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THE HERWARTH LUTE MANUSCRIPTS AT THE BAVARIAN STATE LIBRARY,
MUNICH: A BIBLIOGRAPHICAL STUDY WITH EMPHASIS ON THE WORKS
OF MARCO DALL'AQUILA AND MELCHIOR NEWSIDLER. (VOLUMES I AND
II)

New York University

Ph.D. 1984

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THE HERWARTH LUTE MANUSCRIPTS AT THE
BAVARIAN STATE LIBRARY, MUNICH

A Bibliographical Study with Emphasis on
the Works of Marco dall'Aquila and Melchior Newsidler

by

Arthur J. Ness

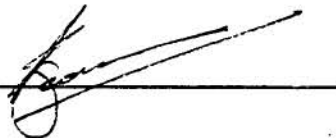
A Dissertation in the Department of Music
submitted to the faculty of the
Graduate School of Arts and Science
in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of
Doctor of Philosophy

at

New York University

February, 1984

Approved by

A handwritten signature in black ink, written over a horizontal line. The signature is stylized and appears to be a cursive name.

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Abstract

The Herwarth Lute Manuscripts at the
Bavarian State Library, Munich:
A Bibliographical Study
with emphasis on the works of
Marco dall'Aquila and Melchior Newsidler

The present study details a small portion of the 16th-century lute repertory contained in a series of bibliographically perplexing tablatures in the Bavarian State Library (Mus mss 266, 267, 1511d, 1511c, 1627, 2986, 2987) and one related by scribe and concordances, Paris, Bibliothèque national (Ms Rés 429). They contain nearly 400 pieces copied by some 26 different scribes, and are unique remnants from the 16th century, a miscellany of sheet music for lute of diverse provenance in both time and place.

Some of the Munich manuscripts passed through the library of the Augsburg patrician Hans Heinrich Herwarth (1520-1583). Earlier chapters are devoted to their history from the time of their arrival in the ducal library in 1586 through their first being bound and catalogued in the 19th century. Since they are fully understood only within the context of other music from Herwarth's library, the contents of his extraordinary music collection are discussed in some detail, followed by what is known of the life and activities of their first owner, a man of substantial wealth and influence.

A determination of the place and importance of the manuscripts is revealed upon a close bibliographical examination of handwritings (using seriation), watermarks, staffliners, contents and musical styles, all of which help pinpoint the origins of the

various fascicles.

A few sections of this repertory are selected for detailed coverage. These include the extended fascicle devoted to works by Marco dall'Aquila (ca. 1480-after 1537), who was active at Venice during a crucial point in the history of the lute and its music, when a new style of polyphonic play was developing. The dissertation discusses these changes in lute technique, relates them to Marco's output, and includes a complete edition of Marco's extant work, since Mus ms. 266 contains unica of all his extant compositions, save for a handful published in 1536. Also transcribed are works by a lutenist known only as "Bernardo N.," whose works appear alongside those of Marco.

Other sections include fascicles containing autographs of the important Augsburg master Melchior Newsidler (1541-after 1591), and here-to-fore unrecognized sources for music by Albert de Rippe (ca. 1500-1551).

A thematic index and list of concordances for all of the pieces in the Munich and the Paris manuscripts are included in a second volume.

Arthur J. Ness
February 1984

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Volume Two

Concordances

Thematic Index

The Works of Marco dall'Aquila

Extended Musical Examples

Introduction

From the Middle Ages through the late 18th century, the lute and its kindred instruments held a central position in the domestic and professional music-making of European cultures, enjoying the ubiquity of today's parlor spinet and concert grand. Yet musicological study of the repertory for these historically important and often artistically significant instruments has lagged far behind that of parallel musics.

The nature of many surviving sources of lute music accounts in part for this neglect. Some 385 prints (excluding later editions) and 578 manuscripts contain a manageable corpus of about 50,000 works (including concordant pieces), but tablature notation makes the sources readily available only to specialists. As a result the discipline still lacks the thorough bibliographical control over the original sources that should precede an evaluation of the music itself.

Only a few studies of portions of the repertory have appeared: indeed, aside from Howard Mayer Brown's exemplary Printed music before 1600: A bibliography (1968) [hereafter BrownI], attempts at even a census of the repertory, ca. 1480-1799, have for the most part been disappointing. Wolfgang Boetticher's long awaited Handschriftlich überlieferte Lauten- und Gitarrentabulaturen (1978), and Ernst Pohlmann's labor of love, Laute, Theorbe, Chitarrone (4th ed., 1975), have suggested something of the total breadth of the repertory, but frequently offer little solid information. This is perhaps understandable, since many lute books,

especially those in manuscript, are often vague in detailing specific contents. Common-place books of professional and amateur lutenists may be filled with pieces that their owners entered casually over a lifetime, often providing neither title nor composer. Until the entire repertory is inventoried, problems of attribution even for signed pieces will continue to plague us.

The present study is offered as a detailed study of a small portion of the 16th-century lute repertory, that contained in a series of bibliographically perplexing manuscript tablatures in the Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Munich. Some of these manuscripts, many of which are interrelated, appear to have passed through the library of the Augsburg patrician Hans Heinrich Herwarth (b. Augsburg, 1520, d. there, 1583) before being acquired by the Bavarian ducal library in 1588. The problems inherent to the manuscripts encompass their desultory content, and recent misunderstandings about their origin and original state.

When the music section of the Bayerische Staatsbibliothek was reorganized in the mid-19th century, Julius Joseph Maier, music librarian at that time, surveyed the manuscripts in preparation for his published catalogue: he numbered each item in pencil, but sometimes failed to realize that a piece might be continued from several folios earlier, or even later, and often numbered a single piece as two or more separate items. For example, the first-half of Mus Ms 1511c contains, according to Maier's pencilled numbers, ten settings of "Aspice Domine," originally titled "Aspice A," "Aspice B," etc. But when the settings (by Jachet da Mantua) are examined in detail, it is evident that the

designations, "A," "B", etc., simply show the sequence of sections of two versions, one a simple intabulation, the other an embellished one, "more fineliter handeled," as Le Roy's English translator would say.

The manuscripts contain nearly 400 pieces copied by some 26 different scribes, and (rather than representing a single tradition of "Augsburger Lautenkunst") are unique remnants from the 16th century, a miscellany of sheet music for lute of diverse provenance in both time and place. As now bound, the volumes juxtapose pieces by Italian lutenists of the early 16th century (such as the Venetian Joan Ambrosio Dalza and the Paduan lutenists Antonio Rotta and Giovanni Pacolini) with German mid-century works. Many of the pieces are intabulations of Italian, German and French vocal part-music, usually entered without composer attribution, but including works by Senfl, Hofhaimer, Josquin and Marco Cara, following on the heels of others by de Rore, Lasso and Sandrin.

The undue neglect of these manuscripts has been caused primarily by their confusing state, for they contain much of interest, including unique works by the very influential Venetian master Marco dall'Aquila, autographs by Melchior Newsidler of Augsburg, and sketches that show the growth of parody ricercars and intabulations.

Only two of these manuscripts have served as the basis for detailed musicological investigation, although parts of a few

others have occasionally been consulted. Kurt Dorfmueller, former head of the Musikabteilung of the Staatsbibliothek, has shown¹ that Mus Ms 1512, the subject of his doctoral dissertation, was probably compiled by a lutenist active at the Munich court in the 1530s and 40s, and bears no relationship to other lute manuscripts that may stem from the Herwarth library. Dr. Dorfmueller did, however, survey the Herwarth manuscripts briefly and urged that² they be given further, thorough examination.

The only manuscript from the acquisition to have received major attention--and exorbitant attention at that--is Mus Ms 1511a, a very carefully copied source containing music of the blind lutenist Giacomo Gorzanis (ca. 1520-1576/79) and dedicated to Herwarth's cousin Ulrich. The manuscript contains a cycle of 24 passamezzo-saltarello pairs that, alternately using the antico and moderno patterns, ascend through all of the "major" and "minor" keys, causing it to be sensationally dubbed a 16th-century "well tempered lute book." It is the subject of articles by Hermann Halbig in 1934,³ Georg Reichert in 1962,⁴ Paolo

¹ [For complete details of materials cited in the footnotes, please see the Bibliography.] An expanded and revised version of the 1952 dissertation submitted to the University of Munich has appeared as Dorfmueller, Studien zur Lautenmusik. Hans Bischoff edited and published a selection of pieces from Mus Ms 1512 as Lieder und Tänze.

² Dorfmueller, pp. 42-3.

³ Halbig, "Eine handschriftlich Lauten-Tabulatur," 102-117, including a thematic index.

⁴ Reichert, "Giacomo Gorzanis' 'Intabolatura'."

Possiedi in 1967,⁵ and Bruno Tonazzi in 1973,⁶ and dissertations by A. Zecca-Laterza in 1963⁷ and El-Mallah 1973.⁸ Its contents have appeared in complete editions edited by Tonazzi in 1976⁹ and El-Mallah in 1979.¹⁰

Otherwise the ex-Herwarth lute manuscripts have received but fleeting notice. Prior to the publication of Boetticher's inventory in RISM, and his pioneering 1943 dissertation, Maier's short description provided minimal information about the manuscripts. The list of call-numbers of lute manuscripts in Boetticher's article for Die Musik in Geschichte und Gegenwart (here-after MGG)¹¹ is drawn from the dissertation, apparently without change. Understandably, Professor Boetticher was unable to examine thoroughly the many manuscripts cited in his dissertation, but

⁵ Possiedi, "Il liuto ben temperato."

⁶ Tonazzi, "Il Cinquecentista Giacomo Gorzanis."

⁷ Zecca-Laterza, "Giacomo Gorzanis."

⁸ El-Mallah, Ein Tanzzyklus.

⁹ Tonazzi, ed., Giacomo Gorzanis: Libro de intabulatura (1567), with a bio-bibliographical introduction.

¹⁰ El-Mallah, ed., Die Pass'mezzi und Saltarelli.

¹¹ Article "Laute," MGG, VIII (1960), 352-82.

his list did serve to propagate their existence. Unfortunately, his incomplete and at times vague descriptions may have mislead some. For example, the date "[15]68" which appears on only one folio of Mus. Ms. 266 led Boetticher to label the entire manuscript, "drittes und letztes Viertel d. 16. Jhdts.," although portions of that volume may have been copied as early as 1536. Similar misinformation finds its way into the RISM inventory.¹²

¹³
In his Harvard dissertation,¹³ Lawrence Moe drew upon Mus. Mss. 1511b, 1511d, 1512, 272 and 266 for concordances with dance music in printed Italian lute tablatures,¹⁴ and thus served to point out the early date and the value of the repertory contained in some of the Munich manuscripts, particularly for two later Harvard doctoral students.

One, H. Colin Slim, examined the ex-Herwarth manuscripts first hand, perceived and commented extensively on some of their

¹² Boetticher, Handschriftlich. The accompanying index volumes, which will provide information about titles of pieces, composers, etc., has not yet appeared, making the present volume of limited usefulness. Boetticher's dissertation, "Studien zur solistischen Lautenpraxis," is useful mainly for the list of lute tablatures, which was published separately after the war, without change, as Bibliographie des sources de la musique pour luth (Paris, 1956).

¹³ Moe, "Dance Music."

¹⁴ Moe, pp. 219-346, passim.

inherent problems.¹⁵ He also indexed the *ricercars* and other
abstract pieces in the earliest fascicles,¹⁶ transcribed a few of
them,¹⁷ and attempted to separate the many copyists' hands.¹⁸
Unfortunately the manuscripts and the bulk of the music that they
contain were peripheral to the subject of Slim's dissertation, and
he has not followed the interesting lines of inquiry gestant in
his observations.

The other, Daniel Heartz, whose Harvard dissertation comple-
ments the subject matter of Moe's,¹⁹ published three pieces from
Mus. Ms. 1627 to illustrate his discussion of the French dance
music in Attaingnant's lute books of the 1520s.²⁰

In my edition of the works of Francesco da Milano,²¹ I drew

-
- ¹⁵ Slim, "The Keyboard *Ricercar*," pp. 219-22.
¹⁶ Slim, pp. 573-7.
¹⁷ Slim, pp. 606-7, 620.
¹⁸ Slim, p. 575.
¹⁹ Heartz, "The Sources and Forms of the French Instrumental
Dance."
²⁰ Heartz, ed., Preludes, Chansons and Dances, pp. 124, 128.
²¹ Ness, The Lute Music of Francesco Canova da Milano.

upon Mus. Mss. 266 and 1511d for several pieces,²² and seem to have been the first to point out that a manuscript in the Paris Bibliothèque nationale (Rés. 429) belongs also to the Herwarth circle, having been copied by a scribe encountered in the Munich²³ manuscripts.

A study that set forth in detail, for the first time, some of the many bibliographical problems inherent in the ex-Herwarth lute²⁴ manuscripts is Dr. Marie Louise Martinez-Göllner's 1969 article. She discusses the original catalogues of the Herwarth acquisition and Maier's efforts to re-catalogue the collection in the mid-19th century, lists the contents of a few of the lute manuscripts (Mus. Mss. 268, 269 and 271), points out the various hands encountered through several of the volumes, and publishes Cod. bav. cat. 271 (a helpful list of prints of instrumental music, mainly lute tablatures, prepared around 1586-88). It is thought to have been made upon receipt of the Herwarth library.

Dr. Göllner's article was prepared while my own work was in progress, and we sometimes met one another while in pursuit of the same archival document. Our researches were, for the most part, carried on individually, and although we may quote the same document, I have always cited her article for materials and infor-

²² Ness, Nos. 85 and 86, with concordances for other works listed on pp. 17-29, and a facsimile of Mus. Ms. 266, folio 48, on page xxx.

²³ Ness, p. 16, note 35.

²⁴ Martinez-Göllner, "Die Augsburger Bibliothek."

mation that I did not gather at the time and examine first hand. In any event, the present study should, it is hoped, complement her work by questioning a few of her conclusions and amplifying a few of her suggestions.

When I first undertook the present project, I felt that the corpus would serve as the basis for a stylistic study of 16th-century lute music. The pieces--as numerous as they are--do not, however, form a continuum that can provide a proper foundation for such an essay. Many of the pieces are disjunct in time and place, and lacunae would have to be filled with other materials--that is, after the Munich tablatures had been shuffled and ordered, and their individual provenances established. This latter, much needed task, I trust, will be met in the present study. The lute manuscripts in Munich are best seen as part of wider vistas, and it is my hope that the present dissertation will serve as a spring-board for future scholars.

It is best, perhaps, to start broadly on several levels, and then work towards details. Earlier chapters are, therefore, devoted to the history of the lute manuscripts from the time of their arrival in the ducal library in 1588 through their first being bound and catalogued in the 19th century. Since they are best understood within the full context of Herwarth's other music (much of which was bound vocal music), I wish to discuss the contents of his extraordinary music collection in some detail, followed by what is known of the life and activities of a man of substantial wealth and influence. While perhaps playing a lesser

role in his life than they did in the lives of his relatives and fellow Augsburg patricians, Herwarth's mercantile and financial dealings are important in understanding how his collection, including the lute manuscripts, may have accumulated.

The place and importance of the manuscripts is best undertaken within considerations that may be revealed from a close bibliographical examination of handwritings, watermarks, staffliners, contents and musical styles, all of which help pinpoint the origins of the various fascicles.

Finally, I would like to discuss the importance of a few selected portions of this repertory, particularly the rather extended fascicle devoted to works by the early Italian lute master Marco dall'Aquila, a figure deserving an important niche in the history of lute music, comparable to that of his later contemporary Francesco da Milano. The dissertation therefore includes a complete edition of Marco's work, appropriate to our purposes since Mus. ms. 266 contains unica of all his extant compositions, save for a handful published in Venice in 1536.

Other sections require less extensive coverage, but do include fascicles containing autographs of the important German master Melchior Newsidler, and heretofore unrecognized Italian sources for music by Albert de Rippe, the phenomenal Mantuan lutenist at the courts of Francis I and Henri II, whose music appeared for the most part only in posthumous editions of (as we shall see) questionable accuracy.

During the years that the present dissertation has been

underway, I have benefited from the counsel of many individuals. The topic was first suggested by John M. Ward and basic research undertaken in Munich during a two-year Fulbright Fellowship. Dr. Kurt Dorfmueller, head of the Music Section at the Bavarian State Library, Dr. Marie Louise Martinez-Göllner and their colleagues were ever helpful in placing materials at my disposal; I will always remember the touching "welcome home" given me by the staff when I later visited the library. The late Gustave Reese, my first dissertation advisor, always provided gentle urging, even at moments when I felt the topic too desultory for proper completion. Above all, I owe special gratitude to Stanley Boorman, the advisor who saw my work through completion. He and other members of my committee, who read all or parts of the dissertation, Elaine Brody, David Burrows, Martin Chusid, Jan LaRue and Edward Roesner, provided many helpful suggestions. Professor Boorman's expertise and eagle eye was an especially welcome foil for what might otherwise have been my embarrassing foibles. Of course, my wife Charlotte assisted in countless ways, as novice word-processor and (more importantly) by providing moral sustenance and firm encouragement: it is only appropriate that I dedicate these volumes to her in memory of Rosetta Dorsey Ness (1906-1983).

Amherst, New York
October 1983

Chapter I

Acquisition of the Herwarth Library

In 1586 when Wilhelm II, Duke of Bavaria (r. 1579-1597), purchased one of the great renaissance libraries from the heirs of the Augsburg patrician, scholar, financier and bibliophile Hans Heinrich Herwarth (1520-1583),¹ he followed the tradition of his predecessor, Albrecht V (r. 1550-1579), whose elegant living and artistic and scholarly pursuits established musicians such as Orlando di Lasso at the brilliant Munich court, and led to the founding of what is today the Bayerische Staatsbibliothek. With the advice and cooperation of another Augsburg patrician, Johann Jacob Fugger (1516-1571), the ducal library was formed in 1558, when Albrecht purchased the 2200-volume library of Johann Albrecht Widmannstetter and appointed the first librarian, Aegidius Oertel of Nuremberg. (Oertel may have been a relative of the Fuggers' Antwerp agent.) After Fugger's death, his collection provided an additional 5000 titles, including the library of the Nuremberg scholar Hartmann Schedel (d. 1514). His library brought with it

¹ The name is spelled variously, Hoerwarth, Herwart, Herwoert, Herwarth, Hoerwert, Hoerbrot, Herbordus, etc. I am using the usual 16th-century spelling. The name may be traced backwards into the 12th century, and probably refers to one who waits upon a lord, ("Herr" + "Wart" [or "Wacht"]). The family's usual heraldic sign is, appropriately, an owl, and coats-of-arms for various Herwarths may be seen in the "Herwarth Geschlechte-Buch", initiated by Hans Heinrich's uncle, Georg II Herwarth (1498-1569), and now in the Augsburg Stadt-Archiv, [no sign.].

the famous "Schleidel'sches Liederbuch".² Wilhelm's first library purchase in 1583 was a collection of Spanish books belonging to Ritter Anselm Stöckel.³ Later, to increase the usefulness of the ducal library by creating a union list of books and manuscripts in southern Germany, Wilhelm decreed (following a suggestion by Marcus Welser of Augsburg)⁴ that all Bavarian abbeys and cloisters submit inventories of their holdings; some survive in Cod. bav. cat. 1774-80.

The Herwarth purchase enriched the library with 2066 literary volumes, plus 440 sets of part books of vocal ensemble music and 50 prints of works for lute and other instruments. Included were 15th- and 16th-century editions and manuscripts of Cicero, Caesar, Livy, Quintilian, Aulus-Gellius, Pliny, Seneca, Gallus, Horace, Plutarch, Vergil, Curtius and others, and music from the presses of Attaignant in Paris, Moderne in Lyon, Phalèse in Louvain, Susato in Antwerp, Rhaw in Wittenberg, Formschneider in Nuremberg, Oeglin in Augsburg, Bughart in Ferrara, and the firms of Gardano, Antico and Scotto in Venice, among many others.

² See Hartig, Die Gründung der Münchner Hofbibliothek, and Sensberg, Die bayerische Bibliotheken, pp. 6-25. For Fugger's activities and contributions, see Gebele, "Augsburg Bibliophilen," 25. Fugger paid about 500 fl. for the Schleidel library (see Lehrmann, Fuggerbibliothek, I, 54-5.

³ See Selig, "A German Collection of Spanish Books," 51.

⁴ Sensberg, 65.

Early accounts of the Bavarian library single out the Her-
warth music for special mention:⁵

Bey der Höwarthischen Bibliothek war auch eine so grosse Anzahl musikalischer Bücher, dergleichen man in andern Bibliotheken nicht leicht finden wird. Es ist bekannt, in welcher Schätzung Orlando Lasso und die Musik am bayerischen Hofe damals waren.

Paul von Stetten, the younger, mentions the library again in
1788:⁶

Unter die altern schönen Privatbibliotheken, gehoerte auch diejenige Herwartische, welche Herzog Wilhelm in Bayern gekauft hat, und die jetzt ebenfalls der Churfuerstlichen einverleibet ist. Der Besitzer war vermuehtlich Hans Heinrich Herwart, ein Gelehrter, der im Jahr 1583. gestorben ist. Darinn sind viele schoene Werke aus dem XV. Jahrhundert, vorzueglich aber sehr viele musikalische, wie dann der Besitzer ein besonderer Freund der Tonkunst gewesen seyn muss.

The collection is listed and valued in an index prepared by
a librarian Friedrich Pommer around 1586.⁷ The music books were
assessed at 110 florins, a rather substantial sum equal to nearly
a quarter of Lasso's salary for that year.⁸ Herwarth's was

⁵ S. Bianconi, Lettere sopra alcune particolarità della Baviera, p. 55, quoted in Steigenberger, Rede, p. 33.

⁶ Kunst-, II, 20.

⁷ Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Cod. bav. cat. 120ab.

⁸ The book prices are given in Cod. bav. cat. 120e, fol. 15v, with the music price on fol. 11v. Lasso's salary is given in the "Hofzahlamts Rechnung pro 1586," fol. 479, as 450 florins for that same year.

one of the most extensive collections of 16th-century music ever assembled, and many of the unique prints now in the Musikabteilung of the Staatsbibliothek may be traced back to Wilhelm's Herwarth purchase: a fifth of the titles survive in complete sets only in Munich and another tenth are unica. Without a collector's zeal and Wilhelm's opportune purchase, knowledge of renaissance music would today be considerably poorer.

The purchase is recorded in the "Hofzahlamts-Rechnung pro 1586, Gestellt vom fürstl. Zahlmeister Caspar Parts," in the Munich Archiv für Oberbayern, fol. 444-444v:

Item, Nachdem von hanns heinrichen hörwarts seligen
nachgelassen Erben, merlaj wahren, so nit benent worden. .
. . vmb solche summe ein Zinns Vschreibung zugestellt
worde[n]. Ist befolghen solche Posst in Eincam Vnnd ausgab
zu urwarten. . . . In ausgab. f. Gl. vnnderscribe[n] ur-
khundt----

f1 3000: ----

The debit of 3000 florins exceeds by nearly half the 1509 florins paid specifically for the Herwarth library. From correspondence between Wilhelm and Hans Fugger it is apparent that "Antiquitates unnd khunst stückh" may also have been included in the purchase, and it is known that Albrecht admired and coveted Herwarth's coin collection as early as 1573.⁹ Johann Sambucus described it as well serving the arts and sciences, being "ex-¹⁰ceptional for its eminence and exquisiteness." Wilhelm finally

⁹ See Martinez-Göllner, 31, note 6.

¹⁰ Quoted in Stetten, Kunst-, II, 555.

wrote to Hans Fugger in December, 1583, about six months after
¹¹
 Herwarth's death, "Wir haben dein schreiben Hanns Hainrich
 Herwarts Antiquitates unnd Khunst stückh betreffend wol empfan-
 gen." Apparently part of the payment to the Herwarth heirs covered
 the coin collection, although this acquisition is no longer re-
 corded in the archives of the Munich Munzsammlung. Wilhelm's (or
 was it Albrecht's) interest in coins appears to have caused a num-
 ber of persons to act as his agent, as well as Fugger. In a pre-
 viously uncited letter without date written from Aquileggia by a
 "Bassista" (active 1569-79 in the Munich Hofkapelle), Agostino
 Persei (Perchi, Perssy), it is apparent that one of the agents was
¹²
 none other than "Sig. Orlando,"

Desglaichen hab ich ermelten Sig. Orlando gebetten
 E.F.H ain schreibtschlein mit antiquitet pfennig, soainz
 Delmanz meins nachbaurren geirrst, anzusaigen, von welchem
 ich widerumb aus Irer H.G. bewelch zur antwort ernommen, Er
 hab von derselben nach Präsentierten sachen, mir zuschrei-
 ben beuelch, dz herauf khommen sollen, vnnd dz Tisch, oder
 Tischlein sambt den pfennig auch den zwaigen Contralten
 herauss mit mir führen.

An early reference to the Herwarth collection and its music
 appears in Cod. bav. cat. 120 (miscellaneous acquisition lists),
 including 120e, fol. 12v (dated 4 April 1588), "Aliquot Musici
 Libri ex Heuuarticis Vnarum Catalogissorum." In Cod. bav. cat.
 120e, fol. 5, the "antiquitates" (coin collection?) are mentioned

¹¹
 Munich, Hauptstaatsarchiv, Hoerwarth, 142.

¹²
 Munich, Hauptstaatsarchiv, Libri antiquitatem, IV, 239.
 For the full text, see the Newsidler chapter, PLATES III-IV.

again, as well as a Spanish (= Neapolitan?) tablature, perhaps a reference to the Sulzbach (Naples, 1536) print of Francesco da Milano that apparently once resided in the Herwarth library:

Adhuc aliquot libri ex Heruuarticis ab Aug.ta allati
sunt in Horto Ser.mi Principis vbi antiquitates conferuant,
. . . Ein geschrieben Buch, Tabulaturae Französisch,
Ital: . . . sh. Spanisch.

The value of the Herwarth music books is given in Cod. bav. cat.
128e, fol. 1v:

80 fl 14 k Libri Superuacy Musicis

and again on fol. 12 (or is this an additional estimate of value
for an second group, making the total for music books 190 fl.
14k?):

110 fl -- k Musici libri (Gebunden vnd vngebunden)

Albrecht's interest in the acquisition of music is reflected also
in a short list of scores and instruments from Raymund Fugger's
collection, dated 1566, of which the following are of interest to
us (Libri antiquitatem, IV, fols. 170-185):

No. 113. Liure de Tablature d'Espinette Contenant Mu-
tettorum, fantasies, Chansons, Madrigals et galliades.
Imp[ri]me a Lion a 1560. [BrownI (1560)/1: lost]

No. 115. Troys Liures De Danseries, mis: En musicus a 4
voix par Jehan d'Estree Imprimis a Paris 1559. [BrownI
1559/i-3]

No. 181. Tabulatur de Ghitterre Lib: 5. Contenant Chan-
sons, fantasies, pauanes. Composees p[ar] Adrian le Roy.
[BrownI 1551/3, 1556/8, 1552/3, 1553/3, 1554/4]

No. 183. Tabulatur de luth libri 6 Contenant Mutettz,
Chansons, fantasies, Pauanes per Adrian le Roy.

Raymund's music books, however, found their way to Vienna,
and it is perhaps incorrect to ascribe large portions of the
Munich collection to the Fuggers.¹³

For the Vienna sale on June 2, 1576, Fugger realized 911 fl
14 k for his library. It included "[in quarto:] 1 Allt geschri-
ben Lauttenbuch auff die Welsch Tabulatur [the Raymund Fugger Lute
Book, copied while he was a student in Bologna], [and] . . .
Ungebundne getruckt gsang buecher an ainem buendel zusammen
knuepfft."¹⁴

Detailed acquisition lists were prepared when Her-
warth's collection was logged into the ducal library. Of interest
to us are Cod. bav. cat. 115, "Musica vocalis," and Cod. lat. mus.
271, "Musica instrumentalis," both apparently in the hand of
Friedrich Pommer. Cod. bav. cat. 115 lists the composer, title,
date, and place of publication of 440 sets of partbooks, and Cod.
lat. mus. 271, 49 prints of instrumental music (mostly lute
tablatures). The lists include a wide range of publishers active
in Italy, Germany, France and The Lowlands between 1512 and 1583,
the year of Herwarth's death. Of the vocal music, 55 titles (11%)

13

Cf. New Grove, "Fugger," VII, 8-9. Also see Lehmann,
Fuggerbibliotheken, passim.

14

Cited in Hartig, p. 38, note 1.

now survive as unique copies in Munich, and 81 (18%) provide the only known complete set of partbooks, many being elsewhere represented only by a single partbook or two. The title list of instrumental music includes five unica, and other works which have been lost, including Petrucci's Book III (Gian Maria Alemanni). The acquisition lists show that Herwarth's extensive collection¹⁵ rivalled Ferdinand Columbus's in scope. A first impression suggests wild abandon in purchases. Closer examination reveals, however, that it was gathered with thought and careful planning. There are virtually no duplications of the same, or later, editions of a publication, and an obvious attempt was made to purchase complete series of anthologies and works by favored composers, such as Lasso, Lupi Didier II, Jacobus Kerle, Ferretti, Buus, Utendal, Portinaro, Ivo de Vento, Willaert, Striggio, Lechner and Wert.

Thus Attaingnant's chanson series, books I-XXXV, comprises a complete set gathered from a number of editions, "en deux" and "en¹⁶ ung et en deux volumes," as Daniel Heartz has shown. Likewise complete are Moderne's Le Parangon des chansons, books I-IX (1538-43), his Motetti del fiore (a 4), books I-IV (1532; 1539). An irregular series of Moderne motet publications, the Liber

¹⁵

For details on that library and its music, see Chapman, "Columbus."

¹⁶

See Heartz, Attaingnant, p. 74.

mottetorum ad quinque . . . vocum, includes Books II (1532), III (1542 [prints dated 1538 and 1539 are also known]), IV (1539), and V (1542), suggesting that it was filled out in several purchases. Book II may have been acquired after Book I had gone out of print, Book IV, before Book III had been reprinted in 1539, and finally Books III and V in 1542, or shortly thereafter.

All genres of 16th-century music were purchased with an almost obsessive regularity, it seems, and scarcely a year between 1538 and 1583 is not represented with one or more books, although surprisingly few bear an Augsburg imprint. Noticeable lacunae appear between the years 1544 and 1546 (following Herwarth's first marriage in 1544 and before the birth of his first child in March, 1546), 1550 and 1553 (a time when many Catholic Augsburg patricians, including Herwarth, fled to avoid the Schmal-Kaldian confusion), and 1563 and 1566 (a period following upon an epidemic of plague in Augsburg, during December 1563, and his first wife's death during childbirth in January, 1564). Patterns in the purchases reflect a young man's growing erudition as lute music and chansons, which appear in fairly large numbers with early dates of imprint, are gradually replaced in emphasis with madrigals and motets. Particularly large quantities of lute music bear dates before 1547, whole concentrations of motets come later, in 1553-56, 1565-71 and 1576-81.

Herwarth's collecting habits exhibit a renaissance fascination for all-embracing knowledge, as illustrated by Conrad Gesner's Pandectae of 1548, a bibliography that classifies, sorts and lists a vast number of books. Gesner included among the music

books items which he examined in Herwarth's library in 1545, and which he apparently also examined in 1559 for a later edition of his "partitionum universalium libri," as he called it.¹⁷

A complete composer-title list will appear in H. Colin Slim's forthcoming article in Annales musicologiques. Although a detailed analysis of the Herwarth collection lies beyond the present study, a few observations should be made, particularly since they may confirm dates and provenances for some of the lute manuscripts.

The collection consisted of 26 bound volumes (including two manuscripts) and 18 bundles of unbound materials. Pommer listed the prints in the order in which they appear in the bound volumes, and (except for the two lost ones mentioned below) all have survived at the Bavarian State Library in their original bindings.

Present Shelf Nos.	Contents	Cod. bav. cat. Acquisition Number
103, 31,	Chansons (Attaignant, 1539-50; 1528-35)	1, 24a
108	Chansons (Susato, 1543-50),	8
182-3	Chansons (Moderne, 1538-43)	19
40	Chansons and madrigals (1529-38)	25
163, 104,	Motets (1532-42), (1555-59), (1538-	2, 5, 10,
106, 12,	49), (1538-45), (1553-55)	16, 17 43

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See Lawrence Bernstein, "Music in Conrad Gesner's Pandectae (1548)." Since Gesner does not always provide dates of publication, Professor Bernstein may have omitted some corresponding prints in his table, pages 130-33. Pommer's lists are, of course, of great value because they do provide complete bibliographical citations, including dates of publication. I have not examined later editions of Gesner's work.

lost	Motets (1568)	7
lost	Motets and psalm settings (1554-78)	6
159	Masses (1537-39)	14
52	Motets, chansons and madrigals (1548-52)	3
148	Motets and madrigals (1547-1557)	28
198, 39	Motets, Lieder and Napolitane publ. in Germany (1536-39)	15, 26
155, 96, 95	Madrigals (1542-60), (1535-60), (1539)	4, 9, 18
15, 167 28	Lieder (1566-88), (1539), (1512)	13, 23 24b
135, 142	Works of Lasso (1555-66), (1570-71)	11, 12
Ms. 1581,	Manuscripts	21, 22
Ms. 1588		

Due to the large number of publications from Venice, the situation with unbound music is more complicated. Only a few bear dates before 1555, and those bound volumes after that date may preserve favored music, such as the fairly complete sets of works by Lasso. Less-favored Protestant psalms and popular Napolitane remained, for the most part, unbound.

The bundles were grouped roughly by genre, and, one suspects, indexed according to the order received:

Contents	Acquisition Numbers
Motets and other sacred music	X4-5, X7-8, X15-16
Motets, psalms and chansons	X13
Chansons and madrigals	X6
Madrigals	X1-2, X9-12
Napolitane	X14
Lieder	X3
[Manuscripts]	X17-18]

18

I have retained the original numbers given in Cod. bav. cat. 115, with an "X" to indicate the numbers given to the bundles of unbound prints. Pommer's acquisition numbers are for the most part arbitrary.

For the contents of each bundle, Pommer listed the titles in alphabetical order according to a prominent word in the title,
 19
 e.g. bundle 10, (the underlining is mine):

Madrigali a tre voci . . . per Anto Gardano . . .
 Musica libro primo . . . di Adriano Wigliar: . . .
And: Gabrieli libro primo de madrigali . . .
Archadelt libro primo . . .
Magdalena Casulana il secondo . . .
Baldessar Donato il secondo . . .
Il Desiderio primo libro . . .
Francesco Portenaro . . .
Gio: Bat: dalla Gostena
Jachet Berchem . . .

Unica include collections of chansons by Lupi Didier II (Lyons, 1548) and Lasso (Louvain, 1564), and the important Venti-cinque canzoni (Venice: Gardano, 1538). The famous, nearly complete, sets of chanson publications in four and "en ung et deux volumes" of Pierre Attaingnant (Paris, 1528-50) forms the largest group of unica. Books of madrigals are represented by the anthologies de la fama (Scotto, 1548) and La Eletta di tutti (Zorzi, 1569) and publications devoted to Renaldi (1569), Vespa (1576), Nasco (1555), Cossa (1569), Verdelot and others (1537), and Magiello (1568); Napolitane by Ostiano (1579), Scozzese (1579) and Ferretti (1574); books of Lieder, published by Schoeffer in Erfurt and by Schoeffer & Apiarius in Strassburg, and by composers Paix (1568) and Lechner (1577). Among unique prints of sacred music are Walther's Cantu septem vocum (1544), Lusitano's Epiogram-

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The inventory of instrumental music in Cod. lat. mus. 271 is arranged similarly, with the Sammelbände gathered together in single entries. See Martinez-Göllner, pp. 44-8.

matica (1555), Bourgeoise's psalms (1547) and Morales' Reliquorum musica (1543).

Unique among the instrumental works are the tablatures of Paladin (Lyons, ca. 1547), Le Roy (Book III, Paris: 1552), Morlaye, psalms (ibid.), and Belin (Paris, 1556).

At the time of Julius Joseph Maier's survey of the Munich collection around 1860 some 50 titles had disappeared from the Herwarth acquisition: two bound volumes (acquisition numbers 6 and 7) with a total of 24 titles, and from unbound materials, 27 titles. Most of the missing items are fairly late, suggesting that they may have been lost while still current and in practical use. Pommer's acquisition list, which a prima vista seem rather haphazard, is actually quite accurate. In checking it against present holdings in the Bavarian State Library and modern inventories, such as RISM, Charlotte A. Kolczynski and I were able to discover only two instances of incorrect dates in all 440 entries. Thus it seems quite possible that the lost items did indeed include the following, which are no longer extant (most of the items are, moreover, confirmed by entries in the Leipzig fair catalogues summarized by Albert Goehler):

1. Mathias Gastritz, Lateinisch vnd Teutsch Geseng, Nuremberg, 1569. [Goehler, 1.244; publ. by Ulrich Neuber.]

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Goehler, Verzeichnis. The numbers separated by a decimal point refer to items in Goehler's volume one.

2. Cipriano de Rore and Jachet Berchem, Salmi a quattro voci a un choro, Venice, 1559. [Cited in Goehler, 1.824; an earlier edition of RISM 1570/2 ?]

3. Jacobus Kerle, Cantio in gratiam Melchioris Lincken Augustano, Nuremberg. 1574. [Linck was an in-law of Hans Heinrich Herwarth.]

4. Cipriano de Rore, Primo libro delle fiamelle, Venice, 1576.

5. Paulo Bellasio, [Primo] libro delle fiamelle, a 3-4, Venice, 1579. [Cited in Goehler, 1.57.]

6. Orazio Vecchi, Canzonette, Nuremberg, 1580. [Cf. Goehler, 1.946, where editions from 1591 are cited. This Pommer entry suggests that Vecchi's very popular canzonette reached Germany much earlier than previously known.]

