist sie auch
   ein Bilt der Eytelkeit,
   dann wan uns lieblich druckt
   springt ihr die beste Saith.

Even when the mandora took on dimensions comparable to those of the bass calichon in the musical environment of Eichstätt (Germany), the instrument was not treated in the manner described by Kuhnau. The third stanza of the ironic song “Der Mandorfeind,” composed on June 2, 1794, by Georg Schinn, tells us that Saul is indeed killed by the sound of a Mandora, but . . . softly (D-Eu, Esl. VIII 81a):

Besänfriget ward König Saul einst schon, 
durch Davids Harfe Zaubermacht. 
Durch einen einzigen Mandora Thon, 
hätt er ihn süsser umgebracht.

In conclusion, even when the lutenist’s common sense (or the director’s expectation) would require a forte sound, often the lute (or mandora, calichon, or guitar) responds with an opposite quality. To go back to the beginning of this brief excursus, Alessandro Piccinini already surprises us when he speaks “Del suonare Piano, e Forte” (on playing piano and forte [Piccinini 1623, 1, cap. 3]):

[…] Fra le molte singolarità del liuto, l’una delle principale è l’havere il poter suonarsi piano, e forte, il che è cosa molto affettuosa, ogni volta però che venga a proposito esercitata; perché quando la composizione è allegra, all’hora si deve suonar forte, ma non crudo, et aspro […] si suona poi piano, dove la composizione ha del cromatico, o melancinico, o del grave, overo ha delle durezze; ma però in modo che il suono riesca dolce, et non sordo, o muto.

The score for Bass, 2Vl, Vlne, Vc, 2 Cor1 (ad lib.) calls for two mandoras, one in D, the other in B.
Among the many special features of the lute, one of the main ones is to be able to play soft and loud, which is one of its attractions, but every time it is needed to be done, for example when the composition is cheerful, it should be played loudly, but not with a rough or brittle sound [... and one can play softly where the composition has some chromatic or melancholic passages, or some gravity or it has some harshness; but so that the resulting sound is sweet, and not inaudible, or muted.)

In this passage we find associations that go against contemporary common practice: fast—loud—not rough and brittle on the one hand, and soft—sweet—not inaudible or muted on the other. In essence, the dynamics correspond to a sound always of well-defined character and adequate to express the affections, but without extremes. In another passage Piccinini (1623, 1, cap. 2) expresses this sound ideal in a highly emotional way:

moltò importante è il suonare netto, et polito; di maniera che ogni minimo tocco di corda, sia schietto, come perla.

(it is very important to play cleanly and with polish; so that every little pluck of the string is distinct, like a pearl.)

**Act Two: Baron versus Mattheson**

The analysis of the defense of the calichon (and denigration of the baroque lute) by Johann Mattheson helps to specify the conclusions set out in Act One, while at the same time drawing unexpected parallels with Kuhnau’s sound idea (Mattheson 1713, 274-79 and Mattheson 1727, 109-24). This defense is part of a tough controversy between Mattheson (a character certainly not easy to deal with) and a true partisan of the lute, Ernst Gottlieb Baron. Thus the analysis of the aesthetic-acoustic terms used must be treated with caution (Baron 1727, 132). The cause of the querelle was the entry on the lute published by Mattheson in the *Neu-Eröffnete Orchestre*, dedicated more to its denigration than to its description. It contains four interesting maxims, the second of which is still widely quoted today (Mattheson 1713, 274-77):

Die schmeichelnden Lauten haben wirklich in der Welt mehr Partisans als sie meritiren;

[...] Denn wenn ein Lauteniste 80. Jahre alt wird, so hat er gewiß 60. Jahr gestimmet;

[...] ich mir habe sagen lassen, es koste zu Paris einerley Geld, ein Pferd und Laute zu unterhalten;

[...] Was einer in Cammer-Music mit dem General-Bass auff der Laute
praestiren kan, mag wol gut seyn, wenn mans nur hörete.

(The soft-spoken lutes really have more devotees in the world than they deserve;
[...] For when a lutenist becomes 80 years old, he has certainly spent 60 years tuning;
[...] I have been told that, in Paris, it costs money to maintain a horse and lute;
[...] Whatever one is able to do on the lute when used for continuo in chamber music, may well be good, if one could only hear it.)

The baroque lute is branded as schmeichelnd (softly spoken), wenn mans nur hörete (inaudible) but also betrigerisch (deceptive), and of an insinuante Klang (ingratiating sound; Mattheson 1713, 275). It is also relegated to solo or chamber music because of its finto (fake) accompaniment. Instead, the calichon, perfectly in line with Kuhnau, is considered suitable for vocal music (church and theatre), without specifying due to which sound characteristic, but certainly not for an ingratiating sound (Mattheson 1713, 277):

in Kirchen und Opern ist das prätendierte Accompagnement der Laute gar zu lausicht und dienet mehr sich Airs, als dem Sänger Hülfe, wozu der Calichon geschickter ist

(in churches and operas the pretentious accompaniment of the lute is even too audible and serves more for Airs than to be the singer’s help, for which the Calichon is more apt.)

Like Kuhnau, Mattheson also considers it appropriate to accompany his description of the calichon with an emblematic adjective, based more on technical performance criteria than sound, but not at all incompatible with the descriptions of it as penetrrierend and of starckem Klange. The meaning used implies in fact an instrument that enables clear and decisive performance (the schietto come perla [frank as a pearl] of Piccinini?), strings that even at speed do not lack inertia—in short, characteristics that cannot fail to produce a penetrating sound (Mattheson 1713, 279):

Wir wollen den Calichon (welches ein kleines Lauten-mäßiges mit 5. einfachen Sayten bezogenes und fast wie die Viola di Gamba gestimmtes Instrument (D.G.c.f.a.d.) endlich permissiren daß er dann und wann doch in Gesellschaft des herrschenden Clavieres ein Stimmchen accompagniren dürffe [...]9

9The description, using the adjective prompten, is used subsequently in Stössel 1737 (p. 73),
(We want finally to allow that the Calichon [which is a small lute-like instrument with five single strings tuned almost the same as the Viola di Gamba (D.G.c.f.a.d.)] be permitted to accompany now and then alongside the principal harpsichord)

It is a great pity that Mattheson, prey to sarcasm, let slip a clear inconsistency in describing the tuning of the calichon, defining it as of five courses tuned in D. If, however, we remember that tunings for five courses did exist, and we have an “Accord pro sex chordis ad modum Viola[e] di Gambe” (D189, fol. 3r), it follows that Mattheson must have simply mixed up two sources known to him (but perhaps not to us). The interesting thing is that the author does not mention a bass calichon (for example, in A), but a corista (kleines Lauten = medium) in D, therefore compatible with the kind already mentioned in use at St. Thomas’s Leipzig under Kuhnau.

Continuing with the quarrel between Mattheson and Baron, however, one can argue the possibility of using low instruments (in A, or even B or G) as a possible interpretation of the sound ideal of Kuhnau and Telemann (Baron 1727, 132):

Er [Mattheson] meint auch daß der Calichon bey dem Accompagnement weit nützlicher sey, erinnert sich aber nicht dabey es pars testudine und nur ein Lautenbaß, pars aber nicht mehr seyn könnte als sein totum, zumahl es gar vernünftig, daß man so viel Saiten, mehr als auf drey, vier, bis sechs Chöre machen kan.

(He [Mattheson] also thinks that the calichon is far more useful in accompaniment, but does not remember that it is partially a lute and only a lute bass [since a part is not greater than the whole], partially but not totally, especially since it is reasonable that it can have many strings, more than three: four to six courses.)

If we observe that Baron, with academic pedantry, says that the calichon

Majer 1732 (p. 71), Majer 1741 (p. 88), and Lück 1954 (p. 25), where all consider prompten an acoustic characteristic of the instrument. For an analysis of the constructive evolution of the calichon, I refer here to the detailed article by Bob Van De Kerckhove, whom I thank for having shared its contents in various personal talks in advance.

10 In the manuscript CZ-Bmn, D189 (Brno, Moravské Museum), fol. 3r (olim fol.7r), under the heading “Callezono” are two of these tunings, one correct (a e c G D), a second (perhaps not by chance?) incongruous but easily correctable ([g d b] F C). As an example, let us recall that the original bass calichon by Gregor Ferdinand Wenger (Augsburg 1714), currently in my possession, has nine original tuning pegs, which allow a five-course stringing (1 + 4x2).

11 In various recent studies Prof. Dieter Kirsch has given statistics about these tunings.
would be only a *pars testudine* or a *Lautenbass*; we can speculate that he is referring not to a *corista* calichon (which, for example, in the tuning d-a-f-c-G-D, in comparison to the lute, lacks the chanterelle and three basses), but to a bass instrument, for example, tuned a-e-c-G-D-A (lacking the lute’s two uppermost courses, but no missing basses). Listing together *drey, vier, bis sechs Chöre* (three, four, up to six courses), Baron actually shows a certain obstacle in dealing with the subject, by demonstrating (on purpose?) that he does not know how to distinguish between the German instrument and the Italian colascione. The importance of this will be understood later on.

The furious response was not long in coming: in the famous *Lauten-memorial*, mocking Baron’s academicism, Mattheson (1727, 123) insists on the meaning of *kleines Lautenmäßiges* (small usual lute) to describe in all its dignity a variant lute (rather than an aberration):


(It is true that the part is not more than its whole, but it can be better and more useful: the ribs are part of a lemon, and yet much healthier than all the rest of the fruit. This I say on behalf of the calichon, which can indeed be called a lute of reduced size, but cannot be called just a part of it, as Mr. B. does on page 132.)

### Second Intermezzo: Calichon versus Colascione

A question arises at this point: from where came the idea of developing a variety of lute with a sound so different from that of the baroque lute that it triggered an academic brawl? We need to take a step back and consider the history of the reception of the colascione.

When I was working on my Tesi di Laurea in the early 1990s, in a letter to a calichon expert, I mentioned the need to clarify the relationship between the colascione/calichon and the mandola/mandora. The answer was more or less: “It’s time that the colascione/calichon relationship disappeared

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12 This section is based on my paper “Neue Wege in der Calichon/Mandora Forschung—Colascione und Calichon auf der Autostrada del Sole,” given at the Lauten-Symposium Matthias Siegmund Biechteler von Greiffenthal und die Lauteninstrumente im Salzburg Museum (Salzburg, Universität Mozarteum, May 21–23, 2015).
from research; incidentally, do you know that the inventor of the Filofax was called Colichon?" As a symbolic distinction of the colascione/calichon, I take Mattheson’s inscription “Calichon ou est tu?” written alongside the article “Colascione” in Walther’s Musik Lexicon (Walther 1732, 174, citing Bonanni 1722):


(Colascione (Ital.) Colachon (French). n.m. A musical instrument of 2 to 3 strings, very common in Turkey, especially among women, whose body is round, like a lute, but very small; the neck, however, which is divided into 16 frets, is 6 shoes in length. The Arabs call it Dambura. The Neapolitans need it very strong, and strum the strings with a plectrum, or with a quill. See Bonanni Gabinetto Armonico p. 100, c.f. Mersenne. lib. 1 Harm. Instrument. wherein it the 7th Proposition given as Chithara bichordos, and in the 24th proposition, explained in more detail, according to figure and use.)

The difference between colascione and calichon must have been clear at the time, but when secondary literature in the first half of the twentieth century restarted a process of defining the entities colascione and calichon, this followed a difficult path. First, however, it is necessary to make a detour to the primary literature, starting from the well-known description of the calichon (here galizona) published by Tomáš Baltazar Janovka in his work Clavis ad thesaurum magnae artis musicae (Janovka 1701, 57-59):

Galizona aut Colachon, Turcicae etiam Nationi valde usitatum Instrumentum Musicum a Testudine essentialiter, seu quoad ludendi modum non discrepans; nam testudinarii illi ludendi modi, et observationes etc quas maniram vocant, pleraeque huic applicari possunt: differens tamen multitudine chordarum et earum concordandarum methodo; itemque collis seu manubrii longitudine. Duplex Galizona passim inventur: alia sex cordarum ordinibus, vulgo choris; alia octo instructa. Utraque rursus dupliciter se habet: nam alia, excepta prima seu tenuissima chorda reliquas in quovis ordine

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13 Private correspondence. Name suppressed in the interests of privacy.
duplicatas, alia autem omnes simplices tenet. Haec autem prima chorda
tum in hoc tum in alio huic simili instrumento cantarella vocatur, sic dicta,
quod praecipue peram cantabiles melodia absolvatur. Et hoc instrumentum
Basso generali ludendo potissimum idoneum est, cujus accord sex ordinum
seu chororum tam simplicium, quam duplicatorum est sequens.