7. Leonhard Lechner, Sacrarum cantionum, Liber I, Nuremberg, 1581. [Goehler, 1.542, cites a Liber II dated 1581.]

The instrumental pieces did not fare as well. Of the 49 titles, 24 are now missing from the Munich collection, and three are unknown in extant copies, including the sadly lost fourth Petrucci book containing works by his only editor to have enjoyed an international reputation, Gian Maria Alemanni. Listed also are lute books by Gerle (1533), and a 1547 edition of Phalese's Carminum quae chelys. Melchior Newsidler's 1566 Venetian books, then bound with the present Mus Ms 1627, were sent to Berlin as duplicates in 1861 and disappeared during World War II, although presumably they survive among the ex-Berlin materials recently acknowledged in Cracow.

These volumes (which are, for the most part, gathered by genre and make up complete sets) provide a preliminary terminus post quem for date and place of purchase. Additional evidence

may, of course, later support more precise dates, since unbound volumes also fall into patterns of dates, for example,

(1) Chansons published from 1528 through 1538 by Attaignant (acquisition numbers 24 and 25) complement those from 1539 through 1550 (acquisition no. 1), suggesting that early Parisian purchases were accumulated and bound ca. 1539, and a second, ca. 1550.

(2) The date 1550 for purchases in northern France and The Lowlands coincides with the volume of chansons published by Susato in Antwerp between 1543 and 1550 (acquisition no. 8).

(3) Likewise a cut-off date of about 1539 holds for volumes of masses and motets published between 1537 and 1539 in Paris, Wittenberg, Nuremberg, Venice and Ferrara, (acquisition nos. 14 and 16), and in Lyons, 1537 to 1542 (acquisition no. 3).

(4) Sequels to (1), (2) and (3) are provided by volumes of motets published in Augsburg, Wittenberg, Nuremberg and Venice between 1538 and 1549 (acquisition no. 10), and a mixed volume of motets, chansons and madrigals published in Paris, Venice and Lyons between 1537 and 1552 (acquisition no. 3).

(5) Similar relationships exist with bound volumes containing prints after about 1550. Thus, for example, a volume (acquisition no. 11) devoted to motets, madrigals and chansons by Lasso (Antwerp: 1555-1566; Louvain: 1555-1566; and Venice: 1564-1566), extending in each instance to 1566, is followed by another mixed Lasso volume devoted to works published in Paris between 1570 and 1571 (acquisition no. 12). It seems unusual to mix Lasso genres when the usual pattern in the bound volumes is to group prints by genre and/or number of voices.

A number of deductions may be advanced from information such as that tabulated above.

A. Susato's Antwerp series:

Chansons, books I-XIII: 1543-50

Ecclesiasticarum cantionum, books I-VIII (1553; Book IV, 1554).

Waelrant & Laet's, also from Antwerp:

Sacrarium cantionum, Books I-V (1554-56)

Jardin musical, Books I-III (1556)

Louys: Pseulmes cinquante (1555)

The Susato series of chansons continued with book XIV published in 1555, and the Ecclesiasticarum, with books IX-XIV appearing between 1554 and 1557. This suggests that the Susato purchase was made between late 1553 and 1554 (after Book I had gone out of print the first time). The Waelrant & Laet series seems to cease with prints dated about 1556. Were these purchased during a second visit to Antwerp, perhaps after a few months's stay in Louvain?

Certainly this suggestion is confirmed by a Phalèse series, Cantionum sacrarum, Books I-VIII (1554-55). The Herwarth acquisition includes a copy of a second, 1555, printing of Book II (first published in 1554), which had apparently been exhausted by 1555. Thus it seems that the Phalèse series was purchased in the early part of that year (before a return through Antwerp when the²¹ Waelrant and Laet purchase was made?).

B. A series of publications by a single composer, or a set of anthologies, is sometimes filled out with the inclusion of a volume from a later printing, or even (particularly in the case of Venetian prints) from a rival publisher, e.g.:

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In the following chapter we will encounter some evidence for Herwarth's possible travels through The Lowlands at this time.

1. Madrigals (a 4) by Arcadelt and others; Herwarth purchases are marked with "< >" and bold-face:

Date	Bk. I	Bk. II	Bk. III	Bk. IV	Bk. V
1539	<Gardano>	<Gardano>	<Scotto>	<Gardano>	
1541	Gardano	Gardano	Gardano	Gardano	
1543	Scotto		Gardano		
1544	Scotto				Gardano
1545				Gardano	
1546	[Scotto?]			Gardano	
1550	Gardano				<Gardano>
1551	Gardano				
1552		Gardano			
1553	Scotto				
1556	Scotto		Gardano [Scotto]		

e t c e t e r a

2. Motets by Willaert:

<I Scotto: 1539>	<II Scotto and Antico: 1539>
rpt. Gardano: 1545	rpt. Gardano: 1545

i (a 5) Scotto: 1539
 <I (a 5) Scotto: 1550>

3. Madrigals by Portinaro:

I Scotto: 1563
 II Gardano: 1554
 III Gardano: 1557

4. Motets of Palestrina:

I Rome, Dorico: 1569
<I Gardano: 1579>
I Scotto: 1586

II Scotto: 1572
II Scotto: 1573
<II Scotto: 1577>
II Scotto: 1588

<III Scotto: 1575>
III Scotto: 1581

IV Rome, Gardano: 1583

5. Sacrarum cantionum of de Monte:

I Scotto: 1574 [ed. Scotto, 1572]
II Scotto: 1573
III Scotto: 1574
IV Gardano: 1575 [no Scotto ed. extant]
V Scotto: 1579

6. Madrigals of Primavera:

I&II Scotto: 1565 III Rampazetto: 1566
IV Scotto: 1573

The Arcadelt madrigals were most likely purchased as a group before supplies of books I through IV had run out in 1540 or 1541. Thus they must mark a purchase between late 1539 (or early 1540) and 1541, when they became available in Gardano's new printing. The lacuna between Book V (first publ. 1544) and the reprint (Gardano, 1550), which found its way into the Herwarth library, may signal a period when Venetian prints were unavailable to Herwarth and his agents. The Willaert series seems to confirm these dates.

The motets by de Monte may have been purchased in two groups. The first may stem from about 1574, when volumes I and IV of the earliest printing by Scotto (1572-3?) had been exhausted, and then a second group between the time of the second printing of

volumes I and III (1574), and Scotto's reprint of volume IV (1575).

C. Madrigals of Vincenzo Ruffo:

I (a 6-8) Scotto: 1554
II (a 5) Scotto: 1554

a 4

a 5

I Gardano: 1555
II Gardano: 1555 (rpt. from 1553)
III Gardano: 1555

I Gardano: 1556
(rpt. from 1552)

II Gardano: 1557
(rpt. from 1553)

IV Gardano: 1558
(rpt. from 1556)

III Gardano: 1560

Several conclusions may be drawn from the Ruffo purchases. The Scotto series appears to have been purchased in 1554, and the Gardano series (a 5) started in 1555, by which time a previous edition of 1553 had been sold out. If Book II was reprinted in 1555 and unavailable (or was Book II [a 4], purchased by mistake?), then the purchase was made late in 1555. In 1558 (or 1560?) the set was filled out with books II and IV (a 5) and books I and III (a 4).

In graph form the dates of publication and the number of volumes purchased in Venice each year in comparison with The Lowlands appears as follows:

VENICE		LOWLANDS
1535	===	
1536		
1537	=====	
1538	===	
1539	=====	
1540	=====	
1541		
1542	=====	
1543	=====	=====
1544	=====	=====
1545	=====	=====
1546	=====	
1547	=====	
1548	=====	
1549	=====	=====
1550	=====	=====
1551	=====	
1552	=====	
1553	=====	=====
1554	=====	=====

Given what seems to be the rather frequent turnover and an apparent shelf-life of only a few years, at least in secular music, one might suggest that years showing large purchases were indeed years of actual purchase, since volumes from previous years would be increasingly unavailable. Of course, a few volumes in a year following one with large numbers might also indicate that the purchaser left the city of publication early in that year (perhaps to pass through Augsburg during the summer while underway in a north- or south-bound journey).

x x x x x

From information such as the above, and the clusters into which the prints fall, one may construct a preliminary chronology of the music purchases of Herwarth and his agents. I have also added some notes about Herwarth and his associates covered in the next chapter. The number of titles is given within parentheses following the dates.

CHRONOLOGY

- 1528 Augsburg: Hans Heinrich Herwarth born December 15
- 1535 Paris: 1533 (2), 1534 (4), 1535 (1)
- 1536 Venice: Gerhard Haug consul at Fondaco dei Tedeschi
- 1537 Venice: Pandolfo Herwarth consul at Fondaco dei Tedeschi
Strassburg: 1536 (1), 1537 (2)
- 1539 Wittenberg: 1538 (2), 1539 (1)
Nuremberg: 1539 (3), 1537-38 (1 ea.)
Lyons: 1538 (3), 1539 (5)
Ferrara: 1538 (1), 1539 (2)
- 1540 Venice: 1540 (3), 1539 (9), 1538 (2), 1537 (3)
- 1540 ff. Lyons: Hans Kleberger agent for south German merchants; died
1546. Lived also in Berne
- 1541 Paris: 1541 (1), 1540 (5), 1539 (2)
Lyons: 1541 (4), 1540 (3)
- 1543 Lyons: 1543 (2), 1542 (8)
Paris: Hans Kleberger becomes "valet de chambre ordinaire du
roi."
- 1543 ff. Antwerp: "Heirs of Hans II Herwarth" establish business
house there.
- 1544 Paris: 1544 (1), 1543 (3), 1542 (2), 1541 (1)
Wittenberg: one book
Augsburg: Hans Heinrich marries Maria Haintzel, daughter of
Hans Haintzel and Catherine Welser
- 1545 Antwerp and Louvain: 1545 (2), 1544 (6), 1543 (1)
Augsburg: Conrad Gesner examines books in Herwarth's library
Augsburg: Child conceived (July)
- 1546 Augsburg: Child conceived (September)
Lyons: Herwarths participate in loan to French court.
Venice: David Ott consul at Fondaco dei Tedeschi; a regular
consul until the 1570s
- 1548 Venice: 1548 (4), 1547 (12), 1546 (10)
Lyons: 1548 (4), 1547 (3) No Lyonnaise purchases after 1548
Augsburg: Hans Heinrich becomes member of Stadt-Gericht
- 1549 Augsburg: Child conceived (July)
Venice: Jakob Herwarth consul at Fondaco
- 1550 Paris: 1550 (1), 1549 (5), 1548 (2), 1547 (4)

- 1551 Augsburg: Child conceived (January)
 Venice: Ulrich Weiblinger consul at Fondaco dei Tedeschi
 Venice: 1551 (2), 1550 (4)
- 1552-53 Second Schmalkaldian War: Many catholic patricians
 (including the Herwarths) leave Augsburg.
- 1552 Augsburg(?): Child conceived (January)
 Munich: Child born there, August 28th.
- 1553 Lyons: Hans Heinrich and his brother Hans Paul participate
 in huge Lyonnaise loan to King of France.
- 1553-54 Antwerp: 1553 (6), 1554 (2)
- 1554 Antwerp(?): Child conceived (January)
 Venice: Carl Rehlinger (also 1560) (with David Ott) consul
 at Fondaco
- 1554-55 Louvain: 1554 (7), 1555 (3)
- 1556 Paris: one book
 Augsburg: Child conceived (January)
 Venice: 1556 (2), 1555 (12), 1554 (12)
 Antwerp: 1556 (6), 1555 (3)
- 1557 Augsburg: Child conceived (date unknown)
- 1557-58 Venice: 1557 (4), 1558 (1)
- 1558 Augsburg: Child conceived (July)
- 1559 Paris: 1559 (1), 1558 (2)
 Augsburg: Child conceived (August)
 Venice: Carl Rehlinger consul at Fondaco
- 1560-61 Venice: 1561 (3), 1560 (11), 1559 (1)
- 1561 Augsburg: Child conceived (May)
- 1562 Augsburg: Child conceived (July)
 Paris: 1562 (4)
- 1562-63 Venice: 1563 (2), 1562 (5)
- 1563 Augsburg: Child conceived (May)
- 1563-64 Augsburg: Plague epidemic (December); wife dies in Memmingen
 (January)
- 1564 Augsburg: Marries Maria Rentz, daughter of Friedrich Rentz
 and Susanne Pfister in October.
- 1565 Augsburg: Child conceived (March)
- 1566 Nuremberg: 1566 (1); Cracow: 1565 (1); Wittenberg: 1566 (2)
 Antwerp and Louvain: 1566 (1 each)
- 1567 Venice: 1567 (3), 1566 (12), 1565 (5)
 Augsburg: Child conceived (June)

- 1568 Augsburg: Child conceived (September)
1568-70 Venice: 1570 (11), 1569 (10), 1568 (14)
- 1571 Paris, Antwerp, Louvain: 1571 (2), 1569 (1) Nuremberg: 1571, 1570, 1569 (2 each year) Augsburg: Child conceived (August)
- 1572 Venice: Hans Paul Herwarth there as representative of Albrecht V of Bavaria
Munich: 1572 (5), 1571 (1), 1570 (2)
Erfurt: 1572 (2)
- 1573 Augsburg: Religious strife over calendar reform
Augsburg: Child conceived (September; not 1575)
- 1574 Augsburg: Hans Heinrich named Steurer-Herr
Munich: 1574 (2), 1573 (3)
Augsburg: Hans Heinrich and Hans Paul Herwarth join in partnership with Manlich to trade out of Marseilles.
- 1575 Augsburg: Child conceived (April)
- 1576 Augsburg/Munich: Manlich venture of 1572 goes bankrupt, Hans Paul relinquishes Augsburg citizenship, and settles in Munich, where he becomes Hof-Praesidaent (not 1567, as sometimes stated).
Nuremberg: 1576 (3), 1575 (1)
Venice: 1576 (9), 1575 (13), 1574 (11), 1572 (5)
Augsburg: Child conceived (May)
- 1579 Muehlhausen: 1578 (3)
Antwerp: 1579 (1)
Venice: David Ott dies and is buried there
- 1580 Venice: 1580 (9), 1579 (11), 1578 (1), 1577 (1)
- 1581 Nuremberg: 1581 (2), 1580 (3)
Venice: Jacob Sturm (book merchant?), husband of Jacobina Herwarth, dies there in November; (Jacobina returns to Augsburg [?]); Marcus Welser consul at Fondaco
Venice: 1581 (5), 1580 (16)
- 1582 Nuremberg: 1582 (1), 1581 (1); Muehlhausen: 1582 (1), 1580 (1); Erfurt (1)
Venice: Marcus Welser and Hieronymus Ott consuls at Fondaco
- 1583 Augsburg: Hans Heinrich Herwarth dies there, July 29th.
- 1586 Munich: Music books arrive at ducal library.

The Herwarth estate contained only a few music manuscripts, including a set of partbooks formerly belonging to Marcus Welser, and some of the lute tablatures around which this study is centered. Their first mention is in an index prepared by Friedrich Pommer, librarian at the time of the acquisition:

Ain Pintl oder fasciculus darinnen lautter gescribne
vnd zum Tayl getrückte Tabulaturen auf die Lütten, lauter
Kinderwerckh vnd nichts werth.

Pommer's assessment of the "bundle" seems hardly valid today. To the extent that the lute tablatures presently in the Bayerische Staatsbibliothek may be traced back to the Herwarth library (and possibly not all came from there, as we shall see), the package contained a broad repertory of well over 300 manuscript pieces in French, German and Italian systems of tablature. Included are dances, abstract pieces (ricercars, fantasias and preludes), intabulations of sacred and secular vocal music, as well as several fascinating sketches for intabulations and parodies from which it is possible to reconstruct the working

processes of a 16th-century lutenist-composer, albeit an amateur one. Represented composers extend from the Venetian master Marco dall'Aquila (ca. 1480-after 1537) to Melchior Newsidler (1531-1591) of Herwarth's Augsburg.

The Herwarth lute manuscripts apparently remained unused after their acquisition by the Munich ducal library. By then most of their repertory was gradually being superseded by fashionable French allemandes, courants and voltes, Italian Napolitane, and similar works that find a place in the somewhat retrospective lute publications of Besard and in the Hainhofer Lute Book, both compiled at Augsburg two decades later. Evidence of use, such as the corrections which appear from time-to-time within the manuscripts, appears to date prior to their arrival in Munich. Care for them, including having them bound, was only a 19th-century concern.

x x x x

Even a casual perusal of the manuscripts reveals a confusing mass of pieces copied by a variety of scribes whose work extends from the pretentiously careful to the barely legible on papers of diverse weights, textures and sizes. Many compositions are untitled and without composer attribution, and some recognizable "grand-old" tunes of the early 16th century mingle with others of the late. As we shall see, the complex is properly a collection of folios, bifolios and usually short fascicles of widespread prove-

nance, in both time and place, constituting unique remnants from²²
the 16th century, giving the effect of sheet music for lute.
Even today the manuscripts present a number of bibliographical
problems that account in part for their relative neglect and mis-
understanding in modern musicological writings. Thus contrary to
the suggestions in the earliest descriptions of Julius Joseph
Maier,²³ and the recent ones by Wolfgang Boetticher,²⁴ the manu-
scripts do not represent a unified Augsburg lute tradition, nor may
one even assert with any great certainty that all of the manu-
scripts actually stem from the Herwarth library.

Although not entirely correct, the listing of 16th-century
lute tablatures given in Maier's catalogue may provide a con-
venient summary of the collection's contents, and supposed proven-
ance. (In brackets I have added the handwritten summaries of the
contents of each, as entered by Maier inside the cover of each

22

A collection of pages from a number of no longer extant
lute books is in the Deutsche Staatsbibliothek, Berlin, Mus. MS.
40140 (from the Tappert bequest), but is best described as lute-
book fragments, not sheet music, as such.

23

Maier, Die musikalischen Handschriften, 145-9.

24

Boetticher, Handschriftlich, 214-26.

volume, and the total number of folios.)

Codex 240. Mus. Ms. 2986: (31.5x21.5cm) Italienische Lautentabulatur (Bibl. Herwart). [Chanson "E las (?)" a 4.p. in Partitur & Lautentabulatur; 2 folios].

Codex 241. Mus. Ms. 1512: (15.33x21cm) Deutsche Lautentabulatur (Herkunft unbekannt). [2 lateinische Gesänge, 28 Lieder, 8 Chansons usw.; 71 folios].

Codex 242. Mus. Ms. 1511d: (17x24cm) Italienische Lautentabulatur (Bibl. Herwart). [11 französische Lieder, 8 Taenze und 3 Recercar, nebst 3 unbenannten Stücken; 22 folios].

Codex 243. Mus. Ms. 1511c: (16.5x22cm) Italienische Lautentabulatur (Bibl. Herwart). [11 Motetten u. 1 französisches Lied nebst 8 unbetitelten Musikstücken; 19 folios].

Codex 244. Mus. Ms. 1511b: (26x16cm) Italienische Lautentabulatur (Bibl. Herwart). [57 italienische Taenze u. Tanzlieder; 25 folios].

Codex 245. Mus. Ms. 1511a: (15.5x21.5cm) Italienische Lautentabulatur (Bibl. Herwart). [Autograph: Gorzanis, Jac. (sic.-- Gorzanis was blind), 24 Passemezzis e Saltarelli, 7 Villanellen, 1 Ricercar. Von fremder Hand sind geschrieben 3 Villanellen, 1 Ricercar. 36 folios].

25

Other manuscript lute tablatures in the Bayerisch Staatsbibliothek require mention only in passing. Mus. Ms. 9516, acquired in 1973 from the estate of Professor Otto Ursprung of Munich, appears to be of Bavarian origin, as part of the ex-Herwarth manuscripts also appear to be. It is, however, unrelated in scribe, contents or watermark to any of the lute manuscripts listed above by Maier. The others are from the 17th and 18th centuries. Namely, Mus. Ms. 3232d (olim Zz 2645, Cod. lat. 26045), containing information on the lute fingerboard and a diagram of the d-minor tuning, and an anonymous partita in d minor; the other, Mus. Ms. 5362, contains pieces by Adam Falkenhagen and Sylvius Leopold Weiss, and has been inventoried by Josef Klima in Die Lautenhandschrift München Mus. Ms. 5362 der Bayerischen Staatsbibliothek (Maria Enzerdorf bei Wien, 1975).

Of direct relationship, however, is Paris, Bibliothèque nationale, Ms. Rés. 429, with which we will be concerned in some detail later.

Codex 246. Mus. Ms. 267: (22x29.5cm) Italienische und deutsche Lautentabulatur (Bibl. Herwart). [10 Motetten, 13 Chansons, 1 Madrigal, 1 Ricercar, 16 unbenannte Stücke u. Fragmente, 1 Gassenhauer; 54 folios].

Codex 247. Mus. Ms. 268: (32x22cm) Italienische Lautentabulatur (Bibl. Herwart). [3 Madrigali, 2 Chansons, 1 Battaglia (nur Theil 1). Vergl. Mss. 269; 18 folios].

Codex 248. Mus. Ms. 266: (33x22cm) Italienische und deutsche Lautentabulatur (Bibl. Herwart). [24 Ricercari, 11 Fantasie, 1 Priambolo, 1 Bataglia, 6 Motetten, 21 Madrigali, Villanelle, Villotte, 58 Chansons, 8 Lieder, 28 Taenze, 25 Stücke ohne alle Bezeichnung, 6 defecte Stücke 138 folios].

Codex 249. Mus. Ms. 269: (32x22cm) Italienische Lautentabulatur (Bibl. Herwart). [1 Madrigal, 2 Chansons, 2 unbenannte Stücke 1 Battaglia; 18 folios].

Codex 250. Mus. Ms. 270: (33x22cm) Italienische Lautentabulatur (Bibl. Herwart). [15 Stücke ohne Ueberschriften. No. 1-9 sind ebenfalls Taenze; 18 folios].

Codex 251. Mus. Ms. 271: (33x22cm) Italienische Lautentabulatur (Bibl. Herwart). [2 Motette, 2 Madrigale, 1 Chanson, 17 unbenannte Stücke, Ist wohl nur die Stimme der "Sopranlaute," zu der die Tenor-Laute fehlt. cfr. Bl. 14b, 3b.; 18 folios].

Codex 252. Mus. Ms. 1627: (27.5x20.5cm) Italienische und deutsche Lautentabulatur (Herkunft unbekannt). [31 Stücke, Chansons, Villanellen, Taenze, Motetten; 35 folios].

Codex 253. Mus. Ms. 272: (21x28cm) Deutsche Lautentabulatur (Herkunft unbekannt). [9 Motetten, 7 Madrigali, 17 Chansons, 29 Taenze, 3 Ricercari, 2 unlesbare Stücke 2 Fragmente; 86 folios].

[Codex 254 is a 17th-century guitar manuscript.]

Codex 255. Mus. Ms. 2987: (34x23cm) Orgeltabulatur und italienische, deutsche und französische Lautentabulatur (Herkunft unbekannt). [Chansons in Orgeltabulatur, die Oberstimme in Mensuralnoten. Chansons & Taenze in Lautentabulatur; 13 folios].

After Pommer's assessment of the "Pintl" of "worthless" lute manuscripts in 1588, they apparently were simply filed away until the 1820s when the librarian Joseph Schmidbauer set the music collection in order by providing new call-numbers and preparing a

26

shelf-list known as the "Altes Repertorium." After mid-century, during the tenure of Julius Josef Maier, the famous choirbooks from Lasso's Kapelle were transferred from the court library, and Maier initiated a more detailed examination of the collection in preparation for his published catalogue. Maier consulted older lists, such as Pommer's Cod. bav. cat. 115, in attempting to determine the provenance of the various prints and manuscripts. He rearranged some of the manuscripts into more appropriate groupings, culled the collection for duplicate items, and had some of the materials bound. The resulting changes may be traced in Maier's emendations to the Schmidbauer "Altes Repertorium," providing important clues to the original state of the manuscripts. (In the the following quotations from the "Altes Repertorium," Maier's cancellations are shown in STRIKEOVER TYPE, and his additions with continuous underline.)

1. Mus Ms 1627

From entries relating to Mus Ms 1627 it is evident that it derives from parts of two separately bound volumes, 2/Mus pr 107 and 2/Mus pr 286.

26

Joseph Schmidbauer, "Altes Repertorium," uncatalogued manuscript, written in 1829 (or shortly before), Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Musikabteilung, without call-number.

2/Mus pr 107

- Neusidler (Melch) Intavolatura. Venet. 1566. Dupl. 31 an Berlin 29.10.18161.

1 - Kaergel (Sixtus) Gallicae et Italicae Cantilenae. . . .
Strassburg 1574.

2 - Mutetae diversae in Tabulatura - Manuscript. Ad Mus Mss. 1627.

2/Mus pr 206

Schmid (Bernhard) Tabulaturbuch für Orgeln und Instrumente. Strassburg 1607 mit 2 Tabulatur Mskpt. H. C. 22 Ad Mus Mss. 1581.1627. Der Druck zu den Dubletten gestellt und am 29.10.1861 an die Berliner Bibl. abgegeben. Ad Mus Dpl 41.

Mus Ms 1627

Bl. 1-16=2ter Einband der zu den Mus Dpl 31. . . .
Bl. 17-35=letzter Einband der zu den Mus Dupl.
[411].

Folios 1-16 formed a manuscript fascicle bound with lute prints of Melchior Neusidler (published at Venice in 1566) and Sixt Kargel (Strassburg, 1574). Since the Neusidler and Kargel prints are listed in Cod. lat. lat. 271, it is entirely possible that the first fascicle of Mus ms 1627 may stem from the Herwarth²⁷ library. The latter half of Mus Ms 1627 (folios 17-35) was until the 1860s bound with Bernhard Schmid's anthology of organ music printed in 1607, and a 137-folio manuscript tablature of south-German organ music (now Mus ms 1581), which may be dated

27

The present Neusidler volumes of 1566 in the Staatsbibliothek (2/Mus pr 106) were bound in the 16th century with tablatures of Waissel (1573), Krenkel (1584) and Ammerbach. It may be demonstrated that they were acquired later.

28
ca. 1620. Maier's notation "H.C. 22" indicates that 2/Mus pr
206 was acquired from the Bibliothek Hauber, a private Munich lib-
rary that was purchased around 1830. Unfortunately both the
Newsidler and Schmid volumes (sent, as indicated by Maier, as
duplicates numbers 31 and 41 to Berlin in October 1861) were lost
during World War II, and the present records of the Deutsche
Staatsbibliothek provide no information about possible ex-libri,
29
if the two duplicates ever carried any.

2. Mus Ms 266

Mus Ms 266

- Tabulatur / Bruchstücke für Laute 138 Bl.

Here Maier has amplified Schmidbauer's description, "tablature-fragments," by adding that they were for lute and consisted of 138 folios. This is the most extensive of the Munich lute manuscripts, and in many ways the most problematical. Mus Ms 266 was bound only during Maier's time and the resulting jumble of hands suggests that little care was taken to organize the mass into coherent order. Since Maier followed his usual practice of

28
Mus Ms 1581 has been edited by Clare G. Raynor, An Anthology. It contains works in German organ tablature by Christian Erbach, Frescobaldi, Hans Leo Hassler, Anton Holzner, Carl van der Hoven, Simon Lohet, Heinrich Pfentner, Johann Stephani, Francesco Stivorio and Bernhard Wolck, among others.

29
Letter from Dr. Karl-Heinz Köhler, former head, Musikabteilung, Deutsche Staatsbibliothek, Berlin, dated December 7, 1967. It is not known, presently, if the Schmid and Newsidler volumes have survived among the materials now in Crakow.

numbering all of the compositions, pieces by a scribe that we will later identify as Hand C 2, for example, were bound as Nos. 87-88,

ILLUSTRATION I

Watermark

	Folio	No. and Title	Correct No.
HAND K			
	121	#136: [at end:] Il ciel che rado	recte: #145(middle)
14A	121v	(Continuation of #136)	recte: #145(end)
		#137 (untitled)	
	122	(Continuation of #137)	
13A	122v	#138: (untitled)	recte: #138(beginning)
HAND L			
	123 (3)	(Cont. from fol. 125)	recte: #140(end)
		#141: [at end:] Le Content est riche	
	123v(4)	(Continuation)	
		#142: Languir me fais AR	
	124 (5)	(Continuation)	
14B	124v	#143: (untitled) [HAND B C]	
	125 (1)	#139: Illet iour dit la loete	
14C	125v(2)	(Continuation)	
		#140: [at end:] De retournez	
HAND K			
	126	#144: (untitled piece)	recte: #148(end)
13A	126v	#145: [at end:] Fantasia	
	127	(Continuation of #145)	recte: #149a(end)
13A	127v	#146: O passi sparsi	
	128	#147: ([at top:] Gio Pacolono)	recte: #146(beginning)
14A	128v	#148: Quand'io pens'al martir	
	129	#149: [at end:] Toutes les nuicts	recte: #138(end)
14A	129v	#149a: Responce, Quest'il be-soing	recte: #149a(beginning)

98, 108-9, 112, and 125-7.

Another fascicle towards the end of the manuscript was in particular disarray. When he numbered the pieces, Maier sometimes mistook continuations of pieces as beginnings, did not realize that some pieces continued on different folios, ignored original pagination, and in one instance read an intabulator's name (No. 147: "Gio Pacoloni") as the title of a composition. In Maier's arrangement, the section was gathered as shown in ILLUSTRATION I.

Given the monumental task that Maier set for himself in cataloguing the entire Munich music collection, it is understandable that Mus Ms 266, and like sources, might receive short shrift. It seems entirely possible that Mus Ms 266, as bound in Maier's time, fairly well represents the mass of "fragments" that Schmidbauer cites in the "Altes Repertorium." When Mus Ms 266 was rebound in 1968, the sheets were arranged to reflect a more logical sequence (cf. ILLUSTRATION I):

WM 14B-C	127-127v (1-2)	No. 156: Illet iour	HAND L
	127 (2)	No. 157: De retourner	" L
	128-128v (3-4)	No. 158: Le Content e riche	" L
	128v-129 (4-5)	No. 159: Languir me fais	" L
	129v ([6])	No. 160: [untitled piece added by Hand BC]	" BC
WM 14A/13A	130	No. 166: [continuation from fol. 135v]	HAND K
	130v-131	No. 161: Quand'io penso	" K
	131v-132v	No. 162: Fantasia	" K
	132v-133	No. 163: Il ciel che rado	" K
	133v-134	No. 164: Toutes les nuicts	" K
	134v-135	No. 165: Response	" K
	135v-[130]	No. 166: O passi sparsi	" K

The new arrangement suggests two separate fascicles, although they are both related, using the same size staffliner and being copied on the same Italian paper, indicating a possible

common origin, e.g., a fascicle that may originally have been wrapped in one of the sheets as cover with the pieces by HAND L nestled in the middle, as Maier's confusing arrangement nevertheless indicated.

3. Mus Ms 267

Mus Ms 267

- Tabulatur- und andere Bruchstücke in Blättern für Laute
gebunden). 54 Bl.

Maier's emendations to the "Altes Repertorium" again indicate that "Blättern" for lute were bound during his tenure in the library, presumably in much the same sequence in which he found them, since some of the hands are again (as with Mus Ms 266) separated. A question arises about the exact meaning of "andere Bruchstücke." The implication is that Mus Ms 267 did not contain only lute fragments, since Schmidbauer uses the terms "nebst mehreren derley Bruchstücken" to describe Mus Ms 1511, which (as we shall see) also contained pieces for other instruments. Dr. Martinez-Göllner has suggested that two pieces in Mus Ms 1627 (the part from Mus Dpl 31) may have been intabulated directly from Mus Ms 1503c-e; these may then indeed have been the "other fragments," since Maier does not otherwise give the origin of Mus Ms 1503c-e.³⁰

The "Altes Repertorium" is helpful:

30

Martinez-Göllner, "Augsburger Bibliothek," p. 41,
where Mus Ms 1503 is incorrectly cited as "1530."

Mus Ms 1503

Cantiones sacrae et profane variis linguis. 40 13 Stimmen in einem Umschlag.

1503a = 6 St [chansons by Berchem, Lasso, Benoist, et al.]

1503b = 6 St

1503c = 1 St [Villottas by Azzaiolo on printed manuscript paper with printed barlines]

4. Mus Mss 268-272

Mus Ms 268 -Tabulaturen.

Mus Ms 269-272 - Tabulaturbuch.

These manuscripts, all in the same format, survive with original parchment bindings and an ex-libris of the ducal library dated 1618. (This ex-libris does not, however, appear in any other of the supposed Herwarth manuscripts that come down in original bindings.) Maier has attributed all except Mus Ms 272 ("Herkunft unbekannt") to the Herwarth acquisition, but they are unrelated to the main body of "ex-Herwarth" manuscripts. Four books contain music for lute duet, Mus Ms 268 (soprano lute)/269 (tenor lute), and Mus Ms 270 (soprano lute) and 271 (tenor lute), and a fifth volume (Mus Ms 272), music in German tablature. The duets consist overwhelmingly of intabulations of French chansons by Janequin (including the "Chant des oyseaux," waggishly called "Bataglia de li ucelli"), Sermisy, Certon, Berchem and others,

madrigals by Festa and Arcadelt, and motets by Gombert and Jachet
31
da Mantua.

The German tablature has numerous concordances with Mus Ms 266, particularly the earlier fascicle containing music by Marco dall'Aquila (details are given in the thematic index).

5. Mus Mss 1511a-h

Maier's emendations to the "Altes Repertorium" indicate that some shifting took place when the packet containing the manuscripts under Mus Ms 1511 were inventoried. The entry reads:

Mus Ms 1511

- VI Tabulaturbüchlein nebst mehrere derley Bruchstücke in Umschlage. 40 8 Hefth. =1511a-h.

Of these items, the following have come down with original parchment bindings:

1511a: "Libro de Intabulatura di Liuto . . . de Jacomo Gorzanis," dated 1567 (the inordinately famous "well tempered lute book").

1511b: Fifty-seven early Venetian dances in Italian lute tablature.

1511e-g: Three volumes of 17th-century keyboard music.

1511h: Three part-books containing music for a ballet and dated 1671.

The other lute materials, the fragments in envelopes, apparently found their way into the present 1511c and 1511d,

31

The contents are listed and identified in Martinez-Göllner, 38-9. The list in the left-hand column of page 38 should be labelled "Mus Ms 268 (Discant)," not "271."

which Maier divided into sacred and secular pieces: the motets (with three Parisian chansons that were added to blank staves on two bifolia containing a motet) became Mus Ms 1511c, and the other "fragments" containing additional Parisian chansons, some Italian dances and three ricercars became Mus Ms 1511d. The two items were originally a single, related group of fragments: both 1511d and 1511c share pieces copied by Hand BX. We have seen a similar division in Maier's treatment of Mus Ms 1503.

It is perplexing, however, to account for all of the materials that the packet may have contained when Schmidbauer listed it in the "Altes Repertorium." He mentions six small tablature books and an envelope of fragments for a total of ten (changed by Maier to eight) "Hefth." 1511a, 1511b, 1511e, 1511f, 1511g (one book each) and 1511h (three part-books) would account for six items, and with the contents of the envelope divided and bound as 1511c and 1511d, Maier's total of eight "Hefth" is reached--that is, if 1511h is counted as a single item; if not, Schmidbauer's total of ten "Hefth" results. But shelf-number 1511 now contains four lute tablatures (1511a-d) and three books of keyboard music (1511e-g), not six, unless some of the larger fascicles (now bound into 1511c or 1511d) are included in Schmidbauer's count of "VI Tabulaturbüchlein." This seems unlikely, however, since Schmidbauer's statement of eight "Hefth" plus an envelope of fragments is probably correct. (Even Maier in his published catalogue calls them "Bogen von Verschiedenen.") If, however, Mus Ms 1503h, four part-books containing Venetian dances for instrumental ensemble, was included originally with the 1511 materials, the proper total

of ten "Hefth" results. These ensemble dances, recently edited by
³²
Michael Morrow, have a number of concordances with Mus Ms
1511b, as well as with the German tablature, Mus Ms 272, and the
Marco fascicle of Mus Ms 266. Even more appear in the keyboard
"altvenetianisches Tanzbuch" (Venice, Biblioteca marciana, Ms Ital
³³
IV.1227) that Knud Jeppesen has edited and dates circa 1520:

Folio	Title	Venice: Jeppesen No.	Munich: 1503h No.	Others (Munich, unless noted)
1	Suspiri			
	Vegnando da bologna	39		266:#169
2	Munaro in piva	21		
	Thodora [tuo tene mamina]	29		cf. fol. 26
3	Pass e meggio			266:#37
	Donna impresare	15		266:#39
	El marchese de salutio	32	1	266:#45
	La monicella			
4	Franciosina	2 & 31	6	
	Bernardon			
5	La lombarda	27		
	La geometria			
	Tantarara chiamella			
6	El baitano			
	La castalda	6		
	Ochio che agia fatto			
7	La mantouanella			
	La devota del cor mio			
	El stendardo	[does not=12]		
8	Bison		10	
	La guertana			
	Lodesana	34		cf. fol. 21
	La Bresanina	11		
10	Uchio della montagna			266:#144-5
	Maton, maton			

32

Morrow, ed., Italian Dances.

33

Jeppesen, "Ein altvenetianisches Tanzbuch;" the
volume is edited as Antichi balli veneziana per cembalo
(Copenhagen, 1962).

Fol.	Title	Jeppesen	Ms.1503h	Others
	La man	18		
11	La conciera Ballo del Roi Tu anderai col bacchalon Ticte allora In salta- rello			
12	Hon me la boccalare Saltarello alla visen- tina			
	La charra cosa	10		266:#36a-1
13	Saltarello ala venizana Curaza Saltarello ala ferraresa Ciarasiano ala bolognesa			=Dalza
14	El suo saltarello de la ditta			
15-6	La bataglia francesa in ballo			
16	Bregantino			1511d:#15 266:#49
17	La rotta el charo le perso el caro			
18	Bernardo	16		266:#40
	Son quell duca	24		
	La barcha del mio amore	17		
19	Bresanina Ballo della torza			
20	Munaro como de usa			
21	La traditora	19	9	266:36b
	Saltarello del roi	28		
	Lodesana	34		
22	La cara cosa	10	7	publ. Bianchini (1546) 266:#36d
	Suspiri			
23	La rocha el fuso		5	1511d:#20
24	La lauandara		13	
26	Tuo tene mamina			cf. fol. 2

Before leaving Mus Mss 1511, it should be noted that Mus Ms
1511b is probably much earlier than suggested by Wolfgang

Boetticher. The manuscript is copied by an Italian hand on paper without a watermark. As suggested by the concordances with the keyboard manuscript edited by Jeppesen and those with the fascicle of Munich, Mus Ms 266, containing works by Marco dall'Aquila (d. ca. 1537), the manuscript probably dates from the third decade of the 16th century (certainly not Boetticher's "um 1570-1575").

6. Mus Mss 2986 and 2987

According to Maier's entry in the "Altes Repertorium," the items in Mus Mss 2986 and 2987 were discovered, uncatalogued, within the pages of Mus Ms 2750, one of the large choir-books from the Lasso Kapelle, acquired by the library in 1860:

Mus Mss 2986/2987

Die beiden Mss. No. 2986, 2987 lagen unverzeichnet in Mss. 2750, Eigentum der Hofmusikin--tendanz--kam 1860 an die Staatsbibl.

None of the pieces in Mus Ms 2750 are found in any of the Munich lute tablatures, although 2986 and 2987 do contain two chansons and a madrigal by Lasso. Mus Ms 2987 is another "Sammelhandschrift" containing Parisian chansons in German keyboard tablature,³⁵ a German lute tablature, additional chansons and dances in French tablature, and the Lasso pieces in Italian tablature

34

Boetticher, Handschriftlich, p. 219. The description is faulty in a number of ways. For example, the pieces are titled in Venetian dialect, not in Spanish, and the manuscript contains no free instrumental pieces or madrigals.

35

Apel, "Du nouveau," and Bonfils, ed., Chansons françaises.

Again, contradictions cause one to question the various entries in the "Altes Repertorium" and in Maier's published catalogue. Were both 2986 and 2987 actually found in the Lasso choir-book? Maier's catalogue ascribes the former to "Herkunft unbekannt," and the latter to "Bibl. Herwart." Given the nature of the treatment of the Herwarth lute manuscripts, it seems hardly possible that they were in use after their arrival in Munich, thus allowing a sheet to have been lost within the pages of the choirbook. If pieces were found in the Lasso choir-book, then it may have been only Mus Ms 2986 and the French tablatures in Mus Ms 2987. The other sheets (which show signs of having been folded) may have been discovered in the Herwarth manuscript, now Mus Ms 267 (an oblong quarto), perhaps being recovered from there after pieces were bound into the Herwarth folio volume, Mus Ms 266.

7. Paris, Bibliothèque nationale, Ms. Rés 429

Belonging with a discussion of the ex-Herwarth lute manuscripts is Paris, Bibliothèque nationale, Ms. Rés 429. This Italian tablature bears a number of close relationships with the Herwarth manuscripts at Munich and belongs obviously to the same circle:

(1) Scribes encountered in the Munich corpus have also entered pieces into the Paris manuscript.

(2) One large fascicle of the Paris manuscript uses printed six-line staff paper (identical even to Augsburg watermark) that appears in the Munich manuscripts from time-to-time, and

(3) The same hand has entered marginalia onto pages in both the Munich and Paris sources, perhaps a teacher commenting on his

student's performance or on the quality of the music.

The manuscript came to Paris only in 1882, being purchased (along with the famous lute book of Louis XIV's translator, René Milléran), having resided shortly before in the library of Professor F. Gehring of Vienna.³⁷

The cover, part of a parchment manuscript, carries a barely legible inscription:

36

This was first pointed out in my Francesco edition, page 16, note 35. The various comments include the following:

gueth: folios 58v, 52, 53, 53v
 zimlich: folios 56v, 59v, 62v, 78v, 79v, 83v, 85
 splielt] gueth: folios 57, 68v, 86
 zimlich Mediocre: folio 64
 splielen] Recercada gueth: folio 87
 nichts besonderz: folio 96
 splielt] nicht ecte: folio 103v
 splielt] shlecht [= "nice" in 16th-century German] vnd zimlich
 gueth: folio 106v
 splielt] zimlich vnd vbach: folio 109.

37

See the auction catalogue of the Albert Cohen firm, Katalog der musikalischen Bibliothek des Herrn Dr. F. Gehring, Privatdocent an der Universität Wien (Berlin, 1880), 85.

An Augsburg native, the lutenist Gregor Brayssing, fled to Paris during the Schmalkaldian War of 1552, turning up there as "maître joueur de luth" in July 1553, suggesting a possibility that the manuscript might have been his. His works are known only from Parisian guitar prints, and perhaps from a few lute works attributed to a "Messer Gregorio" in the Munich corpus.

Ein göttlich . . . von
der Hällig . . .
Jungfraw Ursula . . . Musica . . .

As Stanley Boorman has kindly pointed out to me, St. Ursula seems to have been particularly venerated in Cologne, and several songbooks for a Brotherhood of St. Ursula were printed in Strassburg, where Melchior Newsidler (whose pieces appear in the manuscript) is said to have travelled to oversee the publication of his Teutsch Lauten-Buch (BrownI 1574/5).

In 1589 an ex-libris was added to folio 1v:

Viue [Boetticher reads: D(om)ine] hodie
Sr [Boetticher: D(omin)o] Hortensio de Michi
Cavre d: Sto Steffano, et
[Boetticher: Can(didat)o di . . .]
de chi ben gli vuole
[signature:] Michi

In the 17th century a later owner added a title to the front parchment cover (and perhaps an allemande in French tablature to folio 137):

Francesco Milanese: / Livre très rare / Italianische Tabulatura auf / die Lautten von der hand geschrie- / ben Allerley länge
[Boetticher: Tänze] zusammen / gebracht.

à Mr de Bourseur [this line omitted by Boetticher].

x x x x x

The foregoing observations may be summarized:

(1) Except for a few manuscript volumes that have survived in original 16th-century parchment bindings, the collection of lute tablatures in Munich originally consisted of a myriad of individual sheets and fascicles that were gathered together and only in the mid-19th century hastily bound into the present volumes. In other words, the bulk of the tablatures were once "sheet music" for lute.

(2) Maier's attributions notwithstanding, only internal evidence can suggest exactly which portions of the tablatures Friedrich Pommer logged into the ducal library in 1588 as "Ain Pintl oder Fasciculus darinnen Lautter geschribne und zum Tayl getrückte Tabulaturen auf die Lütten, Lautter Kinderwerckh und nichts werth."

(3) The present volumes were sometimes made up from a variety of materials, and the various "fasciculi" and envelopes apparently became convenient repositories for rather diverse materials, such as the 17th-century keyboard manuscripts and the ballet music of 1671. Likewise, there is no reason to believe that some portions of the present lute manuscripts might not have resided in the ducal palace before 1588, or have come into the ducal library after that time.

(4) The nature of the problem is best explained, I believe, with an outline of the scribes and types of paper encountered in the manuscripts. The question becomes even more confusing, should one contemplate the diversity of the types of music encountered on those pages, extending from elegantly copied pieces in an Italic

hand to scribblings from a composer's stable, German tablatures, French tablatures, Italian tablatures, even a keyboard tablature, frottolas, motets, German Lieder, and so forth.

Mus Ms 266 divides into sections and fascicles by hand and paper as follows:

Folios	Scribe	Watermark/Origin
1-18v	A	No. 1 (Bavarian)
19-63v	H	No. 2 (Swiss)
64-64v	HA	[no watermark]
65-66v	BC	No. 16 (Bavarian)
67-76v	BY	No. 7 (Bavarian)
77-77v	BY	No. 2 (Swiss)
78-78v	BZ	No. 1 (Bavarian)
79-79v	BY	[no watermark]
80-80v	BY	[no watermark]
81-88v	C1	Nos. 3, 5, 6, 11 (Bavarian)
89-98v	C2	No. 10 (Bavarian)
91-101v	C1	Nos. 3, 5, 6, 11 (Bavarian)
102-112v	C2	No. 4 (Bavarian)
113-118v	BX	No. 12 (Bavarian)
119-119v	BX	[no watermark]
120v-123	D	Nos. 8 & 9 (Bavarian)
124v-126	F	[no watermark]
127-129v	L	No. 14 (Italian)
130-135v	K	No. 13 & 14 (Italian)
136-136v	J	[no watermark]
137-138v	N	No. 15 (Bavarian)

Mus Ms 1627 breaks into sections by paper and scribe as follows:

Folios	Scribe	Watermark/Origin
[Portion originally with Newsidler and Kargel prints:]		
1-16v	A	No. 71/72 (Italian)
[Portion originally with Schmid organ tablature:]		
17-23	U	No. 73 (Bavarian)
24-35	P	No. 74 (French)

Ms 267 breaks into sections as follows:

Folios	Scribe	Watermark/Origin
1-1v	X	[none]
2-25v	O	No. 62 (Italian)
26-33v	BC	Nos. 67 & 68 (Italian)
36-39v	P	[none]
40-49v	BX	Nos. 65-67 (Italian)
46-47v	J	Nos. 67-68 (sic)
50-53v	F	No. 69 (Italian)
54-54v	Q	[none]

Mus Ms 1511d:

Folios	Scribes	Watermark/Origin
1-3v	T	No. 52 (Italian)
4-5v	K	No. 53AB (Italian)
6-7v	BC	(additions to above)
8-9v	BX	[no watermark]
10-11v	J	No. 57 (Italian)
12-13v	BC	(additions to Scribe J)
14-14v	BA	(additions to Scribe U)
15-15v	U	No. 51 (Paduan)
16-17v	J	No. 53AB (Italian)

Mus Ms 1511c:

Folios	Scribe	Watermark/Origin
1-9v	BX	No. 12AB (Bavarian)
10-11v	BX	No. 32 (Bavarian)
12-15v	R	No. 31 (Italian)
16-17v	S	No. 30AB (Italian)
18-19v	BC	(additions to Scribe S)

Mus Ms 2987:

Folios	Scribes	Watermarks/Origins
1-6v	BB/a	No. 41AB (Swiss: keyboard pieces)
7-7v	XX	[none: German tabl.]
8-11v	BB	[none: French tablature]
12-13v	A	[none]

Paris, Ms Rés 429, consists of two distinct manuscripts (hereafter Paris I and Paris II). Paris I has staves printed on paper with an Augsburg watermark (No. 12AB), and Paris II, staves drawn with a staffliner on Kaufbeuren paper (watermark No. 8).

Paris I

Folios	Scribe
2	X
2v-13	A
13v	XX
14	XX
14v-48v	A

Paris II

Folios	Scribe
58-96v	(a) [orig. foliation: 1-51v]
97-101	(a)
101v-107	(b)
107v-112v	(c)
113-132	(b)
132v-134v	(d)
135-142	(b)
142v-145	(e)
145v-148v	(b)

Some of these questions may be answered, and I will attempt to do so, after placing into perspective Hans Heinrich Herwarth's life and background.

Chapter II

Music in Augsburg and a Financier and Bibliophile of the Renaissance: Hans Heinrich Herwarth

During the last quarter of the 15th century and the first of the 16th, as businessmen controlling money prevailed over feudal lords owning land, the Reichs-Stadt Augsburg grew from 18,300 to over 52,000 inhabitants, surpassing both Ulm and Nuremberg in population and as a center for trade in southern Germany. Salt merchants travelling from Salzburg deposited the appropriate taxes and Florentines used it as a convenient hub for their activities in France, England, The Lowlands and northern Germany. Augsburg became a crossroads to far-flung corners of Europe, and a gateway to the Alps, Venice and trade with the East.

The annual fair, second only to the fair in Lyons, drew visitors from all Europe, and rulers and ecclesiastical luminaries with their retinues of artists, musicians and scholars attended the numerous councils convened there to calm the political and religious turmoils of the day. In turn, Augsburg patrician families sent forth merchants, students, adventurers and

1
military officers.

Augsburg's favorable mercantile position and intellectual climate spawned immense fortunes, endowing it with great financial and political power.² The Fuggers and Augsburg patrician families, such as the Herwarths, Welsers, Hochstettes, Langnauers,

1
Augsburg's sons served as officers and soldiers in regiments that fought in locales as diverse as Genoa, Hungary, Portugal, and with the Spanish Armada in Peloponnese, and others attended universities in Padua, Bologna, Lyons, Montpellier, Catania (Sicily), Tübingen, Ingolstadt and elsewhere, returning home as scholars, jurists, clergy and doctors of medicine. Some became models of renaissance manners and culture. Conrad Peutinger, for example, served as Burgermeister, diplomat, merchant, scholar, jurist, Latinist, Hellinist, antiquarian and financier, and tactotum for both the Fugger and Welser clans. Hans Heinrich's nephew Hans IV married into his family in 1563.

2
In 1546 the balance sheets of the Fugger firm showed assets of 7 million florins, and between 1533 and 1535 the profits of the Haug firm, with which Herwarths were associated, increased by three hundred percent. In contrast Lassos's substantial salary for 1586 was 450 florins, a servant's, about ten. A ream of good paper cost three florins.

Joachim Hochstetter and Franz Paumgartner spent 5000 florins on a single banquet in 1522, perhaps the one represented in a painting showing members of the Herwarth and other patrician families.

The fascinating Hans Kleberger (Kleber, or Jean Cléberger; 1486-1546), Lyonnaise agent for many Augsburg financiers, including the Herwarths, left an estate of over 100,000 crowns (=50,000 florins), which he instructed his wife to invest in real estate, and to use in the founding of hospitals in Geneva and Bern, and an orphanage in Lyons for children of victims of the 1531 plague.

Ulrich Linck, who in 1527 married Hans Heinrich's cousin Magdalena (1508-41), left an estate of 276,256 florins.

Pfisters, and Haintzels, as well as others of lesser capital but considerable distinction, underwrote the wars and the political and personal excesses of the crowns of Austria, Spain, France, England and Portugal, and the governments of The Lowlands and smaller German states, in some instances exerting influences that changed the political face of western Europe. Fortunes such as these placed Charles V on the throne of Holy Roman Emperor in 1519, and he in turn protected their spice, textile, and mining monopolies.

Augsburg prosperity grew with the fortunes of the Fuggers and Welsers. The former rose during the 15th century from craftsmen (weavers) and traders to merchants and financiers to all Europe, ultimately becoming Europe's wealthiest dynastic family, followed closely by the patrician Welsers.

As early as 1473 the Fuggers established permanent warehouses and apartments at the hostelry of the German merchants in Venice near the Rialto, the Fondaco (Fontego) dei Tedeschi, where Jacob Fugger at age 14 was to earn his spurs. His shrewd dealings with Archduke Sigismund of the Tyrol in 1487 brought mines in the Tyrol and Carinthia to his family, and they turned from traditional transportation and bartering in spices, silk, velvet, furs,

woolens, spices, citrus fruits, munitions and jewelry to gold, silver, and copper mining, and ultimately to banking. To receive fast, efficient accumulation of information about business conditions abroad, they maintained a private post service as early as 1511, and placed agents in the major mercantile and financial centers of Europe, such as Venice, Antwerp and Lyons.

Fugger interests benefited from joint business ventures,⁴ which amortized financial risks. These partnerships were frequently consolidated through opportune marriages among hometown patrician families, and others in distant places. Thus, by marrying into the Thurzos family of Cracow in 1492, for example, the Fuggers cemented a cartel to work the mines of Hungary, adding to their holdings in Carinthia and the Tyrol. This provided a solid foundation for monopolistic expansion.

Second in Augsburg wealth to the Fuggers were the Welsers, with whom the Herwarths also developed ties. In 1505 Anton

4

Considerable detail about 16th-century German financial and mercantile activities, as well as mention of some Herwarth participation, is given in Ehrenberg, Fuggerzeit, passim.

⁵
Welser in partnership with Portuguese, Italians and other Germans, including the Fuggers, outfitted an expedition to tap South American riches by colonizing Venezuela, sowing the elements of German culture that still linger in "little Venice," as they called it. They also traded in the Middle East with a fleet of ships that sailed regularly from Bari.

⁶
With their agents Sebastian Seitz, Lucas Rem (an in-law) and Conrad Peutinger, the Welsers also negotiated with the Portuguese crown to open trade contacts in the East Indies, and imported spices around the Horn from India, returning the partners a profit of 174 percent. The firm, led by Bartholomew Welser,⁷ prospered mainly thereafter by trading in spices between Lisbon and Antwerp, where low import and export duties and a bourse open to all nationalities were soon to make Antwerp the richest and busiest city in Europe. At the time of its incorporation in 1518 as

⁵
Mattheaeus IV Herwarth (fl. 1485) married his daughter, ca. 1500. Anton Welser was married to a Meuting, the family that often served as agents in Antwerp for German merchants, including the Herwarths.

⁶
Dorothea I Herwarth married him in 1520; her maternal grandfather was Leonhard Laugner.

⁷
Hans Heinrich's brother Hans Paul married Bartholomew Welser's daughter in 1544.

Bartholomew and Anton Welser & Co., the partners included Hans
8 9 10
Haintzel, Ulrich Honold, Marx Pfister, Simon Seitz, and the
11
brothers Anton, Hans and Narciss Laugner.

By 1530 the firm, still led by Bartholomew Welser, had established offices in Genoa, Venice, Aquila, Milan, Antwerp, Lyons, Vienna and even London, and had begun to embark on international

8
Hans Heinrich married his daughter in 1544 and served with him on the Augsburg Stadt-Gericht.

9
Hans Heinrich's sister Barbara II (ca. 1520-1550) married a Dominici Honold in 1538, and Ulrich II Herwarth's mother-in-law was a Honold.

10
Hans Heinrich's second wife was Maria Pfister, whom he married in 1564. Pandolfo Herwarth (1514-1585) married Marx Pfister's daughter in 1551. Pandolfo had in 1537 been elected consul of the Fondaco dei Tedeschi in Venice, the palacial hostelry of German merchants. They patronized Titian, Veronese, and seem to have had numerous associations with Venetian musicians, including Bartolomeo dal Fontego, Sylvestro di Ganassi dal Fontego (his treatise, Fontegara seems to derive its name from it), and Domenico Bianchini.

Other "cottimieri" from Augsburg are listed in the Appendix. They included Ulrich Weiblinger (1551). The portrait by Paulo Veronese perhaps painted in Venice and discussed at the end of this chapter, pictures four young Augsburgers whose names are familiar, a Pfister playing the Regal with a Manlich working the bellows, a Weiblinger, the flute, and a Herwarth the viol.

11
Christopher I Herwarth (who along with his brother Georg I) appears to have founded Herwarth interests in international finance, had in 1492 married Elisabeth Pfister, daughter of Leonhard Pfister and granddaughter of Laugner.

12

finance. Bartolomew's son Christopher¹² and his nephew Marcus (d.
13¹³ 1596) succeeded to the business in 1551.¹⁴ The firm survived

12
Ulrich II Herwarth (1539-1586) married his daughter in 1568. This is the Ulrich to whom Giacomo Gorzanis dedicated his manuscript book of passamezzos in all keys.

13
Marcus Welser's name appears on the binding of one of the Munich manuscripts, Mus ms 1502. It is unclear whether this manuscript, with Welser's name in gold on the back cover, was acquired in the Herwarth acquisition. Several members of the Herwarth family, including Hans Heinrich and his his closest brother Hans Paul, had married Welsers, and the families had close business associations as well. Marcus Welser was, however, also advisor to Wilhelm in the expansion of the library (as we have noted, he suggested a union catalogue of manuscript holdings in Bavarian abbeys and cloisters). It is not possible to tell if the manuscript was acquired separately, or with the Herwarth materials. Pommer placed little monetary value on the manuscripts and his descriptions of them are especially vague. But it does signal Marcus' interest in music. A few of the pieces are concordant with intabulations in the lute manuscripts.

14
They raised a loan of 81,000 gulden in 1552 to assist the Antwerp government in sending a flotilla to Spain for American silver to stabilize Flemish currency, and in 1554 along with the ImHofs supported the city of Nuremberg with 60,000 florins for the war against Albrecht, Margrave of Brandenburg. Between 1551 and 1561 the firm had negotiated loans to the French and Spanish (!) courts, Archduke Ferdinand (212,000 fl.), Albrecht V of Bavaria, the governments of The Netherlands and Flanders (175,000 fl.), and the cities of Augsburg and Nuremberg (525,000 fl.).

several financial crises, and finally attained bankruptcy in
15
1614.

Herwarth participation dates from 1498-99, when the brothers George I (1464-1529) and Christopher I (1461-1508) joined with the Fuggers, Hans and Georg Grossenbrot, and Hans Paumgartner in a syndicate to control the copper market in Venice. In 1511 they branched out on their own, and with the Florentine banker Filippo Gualerotti they supported the Netherlands's war in the Guelders with a loan of 29,000 livres artois, followed shortly with additional funds for the court at Brussels and a loan of money and cloth to King Ferdinand of Austria. In 1522 the cousins Marcus (1468-1529), Erasmus (ca. 1480-ca.1535), Mathias II (1510-84) and Hans II (1475-1528) joined with their father and uncle Christopher I in a firm that initiated what became a series of large loans to
16
the Netherlands. This Hans was Hans Heinrich's father.

15

Whereas Jacob Fugger had amassed a fortune by foreclosing on Tyrolian copper and silver mines when Sigismund of Tyrol was unable to repay his debts, the 16th-century financiers often loaned great sums of money against little or no security. When creditors were unable to repay loans, severe crises resulted, such as that of 1562-65 precipitated by the failure of Minkel, Obrecht and Ebner, an Augsburg bank in which many south Germans had invested. Although most houses, including the Fuggers, barely survived, the Welsers weathered the difficulties, even making a loan to Edward of England in 1565. But when disaster struck in 1614, the firm had unrecovered loans of over a half million florins owing from Archduke Ferdinand, the Landgrave of Hesse, the King of Poland, the Holy Roman Emperor, the Elector of Mainz, and an assortment of individuals and cities. Marcus Welser's son died in debtors' prison.

16

Georg I had died in 1508.

Their agent in Antwerp was Georg Meuting, whose family had as early as 1516 established offices there (Meuting's firm was succeeded around 1538 by Conrad Rehlinger & Co.). Meuting's other clients included Carl Rehlinger¹⁷ and Hans Paumgartner.¹⁸ By 1542, in order to further their interests in the Lowlands, the "heirs" of Hans II Herwarth (which heirs are not specified) had established a business house in Antwerp.

At home, Augsburg wealth supported the arts of painting, architecture, humanistic scholarship and music, making Augsburg a cosmopolitan center worthy of comparison with Medician Florence.

* * * * *

17

Hans Heinrich's brother-in-law. In 1554 Carl Rehlinger was elected consul of the Fondaco dei Tedeschi in Venice; Hans Heinrich's sister Helena I (1522-70) married Heinrich Rehlinger in 1541.

18

Hans Heinrich II married Paumgartner's daughter in 1581.

The cultivation of music in Augsburg is well-documented.

Ludwig Senfl, Heinrich Isaac, Ottmar Luscinius, Sebastian Virdung, Jacob Kerle, Orlando di Lasso, Johannes Eccard, Adam Gumpelzhaimer, Gregor Aichinger and Hans Leo Hassler, as well as the organists Hans Rem, Bernard Leucker, Georg Scharpf and Paul Hofhaimer, all were resident in Augsburg for a time during their careers.

Many of these composers and musicians were doubtlessly drawn to Augsburg to serve the Fugger family as resident musicians, or to ply their profession in the foundations supported by the Fuggers, such as the school and church of St. Anna. Lasso, for example, enjoyed an especially warm relationship with Augsburg and frequently visited there. Cardinal Otto Truchsee von Waldburg, prince-bishop of Augsburg between 1543 and 1575, was responsible for having Lasso's music performed at the Vatican, and Johann Jacob Fugger recommended him to Albrecht V in 1556, resulting in Lasso's distinguished tenure in Munich.

Although the city harbored its share of "Lautenschläger," it also attracted noted master lutenist-composers, so valued that

See Schmid, "Augsburg," Schmid, "Das goldene Zeitalter der Musik in Augsburg," Layer, "Musik und Musiker der Fuggerzeit," and Wegele, ed., Musik in der Reichstadt Augsburg. For bibliography, Schaal, "Ausgewählte Schriftum zur Augsburger Musikgeschichte."

their remuneration often exceeded that of other musicians. Veit Bulling, teacher of Felix Plattner, was active there for a time. Gregor Brayssing was born in Augsburg, but fled to Lyons in 1547 (following the Protestant defeat in the first Schmalkaldian War) and then settled in Paris around 1552, where he published several books of guitar music; his works for lute are lost, except possibly for several pieces in the Munich manuscripts that come down under an attribution to "messer Gregorio."

The Augsburg lutenist Georg Sigismund Seld was named Reichsvizkanzler in 1547, and Jacob Eilend, who was active in Augsburg between 1554 and 1566, settled finally in Königsberg to sell lutes. During the early 17th century, Jacob Reys (Pollach) and, of course, the Burgundian scholar, doctor of medicine and jurist, Jean-Baptist Besard, compiler of the famous lute books, resided in Augsburg.

Perhaps the most important lutenist to live in Augsburg was Melchior Newsidler, son (not brother) of Hans Newsidler. Melchior arrived there in 1552 from Nuremberg, at about the time that Brayssing departed, followed shortly thereafter by his lesser known brother Conrad. He was leader of the city "stille Musik" and his patrons included the Fuggers, who supported him in his
20
gouty old age.

20

For details, see Layer, "Newsidler," as well as The New Grove, XIII, 156-8. He also served in Innsbruck, but (ironically, perhaps, in view of his later infirmity) was dismissed for eating meat during Lent.

Among Newsidler's students may be counted Georg Hofstetter, who was born in Landsberg am Lech, served in Heidelberg in 1584 and later in Stuttgart, and is known from pieces titled in Hebrew script in an immense three-volume lute book now at Donaueschingen.²¹ Another possible Newsidler student was Georg Reismüller, resident in Augsburg around 1554, in Stuttgart from 1571 to 1590, and in Tübingen in 1602. Reismüller's brother Laurent left interesting lute books which survived until recently.²² The blind lute virtuoso from Bari and Trieste, Giacomo Gorzanis may also have travelled to Augsburg, since he is known to have been north as least as far as Carinthia, and dedicated one manuscript book to a Herwarth (Mus Ms 1511A; it is copied on paper manufactured in Munich).

21

Donaueschingen, Fürstlich Fürstenbergische Hofbibliothek, MS G I 4 (3 vols.). This manuscript is omitted in Boetticher, Handschriftlich. South-German lutenists represented in it are Hieronymous Faber, Conrad and Melchior Newsidler, Georg Hofstetter, and Christopher Volker; many printed works are "translated" from other tablature systems, including a lost print of intabulations of music by Rore made (or published?) by Giacomo Vincenti.

22

Vesoul, Bibliothèque de la Ville, MS 711 and 698 (olim 9287). The books contained 210 pieces in French, Italian, and Neapolitan tablatures, those in the latter system being of interest to us because of the connection with pieces in another ex-Augsburg manuscript, Paris, Rés 429, discussed below. For information on the two Vesoul manuscript, see Brenet, "Notice."

The city also supported at least three lute makers, Sixt Rauchwolf, Laux Bosch and Christoph Schissler; Melchior Newsidler recommended the latter to King Ferdinand I of Austria.

The Welsers established one of the first printing presses in Augsburg, and several printers, Schönsperger, Zainer, Schlüsser and Baemler, also owned paper mills to feed their presses. In the mid-century 71 scribes ("Briefmaler") were active there, although a glut resulted and apprentices were required to seek work elsewhere upon completion of their contract. The firm of Sigmund Grimm and Marx Wyrung employed composer Ottmar Luscinius as proof reader, and their editors included the humanist and financial agent for the Welsers to Maximilian I, Conrad Peutinger.

Augsburg became, second only to Nuremberg, the leading German center for music publishing. Johannes Schlumberger published one of the first German lute books there,²³ and hundreds of Lieder, motets, masses and chansons issued from the presses of Hans Fröscher, Erhard Oeglin, Melchior Kreisstein and Sigmund Sal-

23

Cythare germanice tabulature (Augsburg, ca. 1525, or 1532). Now lost? A copy was in the library of Ferdinand Columbus, Seville, and contained 28 pieces. The title suggests guitar music. If so, it antedates by many years the earliest surviving pieces for four- (not seven-) course guitar in Melchior de Barberis's book (Venice, 1546). Gregor Brayssing (d. ca. 1560) was, however, a guitarist active in Augsburg before 1547.

mingen and Valentin Schreck, to cite but a few. Music dealers were also present in Augsburg. The firms of Georg Willer and Kaspar Flurschütz regularly published catalogues of their wares²⁴ for the Frankfurt fair.

Members of the Fugger family were frequently named as dedicatees in Augsburg music prints, as well as in those published abroad, including collections of music by Luscinius (1524), Sal-minger (1546 and 1548), Manfred Lupi (1560), Aichinger (1595), the Gabrielis (1587 and 1595) and Vecchi (1570).²⁵ Other patrician families also fostered music in Augsburg, as illustrated in a few additional dedications:

Marcus Welser by	Hubert Waelrant (1555),
Johann Langenauer by	Melchior Newsidler (1566),
Ulrich Herwarth by	Giacomo Gorzanis (1567),
Melchior Linck by	Jacobus Kerle (1574),
Jacob Welser by	Friedrich Lindner (1591),
Marcus Thenn by	Jacob Paix (1594) and
Hieronymous Herwarth by	Adam Gumpelzhaimer (1591 and 1595).

All of these dedicatees are relatives of our Hans Heinrich Herwarth, and were members of patrician families with close financial and mercantile associations as well.

* * * * *

²⁴ See Schaal, "Georg Willers Augsburger Musikalien," and idem., Die Kataloge . . . Flurschütz.

²⁵ For a complete list, see William E. Hetttrick, "Fugger," New Grove, VII, 8-9.

Hans Heinrich Herwarth was thus born into a patrician family which moved at the center of south German mercantile and financial consortia, as well as of scholarship, music and the arts. It is unfortunate that he does not stand as boldly from the past as his more active kith and kin. The Herwarths were one of the oldest patrician families of Augsburg,²⁶ and may be traced in the civic affairs of Augsburg, Ulm, Memmingen, Donauwoerth, Rothenburg and Esslingen from the 13th century into the 20th.

Hans Heinrich (15 December 1520-29 July 1583) was the fourth surviving child of Hans II Herwarth (1475-1528), a mayor's son from Ulm, and Helena von Schellenberg-Rieder (1490-1558). Hans Heinrich's father is, therefore, the probable first owner of

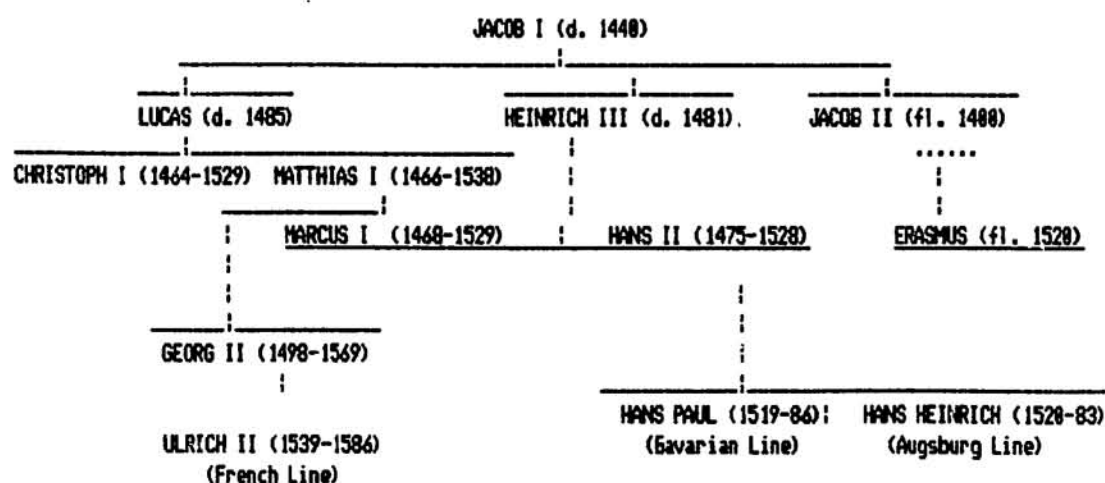
26

A Heinrich Herwarth was a member of the Augsburg town council (Rath) in 1275. Between 1380 and 1586 a selective list includes two tax collectors (Steuer-Herr) four mayors (Burger-meister), eight members of the judiciary (Stadt-Gericht) and 13 members of the town council (Stadt-Rath); all are directly related to our Hans Heinrich (many other town officials were related by marriage). A recent ambassador to Italy from the Federal Republic of Germany is a namesake, Hans Heinrich Herwart von Bittenfeld, descended from one of the 16th-century Hans Heinrich's uncles.

Four Herwarth genealogical lines are usually recognized as

the Herwarth Liederbuch (dated 1513; now in Augsburg) with its works by Josquin-generation composers, a volume of such sentimental value that it was withheld from the materials sold to Duke Wilhelm after Hans Heinrich's death. Only in 1621 did his sons Hans Heinrich II (1553-1622) and Hieronymus (1572-1626) bequeath

stemming from the "pater familias" Peter I Herwarth (fl. 1339): the Augsburg line of our Hans Heinrich, the Bavarian line ("von Hohenburg") of his brother, and the Nürtemberg ("von Bittenfeld") and French lines extending from second cousins. These are summarized in the following table and in greater detail in the genealogy in the appendix, where information about birth and death dates, civic offices and in-laws is given.



From Seifert, Hochadelische Stamm-Tafel, Herwart.

it to the Singschule bey St. Anna.

The city had been governed by two groups of nearly equal power, the "Gesellschaft der Herren," consisting of patricians, and the "Mehrerer des Gesellschaft," representing the city's 17 guilds.²⁸ Hans Heinrich himself was involved in town affairs and joined the Stadt-Gericht in 1548 (he may have trained in law). His colleagues included Anton Haintzel and Hans Rehlinger, both relatives by marriage, and a cousin, Marx II Herwarth (1527-1593). From 1567 until his death Hans Heinrich also represented the Herwarth "Geschlechte" on the Stadt-Rath, sitting with Johann Jacob Fugger (who had assisted in the founding of the Munich ducal library), Bartholomew and Mathew Welser, and Simon ImHof, among others.

27

2/Cod.142a, indexed in Gottwald, Handschriften ... Augsburg, pp. 4-10. Also see Eitner, "Ein Lieder Codex." In the 18th century the manuscript was singled out for mention by Paul von Stetten, the younger, in Kunst-, I, 524.

If Hans Heinrich were indeed a talented musician, and talent is inherited, it might be noted that two of Hans Heinrich's ancestors were members of the Bach family.

28

As a result, Augsburg guild rules dealt more with financial and political matters than (as in most other German cities) with professional standards, apprenticeship contracts, and the like. The strongest guild, because of their wealth, were the "Kaufleute," who married regularly into patrician families.

In 1574 he was also appointed Steuer-Herr. Langenmantel provides²⁹ information about Augsburg civic bodies and their organization.

His discussion centers around changes during the time of Hans Heinrich's taking office, a period of unrest when the guild of merchants was confronting the patricians, and winds of religious turmoil were abroad. Thus, in 1548 when Hans Heinrich joined the Stadt-Gericht:

Wegen Besetzung des Staats Gerichts kamen an eben diesem Tag die beyde Herren Stadt-Pfleger und fuenff Geheime Nachmittags um zwey Uhr zusammen und berathschlägten sich, wie dieselbige am fuergelichsten Koennte fuergenommen werden. Worauf Sie Sonntags darauf sich zu dem Kayerl. Rath begaben und die Einrichtung derselbigen auf obstehende Art machten. [re: 1548]

Langenmantel describes a later, but futile effort at reorganization by Charles V, who feared that Augsburg Protestants might oppose the Hapsburgs:

Nachdem diese Kayserl. Decret. [von Carlos V, 1552] eingelaufen, würde zu gewohlicher [sic] Zeit die Raths Wahl gehalten, und von den Geschlechtern nicht mehr als drey Burgermeister erwoehnt, welcher einer von der Mehrern Gesellschaft der Herrn, einer von den Kaufleuten, und einer von den Handwerkern zugegeben wurde, und zwar also dass jedesmahl einer von diesen dreyen neuen Burgermeistern vier Monat lange nebst einem von den Herren regieren sollte.

Both paragraphs refer to city affairs growing out of the first

29

David Langenmantel, Histoire des Regiments in dem Heil. Rom. Reichs Stadt Augsburg (Augsburg, 1734), pp. 162, 93.

and second Schmalkaldian wars, which Hans Heinrich could hardly have avoided, if he did not take an active role.

Towards the end the 15th century, many patrician families had died out, leaving only eight, the Herwarths, the Ilsungs, the Welsers, the Rehlingers, the Haintzels, the Hofmaiers, the Ravensburgers and the Langenmantels. Due to this diminished patrician influence, a new class was formed in 1538 to include, among others, the non-patrician Fuggers and Paumgartners with their great wealth and political ties to the Hapsburgs and Charles V. Thus 37 families who had lived in Augsburg for 50 years and had married into the old patrician families were named to this new patrician caste.³⁰ Since many of the prominent older patricians maintained their Catholicism, while some newer patricians and members of the "Kaufleute" supported Protestant factions, the new order set the stage for difficulties during the Schmalkaldian confusion.