Quod si octo chororum, seu ordinum sit; tunc inferior post chordam C
chorus in ♮ [in upper case and with an “x” above] vel B. [with an “x” above
it] infimus autem in A [with an “x” above it] naturale vel molle pro diversi-
tate generis, Cantus aut Toni Musici concordari solet: et idem etiam de sexta
quandoque chorda C nominata in Cis aliquando mutanda intelligendum
est. Ejus ambitus, seu infimi & supremi soni circumferentia et terminus (si
de sex choris quaeatur) a C magno, usque ad ♭ [with a dash above] una cum
suis interiacentibus semitoninis communiter repetitur; quod tunc verum est,
si ligatureae germanice Bunden circa collum factae, et per semitonium a se
distantes septem reperiantur; quod in exemplo generis diatonici per notas
posito sicce evenit.

(Galizona or colachon, a musical instrument much used amongst the Turks,
does not differ from the lute in its essence or in its manner of playing, for
the techniques and style of playing the lute, known as Manier, can largely
be transferred to this instrument, even if it differs in the number and tuning
of the strings, and in the length of the neck or fingerboard. Generally, there
are two kinds of galizona. One is strung with six pairs of strings (commonly
called “courses”), the other with eight. Furthermore, both of them [i.e. 6 or
8-course galizona] are found set up in two ways: in one all courses except
the highest are double strung, while in the other all the strings are single. This first string is called the “chanterelle” both in the former instrument and in the other, similar one, because the singing melody is performed principally on this string. And this instrument is particularly suitable for playing basso continuo; the tuning of its six courses, both the single and double ones, is as follows: [picture]

If it has eight courses, then the string next lowest to C is customarily tuned to B or B♭, and the lowest to A or A♭, depending on the key, the melody or musical tone. The same procedure applies whenever the sixth string is tuned from C to C♯. Its range, the circumference and boundary between the lowest and the highest sound (speaking of an instrument with six courses) extends from C2 to F4, repeated in the same way [in each octave] with its intervening semitones. This is true if there are seven [eight?] frets (called Bunden in German) around the neck, located a semitone apart, as is apparent in this example of the diatonic genus, written out note by note.) [picture]14

With lucidity and calm not known to Mattheson and Baron, Janovka compares the calichon and lute since, according to him, they do not differ either in construction (a testudine essentili) or in performance technique (quoad ludendi modum non discrepans). The use of the plectrum or quill can also be excluded, being, as we will see, a characteristic of the colascione. The galizona differs from the lute in the number of strings and tuning, but it is characterized by a longer neck than the lute (at least in appearance) and can be six or eight single or double courses, but with the chanterelle always single. The tuning is a-e-c-E-D-C for the six-course instrument, and a-e-c-E-D-C-B/B♭-A for the eight-course instrument, taking into account that the sixth course can be tuned to C♯ if required by the key. Concerning the length of the neck, as also noted by Janovka, there is a lack of precision because while he says that the instrument has seven frets (ligaturae germanice Bunden), he depicts eight (ambitus C-f). Due to the greater similarity with the viola da gamba, it seems to me that latter information is probably more exact. Finally, as do Mattheson and Kuhnau, Janovka prizes the calichon for its versatility for basso continuo (Et hoc instrumentum Basso generali ludendo potissimum idoneum est).15

14 This English translation was made for me by Dr Grantley McDonald to whom I express my sincere gratitude.
15 Lück 1954, p. 10 quotes for this purpose the passage from Mersenne 1636-37: “une, deux, ou trois cordes par dessus une vessie de porc, ou quelqu’autre corps creux pour faire le Bourdon, que quelques-uns appellent Basse de Flandre, & qu’ils roignent [sic] au Violon, & aux
So far, everything is clear. However, one thing that has always struck me about Janovka's description is its opening: “Galizona, aut Colachon, turcicae etiam nationi valde usitatum Instrumentum Musicum.” This apparent incongruity of claiming a Turkish origin is clarified by comparing the tradition of the descriptions of the colascione (not the calichon!) in earlier treatises. Athanasius Kircher, one of the Jesuit fathers devoted to the scientifically correct definition and orthodox dissemination of knowledge in all its manifestations, published in 1650 a diagram of a colascione showing its tuning and accompanied by the caption “Typus trichord Turcici vulgo Colachon,”16 practically identical to the first words of Janovka's description. The colascione is considered exotic (Turcici), but already has a popular European name (vulgo Calachon). The figure provided by Kircher is quite similar to the one published by Marin Mersenne, a Minim friar but also of Jesuit education who, in his musical writings published in Latin and French from 1636 to 1648, devoted ample space to the description of the colascione, speaking widely of its tuning, its construction, and its use (“Propositio XXIV. Bichord, Trichordique, seu Colachonis figuram et usum”).17

According to Mersenne, the instrument had two or three strings, but could have even more for “whenever many voices are singing,”18 a practice that already seems to allude to transformation and the repertoire of the calichon. From the indexes of the Latin edition of Mersenne it is clear instead

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Cymbales & Tambours pour accroistre l’Harmonie” (2. Parte, Lib. 2, Proposito XVI, fol. 99r-99v.), but in my opinion it seems an imprecise reading of the text.

16 Kircher 1650, Tomo I, Liber VI, Caput II De Testudinibus, Mandoris, & Cytharis, Iconismus VII, p. 477. The same description is found in the German edition by Andreas Hirsch (Hirsch 1662), Liber III Organicus, §2 Von der Citharn, pp. 180ff.: “Die Türkische hat einen überaus langen Hals mit 3 Saiten wird colachon genent ihre Concordanz ist dise c’ c” g.”


18 “quaspiam plurium vocum Cantilenas recitare”; Mersenne 1636 and Mersenne 1648.
that the name *colachon* is not a synonym, but the vulgar French name of the more scientific term *cithara bichordos*. This term is compatible with Kircher’s definition (*vulgo Colachon*), but not with its Turkish connotation.\(^{19}\) This passage should be investigated further, as Janovka, also (by chance?) a Jesuit, in describing the *galizona* in 1701 seems almost to replace Mersenne’s detailed description with the equally detailed and fundamental one for the information contained, of a calichon, except for repeating Kircher’s incipit: “*Galizona aut Colachon, Turcicæ etiam Nationi valde usitatum Instrumentum Musicum.*”\(^{20}\)

Is this simply a reference to *auctoritas* or to an actual refutation of the alleged origin of the calichon? British scholar James Talbot was faced with the same bibliographic problem when describing a colachon belonging to the Moravian (naturalized English) Gottfried Finger (c.1695):\(^{21}\) although the measurements and tuning described are unequivocally those of a six-course bass calichon in A (with the alternative tunings of the sixth course given by Janovka), his meticulous bibliographic references are drawn from the colascione (*Colachon*) described by Kircher and Mersenne, defined here as Italian (in line with Mersenne 1636 and 1648):

Y. COLACHON. Mr Finger. 7 Frets.

[on a staff:] C, D, G, c, e, a

A’


All Instr[umen]ts that have but one two or 3 Strings may be referd to this or the Monochord.

Tis an Italian Instr[umen]t of 4 or 6 Feet in length: where it has but two Strings they are tuned 5th: where 3, to 8th and 5th viz [on stave] c’, c”, g”, tho there are several other tunings; tis somewhat like the Lute having a very long Neck to give more room for the extent of its strings. mers. Instr. Gall. l. 2 pr. 16.

Its Belly and Ribs described in the Lute.

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\(^{19}\) Mersenne 1636 and Mersenne 1648, p. 9, under “*Nomina instrumentorum istius libri*”: this information could provide an interesting way to understand the pronunciation of the German terms *calichon*, *calchedon*, but also *galizona* (which is not an autochthonous Bohemian term), to be read *alla francese* similarly to the German variants *gallichona/e*, *gallischona/e*, etc.

\(^{20}\) Janovka 1701, 57, following [sic] the entry *Galliarda*: even this detail, though negligible, betrays a certain linguistic embarrassment when dealing with the name of the instrument.

\(^{21}\) In the so-called *Talbot Manuscript* (Canterbury, Christ Church Library, Music Ms. 1887).
Mersenne and Kircher Musurg. l. 2. f. 2 makes 16 frets or divisions on the Neck of his Colachon (Instr. Lat. l. 1. pr. 24 and Gall. 2. 16). tis not usual to have more than 8 or 9 Frets on the neck of other Instrs: it fit only for 2 or 3 pts according to the Nr of Strings. Id. Instr. l. 1. pr. 24.

Frets 16 from b to r so that each String has compass of 10th maj. n sounding octave to the open.

The Belly sometimes made half Firr half Parchment, sometimes of Glass, Laton etc. the best of Firr. which fittest for this and other Instrs being free from Knotts.22

The problem of the differentiation/identification of the colascione/calichon can be found in various sources, such as the writings of the imperial preacher Johann Ulrich Megerle (better known through the pseudonym Abraham a Sancta Clara). In a famous poem of his, *Narren-Mess* (Chaos of Fools), the street and night musicians are attacked: “Ein andrer aber spielt Theorb und Galishan” (But another of them plays *Theorb* and *Galishan*: Megerle 1751).

This identification is reinforced by the *Speculum musico-mortuale*, edited by Abraham Megerle, a musician in Salzburg and uncle of Johann Ulrich Megerle. Here, a tiorba is represented in a form very similar to a colachon (Megerle 1672, 36, tab. 7).

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I read this “oversight” as an indirect and interesting characterization of the calichon’s role as “reinforcement-bass,” for which the Missa Presentationis by Sances finds a good witness, where a part for “Basso per Galizone, ó Tèorba” is found. Perhaps it is no coincidence that the finicky Mattheson also considers both the calichon and the theorbo (thanks to its bordoni) suitable for playing continuo (Mattheson 1713, 278):

allein es befinden sich darauff 8. grosse Sayten im Basse, die zweymahl so lang und dicke sind, als der Lauten ihre 6. wodurch der Klang so geschmei-dig und summend wird, daß viele die Theorbe dem Clavir vorziehen wollen

(but there are 8 large strings in the bass, twice as long and thick as the lute’s 6th, making the sound so smooth and humming that many prefer the theorbo to the harpsichord)

In this context, it is not surprising that the problems of identifying instruments and roles present in the sources have made the work difficult, especially in primary research. Below I list just a few examples of secondary literature that naturally influenced the sound image of the calichon for a long time:

• 1898 Wilhelm Kleefeld identifies the calichon with the lute (Kleefeld 1898);

• 1926 Joseph Zuth fails to differentiate between colascione and calichon (Zuth 1926);
• 1936 Daniel Fryklund overlaps colascione and calichon in the museological area (Fryklund 1936)\textsuperscript{23}; and

• c.1980 Ruggero Chiesa still uses only the word *colascione* in his Brescianello and Schiffelholz editions.\textsuperscript{24}

\begin{figure}[h]
\centering
\includegraphics[width=0.5\textwidth]{plate4.jpg}
\caption{Classification of colascione and calichon (Fryklund 1936, 104).}
\end{figure}

Returning to the primary literature, historical descriptions of the colascione have in common that the instrument was used in Turkey and in Italy (especially Naples). This topos is still so deeply rooted in the collective imag-

\textsuperscript{23} Fryklund (p. 104) provides two interesting instruments from the collection of the Musikwissenschaftliches Instrumentenmuseum (now Museum für Musikinstrumente) der Universität Leipzig, whose almost equal shape makes it hard to sustain the different denominations of colascione and calichon.

\textsuperscript{24} Brescianello 1981, Schiffelholz 1971. This shift can also be found in recent writings, such as the article by Mauro Gioielli (2006).
ination that it commonly invokes images of the famous scenes of the *Balli di Sfessania* (c.1620) by Jacques Callot. It is further important to note that these Neapolitan figures from Callot’s *Commedia dell’Arte* were not engraved in Naples but in Florence.