In 1552 the Protestants prevailed over the harassed Charles V's mandate, and Hans Heinrich and other Catholics were forced to flee. Since a daughter was born in Munich in that year, Hans Heinrich may have settled there for the duration. Both his firm and Bartholomew Welser's were seized by the Schmalkaldians and

³⁰

Details are given in Dirr, "Kaufleute und Kaufleutestube in Augsburg," 135 ff.

31

wheat that had been harvested on their lands was confiscated.

It is also at this time that an apparent lacuna appears in Hans Heinrich's music purchases, as we have seen, only to be resumed in 1553-54 in Antwerp, where he may have guided the Herwarth interests, established there since about 1542.

His cousin Ulrich (dedicatee of the Gorzanis manuscript, Ms 1511A) may have been Protestant. He opposed papal calendar reforms in a stormy meeting before the town council in 1573, but was chosen by Emperor Rudolph II, along with Andreas Harder and Michael Mayr (the publisher?), as his personal representatives to settle a quarrel between Ulm and Weissenborn in 1577. He was also involved in a squabble with the engraver and teacher Hans Rogel, whose engraving of the "Nachtmahl" had been printed without authorization by Valentin Schoenigk in 1579. Ulrich participated with other Herwarths in the bourse at Lyons.

31 Ehrenberg, Fuggerzeit, p. 64.

32 Stetten, Geschichte, I, 660 and 619-20.

33 Radlkofer, "Die . . . Leistungen des Hans Rogel," 3-4.

34 In 1574 his son Daniel, who was to establish the French Herwarth line, was born there. His descendants negotiated so well with Turenne's troops that the course of French history was changed, causing Mazarin to declare that a Herwarth had rescued France and preserved the crown. The French line later settled in England.

Augsburgers were regularly elected to head the Fondaco dei Tedeschi, the important German hostelry near the Rialto in Venice--designed by Dürer in 1510 and decorated inside and out with the works of Titian, Tintoretto, Veronese and others, reflecting the palatial wealth of its owners. Hans Rehlinger, Hans Heinrich's brother-in-law and colleague on the Stadt-Gericht, was elected co-consul of the Fondaco dei Tedeschi in 1554, sitting with one David Ott.

David Ott was elected consul of the Fondaco in 1546, 1548, 1554 and 1555. He died in 1579 at the age of 72, and was buried in Venice, where his wife Baduaria (=Baldericka?) erected a tombstone in his memory.³⁵ He relinquished his duties during 1546, the year of the death of the Nuremberg book dealer and publisher of Isaac's Choralis constantinus, Johannes Ott. It seems highly probable that the Venetian David Ott is identical to the David Ott (son of Johannes) who headed the Nuremberg book firm with his widowed mother (did he return to Nuremberg upon hearing of his father's death?).³⁶

35

The inscription is given in Simonsfeld, appendix.

36

The evidence is not completely conclusive: the Venetian David Ott was about the proper age, but birth records that would establish the Nuremberg David Ott's exact age are not extant from Regensburg and Gauting in Kreuzing, where Johannes Ott was active during the first decade of the century, and I have been unable to locate archival records in Nuremberg that provide the name of his wife. Nuremberg death records are, however, available for the latter half of the 16th-century and no David Ott is recorded as having died there.

Thus an important link between German and Venetian music publishing may have been forged within the Fondaco. Ott was co-consul in the year that Domenico Bianchini dedicated his lute book to the merchants of the "Fontego allemanni," a volume that contains pieces which Gerle edited (from among others in Venetian lute books). Gerle's volume was published in Nuremberg by Hieronymous Formschneider, guardian of David Ott's minor brothers and sisters.

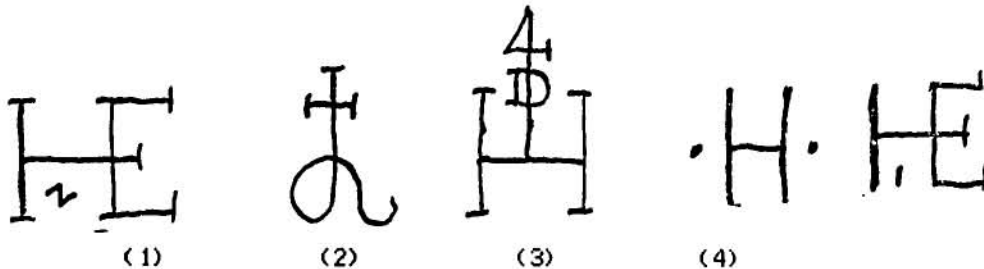
The Venetian David Ott was engaged in the sale and transportation of books, and was agent for the Fuggers, Augsburg Jesuits, and Father Peter Canisius; Hans Heinrich Herwarth may also have been his client.³⁷

Hans Heinrich's closest brother was Hans Paul Herwarth von Hohenburg (1519-1586), son-in-law of Bartholomew Welser. He served as Hof-Praesident at the Munich court of Albrecht V of Bavaria, was ennobled as "Reichsfreiherrnwuerde" by Charles V in 1554 and granted "Hof- und Edelmannsfreiheit von Hohenburg" by Albrecht V in 1572. In that year he visited Venice on the Duke's behalf, and by 1574 was registered in Lyons' "Handelregister," as "Jehan Paule Heruartht," successor to the

37

See Lehmann, Fuggerbibliotheken, passim, and especially I, 61, 89-91, as well as below.

firm (earlier records have not survived.)³⁹ The firm's mark is similar to one in the Marco Fascicle:



(1) Hans Paul and predecessors; (2-3) Daniel; (4) Mus Ms 266, fol. 48v.

Henry II, "his father's equal in delight in war and his superior in prodigality,"⁴⁰ encountered difficulties when his own schemes in banking failed. Claims had grown to 1.5 million crowns, due to wars, including support of Maurice of Saxony against Charles V in the second Schmalkaldian War. Hans Heinrich and Hans Paul (finances did not seem to honor political alliances in those days) collaborated with 46,500 crowns in the massive loan for Henry II, negotiated from Lyons in 1555. One wonders if the Herwarth family did not have earlier Lyonnaise contacts through Hans Kleberger, "le bon Allemand" (who was hated in his native

38

Hees, p. 240.

39

Mus Ms 266, fol. 48v has the remark "CARO a H. HE." with HE as a monogram attached to a ricercar by Marco dall'Aquila.

40

Ehrenberg, Fuggerzeit, p. 254.

Nuremberg, however). The German contribution totalled 720,925 crowns. A few now familiar names, in addition to Hans Heinrich and Hans Paul, appear in the list of German sponsors; several were related to the Herwarths:

Hans and Lucas Iselin	Relatives (?) of Ludwig of Basel, compiler of the lute book
Sebastian and Leonhard ImHof	Kleberger in-laws
David Kleberger	Son of Hans; he was soon in debt
Bernhard and Philipp Meuting	Hans Jacob (Hans Heinrich's brother) married a Meuting, as did Dorothea I and Matthaeus IV

 41

For details, see Ehrenberg, "Kleberger." Kleberger (1486-1546), whose portrait appears on medals and in a painting by Dürer, travelled widely representing south German merchants in Italy, Switzerland, Lyons, Paris, Strassburg and Antwerp, and had a brother who matriculated at the University of Wittemberg. Hans was born and first worked for the ImHofs in Nuremberg, but later obtained citizenship in Bern and Lyons. In 1535/36 Francis I granted him French citizenship. He sided with the French against Charles I, and is said to have saved Francis I's life at the Battle of Pavia. He returned with him in Paris in 1526. Between 1526 and 1530 he resided in Nuremberg, but was named "valet de chambre ordinaire du roi" in 1543 and in 1544 "Herzog zu Castellard und Villamondt." He was acquainted with Hans Paumgartner of Augsburg in 1530, visited there several times, and represented many Augsburg merchants in Lyons. I have been unable to examine what is a horoscope for a "Cleeperger" that came to the Vienna National Library from the Fugger collection (Codex 10650).

42

Ehrenberg, p. 255, note 48. Some additional business/marriage ties are outlined in "Interlocking Directorships in a few Augsburg Patrician Firms," Appendix A.

Christian and Gabriel Neidhart	Hans Heinrich's sister, Helena, was married to Sebastian Neidhart
Vincenz Pirkheimer	A Kleberger relative
Ambrosius and Hieronymous Rem	Hieronymous (Hans Heinrich's son) married Ambrosius's daughter
Jacob, Hieronymous and Sebastian Welser	As we have seen, Hans Heinrich had married a Welser, as had other Herwarths

Hans Heinrich and Hans Paul also joined Melchior Manlich in a partnership which ended in disaster. Failures of various Augsburg banking firms, caused by huge unsecured loans to crowned heads throughout Europe, reached a height around 1573 with some families attempting to regain their wealth by returning to manufacturing, or even, as in the case of the Langnauers, Manlichs and Shores, resorting to experiments in alchemy.

At this perilous time the Herwarth brothers contributed 120,000 francs (=24,000 florins) to a Manlich-led venture to build ships at a cost of 40,000 florins each in Marseilles to trade from there to Soria, Tripoli, Alexandria, Cyprus and Lisbon. In 1574 when religious wars in France and unrest in The Netherlands blocked passage out of Marseilles, the accumulated goods perished in harbor warehouses. Among Manlich's (and the Herwarth brothers') debtors was Albrecht V, who was unable (or unwilling) to settle his account, and the firm failed. Emotions ran high and one of their creditors ran through the streets of Augsburg shouting about Manlich's perfidy. Hans Paul weathered the financial storm in a family retreat at Hohenburg and Manlich at Winden.

In 1576 (not 1567) Hans Paul settled permanently in Munich.

Hans Heinrich's activities at this time are unknown, but he and his family probably remained in Augsburg in reduced straits, although it seems not to have discouraged his music purchases: 1574-76 imprints account for nearly 10 percent of the library. This business failure may account for his heirs offering the library and "khunst stückh" to Wilhelm II in an attempt to regain what must have been only a fraction of the family's former wealth.

Yet, in contrast to the *éclat* left by his politically more active relatives, Hans Heinrich remains an obscure personage, as might be expected of a bibliophile who compiled one of the great renaissance private libraries. The Munich Hauptstaatsarchiv holds two large bundles of Herwartiana, all of which stems, however, from the Munich branch of the family, founded by Hans Paul.⁴⁴ Included are diplomas of the latter's son Hans Christoph from universities of Bologna (1576) and Catania in southern Italy (1580); he also studied theology at Bologna in 1581, a year in which Herwarth's last large Venetian book purchases were made. A few additional articles are in the Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, including documents regarding the acquisition of Hans Hein-

43

Details are provided in Roth, "Zum Bakerott der Firma Melchior Manlich."

44

General-Registratur 1079, No. 33 and 34: Hoerwarth.

rich's library, which concerned us earlier. The Augsburg Stad-
tarchiv has two letters, one from Hans Heinrich to his father-in-
law and another from his brother to him, as well as the "Herwarth
Geschlechtbuch," containing the family's coats-of-arms.⁴⁵ Before
World War II a number of documents existed in a private archive,
but were "durch Kriegseinwirkung grossenteils verloren gegangen,
bezw. unzugänglich geworden."⁴⁶

Herwarth did, however, reach far in search for items for his
library, and in October 1551, sent thanks to a Basel publisher for his
assistance in obtaining books with greater ease than from Lyons:⁴⁷

Jo. Henricus Herbordus gratias tibi agit de curatis
libris et rogat ut caeteros quoque in Germania praesertim
excusos (nam Gallicos Lugduni facile per procuratores suos
comparare potest) sibi cures, quo ad sine molestia tua id
facere possis.

Lacking more extensive records, much must be surmised about
Hans Heinrich's life and activities. Only a few details shine
through.

In keeping with the usual education of members of his class,
his earliest education may have taken place at one of the Fugger

45

Namen und Sach Register III: 1575 1/1 and 1547 2.9/1,
respectively, and "Ehrenbuch der Augsburger Patrizierfamilie Her-
wart," 66.

46

Letter from H. W. Herwarth von Bittenfeld, dated Heem-
stede, 15 September 1967.

47

Quoted in Lehmann, I, 55.

foundations, such as the parochial institution of St. Anne's, where Paul Hofhaimer, Ottmar Luscinius and Bernhard Rem were active during the 1520s. Many patrician sons studied there, including Hans Heinrich's son Hieronymous (1572-1626), who became one of Adam Gumpelzhaimer's "splendore generis ornatis, pietatis, virtutis et doctrinae studiosis adolescentibus," and "ornatissimus adolescentibus, nec non indolis ac spei optimae pueris." Other dedicatees include familiar patrician names, all of whose families were related by marriage to the Herwarths: Ulrich Linck, Anton and Jacob Seitz, Heinrich Schott (Tyrolensis), and David and Marcus Schaller.⁴⁸

Paul von Stetten and his son, the historians of Augsburg,⁴⁹ describe Herwarth as a Gelehrter and doctor, and he undoubtedly followed his peers to universities in Italy (Padua?) and/or France to study during the late 1530s, and to acquire a taste for Cicero, Caesar, Livy, Quintilian, Pliny, Seneca, Horace, Vergil, Plutarch and other classics, whose works in manuscripts and prints, some dating back to the 15th century, graced his library shelves

⁴⁸ According to the dedicatory prefaces to his Compendium musicae (Augsburg: Schreck, 1591) and Compendium musicae latino (idem., 1595).

⁴⁹ Stetten, Geschichte, II, 20. Herwarth is nowhere else mentioned as doctor, however.

before becoming part of the ducal library in Munich.

A Liederbuch now in Munich has an ex-libris dated 1616 indicating that it belonged to another son, Hans Heinrich II, when he studied at the Jesuit College and then at the University in Ingolstadt, matriculating there in 1574.⁵⁰ He made significant contributions⁵¹ in mathematics and his papers have survived. Both sons may have been following in their father's steps.

A "Stammbuch" belonging to Hans Heinrich's nephew has survived.⁵² Entries on nearly all of its some 300 folios testify to the wide-ranging travels and extensive acquaintances of at least one Herwarth. This Heinrich Herwarth (1602-1658) became a doctor of jurisprudence and scholar, and after 1653 was advisor to Emperor Ferdinand III. The entries date mostly from the 1620s, and include a number of fellow students and professors at Tübingen (ca. 1622-3) and Frankfurt (ca. 1626), and many friends from Bremen. Interests of his friends in music are reflected in some entries accompanied by drawings of musicians. One of

⁵⁰

Munich, Universitätsbibliothek, Cod. mscr. 2/700.

⁵¹

Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Cod. bav. 608: "Miscellanea mathematica (Aus Herwarths Nachlass)."

⁵²

Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Cod. germ. 3276.

lute, viol and flute players is signed by Heinrich Rehlinger and dated
53
1621; others include a battle among musical instruments, signed "IRT,
ICD, HG"; and the sketch of a lutenist by Johann Kraus of Augsburg,
dated 1623. Among the names in the "Stammbuch", are Matthaeus and
Gabriel Mylius, "Vindelicus" (1624), members of the family of J. D.
Mylius, compiler of the famous lute anthology.

Like his contemporary Felix Plattner, who studied lute with
the Augsburger Veit Bulling and was known as "l'allemand du lut"
while a student of medicine in Montpellier, Hans Heinrich may have
taken up the instrument at an early age and cherished it through-
out his life, as the tablatures at Munich seem to testify: some
were originally described by Pommer, as we have seen, as "Kinder-
werck," and others are mature compositions. Hans Heinrich's life
may have paralleled that of another Augsburg amateur lutenist and,
likewise, a collector of art and "antiquitates," Philippe Hain-
hofer (21 July 1578-23 July 1647). His two immense lute books of
1603-04, now in Wolffenbüttel, contain a retrospective anthology
of Augsburg masters, including Conrad and Melchior Newsidler.

Hainhofer was the son of a rich Augsburg merchant, who

53

Rehlinger, member of an Augsburg patrician family and
possibly Hans Heinrich's nephew, may have derived his picture from
the Veronese mentioned before, and discussed below.

emigrated to Ulm during the unrest surrounding the new Gregorian calendar, which also occupied some of Ulrich II Herwarth's time. Hainhofer studied with Hieronymous Bechler, and in 1594 he traveled to Padua to study rhetoric and science. He matriculated at the University of Siena in 1596, where he earned a degree in law. He then wandered through Italy, and northwards into The Netherlands, returning to Augsburg in 1598 by way of large mercantile German cities including Cologne. In Italy he acquired a lifelong interest and knowledge of art, reflected in the numerous engravings (some by Dürer), which once decorated his lute books and diaries. (They have since been removed.) He owned the portrait by Paolo Veronese, discussed below, which is said to have represented three young patrician musicians, one a Herwarth. His art collection and library (including many diaries) was dispersed to Heidelberg, Innsbruck, Nuremberg, Stettin, Vienna and Augsburg. References to music in his diaries (Hainhofer entertained Schütz) have never been the subject of careful scholarly inquiry.

In any event, by 1544 Hans Heinrich, if his travels paralleled those of his relatives and Hainhofer, was again in Augsburg, acquiring in that year Maria Haintzel as a wife and Hans Haintzel and Catherine Welser as in-laws. I have suggested

54

Stetten, the younger, Lebenbeschreibungen, I, 269-88.

that some of his book purchases may have occupied his student days. They most certainly continued enthusiastically throughout his life, and we will want to dwell on them in some detail in seeking a context for the manuscript lute tablatures that come from his library.

Hans Heinrich Herwarth's other hobbies apparently included horticulture and numismatics. In 1559, when Conrad Gesner visited Herwarth's library for a second time gathering materials for a revision of his Pandectae, he saw the first tulips grown in Germany: 55

Die Tulipanen werden nicht viel über hundert Jahr in Teutschland bekandt seyn, in dem Gesnerus in seinem Buch de Hortibus Germaniae schreibt, dass er die erst An. 1559 zu Augspurg, in Herrn Joh. Heinrichen Herwarts Garten daselbst gesehen, und dieselbe aus dem Saamen welcher von Constanti-nopel geschickt worden.

Johann Sambucus described Herwarth's coin collection as well serving the arts and sciences, being "exceptional for its eminence and exquisiteness." 56 As we have noted, Duke Wilhelm had coveted it from as early as 1573.

Musical activities involving a Herwarth may have been the subject of a painting by Paolo Cagliari Veronese (1528-1589), suggesting another possible sojourn by a Herwarth in Venice. Since Veronese is not known to have travelled beyond the Alps (the

55

Wolff Helmhard Herr von Hoberg, Adelichen Land- und Feld-leben (Nuremberg, 1757), p. 827.

56

Quoted in Stetten, Kunst-, II, 555.

literature on Veronese is remarkably poor, however), it may have been painted in Venice. In addition to a Herwarth, the consuls of the Fondaco dei Tedeschi in Venice, with whom Veronese had close contact, included in 1551 an Ulrich Weiblinger. The picture belonged at one time to our Philippe Hainhofer, the Augsburg diplomat, lute
57
player and compiler of a lute book:

Ein vortreffliches Stück aus [Hainhofers Sammlung] von Paul Veronese, welches ein Familien-Concert von vier hiessigen Juenglingen, einem Pfister, welcher das Regal schlug, einem Weiblinger, der die Floethe blies, einem Mannlich, der den Blasbalg zog, und einem Herwarth, der die Viol spielt, vorstellte, würde dem Koenig Friedrich von Boehmen, Churfuerst von der Pfalz, daraus verehret.

PLATE I



A watercolor (see PLATE I), purporting to be a copy of the painting, existed until recently, but shows a lutenist, instead of the flutist, and may in fact be an 18th-century pastiche, there being nothing comparable in composition and costume in Veronese's
 58
 extant work.

The epitaphs in St. Georg for Herwarth and his wives do not say much about what must have been fascinating lives:

IOHANNES
 HENRICVS
 HERWORTVS
 PATRICIVS
 SIBI. ET. VXORIS
 SVAE. P. MARIAE
 HAINTZELIAE
 LIBERIS. HG. V. P
 ANNO. CHRISTI

MDLXXII

x x x x x

IOHANNES
 HENRICVS
 HERWORTVS
 PATRICIVS
 AVGVSTANVS
 SIBI. ET. VXORIS
 SVAE. MARINAE
 RENZIM. LIBERIS
 H. M. V. P
 ANNO. CHRISTI

MDLXXII

x x x x x

58

Letter, 6 November 1967, from Michael Levey, curator, The National Gallery, London. I am also grateful to Herr H. W. Herwarth von Bittenfeld for providing a photograph of the watercolor.

IOHANNES . HENRICVS . HERWORTVS
SIBI . ET . UXORI . SVAE
MARINAE . RENZIN
ET . EX IISDEM . PROGENITIS
H. M. P. C. ANNO . M D L X X I I

The "Ehrenbuch der Augsburger Patrizierfamilie Herwarth" gives Hans Heinrich's coat-of-arms, an owl within a blue-bordered shield: the owl representing the usual heraldic sign of the Herwarths--perhaps derived from the name of one who waits (during the night?) upon a lord
59
(Herr-Wart):

Er hat das Stadtgericht . . . Anno 48 bis Ao 68, volgens den Rath bis Ao 83. In welchem Jahr Todesverschieden mit ihrem besessen liegt bey St. Georgen altebegraben.

The book also contains the coats-of-arms for his wives, Maria Haintzlerin (a fallen cross with red background) and Rentzelin (a horse breathing fire).

After Herwarth's death his minor children were cared for by Stephan Endorffer (a brother-in-law), Hans Baptist Hainzel and Baptist Hochstetter.

X X X X

To the extent that a man's activity is reflected in his library, the bound volumes provide a good summary of what must have been the earliest purchases for Herwarth's collection. They tend to be grouped according to sacred and secular works, somewhat in this order (if a terminus post quem for their binding is made, based

on the spread of their contents. This will establish a basis for examining the manuscripts of lute music.

A. (acq. no. 24: 1512-35)

French and German Secular Songs;
Ensemble Dances

- (a) Lieder (Augsburg: Oeglin, 1512) [Purchased by his father?]
- (b) Ensemble dances (Paris: Attaignant, 1528-30; 2 vols.)
- (c) Parisian chansons (Paris: Attaignant, 1528-35)

B. (acq. no. 1: 1529-1538)

Motets, Chansons and Madrigals

- (a) Motets (Paris: Attaignant, 1529)
- (b) Chansons (Paris: Attaignant, 1531-34; 3 vols.)
- (c) Chansons (Venice: Scotto, 1538)
- (d) Madrigals (Venice: Scotto, 1537; 3 vols.)

C. (acq. no. 26: 1536-37)

Published by Schoeffer & Apiarius of Strassburg

- (a) Lieder (1536)
- (b) Walther: Wittembergisch Gsangbuechlin (1537)
- (c) Dietrich: Magnificat (1537)

D. (acq. no. 1: 1539-50).

Parisian Chansons

- (a) Parisian chansons, "en ung et deux" and "en deux" volumes (Paris: Attaignant, 1539-50; 31 vols.)

CC. Lute Music (Mus pr 152)

- (a) Works of Le Roy, Belin and Morlaye (Paris: LeRoy & Ballard, 1551-56)

D. (acq. no. 3: 1540-52)

Chansons and Madrigals; Motets

- (a) Chansons "de la guerre" of Janequin (Paris: Attaignant, 1537)
- (b) Chansons of Lupi Didier II and Phinot (Lyon: Godefroy & Beringer, 1548; 3 vols.)
- (c) Chansons of Buus (Gardano, 1543; Scotto, 1550)
- (d) Madrigals of Veggio, Verdelot and others (Venice: Scotto, 1540; 3 vols.)
- (e) Madrigals of Rore, Verdelot, Willaert and others (Venice: Gardano, 1548-52; 4 vols.)
- (f) Motets of Willaert (Venice: Gardano, 1548)

F. (acq. no. 16: 1538-45)

Motets and other Sacred Pieces

- (a) Motets (Ferrara: Buglhart, 1538)
- (b) Symphonia (Wittenberg: Rhaw, 1538)
- (c) Motets (Nuremberg: Petreius, 1538)
- (d) Motets by Gombert and Willaert (Venice: Scotto, 1539; Scotto & Antico, 1539 [2 vols.])
- (e) Motets by Jachet Berchem (Venice: Gardano, 1545)

G. (acq. no. 14: 1537-39)

Masses and Sacred Pieces
published in Nuremberg

- (a) Magnificat by Senfl (Formschneider, 1537)
- (b) Masses (Formschneider; Petreius, 1539; 2 vols.)
- (c) Officia paschalia (Rhaw, 1539)

H. (acq. no. 18: 1539)

Madrigals

- (a) Madrigals by Alfonso da Viola (Ferrara: Buglhart, Campis & Hucher, 1539)
- (b) Books I-IV of Madrigals by Arcadelt and others (Venice: Gardano [books I-II, IV] and Scotto, 1539)

I. (acq. no. 23: 1539)

Lieder published by Petreius in Nuremberg (one vol.)

J. (acq. no. 2: 1532-42)

Motet Collections
published by Moderne in Lyon

- (a) Motets ("del fiore"), Books I-IV (1532-39)
- (b) Motets, Books II-V (1542)

K. (acq. no. 18: 1538-49)

Motets and Sacred Pieces

- (a) Sacred music by Walther and others (Wittemberg: Rhaw, 1538; 1544)
- (b) Motets ("del frutto"); Motets by Gombert, Magnificats by Morales (Venice: Gardano, 1539; 1542-45)
- (c) Symphonia "seu motetta" by Jehan; motets by Morales and Paolo Aretino (Venice: Scotto, 1543-44)
- (d) Sacred pieces ed. by Salminger (Augsburg: Ulhard, 1545-48; 2 vols.)
- (e) Lamentations of Heremia (Nurnberg: Berg & Neuber, 1549)

L. (acq. no. 19: 1538-43)

Parangon des Chansons
(Lyon: Moderne)

- (a) Volumes I-VII (1538-43)

LL. Lute Music (Mus pr 114)

- (a) Prints of Rotta, Vindella, and Francesco da Milano and Perino Fiorentino (Venice: Gardano, 1546-47)

M. (acq. no. 28: 1547-59)

Motets and Madrigals

- (a) Motets by Gombert and Willaert (Venice: Scotto, 1558; 2 vols.)
- (b) Madrigals by Corteccia and Lupacchino (Venice: Gardano, 1547)
- (c) Madrigals by Lasso (Venice: Scotto, 1559; 2-in-one)

N. (acq. no. 8: 1543-50)

Chansons published by Susato in Antwerp

- (a) Books I-VIII; IX-XIII (1543-1550)

O. (acq. no. 17: 1553-55)

Motets published in Antwerp

- (a) Ecclesiasticaum, Books I-III; V-VII (Susato, 1553)
- (b) Sacrarum cantionum, Books I-IV (Waelrant & Laet, 1554-55)

P. (acq. no. 6 [lost!]: 1554-77)

- (a) Motets publ. by Scotto, "del laberinto," books II-III (1554); "de la fama" of L'Héritier, I (1555)
- (b) Sacrarum cantionum, Book IV-V, publ. by Waelrant & Laet in Antwerp, 1556
- (c) Sacred music publ. by Gardano in Venice: Psalms of Phinot (1555), Psalms by Willaert (1555), Psalms by Willaert and Jachet Berchem (one vol., 1557), Motetta festorum of Palestrina (1574), and Ecclesiasticum cantionum, I, of Gabrieli (1576), plus a now lost book of psalms by Rore and Jachet (1577)
- (d) Psalms published in Nuremberg by Neuber (1569)
- (e) Publications by Berg and Gerlach, together and in collaboration in Munich: Latin songs and motets by Vento (1569-71), Psalms by Utendal (1570); motets by Schwaiger (1572) and by Regnart (1577).
- (f) Motets by Slegel publ. by Hantsch in Munich, 1570.

Q. (acq. no. 11: 1555-66)

Sacred and Secular Works of
Lasso (and Gabrieli)

- (a) Motets, chansons and madrigals, Book IV (Antwerp: Laet, 1555)
- (b) Sacrarum cantionum, Books I-IV, and Sacrae lectiones (Venice: Gardano, 1565-66)
- (c) Gabrieli: Sacrae cantiones, Book I (ibid., 1565)
- (d) Chansons (a 4), Book I (Antwerp: Laet, 1566)
- (e) Chansons (a 5-6), Books III-IV (Louvain: Phalèse, 1564-66)
- (f) Madrigals (a 4), Book I (Venice: Scotto, 1566); (a 5), Books I-II (ibid., and Gardano, 1555-66)

R. (acq. no. 4: 1542-60)

Madrigals

- (a) Madrigal anthologies, "de le muse," Books I-III, and "Delli madrigali," publ. by Gardano and by Scotto (Venice, 1542-59; 4 vols.)
- (b) Books of madrigals by Ruffo (four books, 1555-58), Cambio, Donato, Portinaro, Rore, and Striggio, publ. by Gardano (Venice, 1550-60) and by Contino, publ. by Scotto (1560)
- (c) Waelrant, Madrigals and chansons (Antwerp: Waelrant & Laet, 1558)

S. (acq. no. 5: 1555-59)

Motet Anthologies by
Phalese of Louvain

- (a) Cationum sacrarum, I-IV, VI-VIII (1554-55)
- (b) Clemens non Papa, Cationum sacrarum, Books I-VI (1559)

T. (acq. no. 9: 1535-62)

Madrigals, Napolitanas, and Dances (a 4)
published in Venice

- (a) Madrigals "de la fama," publ. by Scotto and by Gardano (1548)
- (b) Villotte alla padoano (Scotto, 1560)
- (c) Willaert: Napolitanas, Book I (Scotto & Antico, 1535)
- (d) Madrigals by Ruffo, Books I-III (Gardano, 1555-60), and single books by Arcadelt, Cambio, Fisco, Lasso (a 5), La Martoreto, Lupacchino, Manara, and Nasco, all publ. by Gardano (1547-62)
- (e) Dances by Bendusi (1553) and ricercars by Buus (1547), both publ. Gardano

TT. Lute Music (Mus pr 193)

- (a) Works of Morlaye, Books I-III (Paris: Fezandat, 1552-58)
- (b) Works of De Rippe, Books I-V, and by Le Roy, Book VI (Paris: LeRoy & Ballard, 1553-62)

U. (acq. no. 7: 1568)

Novi thesauri musici, Books I-V
(Venice: Gardano, 1568)

V. (acq. no. 12: 1570-71)

Works by Lasso, publ. by Le Roy & Ballard in Paris

- (a) Chansons (1570-71)
- (b) Modulorum, Books I-III (1571)

W. (acq. no. 15: 1566-72)

Miscellaneous books publ. in Germany

- (a) Sacred works by Lasso, Rasch (4 vols.), and Vento, publ. in Munich by Berg (1570-72)
- (b) Napolitanas by Scandello (Nuremberg: Neuber & Gerlach, 1566)
- (c) Cantionem, Book I, by Schroeter (Erfurt: Baumann, 1576)
- (d) Paix, Lieder (Lauringen: Reinmichael, ca. 1568)

X. (acq. no. 13: 1555-80)

Lieder and Sacred Songs publ. in Germany

- (a) Lieder by Eccard (Muehlhausen: Hantsch, 1578), by Knefel, Lechner (2 vols.), Regnart and Utendal, publ. by Gerlach & Berg, and by Neuber in Nuremberg (1570-80)
- (b) Sacred German songs by Schede and Walther, publ. in Wittenberg by Schwertel (1566)

A marvelous library indeed.

Chapter III

Papers and Scribes

In the Herwarth manuscripts nearly 50 different watermarks and no less than 28 scribes may be discerned. In using watermarks, the usual caveats apply. They may provide important clues about a manuscript's origin, but even in the 16th-century papers travelled widely and one¹ may not rely solely on watermark evidence to establish provenance. Nor are they infallible in determining dates. Vladimir Mošin found that in the vast majority of cases (92.7 percent), the time lag between the manufacture and use of paper is from zero to fifteen years. In the Yugoslavian archival documents which he examined in detail, many marks² disappeared within one year.

A like situation might not obtain in music, unless one were involved with a manuscript prepared in a professional scriptorium where large amounts of paper are consumed regularly. Jan LaRue would place a music manuscript of the 18th century anywhere between five years before and after a date provided by a dated³ document. Some fascicles in the Munich lute manuscripts

¹ Italian paper was imported specifically for the Lasso choir-books now at the Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, since such large sheets were apparently unavailable locally, although at some later time they became available from the Oesterreicher mill at Kaufbeuren.

² Mošin, Anchor Watermarks, p. xxxi.

³ LaRue, "Watermarks," 122.

show the fluidity and clarity of a professional scribe, in others amateurish scribbles, which nevertheless might preserve an important and uniquely significant repertory. The amateur is more likely to grab⁴ a piece of paper which had been around for several years. He, and the professional, may also up-date their commonplace books over a lifetime.

The state of watermark research presents additional problems. Although Briquet's pioneering dictionary of watermarks has had numerous voluminous sequels providing tens of thousands of⁵ watermark tracings for comparison, it is still difficult to locate an exact match of a watermark. The moulds containing the wires that formed the watermark were repaired frequently (a phenomenon of considerable value if the exact mark can be matched with one on a dated document, of course). It is my experience with the marks examined in the Herwarth manuscripts, and in other lute

4

Some of the musical examples for this dissertation were copied last week on paper purchased 25 years ago, and conversely some other musical examples were themselves copied 15 years ago.

5

Many are cited below and in LaRue's article. Gerhard Piccard is now publishing a significant new series, Die Wasserzeichenkarterei Piccard im Hauptstaatsarchiv Stuttgart, and important research is being carried on by Theo Gerardy. Important for Fabriano papers, which were merchandised widely, is Labarre, ed., Zonghi's Watermarks, as is Mosin, Anchor Watermarks. Briquet's Les filigranes is, of course, the standard work.

manuscripts, that a thorough search of available watermark dictionaries most usually provides similar, but not exact matches. The same design may identify the papers of a mill for over a century, providing opportunities for watermark collectors (it must be a fascinating hobby) to publish whole books devoted to variants of a single mark. The path is littered, therefore, with possible pitfalls. In two instances I located very similar marks that suggested dates that were patently impossible: one an Italian mark corresponding to one of about 1490, and the other a German mark of about 1625.

Watermark evidence coupled with other information may, however, provide a hint that points the way to important conclusions. This is especially true with a heterogeneous group of fascicles such as those in the Herwarth manuscripts, music for lute, since marks can suggest a place of origin and provide a convenient means of sorting. It is best, therefore, to proceed with a survey of the various papers and scribes associated with each, beginning with

6

Bavarian papers and working outwards geographically. Matters of date, specific scribal features and evidence provided by concordances, may then be considered.

6

Bavarian watermarks frequently indicate the grade of paper. The prices below, for Memminger papers in 1628, provides a guide for earlier Bavarian papers, which use similar marks to show grade.

Grades of papers:

Regalpapier per ream:	7 fl -- kr
Medianpapier " "	: 5 fl -- kr
P-Papier " "	: 3 fl -- kr
Schildtlinpapier	: 1 fl 48 kr
geringste Sorte	: 1 fl 20 kr

[von Hossle, 1926, Heft 15, 225.]

The papermiller Oesterreicher, active in Kaufbeuren and Augsburg, delivered in 1529 23 reams of paper of three grades for 79 fl 1 pfd 15 p, the single price per grade not being given. At an average price of 3 fl 33 pfd per ream, paper prices seem to have remained fairly stable at about 3 and one-half florins per ream, although this discounts the tremendous inflation in Europe during this same period.

Most Bavarian papers seem to have come in grades identified with an oxenhead, "P" or shield, with an attached sign indicating the mill (often being drawn from the arms of the city in which the mill was located). Sometimes similar marks would identify a given papermill's product for several centuries. In the 17th century it was usual for the owner to add his initials to the mill's traditional mark. Thus (given the more substantial information about 17th-century owners), it is possible to trace a mark backwards into the 16th century with some certainty, even when the meaning of the particular mark is obscure: for example, if the mark lacks positive indication of origin, such as the use of a city shield.

We will have occasion to observe a number of grades of paper from the same mill. For some of the sketches that survive in the Munich lute manuscripts, rather inexpensive papers were used, and although not an infallible guide, may have some bearing on the intended purpose of the music copied thereon. Oxen-head papers appear to have been seldom used for lute manuscripts, and I have encountered them only in Wrocław, Ms 352, and in the Herwarth Liederbuch in the Augsburg Staats- und Stadtsbibliothek.

AUGSBURG PAPERS

Watermarks 3AB and 9AB reproduce the insigne of the
city of Augsburg.⁷ For over four hundred years Augsburg papers
have carried the city coat of arms, a pine cone resting on a base.
Eight papermills were active in Augsburg during the 15th and 16th
centuries, and appear to have been older than those in Kempten.
They may have been founded as early as 1449.⁸ Paper manufacture
there appears to have been prompted by the several book printers
who were so active that three even founded their own mills. Mills
were established on the Sinkel River, near Oedenhausen and "vor
roten Tor."

Active on the Sinkel was the book-publisher Anton Sorg
(fl. after 1475; publisher after 1492). His successor was Hans
Oesterreicher, who also managed a papermill in Kaufbeuren (see
Watermark 16 and 32). This is probably the mill where the papers
discussed here were manufactured. Oesterreicher purchased the mill

⁷
REPRODUCTIONS of the watermarks appear at the end of this
chapter. Another version of watermarks 3AB and 9AB also appears in Mus
Ms 270, passim, (Watermark No. 86).