A good example of the Neapolitan topos is Burney’s description in *The present state of Music in France and Italy* (1771). He describes a Neapolitan who played a colascione with such unusual modulations from E-flat major to A major, without reference to the classical rules.25

The equation that the “colascione equals Naples” was first mentioned in the treatise of Filippo Bonanni (another Jesuit!) in 1722, and remained unchanged until the encyclopedias of Wälther (1732) and Stössel (1737). Here is the description I will discuss further on (Bonanni 1722, 100, tab. LV):

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25 “[... ] The national music here is so singular, as to be totally different, both in melody and modulation, from all I have heard elsewhere. This evening in the streets there were two people singing alternately; one of these Neapolitan Canzoni was accompanied by a violin and calascione. The singing is noisy and vulgar, but the accompaniments are admirable, and well performed. The violin and calascione parts were incessantly at work during the song, as well as the ritornels. The modulation surprised me very much: from the key of A natural, to that of C and F, was not difficult or new; but from that of A, with a sharp third, to E flat, was astonishing; and the more so, as the return to the original key was so insensibly managed, as neither to shock the ear, nor to be easily discovered by what road and or relations it was brought about.” The footnote reads: “The Calascione is an instrument very common at Naples; it is a species of guitar, with only two strings, which are tuned fifths to each other.” Burney 1771, 297 (Naples, Wednesday 17[-10-1770]).
Colascione. La figura seguente rappresenta una donna Turca in atto di suonare un’Istrumento di tre corde, molto usato nella Turchia, e principalmente dalle Donne. In lingua Araba si chiama Dambura, in Italia Colascione, come si dice dagl’Autori della Crusca. Frequentemente anche si suona nel Regno di Napoli, battendosi le corde col plettro, o con una penna. Ren-de un suono rauco, essendo le corde molto lunghe, e la testudine di piccola mole, come si vede nell’immagine presente, presa dal libro pubblicato in Parigi, e disegnato in Costantinopoli per ordine di Monsù Ferrajol stato ivi Ambasciadore del Rè di Francia. Suole essere lungo tal volta sei piedi nel manico distinto in sedici tasti, alle volte è armato di sole due corde.

(Colascione. The following figure represents a Turkish woman in the act of playing a three-stringed instrument, widely used in Turkey, and mainly by women. In Arabic language it is called dambura, in Italy colascione, as it is said by the authors of the Accademia della Crusca. It is also frequently played in the Kingdom of Naples, strumming the strings with a plectrum, or with a quill. It makes a raucous sound, the strings being very long, and the bowl of small size, as seen in the present image, taken from the book published in Paris, and drawn in Constantinople by order of Monsù Ferrajol in the presence of the Ambassador of the King of France. It is customarily long, up to six feet, with the neck divided into sixteen frets, sometimes strung with only two strings. [Followed by a figure of a seated woman playing a Calascione Turchesco.]

As Bonanni admits, the drawing is not original, but is a recomposition of the same subject, drawn in 1714 by Jean-Baptiste Vanmour at the invitation of the French ambassador to Constantinople, Charles de Ferriol (Vanmour 1714, 51). The explanatory text corresponding to the figure speaks in this case of an instrument similar to the Italian colascione, but of different name and tuning, demonstrating that Bonanni (like Mattheson for the calichon) also assembled information that was not entirely consistent (Vanmour 1714, 16):

Ces cinq Estampes ont dequoy plair et amuser. Le Canon est une espece de Tympanon et le Tchegour une espece de Guitarre à cinq cordes dont in jouë avec un morceau de baleine.

(These five Prints are sure to please and amuse. The Canon is a type of zither and the Tchegour [tamboura] is a type of guitar with five strings, played with a piece [bone] of whale.)
Plate 6. *Fille Turque, jouant de Tehegour* [sic] (Vanmour 1714, 51).

Even the clear European traits badly hidden by the Turkish dress of the tchegour/colascione player leave doubts about its authenticity, placing itself rather in that vein of imitation of the exotic, recaptured in a portrait of the legendary Jeanne Antoinette Poisson, marquise of Pompadour, alias Madame Pompadour, in Turkish dress by Charles-Andrè Van Loo. All this only increases interest, since it is an attempt to overlap European and oriental culture, which in the case of the colascione opens up new avenues of investigation.

Only at the end of the century was the Neapolitan explanation eclipsed: the colascione was no longer played by Turkish women, but as the mandora frequently played by Polish women (Andersch 1829, 292); no longer by traveling virtuosi such as the brothers Colla and Merchi, but by farmers; no longer in the academies, but at parties (Schilling 1835-1842, vol. 2, 80). In short, the colascione is presented as outdated or forgotten (Koch 1802, col.

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26 Charles-Andrè Van Loo, *Odalisque Playing a Stringed Instrument* (tchegour?), oil painting, undated, private collection. A reproduction by the Bibliothèque nationale de France, Département Musique (Fonds Albert Pomme de Mirimonde, Collection de documents iconographiques, Boîte 17, Concerts parodiques—Exotisme, 443) available online.
The same applied to the mandora (Lichtenthal 1826, vol. 2, 22). On the contrary, if we want to go back in time, especially in poetry, but also to the colascione imitations in cultivated music, the Neapolitan instrument goes back at least a century. The Turkish, however, dates back long before that, namely from the description by Tinctoris in *De inventione et usu musicae* (1494), which was reproduced by Mersenne and Kircher. I believe that the definition of *Turkish* did not serve as an organological origin, but offers a sense of exoticism, like the orient or Naples.

But was the colascione always just exotic, always so far away from the transalpine world? By way of northern Italy, the traveling *Commedia dell’Arte* brought figures (Harlequin, Pulcinella) into Europe, while absorbing local figures (Pantalone, Hanswurst, Leopold, Jackl, Lisel, etc.) at the same time (Kratochvíl 1987, 494). Some time ago, in my master’s thesis, I showed that some of the texts and melodies of the mandora/calichon repertoire come from Viennese and Moravian collections of texts and melodies of the *Teutsche Comoedie* (Prosser 1996, 120ff.). Included in this discussion is the tradition of carpets made by Andreas Pirot for the Venetian Hall of the Würzburg

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(The lyra commonly called the lute, and the various instruments derived from it, including the viola, rebec ghiterra, cetula and tambura; their inventors and past and present methods of stringing and tuning. Chapter four. [...] The miserable and puny instrument which the Turks with their even more miserable and puny ingenuity, have evolved from the lyra and call the tambura has the shape of a large spoon and has three strings, tuned to octave, fifth and fourth; it is played either with the finger or with a quill [...] Finally, when the Turks, that most barbarous race, took Otranto, the capital of Apulia, by a trick (in the tenth year of the pontificate of Pope Pius IV [1480], after a four months’ siege), and subsequently surrendered themselves to that warrior Alfonso King of Naples in fear of their lives, I happened to be in Naples and myself heard various tunes played on the tambura, which I have already described; tunes which they played in private, being allowed to do so to console their captivity. The extravagance and rusticity of these pieces were such as only to emphasize the barbarity of those who played them.) After Baines 1950, 21-25.
Residenz in the years 1740-45, especially for outdoor banquets. Here, a noble society imitates the “German” Commedia dell’Arte, the so-called Teutsche Comoedie, with Hanswurst sitting in the center; below, Colombina not only plays an instrument that could be a mandora, but also reads a sheet of music that is absolutely readable in a Linz copy. The melody is not only compatible with the melodies of Lambranzi’s dance school (Lambranzi 1716), but also with many pieces for mandora/calichon.

Example 1. Anonymous, Adelige Gesellschaft mit Hanswurst, Harlekin, Pierrot und Scaramouche, the melody played by Colombina in an oil painting now in Linz, Oberösterreichische Landesmuseum, Inv.Nr.820-1-G331, originally from Schloss Bergheim (Aschach an der Donau, ed. the author).

In the ecclesiastical domain, numerous churches in the regions of Piedmont, Lombardy, and the Veneto have representations of lutes with a long neck, small body, pegbox, and no drones, which undoubtedly recall the colascioni as, for example, in the fresco the Trionfo di S. Michele painted in the second half of the eighteenth century by Giambattista Canal in the parish church of Caselle d’Altivole (Treviso). These images are known to have been painted according to patterns. Andrea Pozzo, the official fresco painter of the (again!) Jesuit order, who left works in Rome, in central and northern Italy, and in central Europe, was a witness to this tradition. The fresco known as La glorificazione di San Francesco Saverio in the Chiesa della Missione in Mondovì (Italy), where an angel plays a colascione, was finished by Pozzo in 1676. If we consider that Pozzo died in Vienna in 1709, his work coincides with Megerle and Janovka. Could Pozzo’s paintings have served as a model for Neapolitan colascioni, like the original colascione by Joseph Rieß (Bamberg 1719)?

Returning to dance and festivities, a yet unknown corpus of court files concerning illicit dancing and music, coming from the so-called Destra Adige (west of Rovereto in Italy), offers new clues. Dancing was rigidly regulated both publicly and privately in the eighteenth century, and only allowed at certain festive times, when the colascione was used, as we can read in Schilling’s *Encyclopädie der gesamten musikalischen Wissenschaft* under the lemma *Calascione oder Colascione* (1835, vol. 2, 80). Any unauthorized exception was punished with imprisonment or, in the case of innkeepers, revocation of their license (Lunelli 1990). Statistically seen, the acts of the second half of the seventeenth century use the word *chitara*, or from 1705 to 1777 *calisson* or *calissone* and *calissonecino*. Only around 1775 does *colascione* disappear and give way again to the *chitara* or *chitarra*.

One can understand both the context of the performances and the instrumentation. The most common instrumentation was “Calisone, con instumenti da fiato piva e subioto, et ballare” (1795), where the colascione accompanies the voice and colascione (1761) or the violin, cimbalo, and colascione (1771). There are other cases, however, where the colascione is played solo (1766) or accompanied only by a cimbalo (1774). The place of performance was either the street or the stable, and the occasion was the so-called *filò* (evening family gathering in the stable) or the court for a girl, which often changed into armed quarreling (1784).

One documented case attracts more attention. In 1770 one Domenico
Bonapace persuaded the player Gerolamo Maffei to play secretly in the kitchen of the innkeeper of Sasso (court of Nogaredo, i.e., the seat of the Lodron family, with links to Salzburg). Maffei said:

mi presentò un chitarrino, affinché suonassi da ballo, ed or l’uno or l’altro della compagnia suonava il cimbalo, [...] e frattanto gli altri ballavano tra di loro [...] il che vedendo io ruppi due corde del chitarrino affinché non mi obbligassero a suonar d’avvantaggio [...].

(he presented me with a chitarrino, which I should play for dancing, and now one or the other of the company was playing the cimbalo, [...] and in the meantime the others were dancing among themselves [...] when I saw that I broke two strings of the said chitarrino, so that they didn’t make me play for a profit [...].)

Maffei goes on to say that the other one woke up the host’s daughter and granddaughter to make them dance, and

mi obbligarono a suonare perché m’avevano pagato da mangiare, e da bere, ma appena suonai poche danze, ruppi anche le altre corde, affinché dismesseron di ballare come di fatto è anche seguito.29

(they forced me to play because they had paid for my food and drink, but as soon as I played a few dances, I broke the other strings too, so that they gave up dancing as in fact also followed.)

If we notice that the defendant calls the instrument chitarrino, but the witnesses call it collascione, calisoncino, or chitarino o colasione, and that the instrument had at least four strings, it would not have been a colascione in the Turkish-Neapolitan tradition, but something more similar to the German calichon. In the Abruzzo until the beginning of the twentieth century, similar four-course instruments were still in use, like the one played by the calascionaro Oliviero De Dominici in Pratola Peligna as late as 1923 (Gioielli 2006, 26).

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29 Rovereto, Biblioteca Comunale, Ms. 42.17.6, fol. 70 (cited in Lunelli 1991, 185-86).
The interesting identification *chitarracolascione/dance* can also be found in a Piedmont/Italian dictionary (Zalli 1830, 133):

Calisson, strumento musicale a due corde accordate in quinta, [...] in ling. Lomb. *cithara*, espèce de guitarre [...] *Calisson*, sorta di ballo.

(Calisson, musical instrument of two strings tuned in fifths, [...] in Lombardic *cithara*, a type of guitar [...] *Calisson* a type of dance.)