⁸
Friedrich von Hössle covers Augsburg papermills in
Der Papier-Fabrikant (1926), Heft 8, 117-19, Heft 9, 126-8, Heft
11, 155-7. Hössle's is the most extensive coverage of Bavarian
papers, although his emphasis is more on the mills and their
proprietors than their watermarks. His studies were published in
Der Papier-Fabrikant between 1924 and 1932 in various issues.
There is a table of contents to his studies, which is useful in
locating specifics, in Heft 32 for 1932, pages 502-3. I have
consulted the bound volume of the articles, with von Hössle's
corrections, in the Handschriftensammlung of the Bavarian State
Library. A photocopy of that volume is available at Duke Uni-
versity.

in Kaufbeuren for himself, his son Caspar and his heirs. It appears that Hans remained in Augsburg until his death around 1528. His widow managed the mill with another son, until about 1541 when it was purchased by Jörg Lang, who heads a family known in Bavarian paper manufacture until 1800. The mill was purchased around 1598 by the printer Michael Mayr, with whom Ulrich Herwarth was associated.

Also on the Sinkel was a small papermill that was little used until about 1520, when it was sold with the condition that it would never again be used as a papermill--perhaps in an attempt to⁹ quash competition with the Oesterreichers.

The Watermark 9AB (pine cone within shield) is identical¹⁰ to Einender, No. 1837, "German, 1550."

Watermark 3AB (pine cone within a shield) is close to Briquet's No. 2112 (Carinthia, 1542), with similar varieties on¹¹ documents from Augsburg, 1548-55. It is also similar to Einender's No. 1836, "German, 1548," and to a letter dated Munich,

⁹

Von Hössle, Heft 9, 126.

¹⁰

Einender, The Ancient Paper-mills, and von Hössle, Heft 11, (1926).

¹¹

Also see Labarre, Nostitz, pp. 44-45, and Watermark No. 86.

1567, in the Libri antiquitatem in the Munich Staatsarchiv.¹²

Watermarks using the Cross of St. Anthony are also from Augsburg, since both the cross and pine cone appear together in Briquet's No. 2121. In Mus Ms 1511c, Nos. 1-12, and Paris I, and Mus Ms 266, Nos. 142-147, the paper is used for printed six-line staves, a matter to which we shall return. The marks are closest to Briquet's No. 8823 (Augsburg, 1544-59), and to the mark in a¹³ letter dated Augsburg, 1569.

Watermarks 1AB and 4AB likewise represent the Cross of St. Anthony. No. 1 resembles Briquet's No. 9001, which he located in Augsburg documents of 1544, with similar varieties in documents a bit later, from Augsburg (1547-66), Graz (1550), Eichstätt (1546-49) and Dresden (1543). Watermark No. 12AB is identical to that on an undated¹⁴ horoscope for Johann Georg Herwarth. No. 4AB has chainlines the same distance apart as Briquet's No. 9002, used in Augsburg documents, 1565-66.

Watermark No. 86 (Cross of St. Anthony above the letter "P") appears also in paper used for a letter dated Augsburg, 1569. It identifies a better grade of paper from the same mill.

Watermark No.	Ms. & No.	Scribe	Representative Contents
3A: Pinecone within shield	266:121	C 1	Fantasia on Vater unser, dated 1568

¹² II, fol. 34.

¹³ Libri antiquitatem, III, fol. 88.

¹⁴ Cod. bav. 608, fols. 448 and 463.

3B: (ditto)	266:126-127	C 1	Fantasia, Arcadelt chanson
9A: (ditto)	266:150-152	D	Passamezzo
9B: (ditto)	2986:1-2	D	Lasso chanson in tablature & mensural notation
86: Pinecone within shield above the letter "P"	270: pass.		
1A-C: Cross of St. Anthony within shield	266:1-14	A	Crequillon, Lasso, Rore intabulations; Passamezzo by New- sidler
1A: (ditto)	266:115	BZ	Ricercar
4A: (ditto)	266:134	C2	Ferrabosco madrigal
4B: (ditto)	266:133-136	C2	Crequillon, Arcadelt, Lasso intabulations
12C: (ditto)	Paris I	A	Passamezzos (Newsidler); Lupus, Senfl, Josquin motet intabulations
12A: (ditto)	266:142	BX	Willaert motet
12A: (ditto)	266:143	BC	Fragment added
12AB: (ditto)	266:144-147 madrigal	BX	Dance; Willaert
12AB: (ditto)	1511C:1-12	BX	Gombert, Jachet motets

KEMPTEN PAPERS

The watermark with the letter "K" within a circle probably stems from one of two papermills at Kottern, "1/4 Meilen" south of Kempten on the Iller River. Mills were established there as early

as 1477 by citizens of Kempten, later including Peter Stählein, Moritz Staiger (both fl. 1528) and Martin Mayr (fl. 1573). The latter was from a family active also in Augsburg. He was accused of forging watermarks of the city of Memmingen on his papers. His mark, a demi-eagle and the letter "K" (see Watermark No. 6) resembled that used in Memmingen, a demi-eagle and cross.¹⁵

Watermarks similar to 10A-C date from as early 1520, and were in widespread use between 1555 and 1558, and survived until as late as 1595.¹⁶

I have located marks identical to our Watermark 10A among the papers in the Libri antiquitatem, namely letters to Marx Fugger, dated Lauffenheim, 1567 and 1569.¹⁷ Also see Briquet, Nos.

15

In 1586 master papermakers and their apprentices from Augsburg, Landsberg, Ronsberg, Kaufbeuren and Kempten met to settle these differences and to "copyright" protected marks for the Bavarian paper trade. The mark of "K" within a shield, surrounded by a double-headed eagle (our Watermark 10AB) was reserved for Kempten papers and the shield with eagle and a cross (see our Watermark No. 6) reverted to the Memmingen mills, the charge against Mayr apparently being the similarity of his demi-eagle mark, e.g., his use of a similar shield and "K" instead of cross (see von Hössle's Mark No. 246). The conference was amiable.

16

Von Hössle, 1926, Heft 14, pp. 209-11. He notes additional instances of forgeries from the Kottern mills of interest to us: from 1565 to 1580 one Hans and Balthasar Hurrenbain of Kottern delivered papers with the striding bear watermark (our Watermark 2, etc.) to the court chancellery at Innsbruck.

17

Libri antiquitatem, II, 164, 336-9 (dated 1567), III, 63 (dated 1569). Other examples of the "K" within a circle appear in volume II, fol. 110, 114, 136 and 139 (letters dated Augsburg, 1563), and the demi-eagle with letter "K, in *ibid.*, 336 and 344 (also in letters from Augsburg.) It seems, therefore, that Kempten papers were much used in Augsburg.

8262-5, all of a similar size. Briquet, No. 8263 has chainlines the same distance as Watermark 10C, which Briquet found in papers¹⁸ dated Augsburg, 1566.

Watermark No. 6 (the letter "K" within a double-headed eagle) represents the shield of the city of Kempten. This mark¹⁹ originates at a mill at Hynwang, active from 1515 to 1836. It is identical with the mark in letters from Marx Fugger to Albrecht V, dated Augsburg, 1566, and is similar to the mark in papers from²⁰ Johann Fugger to Albrecht, dated Augsburg, 1556.

Watermark and Description	Ms. & Item	Scribe	Representative Contents
10A: "K" within circle	266:137; 139-41	C2	Lasso, Pathie chansons; Hofhaimer Lied
10C: (ditto)	266:124-125 madrigals	C2	Arcadelt, Rore
6: Double-headed eagle with letter "K"	266:123	C1	Lupus motet

KAUFBEUREN PAPERS

Watermark No. 8 represents the arms of the city of Kaufbeuren, and was used in papers manufactured there between 1520 and 1839.

¹⁸

Briquet discusses Kempten papers, vol. III, 445.

¹⁹

See Labarre, Nostitz: No. 83, No. 239-40, and p. 54, and von Hössle, VIII, No. 248.

²⁰

Libri antiquitatem, II, fols. 148, 159 and 168 (Marx Fugger), *ibid.*, III, fols. 2-25 (Johann Fugger).

Briquet (No.1008) located variant forms widely in nearly one hundred documents from Munich, Prague, Wiener-Neustadt, Graz and Laibach dated between 1533 and 1603. The owners of the mill were Hansen Oesterreicher and his son Caspar from Augsburg, who ran the mill from 1520 until it was sold to Caspar Zeller in 1584.²¹

Watermark No. 8 is almost identical to that in a letter dated Offenburg, July 1568, in the Libri antiquitatem, II, 387, but is also very similar to a mark that von Hössle dates about 1531.²² Since Hand D is also known to have copied pieces on paper bearing our Watermark 9AB, which dates perhaps from the 1540s or 1550s, it seems that a date midway between 1542 and 1568 is more probable.

Another, larger form of the watermark, appears in the sheets used in the Lasso choirbooks, Mus Ms 2750. It is reproduced on the plate of Kaufbeuren watermarks.

Watermarks Nos. 16 and 32 (Reichsapfel) identify other papers from Kaufbeuren.²³ The symbol, the Reichsapfel, also appears on coins minted there in the 16th century.

21

Zeller also owned a paper mill in Augsburg. That mill provided the paper used for the Hainhofer Lute Book, now in Wolfenbüttel, MS Guelf 18.7/8. (See the watermark reproduced in the list of manuscripts in the section of Concordances.) The mill was apparently a large one, since Zeller employed as many as 14 journeymen.

22

Von Hössle, Heft 16 (1926), 239.

23

Von Hössle, Heft 16, (1926), 238-39.

No. 16B very closely approximates von Hössle's No. 270, which he dates 1530. Briquet also found it in early papers from Bavaria, (No. 9897) and Augsburg and Memmingen, 1526-41 (No. 9898). Watermark 32 is the upper portion of a "P" grade paper from the same mill.

Watermark and Description	Ms. & Item	Scribe	Representative Contents
8: Stars within shield separated by bar	266:149	D	Lasso chanson
8: (ditto)	Paris II	various	
16AB: (ditto)	266:103-4	BC	untitled pieces
32: Reichsapfel with- in shield above "P"	1511C:13-14	BX	Gombert motet

LANDSBERG AM LECH PAPERS

Watermark 15 represents the arms of the city of Landsberg am Lech, where a mill was founded around 1520. P-, Adler-, and Ochsenkopf-Papiere were manufactured there. An H. Wagner bought the mill in 1586, and added his initials to the mark, so our mark dates from before then. Briquet located it in Vienna (1535), with similar varieties in documents from Bavaria (1535-42), Vienna (1536-48), Augsburg (1540-59), Landsberg (1557), Salzburg (1561-72), and Brussels (1549), that is, in widespread locations during the 1540s and 1550s.

Watermarks similar to our Nos. 73A-D seem to have been in use from 1566 to 1600, but, in Briquet (No. 1242), the chain lines are closer together than in our Watermark 73A-D. Briquet located his mark in documents at Vienna (1566), with similar varieties at Eichstaedt, Lüneburg, Augsburg (1584), and Salzburg, (1573-97). This is not, as Briquet believes, a mark for a mill at

Braunau am Inn (now in Austria).

Watermark and Description	Ms. & Item	Scribe	Representative Contents
73A-D: Cross above hills	1627: 13-15	V	Lasso motet; German dance by Newsidler (Ger. tabl.)
15: Cross above hills within circled shield	266:170	N	Josquin motet (German tabl.)

MEMMINGEN PAPERS

Watermark 11, a shield, demi-eagle and cross parted per pale, represents the arms of the city of Memmingen, near Augsburg, where a paper-mill was erected in 1478. The mark appears on
 25
 Memmingen papers until about 1620. Briquet, Nos. 935-40, show
 26
 various forms of the mark, with his 936 and 938 approximating our Watermarks 11C and 11A.

I have located the same watermark in the Libri antiquitatem

24

For information about the papermill at Braunau, with a few reproductions of watermarks (the arms, for example, are different for Braunau), see Mitterwieser, "Die alten Papiermuehlen von Landshut und Braunau."

25

See Labarre, Nostitz page 59, and his Nos. 270-71.

26

Briquet, No. 936, has chain lines the same distance apart, and has the same general configuration as our No. 11B. He dates his No. 936 around 1542 and found it in documents in the Memmingen Archive and from Spire. Briquet, No. 938, is almost identical with our No. 11A. He located it in documents from Pressburg dated 1567. His "similar varieties" appear in papers used for documents from Vienna, 1570-77, Styria, 1570, and from Memmingen, 1582.

of the Munich archives, as follows:

Watermark 11A is identical to the one in a letter from Marcus Fugger to Albrecht V, dated Augsburg, 1566.

Watermark 11B, to one in a letter from Anton Meuting to Albrecht, dated Augsburg, 1569.

Watermark 11C, to letters from Meuting to Albrecht V, dated Augsburg, 1564 and 1568.

It is of some interest that a form of Watermark 11 was used in the paper for Melchior Newsidler's letter to Albrecht V, dated Augsburg, 23 December 1577.

Watermarks 7AB are discussed and reproduced in the de Rippe chapter, and date around 1563.

Watermark and Description	Ms. & Item	Scribe	Representative Contents
7AB: Letter "M"	266:105-113	BC	de Rippe fantasias
11A-B: Cross and demi-eagle within shield	266:128-130	C1	Ivo de Vento, Lasso Lieder; Sandrin chanson
11A: (ditto)	266:131-133	C1	Hofhaimer Lieder; Newsidler fantasia
11C: (ditto)	266:119-20	C1	Willaert, Sermisy chansons
11C: (ditto)	266:118	BZ	untitled

MUNICH PAPERS

The mark, described either as candelabra, a bee hive or a salt cellar, represents the coat-of-arms of the Poetscher family

of Munich and is used on papers manufactured at a mill on the Au River near Munich. It appears in papers used for the presentation copy of Gorzanis's collection of passamezzo/saltarello pairs that extend through all keys. The manuscript is dated 1567, and there is no reason to doubt that that was its time of copying.²⁸

Watermark and Description	Ms. & Item	Representative Contents
100: Salt Cellar	1511A: pass.	Gorzanis Book; dated 1567

SCHOBENHAUSEN PAPERS

Watermarks 5 represent the arms of Schobenhausen, between Augsburg and Ingolstadt, and probably is a mark from the mill of the Lang papermakers, who were active elsewhere as well. Briquet found it all over the place between the years 1540 and 1608: Eichstadt, Jena, Augsburg, Innsbruck, Berlin, Wolfenbüttel, and even in Russia. The chain lines are closest in No. 5 to Briquet's No. 2239, which he dates 1553.²⁹

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For information on the Poetscher papermill, see Labarre, Nostitz, pp. 60-61, and his watermarks Nos. 277-78, and especially von Hössle, who discusses the papermill in some considerable detail in the "rest-Heft" (1930) issue of Der Papier-Fabrikant, 60-62, and in Heft 21 (1924), 232-37.

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Von Hössle discusses the Schobenhausen mills in Heft 26 (1924), 294-5. My second mark is from the ducal ex-libris, dated 1618, in Mus ms 268. It well shows how a mark may deteriorate. (The second mark is not from the same mould, however, since the chain lines are different.)

Watermark and Description	Ms. & Item	Scribe	Representative Contents
5: Cock's head above grid within shield	266:122	C1	Anon. chanson

BERNAISE PAPERS

These papers are discussed in detail in the chapter on the Marco dall'Aquila Fascicle, where they are also reproduced.

Watermark and Description	Ms. & Item	Scribe	Representative Contents
2AB: Bear, striding	266:15-100	H	Marco dall'Aquila
2AB: (ditto)	266:114a	H	Fragment
2AB: (ditto)	266:114b	BY	Untitled
2AB: (ditto)	266:148	BX	La Fage motet
2C: (ditto)	266:153-155	F	Janequin, Crecquillon chansons; German Lied
41AB: (ditto)	2987:1-9		Janequin, Sandrin chansons intabulated for keyboard

ITALIAN PAPERS

Church

The watermark of a church (or three hills) with cross and a countermark "CB" all appear, according to Briquet's Nos. 11912-11914, in papers dated Padua, 1515 through 1552. My Nos. 14A/13A have different chainlines, but the countermark is otherwise the same as Briquet, No. 11914, dated Padua, 1552. I have been unable to find a match for my No. 55, but perhaps it, too, dates from mid-century. The figures given by Zonghi have crossed lines, not the outline, to represent the cross. His date from 1398 to 1493.

14A/13A: Cross above hills within circle, counter- mark "P3" below trefoil	266:161-166	K	Arcadelt, Festa madrigals, Crec- quillon chan- sons intabulated by Pacolini
14BC: Cross above hills within circle	266:156-159	L	Sermisy chansons intabulated by A. R[otta?]
14BC: (ditto)	266:160	BC	Untitled (Added to pieces co- pied by Scribe L.)
73A-D: (ditto)	1627:13-15	V	Lasso motet; German dance by Newsidler
55/13B (ditto)	1511D:21-23	K	Italian dances

Cardinal's Hat

All watermarks of a hat are Italian. The chain lines of my No. 30A match those of Briquet, Nos. 3410 and 3415, and the chainlines and countermark match Briquet's No. 3477 (Padua, 1547), and are similar to Eineder, No. 1703 (Venice, 1543). Similar paper with countermark "PC" is used in Francesco da Milano prints by Gardano, 1546 and 1547. Briquet located similiar varieties of his No. 3477 in Graz (1534), Vicenza (1551), Padua (1553) and Udine (1563-65).

30AB: Hat with countermark "P3" below trefoil	1511C:17	S	Richafort motet
30AB: (ditto)	1511C:18-20	BC	Sermisy, Rocquelay chansons (added to pieces copied by scribe S.)

Angel

The watermark of an angel in circle with countermark "B" is probably another Fabriano paper. The chainlines and design of my No. 31AB approximate the size of Briquet, No. 645, which he located in Vicenza (1535).

31AB: Angel within circle with countermark "3" or "B"	1511C:15-16	R	Mouton, Jachet motets
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Italian Anchor Papers

Watermarks representing an anchor within a circle below a fleur-de-lis or star are very common in Italian papers. The most extensive survey of the mark appears in Mosin's dictionary. Various distinctions may be made, particularly if the anchor has a single or double shank. The single-shank mark (of which there are none in the Munich lute manuscripts) indicates a Venetian paper, whereas the double shank, usually a Fabriano paper, especially when accompanied by a countermark of trefoil above "C 3," "P 3," or "C B," etc. (Mosin distinguishes between "PB" and "P3," although they seem to be the same countermark deteriorated.) All of the anchor watermarks in the Munich lute manuscripts have the double shank, many with the countermark.

No. 57 is close to Zonghi's No. 1590 (1516), No. 1588 (1511), No. 1589 (1516), and No. 1598 (1549), and nearly identical to Mosin's No. 702 (dated 1523).

Nos. 62A and 62B bear close resemblances to several marks in Mosin's dictionary:

No. 62A to Mosin's No. 661 (1510) 1514 (=Briquet's No. 481, which he found in documents at Arnoldstein, Ljubljana and Treviso.), No. 695 (1515/1520), and Nos. 712 (1525), 713 (1525), 715 (1524=Zonghi's No. 1592), No. 719 (1524) and 738 (1531). The closest in size are Nos. 712, 713, 715 and 719 and 738; No. 62A is nearly identical to Mosin's No. 695.

No. 62B bears close resemblance to Mosin's No. 700 (Lucca, 1522) and Briquet's No. 492 (Provence, 1536). A later date seems most probable, perhaps those of Mosin's Nos. 738 (1531) and 695 (1515/1520) and Briquet's No. 492 (1536). The content of intabulations of Josquin, Senfl and Consilium motets copied onto this paper is consistent with such an early date.

No. 71 is very close to Mosin's No. 745, especially 71A, which he dates 1539/46 and found in documents at Prague. It is the same as Briquet No. 762 (Prague, 1538/43, Ljubljana, 1534), similar to Briquet's No. 495 (Lucca and Narbonne, 1539/46). No. 71AB is close in size to Zonghi's No. 1600 (1552).

57: Anchor within circle below star	1511D:12-13	J	Sermisy chansons
57: (ditto)	1511D:14	BC	Josquin chanson
62AB: (ditto)	267:2-7	O	Josquin, Senfl, Consilium motets
71/72: (ditto) interleaved with Crossbow with fleur-de-lis	1627:1-12	A	Lasso, Appenzeller intabulations; fantasia (Newsidler)

Crossbow Papers

Zonghi's Nos. 526-33 all date 1549 and are the same size in terms of circle, ratchet handle, spacing of fleur-de-lis above the circle and the mark's relationship with the chainlines.

Nos. 53AB = Zonghi No. 536
 Nos. 64 is nearly identical to his No. 532
 No. 72AB is close to his No. 528 (both have no string on the bow); 72A is the closer of the two.

The crossbows with fleur-de-lis given by Briquet are quite different in size and relationship to chainlines, and in his the bow is superimposed over the stock of the weapon. He provides provenances of Florence, Lucca, Prague, Carinthia, and Udine, 1523 to 1544, suggesting the appropriateness of the relationship with the later form given by Zonghi.

53AB: Crossbow with fleur-de-lis	1511D:5-7	K	Janequin, Certon chansons
53AB: (ditto)	1511D:8-10	BC	Sermisy chansons intabulated by B[ernardo] N. (Added later)
53AB: (ditto)	1511D:19-20	J	Ricercar (Francesco da Milano); dance

64: (ditto)	267:8-16	BC	Sketches
64: (ditto)	267:17-21	BC	La Fage motet intabulated by Rotta; L'Hé- tier, Janequin, Berchem chansons
67: (ditto)	267:29-30	BC	Sketches and Ricercar "a Herwarth"
68: (ditto)	267:31-34	BC	Anon. chansons
72: (ditto)	1627:31-34	BC	(See Anchor mark)

SPEAR PAPERS

Zonghi dates numerous watermarks of crossed spears with a star between 1512 and 1566 (see his Nos. 1218-47). My No. 67 is nearly identical to Zonghi No. 1226 (1542), and No. 52, to his No. 1225 (also dated 1542). The chainlines of No. 51 are the same as Briquet, No. 6293 (Florence, 1511-19), but this date seems much too early.

51: Spears, crossed, with fleur-de-lis	1511D:17-18	U	Italian Dances
51: (ditto)	1511D:15-16	BA	Dances by Rosso, Gregorio
68: (ditto)	267: 11-16	BC	Sketches
67/68: Spears, crossed with fleur-de-lis, inter- leaved with crossed spears with star	267:35	J	Richafort motet
67/68: (ditto)	267:36	BC	fragments
52: Spears, crossed, with star	1511D:1-4	T	Sermisy chansons

Crown Papers

These papers are Italian, not French; the fleur-de-lis is used prominently in Italian papers. The chainlines of my No. 69 match those of Briquet's No. 4844, which he dates Lucca, 1580. He also located the mark (his No. 4843) in Reggio d'Emilia, 1578 and 1581, and (his No. 4845) in Syracuse, 1580. These dates are very late for any item in the Herwarth lute manuscripts (but he did make book purchases in Germany in 1581, near the end of his life). The contents of the section seem to argue strongly against such a late date for this paper. The pieces, copied by an Italian hand, include a Passereau chanson ("Bel et bon," which enjoyed street-song popularity in Venice around 1530), and a Tromboncino frottola, which I believe may have been intabulated by Marco dall'Aquila, since it uses ornamentation in his style.

69: Crown with fleur-de-lis	267:37-40	F	Tromboncino frottola, Passereau chanson
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Goat

The watermark, No. 87, the face of a goat, resembles in size and chainlines, Zonghi's No. 462 (dated 1532). It is found in the paper used for Mus ms 1511B, the manuscript of Venetian dances. An appropriate date seems 1532.

FRENCH PAPERS

The watermark of a hand with the letter "F" matches the chainlines of Briquet's No. 11042 (Toulouse, 1561). Other similar marks appear in southern French papers between 1538 and 1546 (see Briquet's No. 11038). Gerhard Piccard writes (letter of September 1968) that the mark was in general use from 1555 to 1560. These papers were manufactured in the south-west of France and exported through Bordeaux to the Lowlands, Brittany, Normandy, Westphalia, Hamburg, Bremen and Lübeck. The chainlines and general size of my No. 74A match Briquet's No. 11042 (Toulouse, 1561). No. 74B has chain lines and size that match Briquet, No. 11038 (Rodez, 1529, Toulouse, 1538-42).

Because watermarks consisting of letters seem usually to be of French origin in the 16th century, I have included the watermark with the letters "SF" here. I have been otherwise unable to identify the mark; it is late, however (perhaps of the 1580s).

74AB: Hand with "F" below	1627:16-31	P	French dances; non Papa, D'Ambert, Isore, Sandrin chansons; de Silva, Richafort motets
81: Letters "SF"	267:1	X	Hans von Metz:

PAPERS WITHOUT WATERMARKS

Ms. & No.	Scribe	Contents
2987:37-38	A	Lupi chanson; Festa madrigal intabulated by M. N[ewsidler]
266:101-102	BC	Marco ricercar, chanson intabulation
266:152	F	Pathie chanson (corrections by scribe C2)
266:167-169	J	Janequin chanson, Italian dances
267:22	O	Josquin motet (German tablature)
267:23-28	P	Mornable, non Papa, Le Hugier chansons
267:41-42	Q	untitled
2987:10	XX	Crequillon chanson (German tablature in score)
2987:11-36	BB	Sermisy, Janequin chansons; French dances (French tablature)

The above may be summarized by scribe and papers. I have arranged the following lists by geographical area, and then by approximate date of watermark. The city indicates the place of manufacture of the paper, not where it was used. The final column shows when similar papers were used in other documents. (The dates are, of course, only approximate, and we will later want to modify some, according to evidence of concordances.) An asterisk before the date indicates a match of the mark with a dated document. The word "dated" here cites dates given in the lute manuscript itself.

(1) Scribes working mostly with Bavarian papers:

Scribe	Paper	Watermark	Ms. & No.	Approximate dates according to Watermark
N	Landsberg	15	266:170	1540s or 50s (?); *Briquet, 1535
D	Augsburg	9A	266:150-151a	ca. 1550
D	Augsburg	9B	2986:1-2	ca. 1550
D	Kaufbeuren	8	266:149	ca. 1555
A	Augsburg	12C	Paris I	1560s(?)
A	Augsburg	1A-C	266:1-14	ca. 1550/1560s (?)
A	Italian	71/72	1627:1-12	ca. 1546-1552 dtd. 1572 (!)
Various Kaufbeuren		8	Paris II	ca. 1560
C 1	Memmingen	11AB	266:119-120	*1566/69
C 1	Memmingen	11AB	266:128	*1566/69
C 1	Memmingen	11A	266:129-30	*1566/69
C 1	Memmingen	11A	266:131-33	*1566/69
C 1	Augsburg	3A	266:121	Dated 1568; paper: ca. 1567
C 1	Augsburg	3B	266:126-127	
C 1	Schobenhausen	5	266:122	ca. 1553 (??)
C 1	Kempton	6	266:123a-b	*1566 (Augsburg)

C 2	Augsburg	4AB	266:134-136	ca. 1565-66
C 2	Kempton	10C	266:124-125	*1566 (Augsburg)
C 2	Kempton	10A	266:137	*1567/69 (Augsburg)
C 2	Kempton	10A	266:139-141	*1567/69 (Augsburg)
Q	[no watermark]		267:41-42	Pieces for a beginner
V	Landsberg	73A-D	1627:13-15	Dated 1574
BA	Augsburg	12AB	266:143	ca. 1526-41 (?)
BC	Memmingen	7AB	266:105-113	de Rippe fascicle: ca. 1563
BC	Augsburg	9A	266:151b	Added to pieces copied by Scribe D
BC	Kaufbeuren	16AB	266:103-104	ca. 1526-41
BX	[no watermark]		1511D:11	Printed staves
BX	Augsburg	12AB	266:142	Added to pieces copied by Scribe BA
BX	Augsburg	12AB	266:144-47	(ditto)
BX	Augsburg	12AB	1511C:1-12	Sketches
BX	Kaufbeuren	32	1511C:13-14	Sketches (date unknown)
BY	[no watermark]		266:117	More sketches
BZ	[no watermark]		1511D:24-25	Dedicated "Dem er- samen weisen hans"
BZ	Augsburg	1A	266:115	1550s (?)
BZ	Memmingen	11C	266:118	Added to pieces copied by Scribe C 1
XX	[no watermark]		2987:10	German tablature in score

(2) Scribes working mostly with Bernaise papers:

H	Bernaise	2AB	266:15-100	ca. 1536-39
H	Bernaise	2A	266:114a	
HA	[no watermark]		266:101-102	Marco pieces
BX	Bernaise	2AB	266:148	Formerly part of Marco fascicle
BY	Bernaise	2AB	266:114b	Formerly part of Marco fascicle
BBa	Bernaise	41AB	2987:1-9	Keyboard tablature (unidentified)

(3) Scribes working mostly with Italian papers:

Scribe	Paper	Watermark	Ms. & No.	Remarks
R	Italian	31AB	1511C:15-16	according to Briquet, X1535, Vicenza.
HB	Italian	goat	1511B, pass.	ca. 1532
O	Italian (!)	62AB	267:2-7	German tablature: 1524-36 (?)
T	Italian	52	1511D:1-4	ca. 1542: Francesco da Milano
U	Italian	51	1511D:17-18	ca. 1542
BA	Italian	51	1511D:15-16	Additions to pieces copied Scribe U
S	Italian	30AB	1511C:17	ca. 1543-47
F	Bernaise	2C	266:153-155	Italian Scribe (unidentified mark)
F	Italian	69	267:37-40	ca. 1545-50
F	[no watermark]		266:152	Corrections by Scribe C 2

J	[no watermark]		266:167-169	Venetian dances
J	Italian	53AB	1511D:19-20	ca. 1549
J	Italian	67/68	267:35	ca. 1542
J	Italian	57	1511D:12-13	1523 (?); 1549
K	Italian	53AB	1511D:5-7	ca. 1549
K	Italian	14A	266:161-166	ca. 1552, Padua: (Pacolini)
K	Italian	55	1511D:21-23	Dances (ca. 1550?)
L	Italian	148C	266:156-159	ca. 1552, Padua: (Rotta)
BC	Italian	148C	266:160	Added to pieces copied by Scribe L
BC	Italian	64	267:8-11	Sketches; after 1549
BC	Italian	64	267:17-21	Rotta: after 1549
BC	Italian	67/68	267:34	Sketches
BC	Italian	67/68	267:29-31a	Ricercar "a Herwarth"
BC	Italian	30AB	1511C:18-20	Added to pieces copied by Scribe S
BC	Italian	67/68	267:31b-33	Sketches
BC	Italian	67/68	267:36	Added to pieces copied by Scribe J
BC	Italian	64, 68	267:11-16	ca. 1542-49 (?)
BC	Italian	57	1511D:14	Added to pieces copied by Scribe J
BC	Italian	53AB	1511D:8-10	Added to pieces copied by Scribe J
BX	[no watermark]		1511D:11	Printed staves

(4) Scribes working mostly with French papers:

Scribe	Paper	Watermark	Ms. & No.	Remarks
BB	[French?]		2987:11-36	(French tablature; early)
P	[fragment]		267:23-28	
P	French	74AB	1627:16-31	ca. 1555-1560
X	French (?)	81	267:1	Gassenhawer (unidentified)

Scribes BA, BB, BC, BX, BY, BZ

The thorniest problem in the Herwarth lute manuscripts concerns the series of hands which I have labelled Scribes BA, BB, BZ, etc. These related hands permeate many of the fascicles. The scribe has often defaced what was a beautifully copied bifolium by scribbling in a piece, here and there. Like a graffiti artist, he seems hardly able to resist the temptation of a blank space. Since these series of hands sometimes make references to Hans Heinrich Herwarth, the additions may assist in determining which of the manuscripts may have been in his possession.³⁰

In some cases, the paleographical style is similar to the scribe of the Marco Fascicle, Scribe H. I am not convinced, however, that the B series of hands are the work of the same person as the scribe of the Marco fascicle. Scribe H was an ex-

30

As we have seen, in his inventory of the Herwarth collection Pommer describes a bundle of lute tablatures of little worth, "Kinderwerke," as he calls them. This description does not pass with some of the fascicles included in Mus ms 266, et al., which contain what would have been in 1586 an up-to-date repertory, copied carefully on rather expensive grades of paper. Pommer might very well place little value upon a bundle of defaced tablatures, and as we shall see, many of the fascicles with additions by the B series of hands also contain an older repertory from the first half of the 16th century. Thus the sorting may assist in determining which fascicles may have reached the ducal library independently.

perienced copyist, perhaps a professional one, whereas the B series of hands represent amateur toil.

Scribe B worked as Nebenschreiber in the following fascicles:
31

Ms. & Item	Haupt- schreiber	Neben- schreiber	Paper/Approx. Date of Watermark
266:114B	H	BY	Swiss/ca. 1539
266:148	H	BX	Swiss/ca. 1539
1511D:15-16	U	BA	Italian/ca. 1542
1511C:18-20	S	BC	Italian/ca. 1543-47
1511D:8-10	J	BC	Italian/ca. 1549
1511D:14	J	BC	Italian/ca. 1549
267:36	J	BC	Italian/ca. 1542
266:160	L	BC	Italian (Padua)/ca. 1552
266:142	BX	BA	Bavarian/ca. 1544-49
266:151bis	D	BC	Bavarian/ca. 1550
1511A	--	BY	Bavarian (Munich)/ after 1567: Ricer- cars added to fols. 49, 51, 55-6: Gor- zanis Book (1567)
266:118	C1	BZ	Bavarian/ca. 1566
266:143	BA	BZ	Bavarian/ca. 1541 (?)

In addition this series of hands was responsible as Haupt-
schreiber for the following:
32

31

The terminology Haupt- and Nebenschreiber in the Munich manuscripts is sometimes confused, as I have pointed out above. A Nebenschreiber, as I shall use the term here, is one who adds to folios or staves left blank by the first scribe, be it a fragment added to a bifolio containing a piece copied earlier by another, or a piece added to a folio containing an earlier fragment. A Hauptschreiber is one who uses a fresh piece of manuscript paper. Clear terminology is necessary to understand layers of hand and relationships among this very complex body of material.

32

There is only one other Nebenschreiber in the Munich lute manuscripts. Scribe C2 added corrections to pieces copied by Scribe F in Mus Ms 266, No. 152. Scribe F was working with papers dated ca. 1545-1550.

Scribe	Paper	Watermark	Ms. & No.	Remarks
BA	[no watermark]		1511D:24-25	Dedicated "Dem er-samen weisen hans"
BC	Italian	64	267:8-11	Sketches
BC	Italian	64	267:17-21	attr. to Antonio Rotta
BC	Italian	67	267:34	Sketches
BC	Italian	66;29-30	267:29-31a	Ricercar "a Herwarth"
BC	Italian	66	267:31b-33	Sketches
BC	Landsberg	16AB	266:103-104	Untitled pieces
BX	[no watermark]		1511D:11	Printed staves
BX	Augsburg	12AB	266:144-47	Willlaert intabulation
BX	Augsburg	12AB	1511C:1-12	Sketches
BX	Landsberg	32	1511C:13-14	Sketches
BY	[no watermark]		266:117	Sketches
BY	Memmingen	7AB	266:105-113	de Rippe fascicle
BC	Italian	64, 68	267:11-16	Fragments
BZ	Augsburg	1A	266:115	M. Newsidler
BB/a	Bernaïse		2987:1-9	Keyboard tablature

The scribal features illustrated in PLATES I and II may assist in distinguishing the various states of the hand, and their proximity in style to Scribe H of the Marco fascicle.

Facsimile pages of all of the scribes, or states of one or two scribes, are given at the end of this chapter.

Only BC uses Finis Indication (12), or (14)

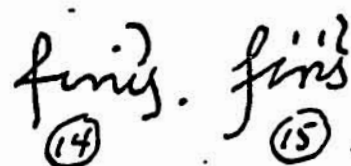
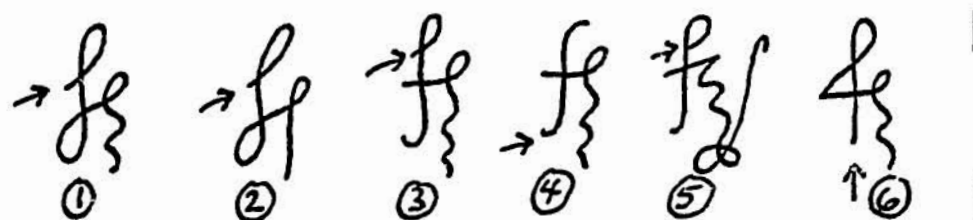
"P" or "R" (1) [= ?1, 2 & 3]
Two (4)

Only BX uses Eight (2) [upright]
Note Shape I (12), (3) or (4)

Only BY uses Eight (1) [upright, from right]
Five (1)
Note Shape I (1) and (2)

Only BZ uses Note Shape I (9)
Six (4)

FINIS INDICATIONS



"Ps" AND "Rs"

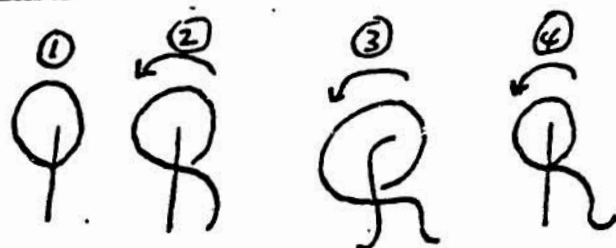











PLATE II




TWOS


 (1)
 
 (2)
 
 (3)
 
 (4)
 
 (5)
 
 (6)





THREES


 (1)
 
 (2)
 
 (3)




FIVES


 (1)
 
 (2)
 
 (3)



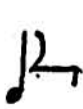
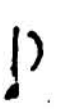



SIXES


 (1)
 
 (2)
 
 (3)
 
 (4)

EIGHTS









 (1)
 
 (2)
 
 (3)

NOTE TYPE I


 (1)
 
 (2)
 
 (3)
 
 (4)
 
 (5)
 
 (6)
 
 (7)


 (8)
 
 (9)
 
 (10)
 
 (11)
 
 (12)

NOTE TYPE II


 1
 
 2
 
 3
 
 4
 
 5
 
 6
 
 7

Only H uses Finis Indication (10)
 Note Shape II (7)
 "R" or "P" (5) [=4, 5, 6 & 7?]
 Two (2)

Only HA uses Finis Indication (1)

A few features are shared by the various states of the hand. For example, both BC and BA use the Finis Indication (11), Note Shapes I (2) and the "R" (7). BC and BB both use Finis Indication (2).

BC shares these features with others:

 BC and H use Finis Indication (3) or (6), and Note Shape I (2)

 BC and BB both use Finis Indication (2)

 BC and HA use Finis Indication (11), a rather distinct one that is sometimes used to mark the beginning of a piece.

 BC and BY use Note Shape I (1)

 BC and BZ use Finis Indication (5) and (9), "P" or "R" (7), and Note Shape II (5).

BA shares these features with others:

 BA and H use Finis Indications (3) and (6), and Note Style I (2)

 BA and BZ use Three (3), Six (1) and "P" or "R" (7).

If more than one scribe is present in these pages, then such features as the "8" and the "R" might be pivotal. One type starts the pen-stroke from the right, the other, from the left. These features seem unlikely to change, even over a lifetime.

The proportions of the staff lines on the page (coupled with the watermark) may also be of assistance in separating the series of B hands, as well as associating them with the work of other scribes. In the following list, the first figure gives the height of the staffliner in centimeters, and the second, the distance between staves for all papers in the Munich manuscripts.

Staff/ Distance	Hand	Ms. & No.	Paper	Watermark
1.5/0.8	BC	267: 8-21	Italian	(WM 64)
1.5/1.1	BY	266: 105-13	Memmingen	(WM 7A)
1.5/1.1	K	1511D: 5-7	Padua	(WM 53AB)
1.5/1.5	K	266: 161	Padua	(WM 53AB)
1.5/1.5	F	266: 152	[no WM]	
1.6/1.1	BZ	266: 113	Augsburg	(WM 7A)
1.6/1.1	BZ	266: 115	Augsburg	(WM 1A)
1.6/1.1	A	266: 1-12	Augsburg	(WM 1A-C)
1.6/1.3	C 2	266: 124-5	Augsburg	(WM 10C)
1.6/0.8	C 2	266: 134	Augsburg	(WM 4AB)
1.6/0.8-1.1	U	1511C: 18-20	Italian	(WM 30)
1.6/0.9	BY	267: 11-16	Italian	(WM 64)
1.7/1.0	C 2	266: 137	Augsburg	(WM 10C)
1.7/1.1	C 2	266: 139-4	Augsburg	(WM 10AB)
1.7/1.1	C 1	266: 119-20	Augsburg	(WM 11C)
1.7/1.1	C 1	266: 123	Augsburg	(WM 6)
1.7/1.1	C 1	266: 131-3	Augsburg	(WM 11A)
1.7/1.1	BC	266: 103	Kaufbeuren	(WM 16AB)
1.7/1.1	S	1511C: 17	Italian	(WM 30)
1.7/1.2	BY	266: 116-17	[no WM]	
1.7/1.3	C 2	266: 121	Augsburg	(WM 3A)
1.7/1.5	BX	266: 142; 144-7	PRINTED: Augsburg	
1.7/1.5	BX	1511C: 1-14	PRINTED: Augsburg	
1.7/1.5	A	Paris I	PRINTED: Augsburg	
1.7/1.5	J	1511D: 19-20	Italian	(WM 53AB)
1.7/1.5	BB	2987: 1-36	5-line staff	
1.7/1.7	A	2987: 37-8	[none: Newsidler]	
1.8/1.3	L	266: 156-60	Italian	(WM 14BC)
1.8/1.5	C 2	266: 138	[none]	
1.9/0.9	H	266: 15-100	Bernaïse	(WM 2AD)
1.9/0.9	BA	1511D: 15	[no WM]	
1.9/1.2	BA	266: 114	Bernaïse	(WM 2C)
1.9/1.4	S	1511D: 12-13	Italian	(WM 57)
1.9/1.5	J	266: 167-9	[no WM]	
1.9/1.5	A	1627: 1-12	Italian (!)	(WM 71AB) [dtd. 1572]
1.9/1.5	BX	1511D: 11	[no WM: PRINTED STAVES]	
1.9/1.5	K	1511D: 21-3	Italian	(WM 55)
1.9/1.5	BA?	1511D: 15	Italian	(WM 51)
2.0/0.9	P	1627: 16-31	French	(WM 74)
2.1/1.7	F	266: 153-4	[no WM]	

Hand-drawn	D	266: 149-51	Augsburg	(WM 8/9A)
Hand-drawn	D	2986: 1-2	Augsburg	(WM 9B)
Hand-drawn	R	1511C: 15-16	Italian	(WM 31AB)
Hand-drawn	BX	266: 148	[no WM]	

German Tablatures

2.8 (German)	U	1627: 13-15	(the lines are in red ink)
3.2 (German)	N	266: 170	(WM 15A)
3.8 (German)	O	267: 2-7	(WM 62/63)
3.8 (German)	Q	267: 22	

A complete list of pieces copied by the scribes is given in the Concordances. For the series of B hands, these include:

(Mus Ms 266)

The de Rippe Fascicle (Scribe BY)

A Newsidler Ricercar (Scribe BZ)

Fragments and sketches for a piece reminiscent of Francesco's Ricercar No. 76

"Le vecchie" in both simple and embellished intabulations (see TRANSCRIPTION No. 136), and a Willaert madrigal, similarly treated (Hand BX).

"Elisabeth Zachariae" (La Fage) copied from Barberis' tablature of 1548.

(Mus Ms 1511A: the Gorzanis Book)

Ricercars added by Hand BZ to folios 34, 36v, 37 and 37v.

(Mus Ms 267)

Fols. 26-33v: Intabulation of another La Fage motet attributed to Antonio Rotta, and fragments and sketches for an ornamented version of Janequin's "Chant des oiseaux." (Hand BC)

Fols. 40-49: Sketches for several ricercars:

- (1) Parody on Francesco da Milano, No. 42
(hereafter FdaM 42)
- (2) Parody on Francesco da Milano, No. 24
(hereafter FdaM 24)
- (3) An apparently original ricercar
(hereafter HHH)

The items are strewn about the folios, as follows:

- (fol. 40) [at end:] Recercata a Joan Henrico Herwart
[HHH]
(fol. 40v) [fragment; cf. 266, No. 15 and 35; Francesco da Milano, No. 45]
(fol. 41) [untitled; continuation from fol. 43v]
[unidentified fragments]
(fol. 42) [untitled: Ung laboureur]
L'aultre iour ie vis p[ar] ung matyn
(fol. 42v) [unidentified intabulation]
(fol. 43) [untitled; continuations of HHH; FdaM 42;
more HHH; fragments]
(fol. 43v) [continuations of HHH, FdaM 24]
33
(fol. 44) [FdaM 42 and HHH continued from fol. 45v
[the bifolio was laid out flat]]
(fol. 44v) [FdaM 24; some lines continue onto folio 45
[the bifolio was laid out flat]]
(fol. 45) [fragments and continuations from 44v]
(fol. 45v) [HHH and FdaM 42 (continue onto fol. 44)]
(fol. 46-47v) Richafort motet copied by SCRIBE J
(fol. 47v) [Later copy of FdaM 42]
(fol. 48) [FdaM 42]
(fol. 48v) [FdaM 24; untitled piece, the "Recercata a
Joan," earlier version)] See PLATE III.
(fol. 49) [Inserts for FdaM 24] See PLATE III, bottom.

These pieces are derived from the following (in addition to concordances in printed sources):

(1) Parody of Francesco da Milano, No. 42

(See TRANSCRIPTION No. 133. The piece is assembled with insertions from the margin and facing pages. I show these with the original signs indicating the insertions in the transcription. The result is typical parody procedure. The *ricercar* quotes passages directly

33

On folio 44v the word "Gut" appears in what seems to be the "Marginalia Hand" of Paris II.

PLATE III

48v

Handwritten musical score for Plate III, folio 48v. The page contains six systems of music, each with multiple staves. The notation is dense, featuring many accidentals (sharps, flats, naturals) and complex rhythmic markings. Some staves have a treble clef, while others have a different clef. The ink is dark and the handwriting is cursive.

7

49r

Handwritten musical score for Plate III, folio 49r. The page contains three systems of music. The notation continues from the previous folio, with similar density of accidentals and rhythmic markings. The staves are arranged in a similar fashion to the previous page.

from the Francesco model, departs from them, and then returns to the model in alternation, providing a musical "gloss" [glosa] on the original. I have marked the Francesco quotations on the transcription.)

Francesco da Milano, Intabolatura, Book III (Venice: Gardano, 1547), sig. E2: Fantasia

The Hague, "Siena Lute Book," fol. 18: "F.M." Cf. the untitled piece on folio 18v (transcribed in the Francesco edition, Appendix, No. 2.) Still another piece with a similar beginning is on fol. 19, also untitled)

Mus Ms 1511D, fol. 16: Un rechercar de 4. tono [this appears to be the version followed by the "composer" of the parody]

Paris II, fol. 86 [41]: Recercata

(2) Parody of Francesco da Milano, No. 24

(See TRANSCRIPTION No. 134. It, too, undergoes several successive revisions, shown A, B, and C in the transcription. In contrast to the previous work, after the initial quotation, there are few references back to Francesco's model. The beginning of the Francesco fantasia appears again in Paris II, No. 35, in a different hand where small crosses indicate that it is to lead directly into the following passamezzo antico in galliard rhythm (No. 36; the title has been trimmed away, and what is visible is illegible). The cadence of the fantasia is resolved into the galliard, which, in turn, is followed by a second dance in the same tonality. This is a rare instance in which a fantasia (albeit, just a few measures) directly precedes the piece it was intended to preface; it is the only one known to me that elides with a following

34
piece.

Compare, Francesco edition, No. 13, first published in the Naples, Sultzbach print of 1536, and copied into Paris II, fol. 89v, as "Recercata."

Compare, also, a third higher, the Attaignant prelude that appears on folio 17 of "The Siena Lute Book."

(3) Recercata a Joanne Henrico Herwart

(See TRANSCRIPTION No. 135.) The work appears in two versions.

It is a very amateurish composition, and seems almost at its beginning to be a continuation. But since its two versions begin with the same phrase, one must assume that it does begin as shown.

The sketches are, on the whole, a messy remnant, and the results, albeit, amateurish, are still far below the usual level of 16th-century lute music.

HAND BX is responsible for a major part of Mus Ms 1511C.

34

The other possibility is that the "fantasia" is actually a pavane or passamezzo in this set of dances, although it has no repeat signs. Perhaps the lutenist simply jotted down the essential thematic ideas of a piece with which he was familiar. (The fantasia does not use the passamezzo antico bass outright, although there are extended passages where the bass notes may be superimposed onto the fantasia.) Murray Bradshaw, The Origin, has shown that some toccatas are built over a psalm tone, which is never sounded outright, but serves to provide thematic references in the imitative sections and to provide silent tonal underpinning for the "toccata" sections. Perhaps the same holds here, as well.

This consists of an intabulation of Gombert's motet "Audi filia" in a simple version, and then a version, "more finelien handeled," as Le Roy's English gentleman would say, with divisions that seem to re-write the polyphony of the original. The simple version is perhaps an original intabulation, since on folio 3v a particularly difficult passage is worked out in score form (see PLATE BX). The other intabulation is of Jachet's motet, "Aspice domine," appearing as No. 16 (copied by Hand R) in a simple intabulation, with the ornamented version by Hand BX.

Is the B series of hands the work of Hans Heinrich Herwarth? A definitive answer cannot be provided at this time. The references to him always seem to be dedicatory, e.g., "Ricercar CARO a H. HE," "Recercata a Joanne Henrico Herwart," "Dem ersamen weisen Hans." Could they be in the hand of his lutenist? Certainly Herwarth was wealthy enough to patronize a whole private capelle, and probably did so. Was it Newsidler? Definitely not, since he was a much better composer, and seems to have been in the employ of the Fuggers, in any event. Another possibility is that it may have been Ulrich Herwarth. He is the dedicatee of the Gorzanis manuscript of passamezzo/saltarello pairs in all keys, Mus ms 1511A, into which Hand BY has added pieces. But Ulrich had many associations with Lyons, and I would expect to find more Lyonnaise papers and music among the manuscripts related by Haupt- and Neben-schreiber.

x x x x

I would like to discuss the remaining scribes, turning to each in the assigned alphabetical order. Since the Concordances (which are also arranged by scribe) contain detailed information, the sources and their content are mentioned here only briefly.

SCRIBE A

Sources: (1) Paris I; (2) 266:1-2; (3) 1627:1-12
Watermarks: (1) Augsburg, 1560s, with printed staves; (2) Augsburg, 1560s; (3) Italian, ca. 1546-52
Stafflines: (1) Printed: see below; (2) 1.4/1.1; (3) 1.9/1.5
(These same proportions are used in staffliners used by Scribes G, J, K, BA and BX.)

The fascicles copied by Scribe A, whom I believe is Melchior Newsidler, are covered in Chapter V.

The printed staff paper is also used by Scribe BX in Mus Mss 266 and 1511C. It is designed to be folded into a quarto volume, since the sheets allow space between the top and bottom four staves. (See PLATE BX.) The staves were printed from slugs of moveable type and have the following dimensions:

Staff: 1.7 cm.
Distance between staves in upper and lower halves: 1.3 cm.
Distance between top line of top staff and bottom line of bottom staff: 20.5 cm.
Length of staff: 15.7 cm.

This may be some of the earliest printed staff paper.

PLATE A

14

The image shows a handwritten musical score on ten staves. The notation includes various musical symbols such as notes, rests, and dynamic markings (e.g., *f*, *fz*). The score is written in a historical style, likely from a manuscript. At the bottom of the page, the text "Fine" and "Vng. Jarr. S." is written, indicating the end of the piece and the scribe's name.

Scribe A:

Mus Ms 266, No. 13

SCRIBES BA, BC, BY, BX AND BZ

These fascicles are discussed in the section above. The hands frequently appear as Nebenschreiber, and since these hands are associated with pieces by, or dedicated to, Hans Heinrich Herwarth, their presence serves to pinpoint fascicles that may have come from his library. In the following sections, I have indicated all additions by Nebenschreiber.

PLATE BA (1)



SCRIBE BA:

Mus Ms 1511d, No. 15

Handwritten musical score on ten staves. The notation includes various musical symbols such as notes, rests, and clefs. The score is written in a cursive, handwritten style. The first staff is labeled "Soprano" and the second staff is labeled "Alto". The third staff is labeled "Tenor" and the fourth staff is labeled "Bass". The fifth staff is labeled "Violin" and the sixth staff is labeled "Viola". The seventh staff is labeled "Cello" and the eighth staff is labeled "Double Bass". The ninth staff is labeled "Piano" and the tenth staff is labeled "Conductor". The score is written in a cursive, handwritten style. The first staff is labeled "Soprano" and the second staff is labeled "Alto". The third staff is labeled "Tenor" and the fourth staff is labeled "Bass". The fifth staff is labeled "Violin" and the sixth staff is labeled "Viola". The seventh staff is labeled "Cello" and the eighth staff is labeled "Double Bass". The ninth staff is labeled "Piano" and the tenth staff is labeled "Conductor".

740

No. 13

Scribe BA:
Mus Ms 267, No. 13

PLATE BX (1)

principio

The image shows ten staves of handwritten musical notation. The notation is dense and appears to be a transcription of a musical score. Above the staves are several vertical strokes and slurs, some labeled with 'p' for piano. The notation includes various notes, rests, and fingerings. The first staff is marked with 'principio' and a large 'p'.

SCRIBE BX:

Mus Ms 266, No. 142

PLATE BX (2)



SCRIBE BX:

Mus Ms 1511c, fol. 3v

(printed staves)

PLATE BY

114

The image displays a handwritten musical score on ten staves. The notation is dense and includes various musical symbols such as notes, rests, and bar lines. The score is organized into measures, with some measures containing multiple notes or rests. The handwriting is in black ink on a light-colored background. The number '114' is written at the top center of the page, above the first staff. The score appears to be a single melodic line, possibly for a voice or a single instrument.

SCRIBE BY:

Mus Ms 266, No. 114B

PLATE BZ



SCRIBE BZ: Mus Ms 266, No. 113

SCRIBE BB

Sources: 2987: 11-36 (French tablature)
Watermarks: none
Staffliner: five-line staves, 1.7/1.5

This curious fascicle may be of French provenance, and its contents early. (It should be noted, however, that French tablature was used in at least one early Italian tablature, and that, conversely, Italian was the usual system in southern France.)

A careful examination of variant readings in the vocal models which served for the several intabulations might provide evidence for the fascicle's origin, if (for example) the intabulations followed versions published in Lyons, rather than, say, Paris.

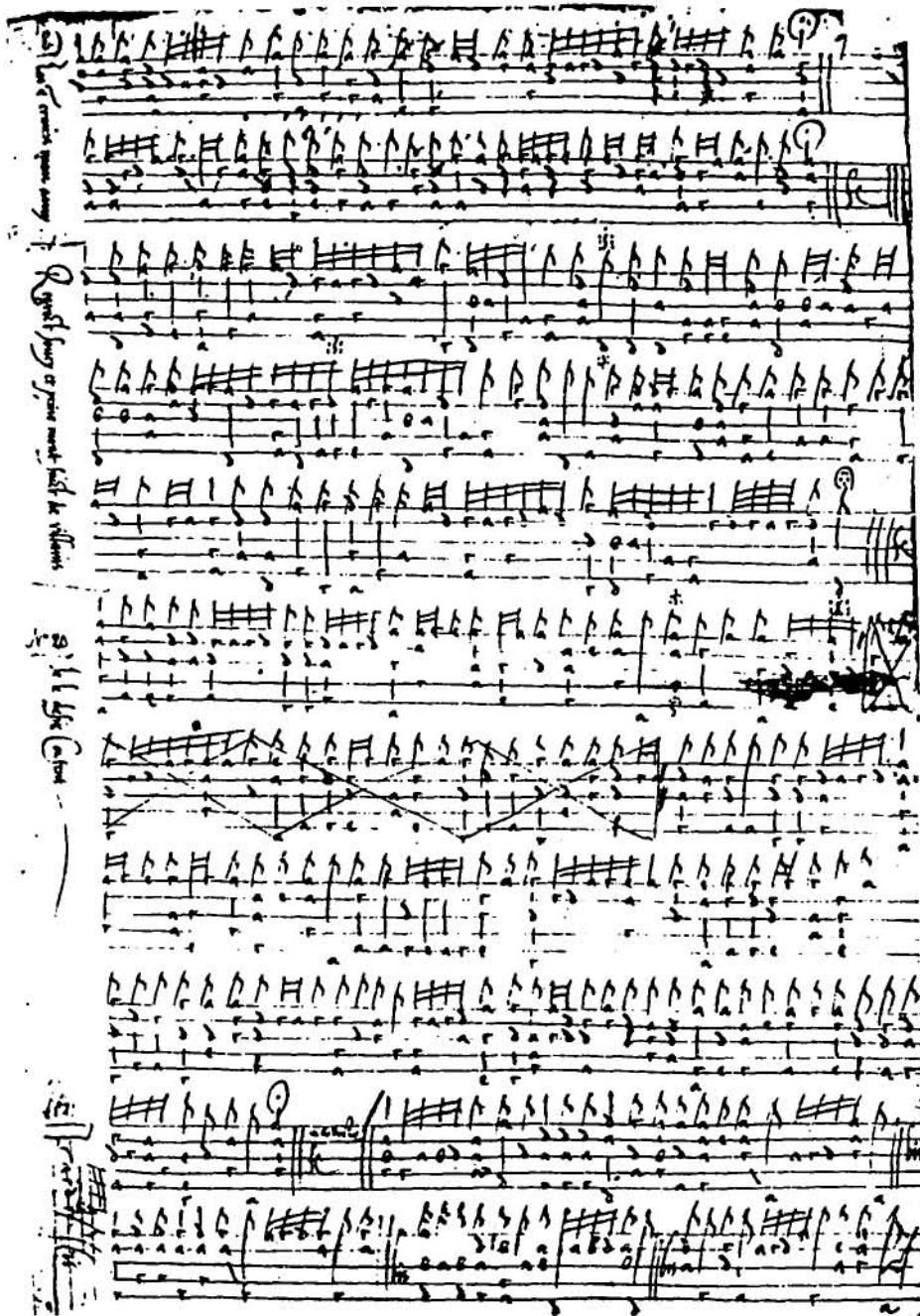
I have located no direct concordances for the versions of intabulations and dances contained in this fascicle, except for the three pieces: Nos. 14-16 appears as Items 18-20 in Mus Ms 1511C, copied by Nebenschrieber BC, who added them to a fascicle by Scribe S. The intabulation of Sermisy's "Au pres de vous" and the anonymous one published by Phalèse (BrownI 1545/3, No. 37), take as a point of departure Sermisy's three-voice, rather than four-voice, setting of the chanson. They are not, however, the same intabulation, since they employ different tunings.

The pieces are copied on inexpensive paper which has begun to deteriorate, although its texture is similar to that used for the keyboard pieces in this manuscript. Several pieces intabulate only the lower voices of a chanson, being intended apparently for voice and lute: "Ung peu plus hault" (Passereau), "Las, que crainis tu, amy" (Sermisy), and the apparent accompaniments

without the principal melody for the "Hispania," and possibly other dances.

The latter are especially strange, if one reads the rhythms literally, since patterns of fives sometimes result. They are so unusually short that many appear transcribed completely in the Thematic Index.

PLATE BB



Scribe BB:

Mus Ms 2987, No. 18-30

SCRIBES C 1 AND C 2

These two hands have very similar scribal styles, but since both use paper of approximately the same date, it seems unlikely that we are dealing with two states of the same hand. They may be distinguished by the formation of the numeral "2," one is an Italian two, the other German. The gatherings were originally confused in Maier's arrangement of Mus Ms 266. I have commented upon them, above in Chapter I. They may not yet be in satisfactory order, since the two hands and the different papers are mixed. The pieces were copied as sheet music, most consisting of a bifolium (notice the blank pages):

	Folio	Hand	Water- mark	Staffliner	Title/Key
— —	81	C 1	11C	1.7/1.1	[blank, 81v:]Jouis- sance (Willaert)/ (g)
— —	82				Jouissance (Sermisy)/ (g)
	(Nebenscrreiber BZ has added a Borrono fantasia to bifolium 81/82)				
— —	83	C 1		1.7/1.3	Fantasia: "auffs Vater unser"/ (dated 1568) (d)
— —	84		3A		
— —	85	C 1	5A	1.7/1.1	[blank, 85v:] chanson/ (d)
— —	86				
— —	87	C 1		1.7/1.1	Lasso motet/ (G)
— —	88		6		
— —	89	C 2		1.7/1.2	Arcadelt madrigal/ (F)
— —	90		10C		Rore madrigal/(F)

91	C 1	3B	1.7/1.4	Fantasia/ (F)
92	C 1	3B	1.7/1.3	[blank, fol 92v:] Arcadelt madrigal/ (G)
93				
94	C 1		1.6/1.2	[blank, 94v:] Sandrin chanson/ (d)
95	C 1	11B		(cont.)
96	C 1		1.7/1.3	[blank, 96v:] Lasso Lied (a)
97	C 1	11A		de Vento Lied/(g)
98	C 1	11A	1.7/1.3	Hofhaimer Lied/ (g) 98v: Fantasia/ (g)
99	C 1	11A	1.7/1.3	Newsidler fantasia/ (D)
100				(blank)
101				(blank)
102	C 2	4B	1.6/0.8	Ferabosco madrigal/(d)
103	C 2		1.6/0.8	Crecquillon chanson/ (Bb)
104	C 2	4A	1.6/1.0	Arcadelt chanson/(F)
105	C 2	10B	1.7/1.0	Lasso chanson/ (F)
106	C 2	none	1.8/1.5	German dance/ (g)
107	C 2		1.7/1.1	Borrone fantasia/ 107v: blank, no staves (g)
108	C 2	10B	1.7/1.1	Hofhaimer Lied/(G) 108v: Pathie chanson (cont.) (G)
109				
110		10A		(blank)
111				(blank)
112		10A		(blank; no staves)

PLATE C 1 (1)



Scribe C1:

Mus Ms 266, No. 118-119
(w/additions by Scribe BZ)

PLATE C 1 (2)



SCRIBE C1:
Mus Ms 266, No. 138a

PLATE C 2

Handwritten musical score for "Sinner's Salvation" by J. W. Johnson. The score is written on ten staves, featuring a treble and bass clef, a key signature of one flat (B-flat), and a 2/4 time signature. The music is composed of eighth and sixteenth notes, with various rests and accidentals. The title "Sinner's Salvation" is written in a decorative font at the bottom right. The number "90" is written in the top right corner.

SCRIBE C2: Mus Ms 266, No. 125

Univerſo Calpurnio
Eximio de vobis -

I would suggest the more appropriate order given below. In this listing I have incorporated some of the more important concordances. The sign "=" ("equals") indicates exact concordances. The sign "<" ("is greater than") shows concordances which have encrustations of ornamentation, and ">" ("is less than"), those concordances with less encrustations. The phenomenon of a lutenist taking an existing intabulation and added embellishments to the existing ornamentation is discussed in some detail in Chapter V, the "Newsidler Fascicle."

Abbreviations used in the final column are made up of the lutenist's name and the date of the publication in which the concordance appears ("unique," as used here, means that an intabulation does not exist elsewhere at all, even in an ornamented, or less ornamented version based on the same original intabulation):

PPB36 = Pietro Paulo Borrono (1536) HN36 = Hans Newsidler (1536)
 MN66 = Melchior Newsidler (1566) Jo72 = Bernhard Jobin (1572)
 MN74 = Melchior Newsidler (1574) Kar86 = Sixt Kargel (1586)
 598 = Berlin, Mus Ms 40598 No. = a concordance elsewhere in Mus Ms 266

HAND C 2

No.	Fols.	Titles	Keys	Water marks	Liner	Concordances
134	102	Ferabosco: Madrigal	(d)	WM 4B	1.6/0.8	>No.11
135	103/4	Crecquillon and	(Bb)	WM 4A	1.6/0.8	unique
136		Arcadelt chansons	(F)			>No. 7 <MN66 [266, No. 7 <MN66]
139	107/10	Borrono: Fantasia	(g)	WM 10A	1.7/1.1	=1536: PPB
140	108/9	Hofhaimer: Lied	(G)	WM 10B	1.7/1.1	unique
141		Pathie: Chanson	(G)			<MN74 >No. 152
137	105	Lasso: chanson	(F)	WM 10B	1.7/1.0	<No. 6 >MN66 [266, No. 6 >MN66]

124	89/90	Arcadelt and	(F)	WM 10C	1.6/1.3	unique
125		Rore madrigals	(F)			<MN74: [1627, No. 11 <MN74]

138	106	Ich gieng einmal	(g)	[no WM]	1.8/1.5	<MN74
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* The last piece appears to be copied in a different state of SCRIBE C 2

HAND C 1

128	94/5	Sandrin chanson	(d)	WM 11B	1.6/1.2	<598
127	92/3	Arcadelt madrigal	(G)	WM 3B	1.7/1.3	<MN74
121	83/84	Vater unser fantasia	(d)	WM 3B	1.7/1.3	unique
126	91	Fantasia ["ubiquitous"]	(F)	WM 3B	1.7/1.3	unique

131	98/101	Hofhaimer Lied	(g)	WM 11A	1.7/1.1	>HN36
132		Fantasia	(g)			unique
129	96/7	Lasso and	(a)	WM 11A	1.7/1.3	<MN74
130		de Vento Lieder	(g)			unique
133	99/100	Newsidler fantasia	(D)	WM 11A	1.7/1.3	=MN74

122	85/6	Anon. chanson	(d)	WM 5A	1.7/1.1	#Kar86
123	87/8	Lasso motet	(G)	WM 6	1.7/1.1	<Kar86
119	81/82	Willaert and	(g)	WM 11C	1.7/1.1	unique
120		Sermisy chansons	(g)			unique

Thematic materials similar to this anonymous chanson appear as a fantasia in Kargel's publication.

It is entirely possible that these papers were lined using a grid, and thus may have come from a professional scriptorium, or at least a paper merchant providing pre-lined papers. The distinctions I am drawing are not fortuitous. The distance between the staves and the size of the rastrel may be as important a tool as watermarks in dating and sorting manuscripts. Italian rastrels seem to have come in very small and very large sizes (see the list above), and the size of rastrel appears to have changed (at different times, perhaps) in the pieces copied Scribes C 1 and C 2.

The youngest hand is probably Scribe C 1 since most of the pieces copied by him turn up in versions with encrusted ornamentation in Melchior Newsidler's 1574 print, rather than the 1566 print and the tablatures copied by Scribe A. This group, which uses a rastrel 1.7 centimeters high, seems to have been drawn on a grid that placed the staves uniformly 1.3 centimeters apart. Watermarks 3B and 11A appear in the papers, and the unique fantasia on "Vater unser" carries the date [15]68:

[WM 3B]

- No. 121: Fantasia on "Vater unser" [unique]
- No. 126: Fantasia [unique]
- No. 127: Quand'io penso al martire (Arcadelt) [MN 1574, No. 17]

[WM 11A]

- No. 129: Wo Gott der herr nicht bey uns hielt (Lasso)
[MN 1574, No. 28]
- No. 131: Troestlicher Liebe (Hofhaimer) [MN 1574, No. 26]
- No. 133: Fantasia (Melchior Newsidler) [MN 1574, No. 45]

Related, perhaps, to this group by Scribe C 1, are the following copied by Scribe C 2, also with a 1.7 rastrel, but spaced 1.1 centimeters apart:

[WM 6 and 5A]

- No. 123: In te domine (Lasso) [Kargel, 1586, No. 7]
- No. 122: The anonymous chanson, "Ung Coeurs" [Idem., as Fantasia, No. 5]

Certainly earlier are the pieces copied by Scribe C 2 on papers ruled with a 1.6 cm rastrel and 1.0 or 0.8 grid. Many of these pieces turn up with further encrustations of ornamentation in Newsidler's 1566 print and in Mus Ms 266, Nos. 1-12 (The "Newsidler Fascicle"), which also uses a 1.6 rastrel and a 1.1 grid. (For comparative transcriptions of these intabulations with encrusted ornamentation, see TRANSCRIPTION 142B-C.) Also belonging with this group are those with a

1.7 rastrel and 1.0 grid. In this case a model for the pieces copied by Scribe C 2 may be found in the Newsidler fascicle of Ms 266:

[WM 4AB]

No. 136: *Suspirs ardans* (Arcadelt) [266, No. 7, which serves as model for MN 1566, No. 10]

No. 134: *Io mi son giovinett'e* (Ferabosco) [266, No. ii which serves as model for MN 1566, I, No. 15; see TRANSCRIPTION No. 142C]

The case is different for No. 137, copied on paper lined with a 1.7 cm rastrel and 1.0 grid. Here (see TRANSCRIPTION No. 142B), each serves, in turn, as model for encrustations of ornamentation:

[WM 10B]

No. 137: *Vray dieu* (Lasso) [model for 266, No. 6, = MN 1566, I, No. 15, with encrustations of embellishment; See TRANSCRIPTION No. 142B]

The original source for many of these may have been Italy. No. 125 seems to be the model for Ms 1627, No. 11, "Anchor che col partire," which in turn is the model for MN 1574, No. 21. Ms 1627, Nos. 1-12 are copied on Italian paper (WM 71AB) with a 1.9 rastrel and 1.5 grid. These large-sized rastrels seem to have been used in Italy. (See the table arranged by rastrel sizes, above.) Likewise No. 152, "D'Amours me plains," is copied by the Italianate Scribe F, who elsewhere uses Italian and Bernaise papers (there is no watermark on the paper used for No. 152). It is a model for No. 141 (Scribe C2, 1.7/1.0 staff and grid, WM 10B), which in turn is the model for MN 1574, No. 12.

SCRIBE D

Sources: (1) 266: 149; 266: 150-151a; 2986: 1-2
Watermarks: (1) and (3), Augsburg, ca. 1550; (2) Kaufbeuren,
ca. 1555
Staffliner: all staves are hand-drawn

Mus Ms 2987 contains an intabulation of Lasso's "Hélas quel jour," with (on the facing page) the same piece scored in mensural notation. The mensural notation, which also appears to have been copied by Hand D, bears many resemblances to a hand encountered in Mus Ms 1503D. The present intabulation has a number of similarities with the intabulation attributed to Jehan du Liège in Berlin, Mus ms 40032, p. 87, where it appears, however, with much more ornamentation. No. 149 is related to Newsidler's "Susanna."

SCRIBE E non est

PLATE D (1)



SCRIBE D:

Mus Ms 2986, No. 1

PLATE D (2)



SCRIBE D:
Mus Ms 2986, No. 2

SCRIBE F

Sources: (1) 266: 153-155; (2) 267: 37-40; (3) 266: 152
Watermarks: (1) Bernaise [unidentified]; (2) Italian, ca.
1545-50; (3) no watermark
Staffliner: (1) 2.1/1.7; (2) 1.5/1.1; (3) 1.5/1.5
Nebenschreiber: Scribe C 2 (corrections)

Scribe F has copied pieces on papers of Italian and Bernaise origins in an elegant Italic hand. The fascicles are, aside from Scribe(s) BA, BB, etc., the only ones to have a Nebenschreiber.

It seems unusual that an Italian hand would be copying No. 153, "Kein Adler in der Welt so schoen." Perhaps he was working in Switzerland, where one of the papers used by him was milled. This melody must have enjoyed considerable popularity, since Crecquillon used it as a tenor in a mass, and Senfl, Jobst von Brandt, and Arnold von Bruck made settings of it. The intabulation is quite unlike any of these, although it uses the same melody.

The Mus Ms 266 fascicle contains an untitled piece in which Scribe F asks (he must have been sending the piece, or why inquire?),

Questa e una canzon francese non so chame lase chia-
mase V[ost]ro s[ub]limita la conosese me faveti di dar mi il
nome essa.

[Prego.] Since he has used inexpensive paper which has deteriorated over the years and the first few measures have broken off, an answer to his query is difficult. The piece is a chanson by either Passereau or Janequin, "Un petit coup." Two other pieces, "De su monsue dei roi," and the intabulation of a piece titled "Je n'ose [estre?] demande" (the setting is not that contained in Attaingnant's publications) are otherwise unknown.

SCRIBE G non est

PLATE. F

25

Handwritten musical score on six staves. The notation includes various notes, rests, and dynamic markings. The text "No. 32" is written vertically on the left side of the staves. The text "Crisp for the mi thompson" is written vertically on the right side of the staves.

SCRIBE P:
Mus Ms 267, No. 37

SCRIBE HA: See Chapter VI, The Marco Fascicle

Handwritten musical score for Scribe HA, Mus Ms 266, No. 101. The score is written on ten staves. The top staff is labeled "No. 101" and the bottom staff is labeled "No. 102". The notation includes various musical symbols such as notes, rests, and clefs. There are some annotations in the right margin, including "Reversal" and "V". The handwriting is in a medieval style.

Scribe HA:

Mus Ms 266, No. 101

PLATE H

[illegible]

SCRIBE H: Mas Ms 266, Nos. 50 and 51

SCRIBE J

Scribe J probably represents an early hand among the tablatures. It is responsible for a number of works by Francesco da Milano, copied without barliines (although in some instances a later hand has added them).

PLATE J

Handwritten musical notation on five staves, featuring various notes, rests, and fingerings. The notation is in a historical style, possibly for a lute or similar instrument. The first staff has a '17' in the upper right corner. The second staff has a '18' in the upper right corner. The third staff has a '19' in the upper right corner. The fourth staff has a '20' in the upper right corner. The fifth staff has a '21' in the upper right corner. The notation includes many accidentals and complex rhythmic patterns.

SCRIBE J:

Mus Ms 1511d, No. 19

SCRIBES K AND L

Sources for Scribe K: (1) 1511D: 5-7; (1) 1511D: 21-23; (3) 266: 161-166

Sources for Scribe L: (4) 266: 156-159

Watermarks: (1) Italian (Padua?), ca. 1552; (2) Italian, ca. 1550; (3) Italian, (Padua?), 1552; (4) Italian (Padua?), ca. 1552. Marks (3) and (4) are variants of the same watermark.

Staffliner: (1) and (3), 1.5/1.1; (2) and (4), 1.8/1.3-1.5

Since they may have originated in proximity and share some similarities in paleography and similar (but not identical) watermarks and staffliners, Scribes K and L are discussed together.

Mus ms 266, Nos. 156-160, have original pagination, 1 through 5, in the lower left-hand corners. No. 158, "Languir me fais," is attributed to "A. R.," and if Fascicle II is by the Paduan, Giovanni Pacolini, then a possible candidate for "A.R." would be Antonio Rotta (d. 1549), another citizen of that city.

Although Pacolini's one known print dates from much later than 1552 (not much is known about him), it does contain pieces popular during the early part of the century. Many of his pieces have titles concordant with those in the Venetian keyboard manuscript discussed by Jeppesen and Mus Ms 1511B (see Chapter I), such as "Tu te parti," "Santo Herculo," "Forze de Hercule," "Bernardo non puol stare," etc., all dances that were quite outmoded by the time of Tini's Milan print of 1584, surely a reprint: pieces from it turn up earlier in Phalèse editions published in 1564 and 1591. The fantasia, No. 162, is by Marco dall'Aquila (=Mus Ms 266, No. 23, after the opening measures), and in Pacolini's print is a dance titled in manuscript, "Padoana

PLATE K (1)

Quia Paratone [No 166] *mf. f. 135* 130

The musical score is written on ten staves. Each staff begins with a treble clef and a bass clef. The notation includes various notes, rests, and dynamic markings. The piece is marked 'mf. f. 135' and '130'. The handwriting is in ink on aged paper.