Many other Italian dictionaries containing the entry *calisson* refer to the traditional Neapolitan/Turkish model, but with local meanings (for example, Boerio 1829, 87). Further evidence of the colascione in northern Italy are northern Italian dialectal poems and translations. As examples, I cite the Piedmontese translation of *Pentamerone* by Giovanni Battista Basile, who translated into “son d’calisson, d’trumbètt, e d’subiù ch’i davn un gust matt” (sound of colascione, trumpet, and flute, which gave a crazy taste) the original shorter sentence “museca de calasciune; e tammorielle” (music of colascione and tambourine)\(^{30}\) or the horoscope by Romedio Antonio Gallicioli

\(^{30}\) Basile 1714, 40, and Bolognese translation in Basile 1839, 67 (*Giornata prima, Fola terza = Al Mamařucc*).
published in Trent, where an *orbo* (a blind man) addresses a *scopatore* (a figure of the Neapolitan *smorfia*) with the following verses: “Or vogliamo udir a gara [Now we want to hear in competition] / Siffolot, Tambur, Chitara le violino, e Calisson” (Gallicioli 1758, 9).

It is now clear that the topos of the Neapolitan/Turkish colascione (similar to the mandola/mandora pair) was finally overtaken by reality as the distance between northern Europe and Naples grew much shorter. In this trend, the numerous European trips of the famous virtuoso duos, the previously mentioned brothers Giacomo and Giuseppe Bernardo Merchi, and Domenico Colla with his still unnamed brother, both not Neapolitan (as the tradition says) but Brescian, and both virtuosos of the *Colascioncino da due corde* (no longer called the long Neapolitan colascione) and guitar.\(^{31}\)

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\(^{31}\)The Brescian origin of the Colla brothers is clear, for example, in the description of the famous caricature of Pier Leone Ghezzi, in the engraving by Matthias Oesterreich of 1752 (Staatliche Kunstsammlungen Dresden, Inv.-Nr. B 662,3/15): “Domenico con suo fratello Brescian / Il primo, che è di faccia suona mirabilmente il Calascioncino à / due Corde, l’altro che è di Schiena, l’accompagnava con la Chitarra.” (Domenico with his Brescian brother. / The first one, who is seen from in front, plays the Calascioncino admirably on / two strings, the other one seen from the back, accompanied him on the guitar.) The Merchi brothers are always indicated as “napoletani” in music encyclopedias, but recent research has shown them to have been from Brescia (Russo 2009).
After crossing the Alps, the topos of the colascione (and mandola) could offer interesting reversals: this is the case of Father Fidelis Genschik, who began to play the “German” mandora after being sent from his monastery Roudnice (Bohemia) on the then-common educational grand tour to Italy (Dlabacz 1815, vol. I, col. 458). Here Fr. Fidelis probably would have had the opportunity to play a mandola, such as the mandola bassa bearing the label “Antonio Monzino abitante in Porta orientale dirimpetto all’Uom di Pietra,” perhaps calling it either a mandora or calichon.

A similar scenario presents itself when the scholar Johann Friedrich von Uffenbach heard “Graff Caldarini mit seiner Laute oder vielmehr Calcedon [...] auf seinem schönen Instrument mit einem großen, sehr alten und guten Corpus” (Count Caldarini with his lute or rather Calcedon [...] playing his beautiful instrument with a large, very old and good body [in Bologna]) (Reipsch 1998, 82, note 17, quoting from von Uffenbach’s travel diary of 1712-1716). Uffenbach’s perplexity shows that the instrument was not a standard colascione, otherwise it would certainly have been recognized as such by a learned traveler (and lutenist). I would not be surprised if Count Caldarini had played an instrument such as the five-course calichon (or mandora) built in Rome by David Tecchler in 1707 (Paris, Musée des Arts Décoratifs, Inv.-Nr. D.32667).
Act Three: The raucous Bonanni

In a truly symmetrical way, even the sound of the colascione is described with adjectives as emblematic as Kuhnau’s *penetrieren* and Matthe-son’s *prompten*, and, as will be seen, only apparently different. In his already mentioned description, Bonanni says that the colascione “Rende un suono rauco, essendo le corde molto lunghe, e la testudine di piccola mole” (makes a raucous sound, the strings being very long, and the bowl of small size) (Bonanni 1722, 100, tab. LV). In this concise phrase, the quality of sound is detailed both organologically (a very long neck—up to six feet—and small soundbox) and in terms of performance technique (use of the plectrum or quill). The organological justification recalls the physical proportions of the calichon as mentioned and, if we were to continue the comparison, there is also some doubt concerning the possible use of the plectrum on the calichon, not too precisely described by Janovka, as well as the compositional texture of its repertoire. Even Bonanni lacks organological precision, however, refer-
ring in his text to “two or three strings,” unaware that the instrument in his accompanying illustration has five pegs. It could be that it had three courses (one single and two double), but such inconsistencies are not limited to him; just think of Mattheson’s description of the calichon and that Bonanni’s illustration is secondhand.

Apart from this marginal detail, perhaps thanks to Bonanni’s official position—Jesuit curator and cataloger of the Biblioteca-Wunderkammer left in Rome by Athanasius Kircher—his description of the colascione established a tradition that continued in dictionaries until the nineteenth century as can be seen in the *Dizionario del dialetto veneziano* by Giuseppe Boerio (1829, 87):

Calissòn o Canachiòn, s.m. *Caliscione*, o Colascione, Strumento musicale a due corde molto usato in Turchia, specialmente dalle donne. Ha un suono rauco, avendo le corde molto lunghe. Colascioncino, dicesi al piccolo caliscione. v. Canachiòn.

(Calliòn or Canachiòn, n. m. *Caliscione*, or Colascione, a two-stringed musical instrument widely used in Turkey, especially by women. It has a raucous sound, having very long strings. The small caliscione is called Colascioncino. v. Canachiòn.)

This tradition, however, is only a natural consequence of quotations shared and copied between dictionaries and treatises. It seems more important to return once again to a document, still in a Jesuit environment, that in my opinion links the sound characteristics of colascione and calichon, thus establishing a link between the qualities of *rauco*, *penetrieren*, and *prompt*. Kircher, a scientist by nature and position, also devoted himself to acoustics in his treatise *Phonurgia Nova* (1673). The volume, in which the treatise is intermediated by *Experimenta*—that is academic experiences with theoretical justification (*Corollarium*)—is dedicated to acoustics in general, not necessarily musical, but the colascione is used as a medium to conduct an experiment of sound transmission. Kircher demonstrates how a sound (in the sense of sound vibration) can be perceived by a deaf person, not through the auditory apparatus, but simply by biting the pegbox of a colascione. According to Kircher the sound produced by the instrument, transmitted to the dental apparatus and to the skeleton of the head, would pass to the eardrum indirectly, allowing the deaf to perceive it:

Testudo oblongo collo intentum propositum efficiet. Sit testudo, vulgo *Colachone*, fidibus instructa, apprehendetque surdaster dentibus extremam partem colli, ac posta incitetur testudo in harmonicos motus. Dico, surdum harmoniam percepturum [...]
Corollariun. *Ex his patet*, si in instrumentis quibuslibet in chordis collum quoddam sive brachium oblongum ipsis continuum propagentur in quamcunque distantiam, uti per intermedios muros [...]

(The lute through its elongated neck demonstrates the aforesaid hypothesis. There is a lute, commonly called Colachone, set up with strings, and a deaf man takes the end of the neck between his teeth, and the lute is made to sound. I affirm, that the deaf will perceive the sound [...]

Corollary. From this it is evident that, if in any string instrument with a long neck or handle, if this is extended to any distance, it will be perceived even through interposed walls.)

Why does Kircher choose the colascione? Apparently only for didactic reasons: the Corollariun, in fact, goes on to say that if, by extension, he took an instrument long enough to traverse the walls of the room where the experiment took place (without touching them), the deaf person would still perceive the sound. The colascione would be used only to “visualize” the experience, as a very long instrument and, in fact, Kircher reports the same image of the colascione already used by himself and by Mersenne in their earlier treatises (Kircher 1673, 157 and both Mersenne 1636 and Mersenne 1648).

I believe, however, that in Kircher’s idea, the raucous sound of the instrument was not of little importance: the long gut strings (*fidibus instruc-ta*) plucked by a plectrum (as also seen in other sources) would produce a dry, immediate sound, rich in upper harmonics, that would allow it to pass through the skeleton to the tympanum of a deaf man, even when it was set in motion a long distance away, beyond the walls of the building (“in quamcunque distantiam, uti for intermedios muros”). In other words, a sound

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32 Kircher 1673, 157: Liber I, Sectio VII *De fabricis diversorum organorum, ad producendum longissime sonum apte construendis*, Cap. IX. *De reconditoribus machinis*, Experimentum VII. *Ut surdaster musicam percipiat.*
absolutely compatible with the “prompt” of the German calichon, capable of even penetrieren a wall.

Epilogue

As we have seen, the interest of the Jesuits in the Italian colascione and its sound has its own precise tradition that is grafted onto the equally defined tradition of the German calichon (and mandora), commencing with Janovka. This German tradition, as is well-known, has one of its main axes in the monasteries of central Europe and their schools. Many of the calichon (and mandora) manuscripts preserved today were copied from one monastery to the next, while others are pairs of manuscripts that belonged to a master and student (Prosser 1996, 76ff.). This line can be observed not only thanks to the numerous concordant works but, above all, to the transmission of the teaching materials for both instruments.

Around 1680 in an area under German influence, an instrument was developed from scratch that was capable of imitating, especially for church music, the sound qualities comparable with those of the Turkish dambura (tambura, tchegour, etc.) or the Neapolitan colascione, as well as having easier handling and agility than the (baroque) lute and the theorbo. The calichon could also perform an entire bass line without the problem of lack of chromatic notes in the low register characteristic of the archlute and theorbo, the calichon being more than a bass-lute, a lute-bass, almost a plucked violone or viola da gamba (Baron 1727, 132). This aesthetic-organological research, however, was only able to find the appropriate theoretical justification through identification with its apparently Italian counterpart, the colascione. Thanks to this game of substitution, the Jesuits achieved their goal with wise pragmatism, avoiding the embarrassment of having to insert a Turkish instrument in European churches in years when relations were not at their best, particularly from the political-military viewpoint. What was invented was

33 I have spoken about this point in a paper entitled “Die zwey Rudimenta: neue Ideen zur Datierung der Mandora-Quellen,” delivered at the Internationales Festival der Laute in Rostock on May 14, 2004.
34 The coexistence of the calichon and the tiorba is demonstrated, as well as in many other places, in two sources: in Giovanni Felice Sances, Missa Præsentionis (dated 1685-1739), where the score calls for a “Galizone ò Teorba” (Kremsmünster, Ms. C. 7. 652); and in a cantata by Telemann entitled Ich werfe mich zu deinen Füssen (dated between 1722 and 1735) that calls for a “Theorba ò Calcedono” (Frankfurt am Main, Universitätsbibliothek Johann Christian Senckenberg, Ms. Ff. Mus. 1174).
35 The first accounts of the calichon came during the years of the Turkish siege and the Battle of Vienna (Schlacht am Kahlenberg) eventually won by the Catholic forces on September 12, 1683. The very first testimony of the calichon is found in Megerle 1672, not even ten years before.
an instrument *en travesti*, in short, like the aforementioned and provocative tchegour player, alias Mme. Pompadour, painted by Van Loo.


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(translated by John Griffiths)
“A musical instrument is a process”

Klaus Martius

Abstract This study examines the processes of transformation and modification that were applied to lutes in the period from the sixteenth to the eighteenth centuries and beyond. It is a case study of one instrument that was donated to the Germanisches Nationalmuseum in Nuremberg in 1995, transformed into a six-string guitar with fingerboard and metal frets but still with its original vaulted back. Its original label shows it to have been the work of German luthier Georg Kayser, built in 1595 possibly as a lute of seven or eight courses. A second label records modifications made by Matthias Hummel in 1715, probably to replace the neck and extending it to eleven courses, in line with current tastes. Sebastian Schelle repaired the instrument again in 1726 to add a further two courses thereby converting it into a 13-course instrument. The fourth transformation of this lute was its conversion into a guitar by an unknown maker presumably between the middle of the nineteenth century and the first World War. This instrument is living testimony to the way lutes were adapted during their own lifetime to changing needs. Preserving and exhibiting examples such as this one has a special importance to show the development of an entire family of instruments within a single specimen.

Keywords Lute, Germany, Germanisches Nationalmuseum, Nuremberg, Lute-building

Throughout the ages, instrument makers have created new solutions to cope with the changing demands concerning the range of an instrument’s compass, the required volume, expressiveness and playing comfort, and have given them shape. This progression toward new tonal ideals can often be observed on the same instrument, which, similar to the works of architecture—often even several times—has been adapted to meet new needs and musical requirements. Numerous violas da gamba have been transformed into violoncellos, violas d’amore into violas, and lutes turned into guitars. This means that the musical instruments that we look at exhibited in museum showcases have seldom survived unchanged. In a single instrument, a whole range of changes to an instrument type can be shown, thus becoming a representative excerpt from the process of its historical development.

This is especially true to instruments of the lute family: From the sixteenth to the eighteenth century we can sometimes notice three or four conversions of a lute. Often, we are lucky enough to be able to follow these modifications by repair labels within the lute body. One example of this that is quite well documented and that serves to show what I mean is a lute in the Germanisches Nationalmuseum which came to the museum’s collection of musical instruments in 1995 as a gift of a Nuremberg family (plate 1).

1 This phrase was coined by Michael Latcham in a lecture entitled “The Stringing and Pitch of early German and Viennese Pianos” given during CIMCIM-Conference 1993 in Antwerp.

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Plate 1. Lute, originally by Georg Kayser (c. 1595), GNM MI 620. Photograph by Klaus Martius
Having survived until today as a guitar with six strings and a fingerboard with metal frets, the instrument can be identified as a lute by means of its vaulted back. The guitar pegbox terminates with the carved head of a man singing from an open book held in his hands. The instrument can be seen in three aspects in plate 2.

![Plate 2. Lute (Georg Kayser, c. 1595), front rear and side view. Photographs by Günther Kühnel](image)

Through the open soundhole three labels can be seen documenting the four different stages of its manufacture and multiple conversions (plate 3):

1) [handwritten] “Geörgiuß Kayßer Invaratto [?] // da Wendelino Dieffenbruger // 15.95”

2) It is not totally clear if there is a “v” or a “p”, “invaratto” or “imparatto.” A theorbo by Raphael Mest (GNM MIR 900) has a similar wording: “Raphael Mest in Fiessen Imperato // del Misier Michael Hartung in Padua me fecit.” Whichever of the two, it is likely intended to mean the same as the modern “imparato,” announcing some sort of apprenticeship. For discussion of
A musical instrument is a process


3) [printed] “Sebastian Schelle, Lauten- und Geigenmacher in Nürnberg, [ms.] 1726.”

4) [the conversion to guitar is not documented by any label or inscription] Following these (at least) four stages we are getting a comprehensive overview of the development of the lute in its history.

Plate 3. Labels of Georg Kayser (1595), Matthias Hummel (1715) and Sebastian Schelle (1726) inside NGM MI620. Photograph by Klaus Martius

Four shades of a lute

1) The oldest handwritten label of 1595 may be identified with the original state of this lute. Its maker Georg Kayser is member of the famous dynasty of instrument makers, descending from Rieden (near Füssen), active as violin and lute makers working in Füssen, Venice, Rome and later in the eighteenth century in Duesseldorf.\(^3\) Unfortunately the label does not give the place where the lute was made and we do not know much of Georg, who is reported to have lived in Füssen and Naples (Layer 1978, 148-149; Lütgendorff 1922). But referring to the famous Wendelin Tieffenbrucker (perhaps his teacher) he also may have been working in Padua or Venice as well.\(^4\)

The instrument itself seems to be quite characteristic of a lute from about

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the meaning of this term I wish to thank Giorgia Petta, Hans Reiners and Dr. Markus Zepf.

\(^3\) Lütgendorff and Layer list Gallus, Martin (I and II), Georg, Matthias and Augustin.

\(^4\) The meaning of the terms “invaratto,” “inparatto” or “favricatto” (as Lütgendorff reports) is still not totally clear, so the relationship between the makers is a little nebulous.
1600 manufactured by emigré South-German makers from the region of Füssen, working in one of the main cities of lute making, possibly Padua, Venice or Rome. In spite of the fact that there is not much left of its original state other than the back, its classically wide outline is similar to what can be observed of lutes by Michael Hartung or Vendelio Venere with their fully arched and pleasing geometry. The back consists—just as representative for this sort of lutes—of seventeen ribs of yew (the heartwood only) separated by much brighter spacers of maple.

Since the original top, the neck and the pegbox no longer exist and the upper end of the body was shortened at a later date (as shown below), it is impossible to reconstruct how many strings the lute originally may have had when it left its makers workshop. But with good arguments we can assume from contemporary tablatures and paintings that it may have been a 7 or 8-course lute.

2) In 1715 when Matthias Hummel put his repair label into the instrument the lute was owned in Nuremberg. Since we have no direct evidence of his intervention, we must rely on other contemporary lute repairs by makers of this period. The Germanisches Nationalmuseum, for instance, owns a lute by Pietro Railich, which was converted to an eleven-course lute by Hummel in 1695 (Inv. no. MI 45). It was probably originally a liuto attiorbato made by Pietro Railich in Venice in 1644. Hummel put a new neck onto this lute’s body with an 11-course pegbox bent backwards. We can suppose that Hummel very likely made a repair of the same kind to the Kayser lute. What we still can see today is that he shortened the upper end of the lute body by about two centimeters to get the extra width needed for the new wider neck. This needed to be replaced in order to accommodate a fingerboard wide enough for ten or eleven courses. The photograph of the open lute body (fig. 3) shows that Hummel had to cut away so much from the old upper block that he found it necessary to add an additional piece to the inner side of this block otherwise it would not have had sufficient thickness and strength to support the new neck. The same added reinforcement of the top-block may be observed in an x-ray of a similar lute repaired by Jacob Weiß (fig 4). Usually, if it had not been heavily damaged, the old lute belly was reused and Hummel only had to make a new bridge for it and to add a new larger pegbox. And as far as we can learn from the Railich instrument, he might have left the former bars beneath the bridge.

5The anonymous lute, kept in the abbey of Kremsmünster (Upper Austria) was converted by Jacob Weiß in Salzburg, 1714.
3) In 1726, only 11 years later, Sebastian Schelle (1676-1744) who had taken over the workshop of Matthias Hummel in 1714/15 repaired the lute again. Concerning his workshop, more is known today about lutes he converted than any new lutes he made (Martius 2002). Many of his repair labels include the reference to his predecessor “Hummels Erben” (heir of Hummel), but not in this case. We can be sure that he added two courses to enlarge the compass to 13 courses. Since the additional bass strings would be off the fingerboard, the Hummel neck was allowed to remain untouched. The existing pegbox easily could be enlarged by just adding a bass rider. Again, Schelle had to glue on a new bridge. At this point it might also be expected that he would have replaced the j-bar on the bass side with a new fan-shaped barring system as is found in all his other lutes. Today, nothing is left of Schelle’s work apart from a few paper strips reinforcing some of the cracks he apparently had to repair.

4) The last and most massive change was the transformation of the former lute into a guitar. Quite often these routines were executed either by specialized professional guitar makers in the period between the mid-nineteenth century and the first World War, for instance: Martin Stoß (Vienna), August Otto (Erfurt), Domenicus Kasper (Wangen), or by otherwise unknown local craftsmen. In this case, we do not even know the name of the maker although, again, it can be assumed that he also worked in Nuremberg. Unfortunately, he replaced the old (perhaps damaged) belly with a totally new one with a slightly ornamented but open sound hole so that, together with the old rose, all information about the previous barring-systems and the position of the old bridges are forever lost. On the other hand, the remnants of the second neck can still be seen, presumably made by Matthias Hummel. This now had to be narrowed down considerably to make it suitable for the six guitar strings. The lower end close to the body still shows the former (enlarged) width of the neck. The upper end was completed by a new pegbox which terminates in a tasteful head of a bearded man singing from an open book. His hair is covered by a beret and his neck by a toby collar – all finely and skillfully carved from one piece of pearwood. It seems very likely this carving was made at the beginning of the 20th century in the style of Art Nouveau (Jugendstil), perhaps by Valentin Oeckler (1854-1940), a sculptor who worked for some of the Nuremberg churches (“Valentin Oeckler”).

Provenance

It seems quite clear that the lute had its origin in Italy, but we do not know when and how it came to Nuremberg where it was converted at least
three times. Surprisingly, we find the instrument included in a book dealing with the equipment and furniture of ancient Nuremberg community centers (Schulz 1909, 326-328, and image 441). This book even shows an image of the carved head – probably the most representative detail of the instrument to the book’s author. At this time the instrument belonged to the inventory of an old established Nuremberg inn “Zum Goldenen Posthorn”. Besides what can be seen from the full text of the three labels, the book also reports that the instrument was owned earlier by the Nuremberg patrician family von Stromer, which again matches quite well the dates of the repair labels. We were unable discover when and how the instrument left the “Posthorn”, perhaps during the second World War. The museum received the instrument from another Nuremberg family as a gift in 1995.

Taking this information into consideration, it is possible to hypothesize that the instrument’s history might represent some sort of social decline, having passed from the hands of a distinguished noble family to be played by well-educated perhaps even professional players to a tavern environment for the accompaniment of tipsy songs. Reader of these lines may come to their own decision whether the decline of the former lute was stopped or continued by entering the museum.

Conclusion

1) Together with Johann Christian Hoffmann in Leipzig and Josef Joachim Edlinger in Prague, Sebastian Schelle can be regarded as one of the three most specialized lute makers to rebuilt lutes made by the famous old masters. In more than one of such rebuilt lutes, we find his name in combination with his predecessor Matthias Hummel; there are at least two more instruments with both names inside:

Nuremberg, Germanisches Nationalmuseum MIR 905: Johannes Rehm, Füssen 1607 (Matthias Hummel 1701; Sebastian Schelle 1721

Washington D:C. National Museum of American History (Smithsonian Institution) no.60.1343 Uldaricus Tieffenbrucker, Venice (Matthias Hummel 1693; Sebastian Schelle 1733)

2) In the past, the presentation within a museum cabinet of instruments that had undergone multiple conversion aimed at preparing a pleasant, clearly legible image for the visitor that showed the name of the original maker and date, neglecting all later states of conversions or different states of the instrument. But reality is often different, namely an overlay of shades of his-
A musical instrument is a process. Instead of a sharp and one-dimensional well-focused still photograph, it offers a moving and blurred image. The various stages through which an instrument has passed in its own history can often be seen more clearly than its "original pristine state." The piano organologist Michael Latcham coined the phrase: “A musical instrument is a process”. Presentation styles practiced in our museums unfortunately leave far too little opportunity for such temporal stratifications.

3) In the past, the presentation within a museum cabinet of instruments that had undergone multiple conversion aimed at preparing a pleasant, clearly legible image for the visitor that showed the name of the original maker and date of construction, neglecting all later states of conversions or different states of the instrument. But reality is often different, namely an overlay of shades of history. Instead of a sharp and one-dimensional well-focused still photograph, it offers a moving and blurred image. An instrument with several changes represents not only its individual history but at the same time a cross-section of the morphology of its instrument type. To demonstrate the history of the lute in general, therefore, there is much to be learned from instruments that have been repeatedly modified, so that the evolution of a family of instruments can be demonstrated by one single instrument that has been reworked several times. The piano organologist Michael Latcham coined the phrase: “A musical instrument is a process”. Presentation styles practiced in our museums unfortunately leave far too little opportunity for such temporal stratifications.

Works cited


Review


Paul Beier

Peter Croton has produced a large and important volume in which he examines a great variety of subjects related to lute playing; overall I would judge this work very positively and would recommend it to anyone interested in learning the instrument. In what follows I will try to point out its many strengths, but because of my high recommendation, I feel it is important that I also mention a few of its weaknesses on questions of minor and at times more substantial significance.