SCRIBE K: Mus Ms. 266, No. 166

PLATE K (2)

Quando jesus al martire No. 161

SCRIBE K: Mus Ms 266, No. 161

PLATE L (1)



No 159

SCRIBE L: Mus Ms 266, No. 158-159

PLATE L (2)

Handwritten musical score on ten staves, organized into two systems of five staves each. The notation includes various musical symbols such as notes, rests, and accidentals. A diagonal line is drawn across the first system. The number "128" is written in the top right corner. The number "N. 158" is written to the right of the middle of the second system. The number "3" is circled in the bottom right corner. The text "Dr. 11/11/11" is written in the middle right area.

della Zoppa," perhaps a reference to the early lutenist Aldarati (known as "Zoppino")?

Some of the pieces copied by these scribes appear to have been popular in Germany. The intabulation of Sermisy's "Il est jour" is copied into the Donaueschingen manuscript and into a manuscript now in Wrocław (Ms 352, part B), and the intabulation of Sermisy's "Languir me fais" appears with additional ornamentation in the anthologies of Gerle (1546) and Waissel (1573). Waissel also used the Passamezzo / padoana / saltarello, adding embellishment. There is no reason to believe that the intabulations were made originally by them, rather than Rotta, since both were heavy borrowers from the music of others. (Waissel admits in his preface that he has simply printed pieces gathered during travels, and his 1573 print includes a unique intabulation by Valentin Bakfark, also a resident of Padua, who died there, much lamented by the university students: they recorded their grief in the minutes of a meeting.)

Other pieces by Rotta, copied by Scribe BC in Mus Ms 267, include an intabulation of a La Fage motet and perhaps a ricercar on "Si mon malheur." If Scribes BC, BY, etc., are identical to Hans Heinrich Herwarth's lutenist, one wonders if he studied at Padua, or visited there. Scribe BC copied on Italian paper that dates about 1549, perhaps a bit late for Herwarth's student days, but the section is devoted to sketches, so he may have been re-working something gathered earlier. The date 1552 fits well with the time of the Schmalkaldian difficulties in Augsburg; perhaps Herwarth and his lutenist travelled during this period, re-visiting Padua, although large purchases of vocal music from Italy do not resume until 1554-55. (The years 1553-54 are represented

with Antwerp and Louvain imprints, as we have seen in Chapter I.)

SCRIBE M non est

SCRIBE N

Source: 266: 170 (German tablature)

Watermarks: Landsberg, 1540s or 50s (? Briquet includes a closely similar watermark, dated 1535.)

The page has horizontal rulings 3.2 cm. apart.

Briquet's date of 1535 for paper with a similar watermark would be entirely possible for an intabulation of a Josquin piece, although a date in the 1540s seems more probable.

Handwritten musical notation on a single page, featuring multiple staves with various musical symbols, including clefs, key signatures (sharps), and rhythmic markings. The notation is dense and appears to be a manuscript or a working draft.

At the top left, there is a circled number "170" and the word "Corno". Below this, the word "Corno" is written again, followed by "De Sordani".

The notation consists of several systems, each with a staff. The staves are filled with various symbols, including sharp signs (#), vertical lines, and numbers. Some of the symbols are repeated, suggesting a specific musical notation system or a shorthand.

At the bottom of the page, the text "Scribe N:" is written, followed by "Mus Ms 266, No. 170".

SCRIBE 0

Sources: 267: 2-7
Watermarks: Italian, ca. 1524-36
Horizontal rules are drawn from 3.2 to 4.3 cm apart.

The paper used in this fascicle, according to watermark evidence, dates around 1536. Such an early date is consistent with the content of Josquin, Senfl and Consilium motets, although the possibility also exists that these might be the motets that Newsidler is said to have published in Venice. According to Fétis (*loc. cit.*), six Josquin motets for six voices intabulated by Newsidler were published in Venice in 1585. This date seems very late for such pieces, and one might speculate that an earlier, more timely edition may have appeared, remnants of which may be lurking in Phalèse's output (e.g., Brown I, 1552/11, Nos. 69 and 83, 1571/6, Nos. 156 and 157). The edition is, however, otherwise unknown.

Perhaps this section preserves pieces from that edition. Although it is in German tablature, the paper is Italian, and there are several concordances with known Newsidler pieces, e.g., Mus Ms 267, No. 3 (= 1574/5, No. 1). and No. 7 (= *ibid.*, No. 3), where they appear with encrustations of ornamentation. The manuscript uses heightened ciphers (to show voice-leading), a type of German lute tablature said to have been an innovation by Ochsenkhun, although his is simply the earliest publication to employ heightened ciphers.

MS. 267, No. 3
 2nd Edition
 containing 5 vols.
 7. 1911

Handwritten musical notation on a single staff, featuring various notes, rests, and bar lines. The notation is dense and includes many accidentals (sharps and flats) and dynamic markings (f, p, mf, etc.). The staff is divided into measures by vertical bar lines. The notation is written in a cursive, handwritten style.

Scribe 0:
 Mus Ms 267, No. 3

SCRIBE P

Sources: (1) 267: 23-28; (2) 1627: 16-31

Watermarks: (1) fragment of a letter; (2) French, ca. 1555-60

Staffliner: (1) five-line rastrel with sixth line drawn in,
1.4/1.3 cm.; (2) 2.0/0.9

The pieces in the Mus Ms 1627 fascicle appear to be dances, rather than intabulations of chansons. All are unique, and even the vocal tunes upon which they are based (such as "C'est une griefue maladie," and "Nicolla mon beau frere") are otherwise unknown. A French watermark suggests that the fascicle may stem from Lyons, where Herwarth had many contacts. The fascicle was in the possession of a German, since comments in that language are added at the end of Mus Ms 1627, No. 27. Scribe BC copied the chanson "Jean de Lagny" into Mus Ms 267.

The scribe frequently writes out mordents, usually considered a feature of German sources (Borrone did use them, however). They seem to have usually been added improvisationally, and perhaps their inclusion here indicates that the tablature was intended for an amateur.

Scribe P:
Mus Ms 267, No. 24

Handwritten musical score on ten staves. The notation includes various musical symbols such as notes, rests, and dynamic markings. The score is written in a cursive, handwritten style. The first staff has a key signature of one sharp (F#) and a time signature of 2/4. The notation is dense and covers most of the page.

SCRIBE Q

Sources: 267: 41-42
Watermarks: none
Staffliner: 1.9/1.3

In this fascicle Maier's pencilled numbers are incorrect. There are two dances, a romanesca and a passamezzo antico, and two ricercars, one by Marco dall'Aquila and the other anonymous.

Theses very simple pieces seem to be intended for a beginner: right-hand fingering dots are carefully indicated, and what may be the "marginalia" hand has named the courses of the lute in Italian ("bass, bord[on], tenor, messana, sotanela, cantus"). He has also jotted some calculations in the corner of the page, from which it might be possible to trace pieces copied by the teacher. The pieces, themselves, although in large ciphers, do not appear to have been copied by a child since the figures are so uniform.

№ 42. ④

Handwritten musical score on five staves. The notation includes various rhythmic values (e.g., 1/2, 1/4, 3/4, 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7, 8, 9, 10, 11, 12, 13, 14, 15, 16, 17, 18, 19, 20, 21, 22, 23, 24, 25, 26, 27, 28, 29, 30, 31, 32, 33, 34, 35, 36, 37, 38, 39, 40, 41, 42, 43, 44, 45, 46, 47, 48, 49, 50, 51, 52, 53, 54, 55, 56, 57, 58, 59, 60, 61, 62, 63, 64, 65, 66, 67, 68, 69, 70, 71, 72, 73, 74, 75, 76, 77, 78, 79, 80, 81, 82, 83, 84, 85, 86, 87, 88, 89, 90, 91, 92, 93, 94, 95, 96, 97, 98, 99, 100, 101, 102, 103, 104, 105, 106, 107, 108, 109, 110, 111, 112, 113, 114, 115, 116, 117, 118, 119, 120, 121, 122, 123, 124, 125, 126, 127, 128, 129, 130, 131, 132, 133, 134, 135, 136, 137, 138, 139, 140, 141, 142, 143, 144, 145, 146, 147, 148, 149, 150, 151, 152, 153, 154, 155, 156, 157, 158, 159, 160, 161, 162, 163, 164, 165, 166, 167, 168, 169, 170, 171, 172, 173, 174, 175, 176, 177, 178, 179, 180, 181, 182, 183, 184, 185, 186, 187, 188, 189, 190, 191, 192, 193, 194, 195, 196, 197, 198, 199, 200, 201, 202, 203, 204, 205, 206, 207, 208, 209, 210, 211, 212, 213, 214, 215, 216, 217, 218, 219, 220, 221, 222, 223, 224, 225, 226, 227, 228, 229, 230, 231, 232, 233, 234, 235, 236, 237, 238, 239, 240, 241, 242, 243, 244, 245, 246, 247, 248, 249, 250, 251, 252, 253, 254, 255, 256, 257, 258, 259, 260, 261, 262, 263, 264, 265, 266, 267, 268, 269, 270, 271, 272, 273, 274, 275, 276, 277, 278, 279, 280, 281, 282, 283, 284, 285, 286, 287, 288, 289, 290, 291, 292, 293, 294, 295, 296, 297, 298, 299, 300, 301, 302, 303, 304, 305, 306, 307, 308, 309, 310, 311, 312, 313, 314, 315, 316, 317, 318, 319, 320, 321, 322, 323, 324, 325, 326, 327, 328, 329, 330, 331, 332, 333, 334, 335, 336, 337, 338, 339, 340, 341, 342, 343, 344, 345, 346, 347, 348, 349, 350, 351, 352, 353, 354, 355, 356, 357, 358, 359, 360, 361, 362, 363, 364, 365, 366, 367, 368, 369, 370, 371, 372, 373, 374, 375, 376, 377, 378, 379, 380, 381, 382, 383, 384, 385, 386, 387, 388, 389, 390, 391, 392, 393, 394, 395, 396, 397, 398, 399, 400, 401, 402, 403, 404, 405, 406, 407, 408, 409, 410, 411, 412, 413, 414, 415, 416, 417, 418, 419, 420, 421, 422, 423, 424, 425, 426, 427, 428, 429, 430, 431, 432, 433, 434, 435, 436, 437, 438, 439, 440, 441, 442, 443, 444, 445, 446, 447, 448, 449, 450, 451, 452, 453, 454, 455, 456, 457, 458, 459, 460, 461, 462, 463, 464, 465, 466, 467, 468, 469, 470, 471, 472, 473, 474, 475, 476, 477, 478, 479, 480, 481, 482, 483, 484, 485, 486, 487, 488, 489, 490, 491, 492, 493, 494, 495, 496, 497, 498, 499, 500, 501, 502, 503, 504, 505, 506, 507, 508, 509, 510, 511, 512, 513, 514, 515, 516, 517, 518, 519, 520, 521, 522, 523, 524, 525, 526, 527, 528, 529, 530, 531, 532, 533, 534, 535, 536, 537, 538, 539, 540, 541, 542, 543, 544, 545, 546, 547, 548, 549, 550, 551, 552, 553, 554, 555, 556, 557, 558, 559, 560, 561, 562, 563, 564, 565, 566, 567, 568, 569, 570, 571, 572, 573, 574, 575, 576, 577, 578, 579, 580, 581, 582, 583, 584, 585, 586, 587, 588, 589, 590, 591, 592, 593, 594, 595, 596, 597, 598, 599, 600, 601, 602, 603, 604, 605, 606, 607, 608, 609, 610, 611, 612, 613, 614, 615, 616, 617, 618, 619, 620, 621, 622, 623, 624, 625, 626, 627, 628, 629, 630, 631, 632, 633, 634, 635, 636, 637, 638, 639, 640, 641, 642, 643, 644, 645, 646, 647, 648, 649, 650, 651, 652, 653, 654, 655, 656, 657, 658, 659, 660, 661, 662, 663, 664, 665, 666, 667, 668, 669, 670, 671, 672, 673, 674, 675, 676, 677, 678, 679, 680, 681, 682, 683, 684, 685, 686, 687, 688, 689, 690, 691, 692, 693, 694, 695, 696, 697, 698, 699, 700, 701, 702, 703, 704, 705, 706, 707, 708, 709, 710, 711, 712, 713, 714, 715, 716, 717, 718, 719, 720, 721, 722, 723, 724, 725, 726, 727, 728, 729, 730, 731, 732, 733, 734, 735, 736, 737, 738, 739, 740, 741, 742, 743, 744, 745, 746, 747, 748, 749, 750, 751, 752, 753, 754, 755, 756, 757, 758, 759, 760, 761, 762, 763, 764, 765, 766, 767, 768, 769, 770, 771, 772, 773, 774, 775, 776, 777, 778, 779, 780, 781, 782, 783, 784, 785, 786, 787, 788, 789, 790, 791, 792, 793, 794, 795, 796, 797, 798, 799, 800, 801, 802, 803, 804, 805, 806, 807, 808, 809, 810, 811, 812, 813, 814, 815, 816, 817, 818, 819, 820, 821, 822, 823, 824, 825, 826, 827, 828, 829, 830, 831, 832, 833, 834, 835, 836, 837, 838, 839, 840, 841, 842, 843, 844, 845, 846, 847, 848, 849, 850, 851, 852, 853, 854, 855, 856, 857, 858, 859, 860, 861, 862, 863, 864, 865, 866, 867, 868, 869, 870, 871, 872, 873, 874, 875, 876, 877, 878, 879, 880, 881, 882, 883, 884, 885, 886, 887, 888, 889, 890, 891, 892, 893, 894, 895, 896, 897, 898, 899, 900, 901, 902, 903, 904, 905, 906, 907, 908, 909, 910, 911, 912, 913, 914, 915, 916, 917, 918, 919, 920, 921, 922, 923, 924, 925, 926, 927, 928, 929, 930, 931, 932, 933, 934, 935, 936, 937, 938, 939, 940, 941, 942, 943, 944, 945, 946, 947, 948, 949, 950, 951, 952, 953, 954, 955, 956, 957, 958, 959, 960, 961, 962, 963, 964, 965, 966, 967, 968, 969, 970, 971, 972, 973, 974, 975, 976, 977, 978, 979, 980, 981, 982, 983, 984, 985, 986, 987, 988, 989, 990, 991, 992, 993, 994, 995, 996, 997, 998, 999, 1000).

SCRIBE Q: Mus Ms 267, No. 42

SCRIBE R

Sources: 1511C: 15-16
Watermarks: Italian, 1535 (?)
Staff lines: drawn by hand

Briquet, whose mark dated 1535 matches this paper exactly, found the mark in a document at Vicenza. The fascicle has a dedication, "Al patre matio dei ordine dj mazachieri." I have been unable to locate any reference to this order, although it may refer to a penitential order. The intabulations of motets by Mouton and Jachet da Mantua tend to confirm the early date.

SCRIBE S

Scribe S, according to Concordances, is probably another early hand.

SCRIBE T

Sources: 1511D: 1-4
Watermark: Italian, ca. 1542
Staffliner: 1.3/0.9

Pieces copied by Scribe T may be early, since they include Francesco's intabulation of Sermisy's "Vignon vignette," and perhaps the other intabulations, as well (one turns up in Phalèse's anthology of 1545). If the date ca. 1542 is correct, this might be the only manuscript source dating from his lifetime.

PLATE R



Scribe R:

Mus Ms 1511c, No. 16

PLATE S



SCRIBE S: Mus Ms 1511c, No. 17

PLATE T

vigno vignett No. 3

vignett

finis

No. 4

SCRIBE T: Mus Ms 1511d, No. 3

SCRIBE W

Scribe W has copied Sermisy's "Il me suffit" into German tablature in score format. It was probably a preliminary sketch for an intabulation, the copyist entering the individual lines from part books. It may be Scribe BC.

PLATE U



SCRIBE U: Mus Ms 1511d, fol. 15v

Singar. künstlicher und
 hergatter Tauscher Danh.

N. 14.

Soldat der Büchse auf.

PLATE W

[illegible]

SCRIBE W: Mus·Ms 2986, No. 10

SCRIBE XY

A galliard (Paris I, Nos. 8a-b) is added to blank staves left between the first and second gatherings of Paris I. It is probably from the early 17th century. (It is the only piece in Paris I or II in French tablature.)

SCRIBE XX

Sources: Paris I: 1; 267: 1

The Gassenhawer by Hans d. von Metz appears to have been a late addition to Mus Ms 267 (No. 1) and to Paris I (where it is added in a different hand to a blank folio at the beginning of the first gathering). The lutenist-composer, whose piece seems to have been so very popular, has not been identified, and is probably not the person in Mus Ms 1512, whose pieces are labelled "F. S. H. D," which probably stands for "F. S. H[of] D[antz]."

NOTE

The second part of the Paris manuscript (Paris II) is discussed at the end of the chapter on the Acquisition of the Herwarth library. Paris II contains some pieces concordant with the Munich manuscripts, but apparently no scribal ones. Of course, Paris I does include the important pieces copied by Scribe A, and Paris II, the comments by the "marginalia hand," who may be a teacher (see Scribe Q).

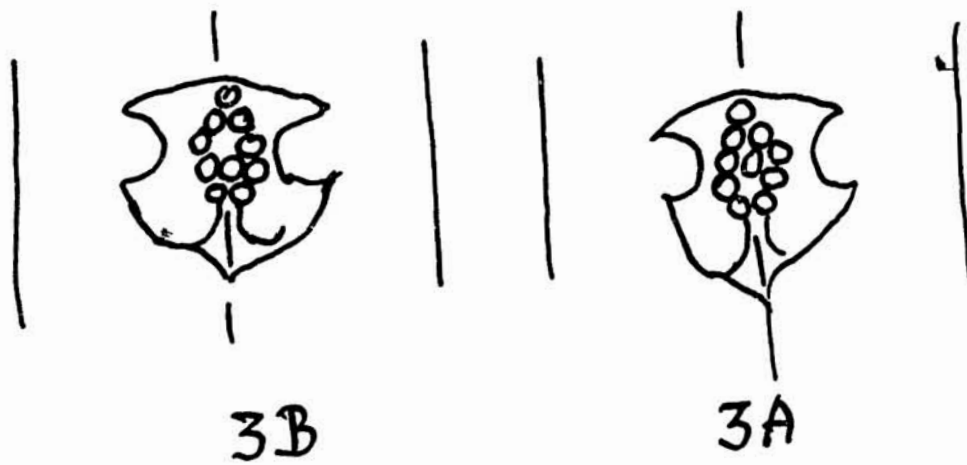
PLATE XX

MISS.
Music.
167

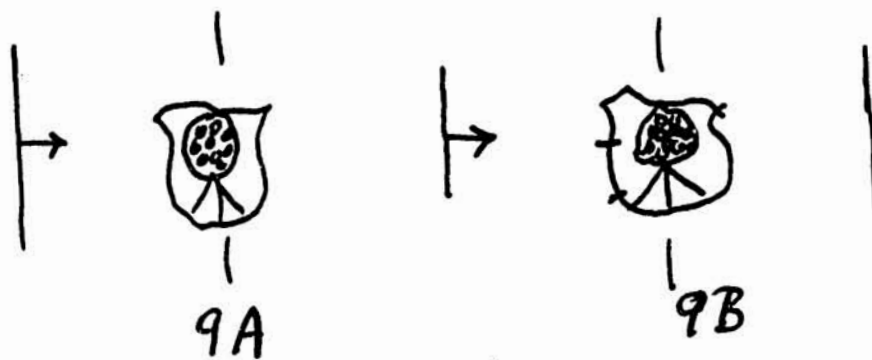
The image shows a handwritten musical score on seven staves. The notation is dense and includes many accidentals (sharps, naturals, flats) and rhythmic markings. The first staff begins with a treble clef and a key signature of one sharp (F#). The notation is highly stylized and appears to be a transcription of a manuscript. The final staff has a handwritten signature or name written below it.

SCRIBE XX: Mus Ms 267, No. 1

Augsburg Watermarks



30 cm



Augsburg Watermark (cont.)



No. 86



Mus. Ms. 270



1C



1A



1B

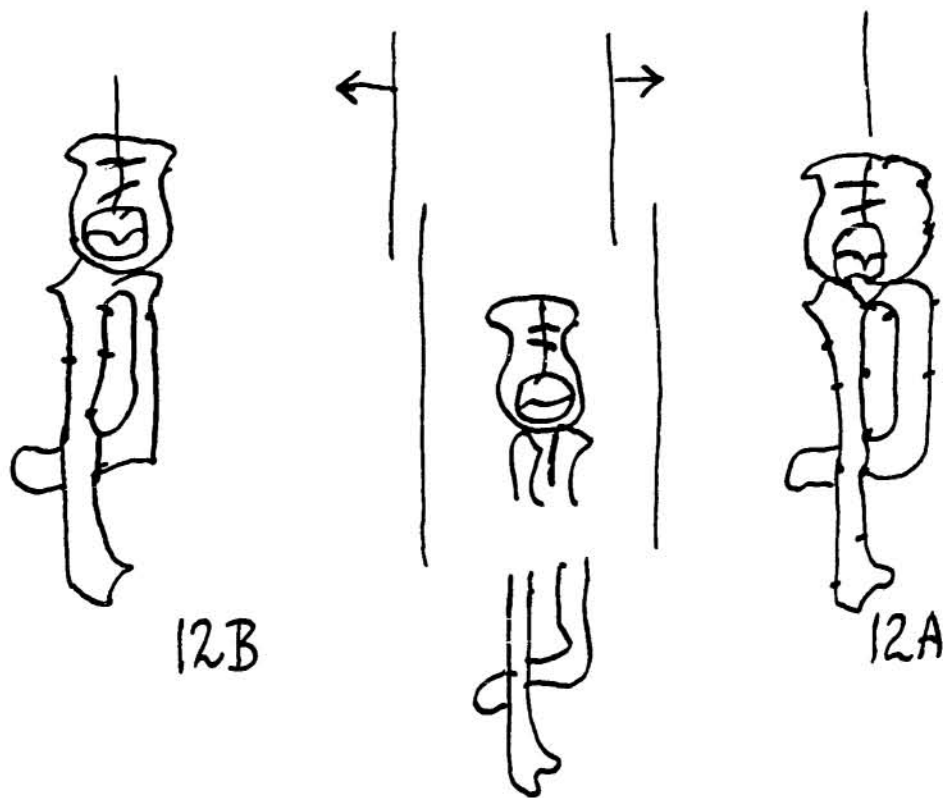
Augsburg Watermarks (cont.)



4A



4B

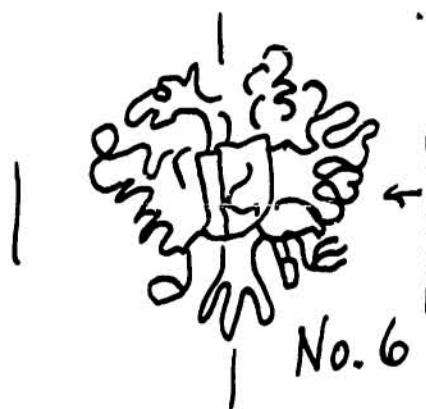
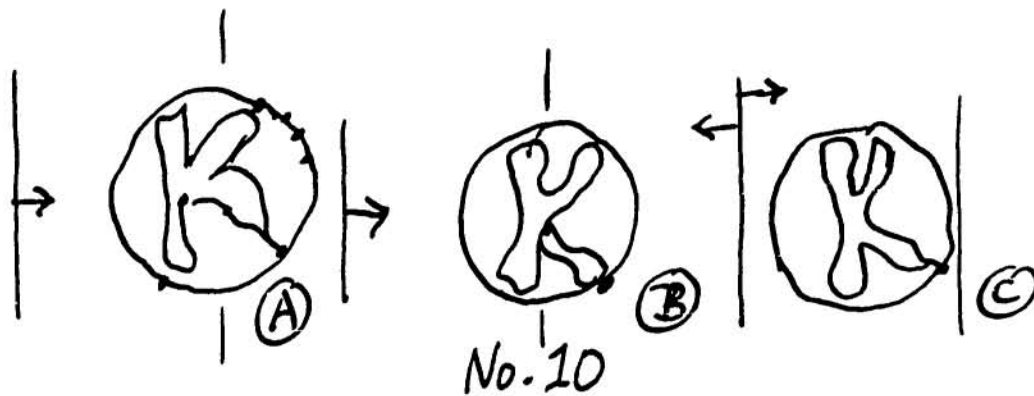


12B

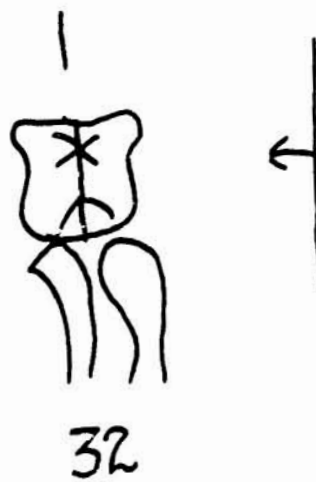
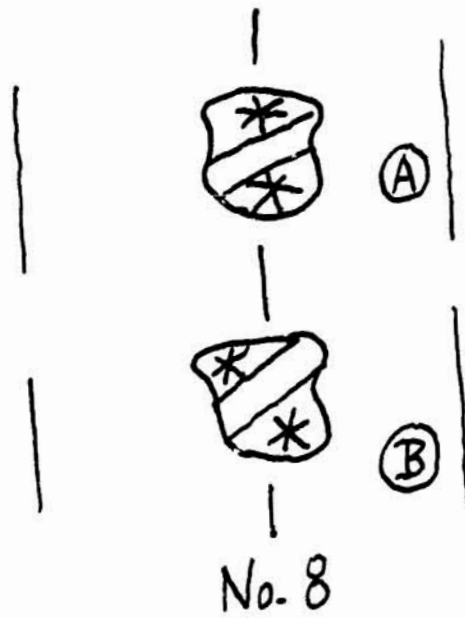
12A

Paris I

Kempton. Watermarks



Kaufbeuren Watermarks



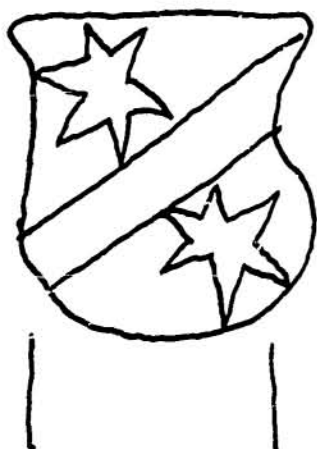
Kaufbeuren Watermarks (cont.)



16A



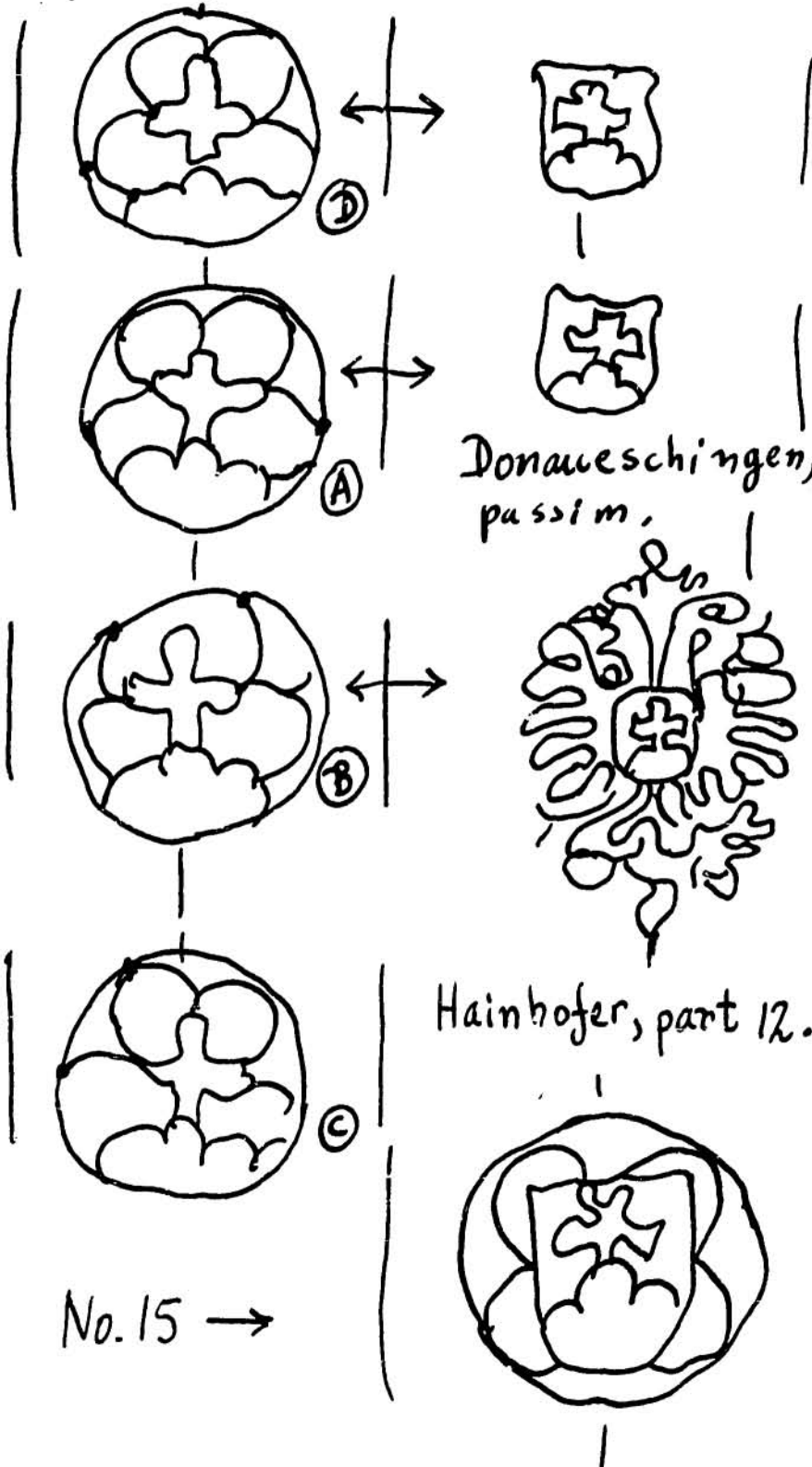
16B



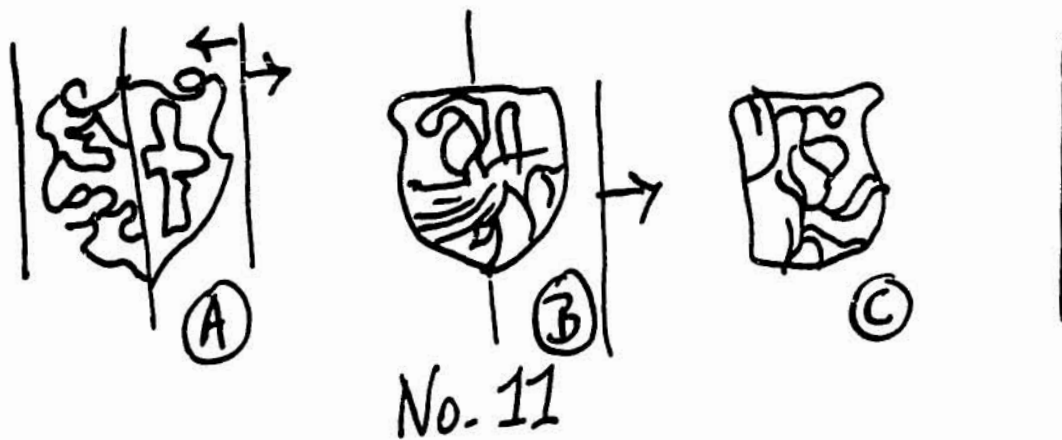
Ms 2750, pass.

Landsberg Watermarks

No. 73



Memmingen Watermarks



Schoenhagen Watermarks

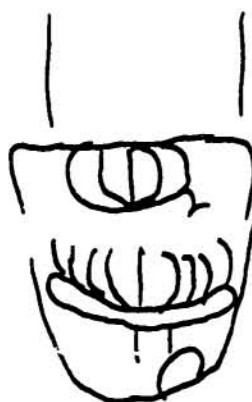


No. 5



Ms. 268 (book plate)

Munich Watermarks

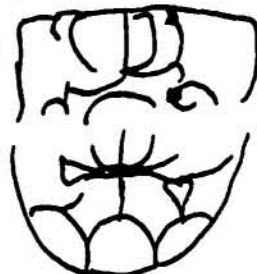


(A)

(C)

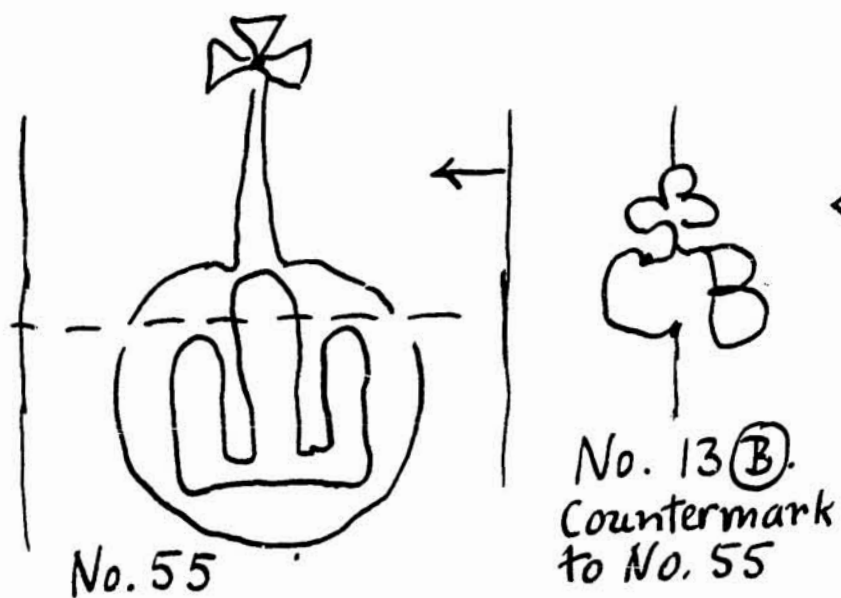
(B)

(D)

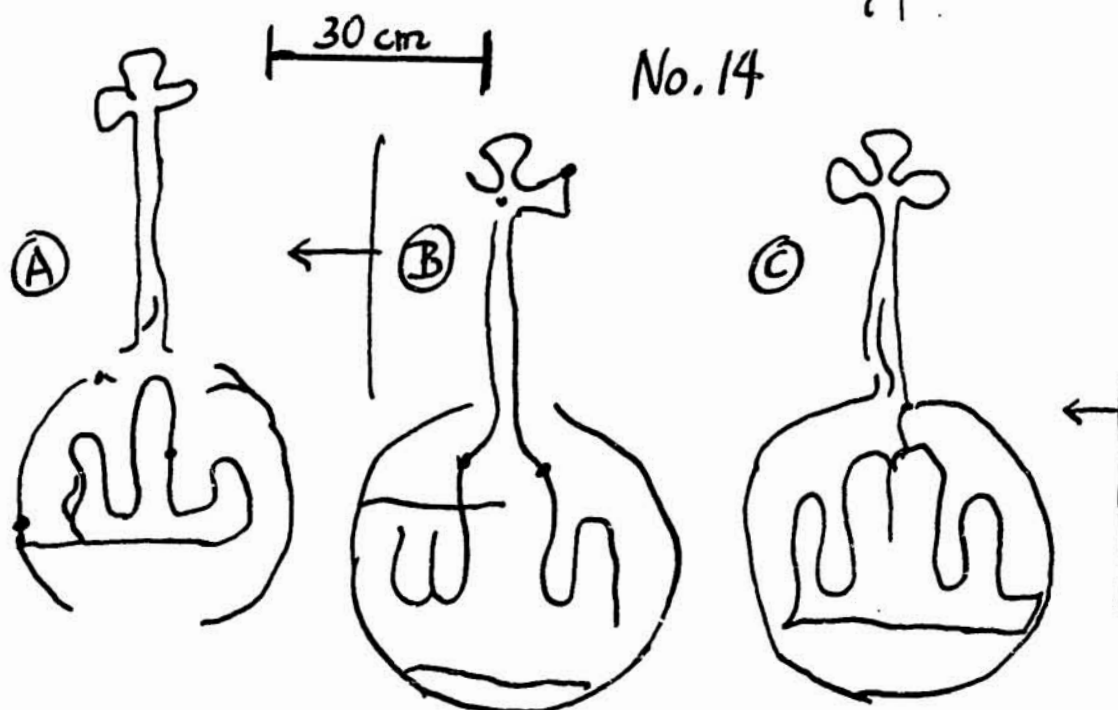


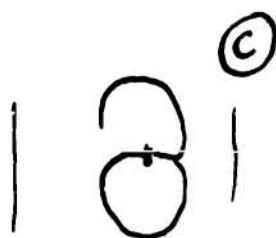
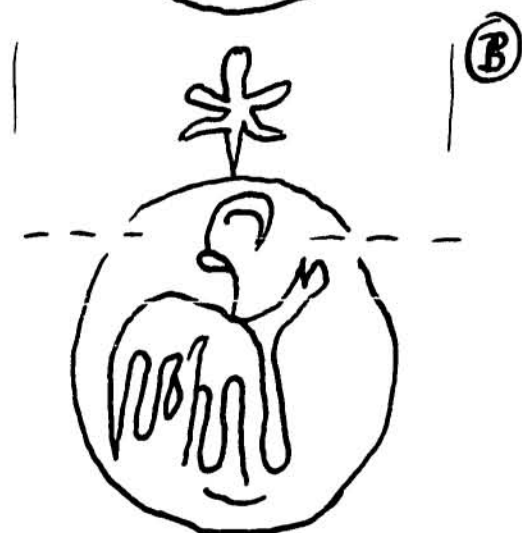
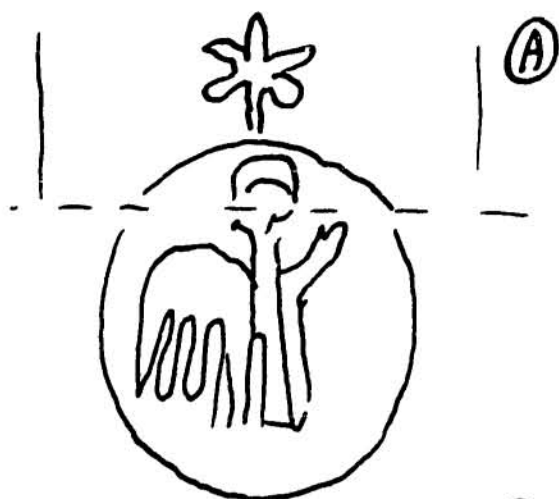
Gorzanis, 1567