This is a handsomely produced paperback of 281 pages (plus nine pages with roman numerals at the beginning) in a generous 9x12-inch format. The book has two very strong suits, the first of which is a detailed and extensive exploration of the anatomical and biomechanical workings of the hands and body together with the psychological aspects of learning and becoming proficient at a skill such as playing a musical instrument. The second is the actual lute method starting on page 64, which is well-thought-out, gradual, and methodical, and constitutes a superb program of exercises and short pieces for the beginning lute student. Although Mr. Croton embraces the viewpoint that the lute is an historical instrument, and that students should base their knowledge of technique and musical style as much as possible on what we can glean from studying original sources, one of the weaker aspects of this method is the reliability of some of the historical information presented. To cite an example, we might look no further than the very first page of text after the table of contents. In “To the reader” on page viii we are told of the “magical” art of Francesco da Milano who had this effect on his listeners: “the guests became silent and are ‘deprived of all senses save that of hearing’ and transported into a kind of ‘divine frenzy’. A footnote refers to the Ness edition of Francesco’s works (p. 2), which reports a passage by Pontus de Tyard (1555), citing Jacques Descartes de Ventemille. But this source does not say that the guests were transported into a “divine frenzy.” They were transported instead into a “pleasurable melancholy” (with one guest “concealing his countenance with the saddest taciturnity ever seen”) and then were gently brought back to their senses. It was Francesco da Milano who was in the possession of a divine frenzy, giving him the magical powers to affect his listeners in this way. It is
an insignificant inaccuracy that I did not think I would even mention, but
these small points begin to accumulate. While on the subject of Francesco da
Milano, Mr. Croton states that he played the guitar-shaped viola da mano (p.
4)—there is no direct evidence of this—and that he published a collection
of his own music in 1548 (p. 118), five years after he died.

The book is divided into thirteen chapters with corresponding subchap-
ters, organized in five sections. The chapter numbers are independent of the
section numbers, and the sections themselves are sometimes referred to as
“parts,” which is a little confusing. Section One, simply entitled “Background
Material,” presents a short history of the development of lute technique and
composition, starting with the transition to finger playing from plectrum
 technique during the fifteenth century. Mr. Croton makes an astute distinc-
tion on page 1 between historical lute playing and modern classical practice:
“Most ‘classical’ performers today are trained to interpret, but not neces-
sarily to create music—in stark contrast to earlier instrumentalists and singers,
who were trained in improvisation and composition.” This is followed by a
general discussion of renaissance lutes, their tuning and stringing, and the
main genres of lute music found in the period: vocal transcriptions, ricercars,
dance forms, and variations on a theme. Concepts such as thumb-forefinger
alternation, thumb-under technique, diminution, and polyphonic styles are
introduced, and there is an overview of different kinds of tablature in use
during the period.

The third subchapter of this section is entitled “Rhetoric as a Guiding
Principle.” Mr. Croton rightly points out that “rhetoric [is] the central point
around which all the expressive [musical] devices revolve.” This subchapter
is a fine, compact introduction to the vast subject of rhetorical expression
in music, with generous citations from modern studies on Aristotle, Cicero,
and Quintilian and from renaissance treatises by Ganassi, Vicentino, Galilei,
Caccini, and others. The essential message here is best distilled in the citations
from works by Silvestro Ganassi: “you will only play a melody artistically
when, by the variety of your expression, you are able to imitate the human
voice.” Ganassi is, of course, talking about the rhetorical expressiveness inher-
ent in spoken human discourse. This applies both to singers, who can take
their rhetorical cues from the text, as well as instrumentalists, who should
imagine a rhetorical discourse within the musical material: “In like manner,
your playing should be soft and sighing, or gay and merry, as though you were
giving expression to words of the same nature.” Mr. Croton, throughout the
book, advises the student “to emulate the expression of singers,” although it
is clear from these few citations that Ganassi and his contemporaries require
musicians to imitate the spoken voice, not that instrumentalists imitate sing-
ers. Mr. Croton does make clear, however, that we must “draw inspiration
from singers for whom rhetorical expression is a top priority.”

The rest of Section One expands on the ways in which ideas of rhetorical expressiveness are reflected in musical style. Strong-weak articulation derives from the natural strong and weak articulations in speech; rhythmic alteration can also reflect rhetorical speech patterns. As Mr. Croton aptly states, “A musical phrase, like a sentence of text, is built on a hierarchy of emphasis and accent.” One of the outstanding features of this method is that many of these ideas are followed through later in the book when students are given their first exercises and short pieces. The tablature is often accompanied by a text so that students can coordinate their plucking with a mental image of particular words, or, in the case of simple melodies, by the actual texted melody in mensural notation to which they can sing while playing the same tune from the tablature. Embedded toward the end of this section is a short treatise on rhythmic inequality, by which we mean applying long-short or, more unusually, short-long duration patterns to note pairs written in the source as notes of equal duration. Quite a few extended citations from renaissance sources as well as secondary musicological literature are given (Mr. Croton makes no distinction between the two), and numerous musical examples in mensural notation are shown both in facsimile and modern transcription. A somewhat advanced level of musical literacy is required to fully absorb this material, something which, perhaps, not all lute beginners may yet possess at this point. The section ends with an explanation of musical divisions.

Section Two is an “Introduction to Anatomy and Biomechanics.” After a short prologue on the importance of posture and the healthy positioning of the arms and hands with reference to early nineteenth-century guitar methods, the text introduces a rather large vocabulary of technical terms from medical literature, such as flexion, pronation, supination, lumbricals, radius, and ulna, to mention a few at random, flanked by pages of highly technical anatomical drawings borrowed from medical texts, as well as ample citations from specialized books and journals. By the time I finished reading this section I was somewhat bleary-eyed. And yet, while I think that this material could have been better presented in a more digestible style, there is much of interest here, and Mr. Croton helps us along with the occasional aside addressed to “us lute players.” Although we are initially asked to learn a large and difficult specialized vocabulary of medical terms, the actual concepts used throughout the book are fairly easy to understand. For instance, after introducing the distal interphalangeal, proximal interphalangeal, and metacarpophalangeal joints, later discussion dispenses with these terms in favor, thankfully, of the more immediately comprehensible tip joint, middle joint, and base joint. The essential point is as follows: “Playing the lute well depends on the efficient use of bones and muscles.” When muscles relax or contract,
they allow the fingers to flex or extend at a particular joint. One should learn to employ relaxation of the muscles following contraction whenever possible. It is better to flex the fingers at the base joint (the joint at the base of the finger or thumb, closest to the palm) rather than at the middle or tip joint. The wrist should not be bent: “It is best to play with wrists that are fairly straight [. . .] or only slightly flexed as needed.” Don’t move the shoulder back and forth: “In lute playing use the shoulder for support rather than movement!”

Like the previous section, Section Three, “Preparing to Play,” takes us through extended citations and highly technical language, this time from the psychological and cognitive sciences. And while “the purpose of this section is to present some basic information and whet your appetite” for what follows, my appetite was somewhat dampened by language such as the following: “Schneider and Chein point to the ‘dual processing theory of automatic and controlled processing’ which recognizes that ‘human performance often results from an interplay between automatic and controlled processing and these processes may involve different cortical mechanisms’.” As in the preceding section, the information and insights are often fascinating, but I wish that Mr. Croton had found a way of talking about these things in a simpler, more direct style; some of the nuts and bolts, perhaps, could more happily have found their way into an appendix.

Nevertheless, there is much of interest here. The “automatic and controlled processing” mentioned in the passage above refers to doing things without thinking, like walking or breathing, as opposed to controlling our movements with conscious thought. Naturally, we must think about our every movement when we start to learn an instrument, but the goal is to eventually make our physical actions automatic, so that our mind is free to think about the music. Conscious movement is associated with “verbal” processes and automatic movement is nonverbal, image based. Thus, if we think through our every movement, we submit to an analytical, “verbal” narrative, whereas if we concentrate on pure musical imagery, our movement becomes automatic. So how do we achieve this state of nonverbal bliss? Here Mr. Croton leads us into the world of popular new-age literature, such as Timothy Gallwey’s *The Inner Game of Tennis*: “Learning simply to observe and let go of self-judgment and to trust ‘Self 2’ [the intuitive, unconscious self] is one of the essentials for giving in to the automatic control process. This is connected to finding a balance between striving and letting go.” All of this finally leads to a number of concrete recommendations, the first of which is mental training, or just thinking about the music without playing: “Using mental imagery to practice without the instrument is [. . .] a powerful tool for learning.” The subchapter on “Repetition and Muscle Memory” extolls the benefits of slow practice. It is essential “to practice and learn in a way that is repeatedly correct,” and
to always punctuate our practice time with short breaks in order to maintain concentration. The section continues with subchapters on breathing and body warm-ups, with much sensible advice and a series of practical exercises, and it ends with another group of detailed technical drawings of the muscles and bones of the back and spine. The essence of these subchapters is captured in a quote from one of Mr. Croton’s scientific references (Gorman): “When sitting upright and poised—with the weight borne by the ischial tuberosities (sitting bones) and the trunk, with its reciprocally-curved vertebral column, in an appropriate balance above them—the arms are free to move about and the head is also well balanced and free to move.”

Before moving on to the fourth section, “The Renaissance Lute,” which constitutes the heart of the actual lute method, I would like to offer a few considerations about the material so far. For one thing, I found myself thinking that not all aspiring lute players will be so very interested in following these deep dives into musicology, science, and medicine, before even having played a single note on their instrument! Of course, these types of students could certainly skip directly to Section Four. Yet I also found myself reflecting on the fact that many lute players, who have already learned the basics and perhaps would not necessarily be drawn to studying another lute method, could greatly benefit from the wealth of information and advice that Mr. Croton has assembled. While the curious lute student will probably come across most of the information presented in the first section, in some form or other, I don’t know of a better or more concise presentation specifically for lute players of the material on anatomy and psychology presented in the second and third sections. In sum, these two sections by themselves are worth the price of the book and should be of interest to lute players of all abilities.

Section Four starts with Chapter Five, which is dedicated to the right hand. Before we get to the first exercise there are still a few preparatory subchapters to absorb. The first deals with tuning and fretting, and we get a glimpse of the idea of temperaments, although Mr. Croton determines that this subject is “beyond the scope of this book,” and recommends starting out with equal temperament. I find this a little disappointing—after all, why would such an important subject as musical temperament, essential to understanding the acoustic world of music from the past, be given short shrift? Readers who have come this far will have amply demonstrated their ability to comprehend complex subjects! Next, we have subchapters on the positioning of the hands and holding the instrument, with an excellent discussion on establishing a “home” position for the right hand, one in which there is “a natural balance between the muscles responsible for hand and finger movements, which means no active muscle contractions.” This is followed by a short passage on fingernails, where we are told that “Historical evidence is sketchy
on right hand fingernails” and that “it’s easier to achieve a warm, clear and flexible sound using the fleshy part of the fingertip rather than the fingernail.” Sketchy? Except for Piccinini, every renaissance lute source that mentions fingernails advises against them. Even Piccinini, before mentioning nails, writes that “you must strike the said string with the flesh of the fingertip, pressing it towards the soundboard” (Piccinini 1623, Chapter VII: “si piglia detta corda con la sommità delle carne, & urtandola verso il fondo”). He goes on to say that after plucking with the flesh, you can brush the two strings of the course with the nail, but in order to do this correctly the nail must still be very short, not exceeding, in length, the flesh at the tip of the finger (and you do not use the thumb nail at all). I would say that the evidence is not in the least sketchy, and that there is no evidence that the lute was played with the nail rather than the flesh. In his discussion on holding the lute, Mr. Croton lists four but discusses five basic positions: standing and sitting with the use of a strap, leaning the lute on a table, using a foot stool, and crossing the legs; each position is given a short description and the first four are accompanied by photos of the author demonstrating its application. The last position, crossing the legs, is not recommended, as it results in “pelvic tilt—[it] is truly disadvantageous for the body, for breathing, and for support.” On the other hand, using a foot stool is listed among the acceptable positions. Why is this? After all, using a foot stool can also cause “pelvic tilt,” distort the position of the spine, and, as the accompanying description states, it can “lead to back and shoulder pain.”

Finally, we get to the first instructions and exercises for playing the lute, starting with playing open strings and repeated notes using thumb-forefinger technique. Each exercise is in French tablature and accompanied by copious remarks, walking the student through every movement of the body, arms, hands, and fingers. The plucking of the string is described in great detail; the essential point is that each pluck must involve both flexing the joint, creating a state of tension, and immediate relaxation of the same: “The finger flexors should relax as soon as the stroke is finished, returning the finger to its original position.” Starting with exercise 10 we get a series of open-string, thumb-forefinger exercises in tablature accompanied by a transcription in mensural notation and syllabic formations such as “Bel-la, bel-la” and “Di-ri, di-ri,” to be imagined or spoken aloud while plucking. The same exercises are often repeated two or three times, each with slightly different instructions or indications, and Mr. Croton introduces modern dynamics and accent marks with the proviso that these markings were “not used in the 16th century” and that “an essential difference between the early manner of playing dynamics and that of the 19th century” is that crescendo and decrescendo “will include the micro-dynamic of heavy-light [i.e. thumb-forefinger accentuation] within the note groups.”
Chapter Six is dedicated to the left hand and, as with the preceding chapter, it begins with several subchapters containing expositions and nonmusical exercises dedicated to the correct positioning of the left hand and moving the fingers properly. Much good advice is given, accompanied by photos of the author and a sixteenth-century engraving. For example: “Too much wrist flexion hinders finger movement because it shares its flexors with the extrinsic finger flexors,” and “leaving the elbow in its natural position allows us to maximize our body strength.” The musical exercises begin with the melodies of English ballad tunes, starting with “Fortune my Foe” and “Go from my Window.” Each tune is set out in tablature and accompanied by a transcription in mensural notation, including the lyrics, and they are reprinted multiple times—“Fortune” five times and “Go from” six, each repetition containing new instructions and indications, meticulously notated with fingerings and dynamics. One clever variation is to play with the right hand only, using open strings where the notes of the tune would have been placed, as a “preparatory exercise for negotiating the string crossings.” There is an occasional typo, such as in the right-hand fingering at the end of the third measure of Exercise 28c, but as the same exercise is repeated, this time with the correct fingering, in Exercise 28d, the alert student will not be much inconvenienced. More ballad tunes, along with a few melodies from other repertoires, are introduced with metric and rhythmic variations, and these are interspersed with short asides on “practice routine,” “velocity training,” and “body movement while playing.” Mode and the hexachord are also touched upon in this chapter; the gamut system is briefly but well presented.

A little less convincing is the introduction of Italian tablature at the end of Chapter Six. The fact that it is even represented is, of course, positive, as there is an unfortunate tendency among lute players of the Anglo-Saxon orbit to transcribe everything into French tablature and simply ignore the fact that most sixteenth-century renaissance lute music was, in fact, written in Italian tablature. But Mr. Croton does not treat Italian tablature as an independent entity, equal in status and emphasis to the French variety. Instead it is almost always accompanied by its “translation” into French tablature, both in the exercises and in the repertoire introduced later in the book. For example, Francesco da Milano’s Fantasia 40 (Exercise 117) is reprinted three times: first in unvarnished Italian tablature with no additional markings, then with fingerings and some phrasing together with a transcription into mensural notation, and finally, in French tablature, in a fully marked version with fingerings, dynamics and expression marks, the “performing edition” if you will. Other pieces, such as Narváez’s “Canción del Emperador,” are given similar treatment. Mr. Croton does not really provide much incentive for the student to learn Italian tablature, which is a pity in my opinion, and a lost opportuni-
ty. It is mostly at the very end of the book, in a short section on the archlute (whose repertoire is entirely Italian), that we find works in Italian tablature presented without the benefit of “translation” into French tab. German tablature, too, has a vast repertoire of renaissance sources that is unintelligible to most lute players. Although there is a cursory description of it in Chapter One, it, too, should be an essential element in the curriculum of every serious lute student.

The next chapter is dedicated to “Graces of Play.” The method so far has only covered playing unaccompanied melodic lines and single note exercises, with chords and polyphonic textures, what one might say is the defining character of renaissance lute music, still to come. It is thus a little counterintuitive that the important subject of musical graces is dealt with here rather than at a point at which the student has developed a more complete mastery of left-hand technique. Nevertheless, the subject is given an extensive airing, with citations from numerous renaissance sources, as well as baroque treatises such as Quantz and Rameau, and musicological studies by Donnington and Neuman, among others. A list of the most common ornaments is given, as well as the typical signs one encounters in seventeenth-century lute tablature. Although many of these signs are ambiguous and used differently in different sources and contexts, Mr. Croton establishes a set of “Grace notes and signs used in this book.” I am not always in agreement with the choices he makes. The sharp sign, for example, is described as starting on the main note, whereas I find that this sign can often indicate an upper-note trill; the plus sign is used here as an upper-note trill, whereas in my experience it often makes more sense as a mordent and is also commonly used to denote tenuto; and the small comma is used here as a simple backfall, whereas it can also mean a trill. Perhaps the most unusual thing here is Mr. Croton’s discussion of the arpeggio, not strictly speaking a “grace of play.” We are told that “The arpeggio wasn’t mentioned in lute treatises of the Renaissance period [. . . ] In the baroque period it was a typical expressive device often included in ornament tables.” Although not stated directly, the implication here is that arpeggios were not used in renaissance music except for “broken chords that could be considered written-out arpeggios.” I find this a little hard to understand. Piccinini (1623) actually says that all chords of three or more notes should be arpeggiated; Pietro Paolo Melli writes in his Libro terzo (1616) that certain chords be “arpeggiated in the style of the theorbo”; Mudarra (1546) dedicates a whole fantasia to the fanciful arpeggio style of the great harpist Lodovico; Adrian Le Roy (1551) has a description of how to play five- and six-note chords in which a kind of arpeggio cannot be avoided, and a similar treatment is found in Besard (1603). Arpeggios, I think, were indulged in ever since the first gut strings were tied to gourds and tortoiseshells. It is as es-
sentential an expressive tool for renaissance lute music as it is for all other periods of lute music. Indeed, later in the book after chords of three or more notes are introduced, Mr. Croton liberally applies the squiggly line used in modern editions to indicate arpeggios. The chapter ends with the melody of “Go from my Window” followed by Sermisy’s “Tant que vivray” (1527) liberally sprinkled with seventeenth-century ornament signs. A few pages later Hans Newsidler’s *Ein Niderlendisch tentzlein* (1544) is also given a full treatment of these ornament signs, but there is no discussion about whether this style of ornamentation is appropriate to lute music of the early sixteenth century. I agree that students should be encouraged to experiment with left-hand ornamentation in all periods of lute music, but it seems to me that there is an evolution of style leading up to the florid ornamentation found in Jacobean sources of lute music.

Chapter Eight is devoted to playing music with two voices, i.e., playing a melody on the upper courses while playing a mostly slower moving bass line. There is a long introduction about two different right-hand thumb techniques that can be used for this, one with arm movement and one without. I found this a little confusing, as the description of the thumb stroke is nearly identical and verbatim for both techniques. It turns out that the difference is not so much in the thumb technique as in the fingering of the melody notes: in a melodic passage of sixteenth notes, for example, accompanied by a bass moving in half notes, you can use thumb-index alternation for the sixteenth notes, or you can use middle-index alternation. The former fingering does indeed produce a slight movement of the arm when jumping with the thumb between the treble and the bass strings. The exercises that are provided for both styles (often the same exercise repeated with just the different right-hand fingering) are well-thought-out and cover a variety of different rhythms.

I have several disagreements with Mr. Croton about right-hand technique as described in this and the following chapters. One concerns the use of the rest stroke for the thumb, i.e. plucking the string with the thumb so that it briefly “rests” on the string immediately beneath it. Mr. Croton states that “the thumb should not rest on the next bass string. This ‘rest stroke’ technique was apparently not used in the sixteenth century and will be introduced later in this book.” Indeed, later in Chapter Ten he explains: “My feeling is that rest stroke with the thumb is a hindrance to natural flow when the thumb has bass and treble functions, as in most 16th century music. Starting in the late 16th century, additional bass courses were added; by the early seventeenth century, thumb rest-stroke became standard for the basses. . . .” I believe that this is wrong on both counts: it should be used in sixteenth-century lute music, and not just on the added diapason basses. In many years of playing early-sixteenth-century music on a six-course instrument with octave string-
Review

ing on the lower three courses, my playing would have been severely limited without the use of the rest stroke, which is essential for bringing out the upper octave of the lower three courses and for crafting a “singing” bass line. We must not expect every aspect of lute playing to be clearly spelled out in the few surviving renaissance treatises describing lute technique—for one thing, modern methodology had not yet been developed. Ganassi, in his *Lettione seconda* (1543), describes several right-hand thumb techniques, however, that are suggestive of the rest stroke. First, he describes a method of using the thumb to strike several consecutive courses at once, what he calls the *squarzo*. Of course, this can only work if, when striking the first of the two or more courses to be played, the thumb moves directly to the course beneath it with the same type of movement you would use to perform a rest stroke. Then, he describes two different strokes for the thumb, “down-stroke” (*police in zoso*) and “up-stroke” (*police in suso*), but he never fully describes the upward stroke of the thumb. Now he may mean that the thumb actually plucks the string upward in the same direction as the fingers, but I find this extremely awkward and unlikely, especially since other sources (such as Barberiis, 1546) explicitly state that the thumb always moves downward, and even Ganassi tells us that the natural movement of the thumb is downward. It is quite possible that Ganassi is simply observing the difference in movement between free stroke (with the thumb moving up and away from the soundboard) and rest stroke (with the thumb moving down toward the soundboard). In any case, and considering the varied and sophisticated lute techniques described by Ganassi and others, I find it difficult to imagine that such a highly effective and useful tool as the rest stroke would simply be unknown to renaissance lute players, as Mr. Croton asserts. Piccinini is admittedly a late source and may not necessarily pertain to sixteenth-century practice, although one might note that, having been born in 1566, he spent the greater part of his professional life in the sixteenth century. He is one of the first to give a detailed description of the rest-stroke (in Chapter VI of his treatise): “every time [the thumb] plays the string you should press it towards the soundboard so that it always falls upon the string that is underneath it, and there it stays until it is needed again.” Piccinini stresses that this “provides the greatest convenience,” especially in the bass diapasons of the archlute, but it is to be used “every time” you use the thumb, so presumably on the upper courses as well.

When plucking the strings with thumb and fingers of the right hand, Mr. Croton rightly notes that you should “be sure your stroke simultaneously sets both strings of a course vibrating.” This is one of the most difficult aspects of lute playing, and it is of the utmost importance in developing a good sound and being in control of that sound. Likewise, it is one of the most difficult things for a beginning lute student to learn. I find that there is a good solu-
tion to mastering this art: learning to prepare, or “plant” the finger or thumb on the course immediately before initiating the actual plucking movement. There are many advantages to this approach. It instills and reinforces a tactile sensation of the double string under the finger and it gives the player far greater control of the final result of the plucking movement, allowing for the infinite gradations of sound that musicians want at their disposal. In my own experience as a teacher, I find that students who learn to plant their fingers on the strings in this way develop a good sound and greater stability of the hand more quickly. Mr. Croton, however, advises against this, telling us instead that the plucking movement should always be “one continuous movement from the air,” and he repeatedly tells us that “it is not always possible or desirable to prepare the thumb [and/or] finger by placing them on the course [before plucking it].” It is true that one continuous movement of the finger or thumb from the air is, from a biomechanical viewpoint, a simpler and more straightforward movement. It is also the type of plucking movement that modern guitarists prefer, dealing with single strings of elevated tension and using fingernails. But on the lute with its very delicate double courses and using the flesh of the fingertip, I think that planting is more effective and goes a long way in helping us to achieve the best possible sound on the instrument.

Chapter Eight continues with a selection of simple two-voice pieces from the early German and English repertoire, and, in one of the nicest features of this book, Mr. Croton gives us his own arrangement in two parts of common lute melodies, some of which we already saw in the previous chapters, such as “Go from my Window.” The exercises get progressively more complicated and the chapter ends with repertoire from Hans Newsidler and two lovely mass arrangements by Enríquez de Valderrábano, complete with mensural transcription, unvarnished Italian tablature, and “performing edition” garnished with left- and right-hand fingering and tenuto indications in French tablature. A short chapter on shifting with the left hand follows, with exercises and a treble piece with shifts by John Johnson. Mr. Croton teaches us to shift with the little finger on ascending passages. For example, in a passage with the sequence on the first string of “a” - “c” - “e” - “f” - “h,” the left-hand fingering is given as index on “c,” ring finger on “e,” little finger on “f,” and then shifting with the little finger to “h.” I find that this can lead to sloppiness and instability of the hand, and it is sometime hard to avoid the glissando effect with the fourth finger sliding from “f” to “h”; much better would be to shift with the first finger from “c” to “e” in such a passage.

Chapter Ten is dedicated to multi-voice music, starting with three-voice pieces and exercises and proceeding to works with four voices. For both categories, the process is introduced with simple exercises using only open strings, gradually increasing the difficulty with use of the left hand. As for the ring
finger of the right hand, we are told that “the ring finger is used in 4-voice chords and arpeggios, rarely for melodic passages,” and the reason for this is that “according to Tubiana: ‘The ring finger has a strength in flexion far inferior to the preceding digits’.” This is good advice, I think, although the historical picture is more complicated, with some sources, such as Ganassi’s *Lettione seconda*, calling for a much more extensive use of the ring finger, and others, such as Hans Gerle and Kapsberger, seeming to suggest that it was not used at all. In subchapter seven bar chords are introduced, and in the next subchapter there are tables of common lute chords in four and six voices. The highlights of this chapter are the two arrangements by Mr. Croton himself: “Fortune my Foe,” complete with texted melody in mensural notation, and a very nice set of variations on “Greensleeves.” Many of the pieces found here are treated to extensive modern dynamic indications, including hairpin dynamic lines, mezzo piano and mezzo forte abbreviations, accent marks, and phrasing indicators. I found this aspect of Mr. Croton’s approach very useful in the exercises and simple pieces of the first part of the method, as it helps the beginning student to think of the dynamic possibilities of the instrument right from the start. But by the time we get to more advanced repertoire it begins to feel somewhat compulsive, with the teacher suggesting that students play each piece in exactly his way, rather than letting them discover and explore their own innate expressiveness. For example, Mr. Croton often marks the beginning of each phrase, showing that phrases often begin before the bar line, but nowhere does he explain the actual concept of anacrusis or upbeat. I have found that teaching this concept to lute students gets them to think for themselves about how phrases are formed and to be on the alert for phrases that start with an upbeat, and that this is much more effective than simply telling them where each phrase begins.

Most of the music contains both left- and right-hand fingerings, which for the most part is well-thought-out, but again, I have a few reservations about Mr. Croton’s approach to right-hand fingering. The defining principles of right-hand fingering in melodic passages were set out by Melchiorre de Barberiis in his lute books of 1546 (and not cited in this lute method). One rule is to always play the last note of the bar with the index finger (unless, of course, there is a change of rhythm on that note or there are triplets). I have found that this rule is almost never broken in renaissance lute tablatures where the fingering is notated. In his French tablature “performing edition” of Francesco da Milano’s Fantasia 40, however, the right-hand fingering in syncopations is reversed so that the third and final notes before the bar line are played by the middle finger instead of the index. The correct fingering for these passages is given in the Italian tablature versions of the piece, but in his introduction Mr. Croton states that “In the original, right-hand finger-
ing dots are used inconsistently; I have changed some, using them only on weak beats and not in syncopations.” It happens that the original version of this piece was edited by Francesco’s pupil Perino Fiorentino and published in Rome (Dorico, 1546) a few years after Francesco’s untimely death. All later sources for this piece derive from the Dorico edition. A comparison with the original and Mr. Croton’s Italian tablature edition (for which no source is given) reveals that Mr. Croton has omitted much of the original fingering as well as all of the left-hand tenuto signs that are so carefully placed into the tablature by Perino and his publisher. I do not find the fingerings in Dorico inconsistent; apart from the inevitable but rare typographical error, it is an exemplary publication. It is of course the prerogative of modern lute players to use any technique they choose, but I would have preferred, in a method such as this, to find greater respect for the principles of lute technique clearly laid out in the original sources. Another reservation I have concerns passages in exercises and pieces in which a melody is paired with a bass line moving at the same speed or faster. In these passages I would strongly recommend even beginning students to get used to alternating the melody notes with the middle and index fingers, as this results in greater stability and fluidity of the hand, and more expressive phrasing. Mr. Croton always notates such passages with repetition of the middle finger and no alternation (see for example his bars 29 and 30 of “Fortune my Foe”).

The lute method, as such, really ends with Chapter Ten; the rest of the book is dedicated to providing additional repertoire for the “intermediate to advanced” player, and to introducing two early seventeenth-century lute variants, the ten-course lute and the archlute. Chapter Eleven is a small anthology of English lute solos in facsimile. Each piece is accompanied by helpful comments about its history, style, tempo, etc. For example, the complete lyrics to the lute song is provided for a solo version of Dowland’s “Can she Excuse” galliard. In Chapter Twelve, there is a substantial introduction to the ten-course lute, starting with a discussion about how right-hand lute technique changed at the beginning of the seventeenth century from thumb under (with the hand and fingers placed somewhat horizontally to the strings near the rose) to thumb over (with the fingers vertically underneath the hand, near the bridge, and the thumb stretched out toward the rose). Mr. Croton’s treatment of this subject is excellent, and he finds a good balance between advocating historical practice and the needs of the student. After citing passages from Besard and Stobaeus, he encourages us to experiment with the new position: “Simply put, exploring historically-based lute technique offers additional possibilities of rhetorical expression on our chosen instrument.” Yet he is also sympathetic to the student who may not be quite ready yet for a complete change in technique: “Although anachronistic, it is fine to play
The chapter ends with an introduction to the archlute, starting with a brief discussion about the “highly rhetorical style that developed in Italy in the late 16th century,” raising the concepts of *sprezzatura* (nonchalance) and *chiaroscuro* (light and darkness) with citations from Frescobaldi and others. The archlute is again taken up in Chapter Thirteen, which is called a “Supplement” and given a new section number, for reasons that to me are unclear. Mr. Croton makes a point of telling us that the archlute was invented as a double-strung instrument throughout, and that the long neck extension with single bass strings was a later development. He repeats this assertion several times throughout the book, but, as far as I know, there is no evidence for this. We know that the archlute was probably invented in the mid-1590s by Alessandro Piccinini, but there are no surviving instruments or iconography from this period (apart from Piccinini’s failed prototype, with three single bass strings, currently preserved at the Kunsthistorisches Museum in Vienna), so we simply do not know how the first successful archlute was strung. Piccinini, who does not claim to have invented the chitarrone, nevertheless tells us that the extended neck with bass strings that he invented for the archlute was adapted to the chitarrone, and that was the reason they became so popular so quickly. Lutes with single bass strings were described as early as 1580, and the first surviving instruments with extensions holding multiple diapasons were the large chitarrones that began to appear around 1600; these have long neck extensions with single bass strings. The first surviving instruments with double stringing throughout date from around 1620. This evidence does seem to suggest that the first archlute had a long neck extension with single strings.

The idea of *sprezzatura* is again treated extensively in an addendum, “Graceful Passion, the Tao of *sprezzatura,*” and compared with the Taoist practices of Zen Buddhism, as promulgated by Eugen Herrigel in his *Zen in the Art of Archery* of 1948. Mr. Croton’s enthusiasm for this kind of juxtaposition (Zen and lute playing) leaves this reviewer somewhat indifferent, but the discussion and collection of citations describing *sprezzatura* and “passionate performance” are informative and well done. The idea of *sprezzatura* is associated here in particular with the archlute and with seventeenth-century lute music but, as the citations from earlier sources show, the concept was prominent during the sixteenth century as well (it first appears in Castiglione’s *Il Cortegiano* of 1528). This discussion complements the chapter on rhetoric in Section One, and it seems a pity that it is held back until the very end of the book, as *sprezzatura* just as easily pertains to renaissance music as it does to archlute music.

Teaching to play a musical instrument is not an exact science. There will be as many different approaches to teaching as there are teachers, and in
a method such as the one under consideration here there are bound to be issues on which well-meaning specialists differ. Indeed, Mr. Croton himself recognizes this: in a Coda at the end of the book, he advises: “I hope you could make [this book] your own by absorbing what is meaningful for you, ignoring what is not. . . .” Taken as a whole, and despite the differences I have aired on varied and often highly technical aspects of lute playing, this method provides an excellent framework for the beginning lute student, as well as an essential reference for the more advanced player on the anatomical, biomechanical and cognitive workings of the hands, body and mind. Every lute player should have a copy.
Contributors to this Volume

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Paul Beier is an American lute player who lives in Milan, Italy. He has performed and recorded both as a soloist, member of various early music groups and as director of his own ensemble, Galatea. His latest recordings are of his own transcriptions of the French Suites of J.S. Bach and of the lute music of John Dowland. He occasionally writes about the lute for the *Journal* and *Quarterly of the Lute Society of America* and the *Rivista della Società di Liuto*. He has been on the faculty of the *Istituto di Musica Antica* of the *Civica Scuola di Musica Claudio Abbado* since 1981.

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Richard Falkenstein completed his doctoral studies in musicology at the State University of New York at Buffalo, where he was a Woodburn Fellow. His published academic work has centered on the sixteenth century, particularly on Italian lutenists and their music. He has served on the editorial board of the *Journal of the Lute Society of America* since 2009 and was chief editor from 2013-2018. A performer on guitar and lute, he has toured extensively in North and South America as well as Europe, most recently with mezzo-soprano Melissa Thorburn. Spring 2021 will mark thirty years that he has been a faculty member at Canisius College (Buffalo, NY), where he is currently Chair of Fine Arts.

Besides giving modern study of the lute and its music contributions of great importance, Doug Smith was a generous mentor, who selflessly was willing to be (in his words) a “cheerleader” for his colleagues. He will be greatly missed.

Klaus Martius

Klaus Martius was conservator of musical instruments at “Institut für Kunstechnik und Konservierung” of the Germanisches Nationalmuseum in Nuremberg from 1987-2020. Three years before he had studied with Friedemann Hellwig at the same place and three months at the Smithsonian institution in Washington D.C. with Scott Odell. Several publications on the technology of historical instruments, particularlly on lutes, bowed string instruments, conservation of musical instruments and documentation techniques.

Especially working with lutes it was a pleasure and great help to stay in contact with Doug Smith, who always was about to share his enormous knowledge with interested poeple. He also was the first stimulus to work together with LSA.
Hiroyuki Minamino

Hiroyuki Minamino earned his bachelor’s degree in Economics at St. Andrew’s University (Momoyama Gakuin Daigaku) in Osaka, Japan, his bachelor’s degree and Master of Fine Arts degree in music at the University of California, Irvine, and his Ph.D degree in musicology at the University of Chicago. He has extensively published articles on the lute music of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, as well as the vihuela music of the sixteenth century. He is currently working on the mystery of John Dowland’s 1595 Continental trip.

Pietro Prosser

A professional lutenist and calichon performer, Pietro Prosser is from Rovereto (Trent - Italy). After a diploma in guitar at the Conservatory of Riva del Garda, he completed a degree in musicology at the University of Pavia (Cremo- na) in 1996. Subsequently, he graduated in Lute at the Conservatory of Rome, building a freelance career as a lutenist. Currently, he teaches Lute at the Conservatory of Trent. He met Douglas A. Smith only once, by chance, at a traffic light in Paris, during the international conference Luths et luthistes en Occident in 1998: a few exciting, encouraging and unforgettable minutes, talking about his research on the mandora and calichon, recently assembled in his thesis. Prosser’s passion for music and his research is surpassed only by the study of the mountain environment.

Kateryna Schöning

Born in Charkow (Ukraine), Kateryna Schöning studied musicology, music theory, piano, philosophy and art history at the University of Arts Charkow, completing a PhD in musicology in 2007. During 2008-2016 she worked in research projects on instrumental music before 1600 and on contemporary history and musicology in the 20th century (Germany: Leipzig, Mannheim). Since 2016 she is a head of the project Soloistic Instrumental Music in the Central European Cultural Region (ca. 1500 – ca. 1550): Instrumental Praxis and Humanistic Contexts at the University of Vienna (Austria). Her work focuses on interdisciplinary research in the instrumental music before 1600, including the relationships between music and humanism, music and language, music and other art forms in the Central European region, and the broad phenomena of the interplay between manuscript and print culture before 1600.