No. 100

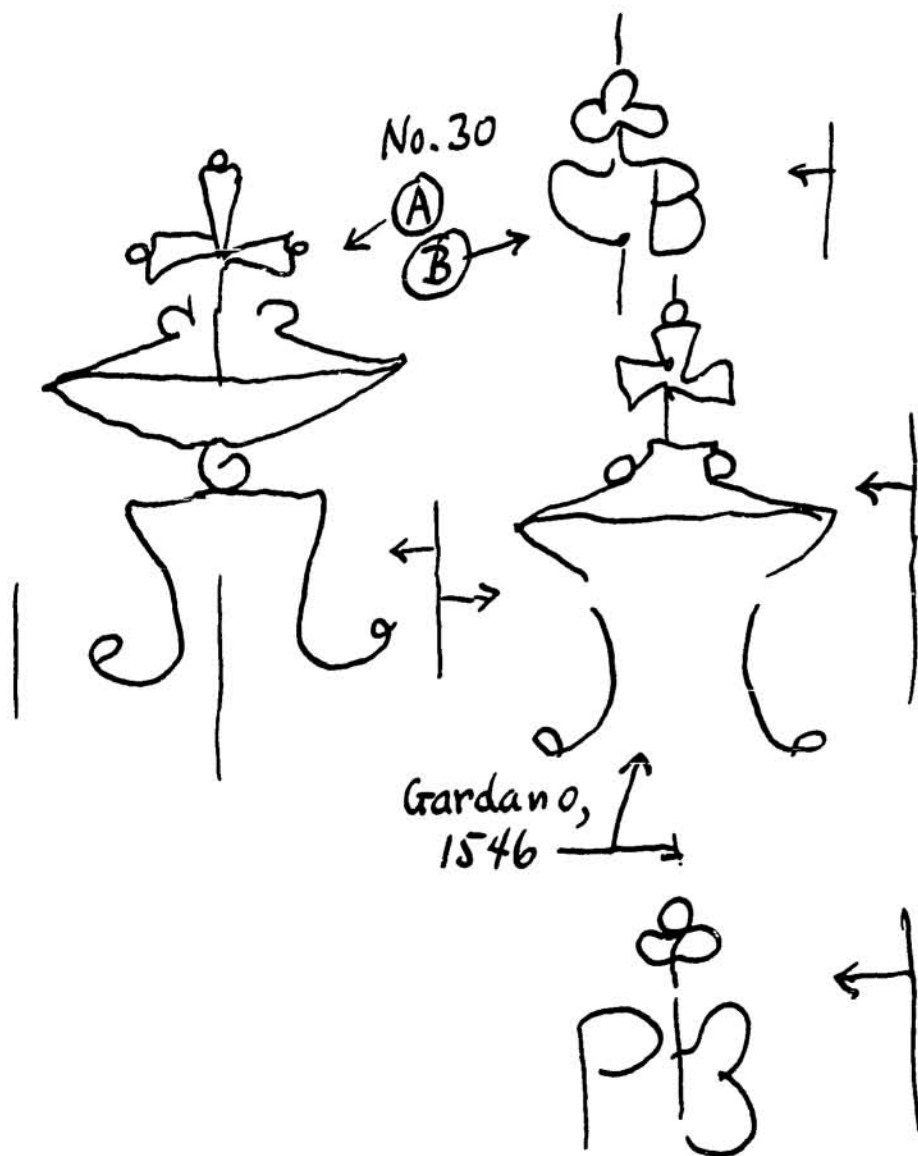


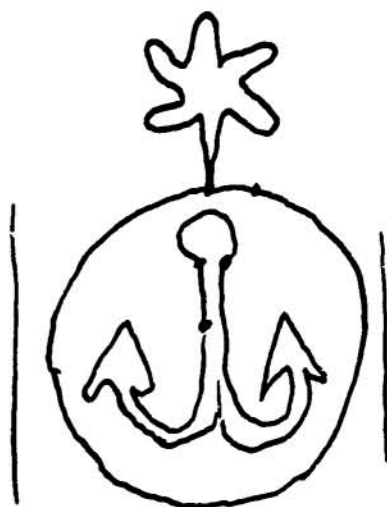
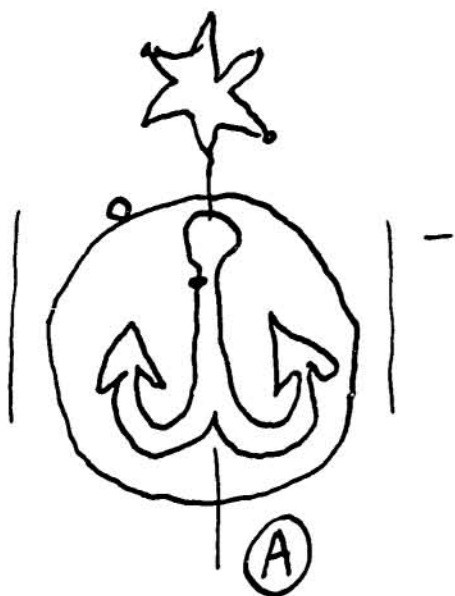
No. 13(A)
Countermark
to No. 14





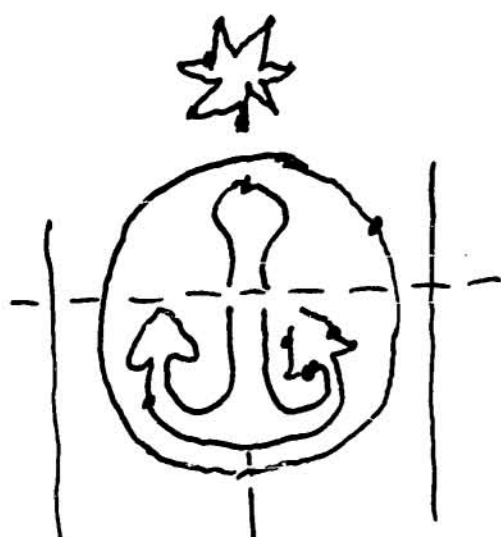
No. 31





No. 62 (B)

30 cm



No. 57



(A)



(B)



(C)

Ms. 272



(B)



(A)

No. 71

30 cm

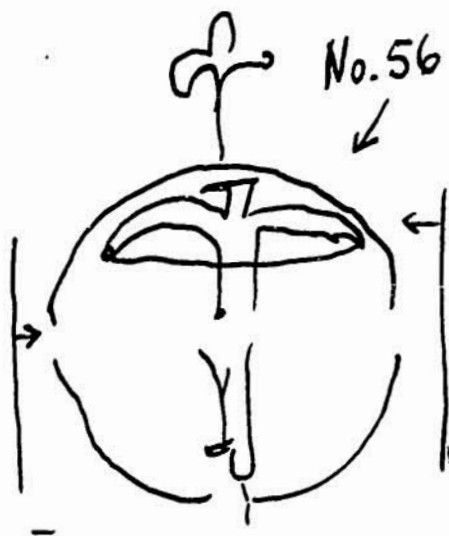
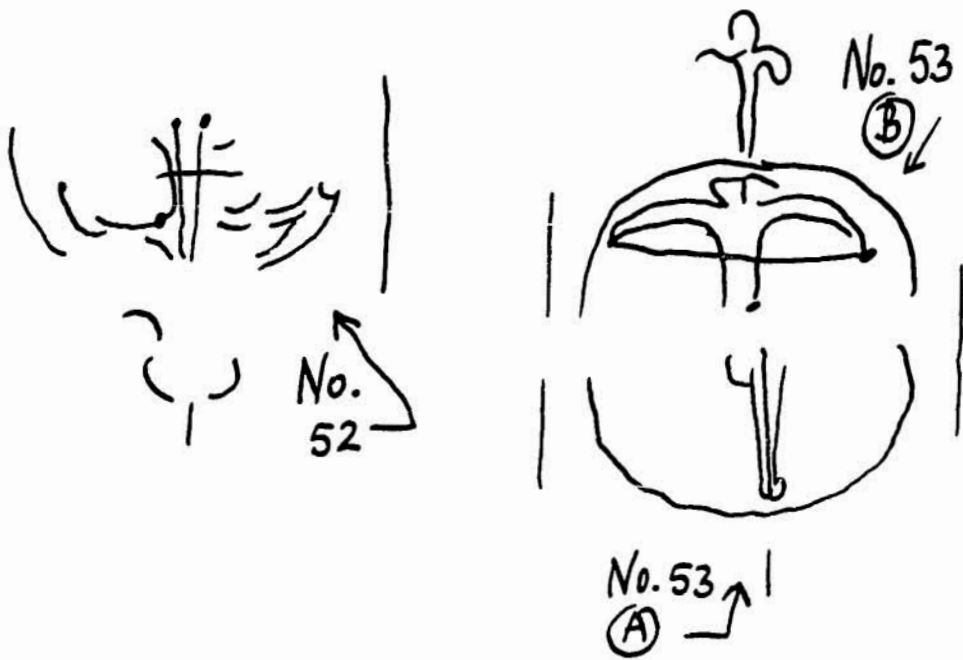


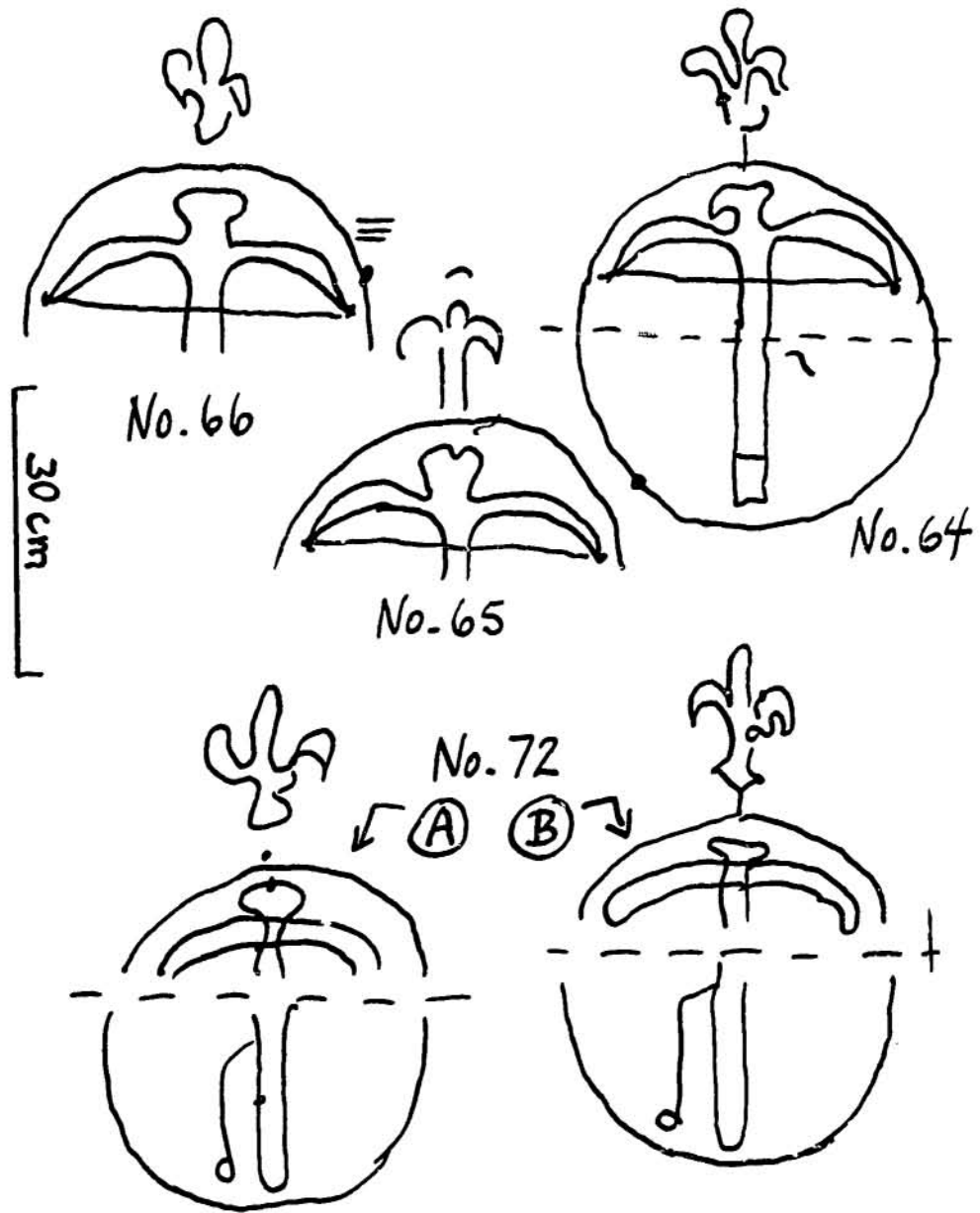
(A)

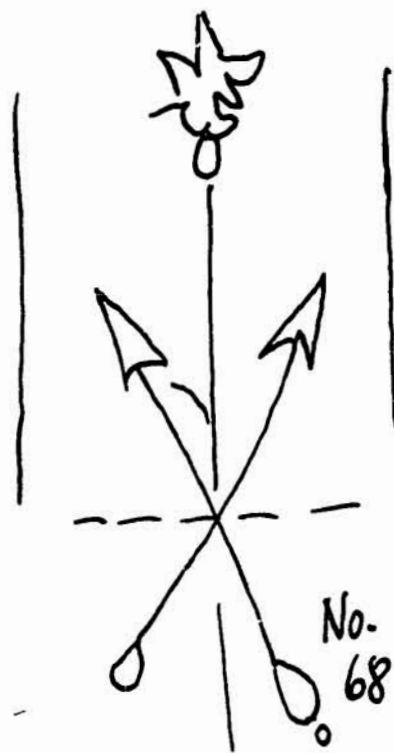
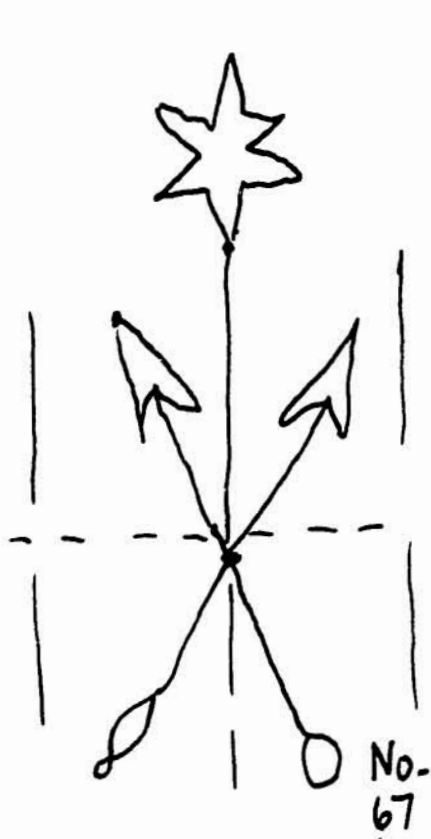


(B)

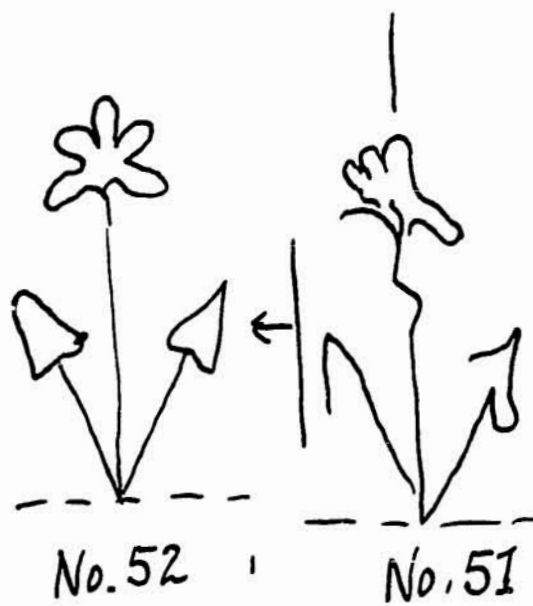
Ms 3155

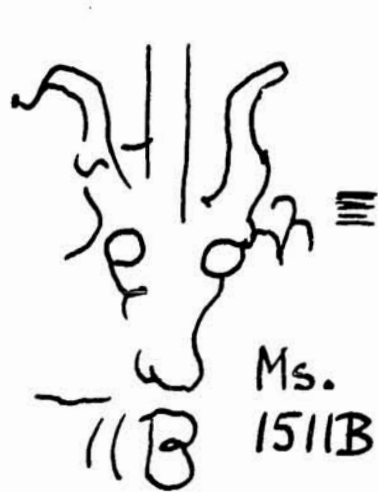
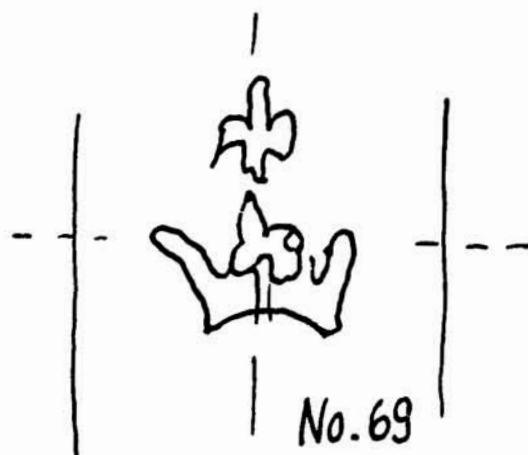


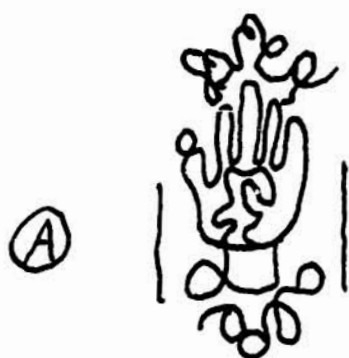




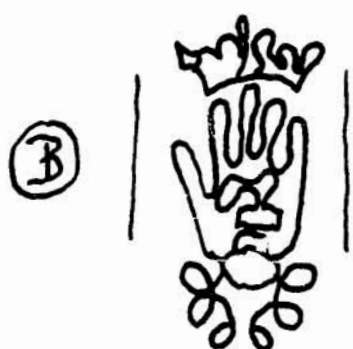
30 cm





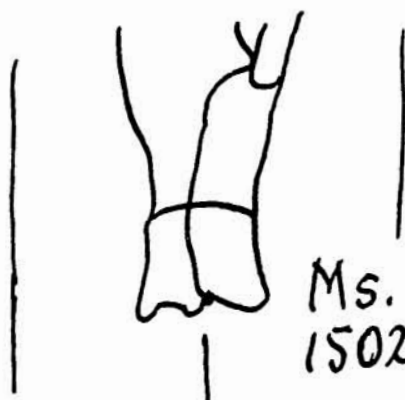


No. 81



Fragment
Ms. 267

No. 74



Ms.
1502

Chapter IV

The De Rippe Fascicle

Folios 67-76v of Mus Ms 266 are devoted mainly to fantasias or ricercars by Albert de Rippe, the phenomenal Mantuan lutenist who served from 1528 until his death in 1551 at the French courts of Francis I and Henry II. So great was his success that Francis granted him estates in Blois and Carrois-en-Bris, and paid him a salary twice that of his other court musicians.¹ Only three of de Rippe's ricercars appeared in print during his lifetime, those in Castelvino's Milanese anthology of 1536. The bulk of his substantial output was published in two posthumous "oeuvres complètes," first prepared by his student Guillaume Morlaye in the 1550s and published by Fezandat in Paris, the second in the 1560s by Le Roy and Ballard apparently utilizing a few different sources.

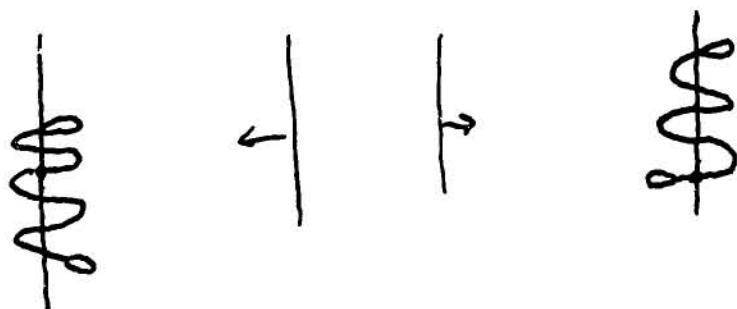
The fascicle is copied on Memmingen paper by Hand BC, one of the most widespread of the scribes in the Munich corpus, perhaps Herwarth, himself, as I have suggested above. The watermarks, 7A and 7B (see ILLUSTRATION I), which Briquet classified as a serpent, and others have called a worm, most likely represents the letter "M."

The papermill established at Memmingen in the 15th century was destroyed during the Peasant's War of 1525, and re-built

¹ See Vaccaro, Oeuvres d'Albert de Rippe for a full biographical study. Discussion of the sources appears on pages xxi-xxvii, where (note 3) he remarks that the pieces in Munich, Mus Ms 266 are simply copied from the first Le Roy and Ballard book of 1562.

around 1528, since in 1529 new watermarks are encountered. The dynastic family of paper millers, the Schraglin (fl. before 1540 to 1630), is probably responsible for papers bearing Watermarks 7A and 7B, as well as Watermarks 11A-C discussed in the chapter on scribes and watermarks. The mark identifies fairly inexpensive papers of that mill, whereas Nos. 11A-C with a shield, a moderately-priced paper.²

ILLUSTRATION I



Watermark 7A closely resembles Briquet, No. 13721, and 7B is identical to Briquet, No. 13722, both of which Briquet found on documents dated Memmingen, 1560-62. Since he and von Hössle found the mark nowhere, except in Memmingen documents between 1544 and 1563, this paper may have been merchandized only locally.³

Since Hans Heinrich Herwarth's first wife, Maria Haintzel,

² See von Hössle, 1926, Heft 15, 223-5.

³ See Briquet, Nos. 13720-22, and vol. IV, 680; von Hössle, loc. cit.

died during childbirth on January 26, 1564, in Memmingen where the family may have fled to avoid the Augsburg plague of December 1563, one may speculate that this fascicle is in Hans Heinrich's hand. The pieces are entered haphazardly and in a script that may only be described as sloppy. The desultory readings in this fascicle,⁴ plus the later references to concordances in the Parisian prints, may account in part for Jean-Michel Vaccaro's having noted the concordances, without taking their readings into consideration for his edition of de Rippe's works.

The fascicle is copied on staves drawn with a rastrum 1.5 cm. in width with 1.1 cm. between staves; x = watermark 7A, # = 7B:

4

See Plate I with its many insertions, deletions and changes. The readings might be considered distant corruptions by a German hand, especially since the pieces are identified in the manuscript with concordant fantasias in the Paris print. I intend to argue on the contrary, and suggest that the Munich manuscript preserves unique versions of de Rippe's output, from which one may discover a clearer picture of him as one of the most famed lutenists of his day.

167	105. <u>Recercar de m Alberto de Rippe</u> / [the marginalia hand:] La Neufiesme fantasia du premier Liure
	106. [marginalia hand:] aus der / fantasia 8. dess Ersts Buchs Alberts
167v	(continued)
	107. [marginalia hand:] fantasia penntj
168	(continued)
#	108. <u>Recercar Alberto de Ripa</u> [marginalia hand:] die 9. [sic] fantasia des ersts buchs
169v	(continued)
169	(continued)
169v	109. [marginalia hand:] Die 7. fantasia des buchs Alberts
	110. [marginalia hand:] Die 6. fantasia du premiers libro
70	(continued)
x	
70v	(continued)
71	111. [untitled piece]
#	
71v	112. [Rogier Pathie: "D'amour me plains"]
72	(BLANK STAVES)
72v	112b. [untitled fragment=No. 113]
73	113. [Fantasia by Pietro Paulo Borrono]
73v	(BLANK STAVES)
x	
74-74v	(BLANK STAVES)
75-75v	(BLANK STAVES)
#	
76-76v	(BLANK STAVES)

PLATE I

This image displays a handwritten musical score, identified as 'PLATE I'. The score is written on ten staves, arranged vertically. The notation is highly detailed and includes various musical symbols such as notes, rests, and dynamic markings. The first staff begins with a circled '1' and a tempo marking of '109'. The notation is dense, with many notes and rests, and includes some numerical sequences (e.g., '1013 13 33 25' at the bottom). The handwriting is in black ink on a light-colored background. The score appears to be a single melodic line, possibly for a piano or violin. The overall style is that of a personal manuscript or a working draft.

The pieces in the Munich manuscript consist of five fantasias (or ricercars) by Albert, one by Pietro Paulo Borrono and one by Guillaume Morlaye, plus an untitled intabulation of Pathie's "D'amour me plains." The first scribe has given the titles for only two of the pieces (Nos. 105 and 106, shown with underlining in the inventory above.) A later hand (the ink and pen nibs are quite different) has identified these and several of the untitled pieces in the de Rippe Premier livre (Le Roy & Ballard, 1562). A work, No. 107, which the "marginalia" hand calls "fantasia penntj," is attributed to Guillaume Morlaye in his Troisiesme livre (Paris, 1558). It is a parody fantasia based on a work by Giovan Paolo Paladino.⁵ The Borrono work (untitled in the fascicle) appears in Castelfiono's 1536 publication.

Relevant concordances are the following:

105. Recercar de m [esser] Alberto de Rippe
[Vaccaro, I, No. 15]

- = Fantasia, Quatriesme livre, ed. G. Morlaye (Paris: Fezandat, 1554), fol. 4.
- = Fantasia neufiesme, Premier livre (Paris: Le Roy & Ballard, 1562), fol. 22v.

5

The model is in Paladino's Premier livre (Lyons: Simon Gorlier, 1553; rpt. 1560), fol. 2v.

6

The identification of concordances is incorrect in BrownI (1558/4, No. 2), where Morlaye's parody is traced rather than the Paladin model, the work reprinted by Phalèse and others. Of course material not derived from the Paladin work may be borrowed from elsewhere. The subject that appears throughout the first "Morlaye" section (measures 7-10 in Transcription No. 132) is reminiscent of Kargel's third ricercar (BrownI 1574/1), and an anonymous piece in the "Siena Lute Book," No. 89. Not all of Kargel's fantasias are his, e.g., No. 1 is an embellished version of a fantasia by Francesco (publ. Ness, App. No. 9).

106. [Actually fragments from the de Rippe work] [Vaccaro, I, No. 11]

= Fantasia, Troisième livre, ed. Morlaye (ibid., 1554), fol. 2.

= Fantasia huitième, Premier livre (1562), fol. 19v.

6

107. ["Fantasia penntj"] [TRANSCRIPTION No. 132]

= Guillaume Morlaye, Fantasia, Troisième livre (Paris: Fezandat, 1558), fol. 4.

= Fantasia, Theatrum musicum (Louvain: Phalèse, 1536), fol. 6v.

= Fantasia, Luculentum theatrum (Louvain: Phalèse, 1568), fol. 4v.

= Fantasia, Theatrum musicum, longe (Antwerp: Phalèse & Bellère, 1571), fol. 2v.

108. Recercar Alberto de Ripa [Vaccaro, I, No. 1]

= Fantasia, Premier livre (ibid.), fol. 1.

= Fantasia premier, Premier livre, (1562), fol. 2.

= Fantasia di messer alberto, Uppsala, Ms 87, fol. 59v.

109. [Vaccaro, I, No. 10]

= Fantasia, Troisième livre (ibid.) fol.

= Fantasia septième, Premier livre, 1562, fol. 17v.

7

110. [Vaccaro, I, No. 9]

= Fantasia, Second livre (ibid., 1554), fol. 6.

= Fantasia sixième, Premier livre, 1562, fol. 14v.

111. [unidentified fragment, perhaps an intabulation]

112. [Pathie: "D'amour me plains" copied also as No. 141.

This is not de Rippe's intabulation as published in Paris, and is closer to Melchior Newsidler's, but contains additional embellishment. All three, de Rippe (Paris), Newsidler and No. 112/141 may therefore, derive from a common ancestor.]

7 It seems not to have been noted that this fantasia is based on the venerable old tune "Faute d'argent," used by Josquin. It thus joins Domenico Bianchini's ricercar (Intabulatura, Venice, 1546, fol. 3) on the melody--if it is a ricercar by him (some of Bianchini's works are intabulations of the ricercars by others), and Cavazzoni's famous one, publ. inter alia, in Apel and Davison's Historical Anthology of Music. Vaccaro provides a "disposition analytique" of the de Rippe paraphrase as an unpaginated insert for his edition.

113. [Borrone: Fantasia]

- = Fantasia de M. Petro Paulo da Milano, Intabolatura de leuto de diversi (Milan: Castelfionio, 1536), fol. 33.
- = Fantasia Pauli Baroni, Hortus musarum (Louvain: Phalèse, 1552), fol. 18.
- = Fantasia Pauli Baroni, Theatrum musicum (Louvain: 1563),

fol. 5v.

Differences between de Rippe's fantasias in the Munich versions and those published in Paris extend from small details to virtual re-workings. It is evident, as I intend to argue, that we have, here, not pieces copied from a Parisian print, but rather distinctly different readings, or (even better) versions, of the same pieces. Some passages, cadential turns and other embellishments, may be lacking in one or the other version. The Munich pieces show a preference for using the fifth course on the d string for cadential suspensions (5 on d rather than the open g course for the note g), thereby better preserving the voice-leading, although making play more difficult. The ⁸ricercars sometimes end with open fifths, rather than full triads.

In the Munich de Rippe pieces, flats (or naturals) are

8

This sort of substitution is not unusual in 16th-century lute music. Many early intabulations may be described as "pointalistic." The intabulator only indicates the beginning of a plucked sound, often giving little regard to the use of courses that would permit the instrument to sustain the voice-leading of the vocal original. Later intabulators made greater effort to intabulate so tones could be properly sustained. For example, a 4-#3 suspension may use "5" on the "d" and "a" courses (=the notes g and d) with the "5" resolving to "4" (f sharp), rather an open "d" for the middle voice and breaking it off to sound the f sharp. Similarly the function of ornamentation in lute music changes during the 16th-century. Pointalistic intabulations will bridge long chords with flourishes that extend from one end of the instrument to the other, crossing through all voice lines. Later ones use embellishment to connect, and clarify the voice-leading of each individual part.

sometimes preferred in passages having naturals (or sharps) in the Parisian prints. (See EXAMPLE II, discussed below.) The last third of No. 109 (Vacca 3, I, No. 10) has an entirely different ending and emphasizes this tendency for flats, stressing what might be called (using modern terminology) the minor subdominant. See the transcription, EXAMPLE I.

EXAMPLE I



An analysis of *ricercar/fantasia* No. 105 (Vaccaro, I, No. 15) may shed some light on the nature of differences between the

two versions, Munich and Paris (see TRANSCRIPTION No. 133). The work opens motet-like with paired imitation involving an ascending "subject" in the tenor and descending "countersubject" in the bass, which cadences on C (quarter notes 1 through 8). The "subject" and "countersubject" are imitated in the soprano and alto (10 through 17), and likewise cadence on C. The two cadences on C are each echoed with cadences to F (quarter-notes 18 and 19). At 22 a modified statement of the "subject" appears with the "counter-subject" reappearing in parallel tenths between the soprano and bass (Paris version: bass and then tenor/alto line). The passage cadences on C (28) with a subsequent cadence to F, as before (32).

Later passages using similar materials cadence on F (40 to 44), transposed to C (44 through 48), and then with the "echo" cadence on F. Similar F/C tonal polarity (distilled in 36 to 39) prevails through most of the piece, relieved most noticeably by the Phrygian cadences to A (Munich: 20-23; both 57-60). Following 54 the polyphonic texture is abandoned to lighter running scale-figures and chords that continue to the end.

The two versions share much, but differences are also instructive. The Paris version suggests that it may be closer to the original bare paired imitation (derived from a vocal model?-- the opening resembles La Fage's "Super flumina Babilonis"), whereas the Munich version seems to fill out latent harmonies. In the Paris version certainly the E-flat in measure 2 makes a more effective bass line, and the "echo" cadence (7-10) is more distinct. However, the subject is garbled in that version (compare: soprano [Paris], 10-16, alto [both] 4-8, and soprano [Munich] 13-

17). And one wonders if the cadence on A (Munich) and B-flat/g (Paris) might not reflect an attempt to emend what may have been a corrupt passage in the copy edited by Morlaye. The ciphers for the notes d to a in the bass are crossed out in the Munich version, and may have been in the source from which the scribe was working.

In the Munich version the cadences are invariably unadorned (see 31, 35, 47 and 67), and the 7-6-1 configuration (35-36) (preceded with a sixteenth-note suspension) seems unusually antiquated in this context. The Munich version does have one embellished cadential suspension (see 47-48). Here the embellishment serves a formal-structural function by intensifying a climactic moment in the piece. It follows a four-beat varied strain (40-43=44-47, transposed), immediately before the falling, fauxbourdon-like passage (50-54), and the abandonment of polyphonic texture to the scales and chords which continue to the end. The effect of the embellished cadence is weakened in the Paris version with its encrustation of cadential ornaments. In the Munich version the ornament serves a formal, structural purpose. If the Munich version is closer to de Rippe's intent, and I think that it may be, then it shows him to be a composer uncommonly sensitive to large-scale formal goals.

The fauxbourdon-like passage also differs in the two versions. The Munich reading is more lutenistic with its sixteenth-note rest (50) and simpler shifting of left-hand positions.

The first lacuna in the Munich version appears at 61 with the omission of four quarters (shown "vi-de"). Elsewhere (not

shown in the transcription) additional lacunae of one quarter, eight and 18 quarters appear. In every instance (as in 61) lacunae are connected and give no overt impression of a cut. Here the "a" (soprano, 61) leads logically to the cadence figure (66-⁹67). Such divergent readings are not unusual in 16th-century lute music, and tend to pique ones suspicions about many texts that¹⁰ have survived.

A few additional examples of differences between the Paris and Munich versions are given in EXAMPLE II, the beginning of No.

9

The cadence formula here is itself a de Rippe thumb-print; similar figures with the dotted-eighth note following the 16th-note rest crowd every page of the collected edition.

10

See, for example, the fantasia from Attaingnant's Tres breve instruction (1529) in the version in the "Siena Lute Book" at The Hague, published by Kwee Him Yong in "A New Source." A facsimile of the Siena pages appears also in my Francesco edition (plates 6-7; see also page 3, note 9). The Siena manuscript is unquestionably one of the most accurate sources of 16th-century lute music, and comparisons, such as with the Attaingnant print, well illustrate the corrupt readings in which much lute music doubtlessly survives.

Similar lacunae may be seen in a comparison of Nos. 23 with Appendix 12, and Nos. 29 with 57, in my Francesco edition. The latter pair share the same last half, and the former, lacunae and shifting of sections in a manner similar to those we have been observing in the Munich/Italian comparisons with the Parisian prints.

EXAMPLE II

The image displays a musical score for a piece, identified as Example II. The score is written for piano, with a treble and bass staff. It is divided into four systems, each containing two staves. The measures are numbered 1 through 34. The key signature is one flat (B-flat), and the time signature is 4/4. The notation includes various musical symbols such as notes, rests, accidentals, and dynamic markings. The score shows a complex melodic and harmonic structure, with some measures featuring multiple notes and accidentals.

189 (= Vaccaro I, No. 10). The bracketed notes and accidentals are lacking in the Paris prints. Particularly noticeable are the following:

1. The essential "f" producing the Phrygian cadence (8-9);
2. The missing beat (12): de Rippe's cadence preparations are typically two beats in length;
3. The bass line (22-24); and
4. A fondness for flats in the Munich version (see 21-23).

In No. 109 the copyist has also added a number of emendations in the margin which attempt to correct some strange-sounding passages common to both sources. (See PLATE I)

These differences between the Munich and Paris versions are not unusual, as is evident from a comparison of extant Italian and French sources of de Rippe's music. The following are the Italian sources of his music (for additional printed concordances, see BrownI):

- (1) Intabolatura de leuto de diversi (Milan: Castiglione, 1536), fol. 5, Fantasia de M. Alberto da Mantua.
[= Vaccaro, I, No. 12]

=Fantasie, Troisième livre (Paris: Fezandat, 1552), fol. 6v.
=Fantasie, Cinquième livre (Paris: Le Roy & Ballard, 1562), fol. 22.
- (2) Ibid., fol. 26v, Fantasia de M. Alberto da Mantua.
[=Vaccaro, I, No. 16]

=Cinquième livre (1555), fol. 2.
- (3) Ibid., Fantasia [table of contents: "Fantasia del ditto" (=Francesco da Milano)], fol. 55 [= Vaccaro, I, No. 21; the work is unquestionably by de Rippe.]

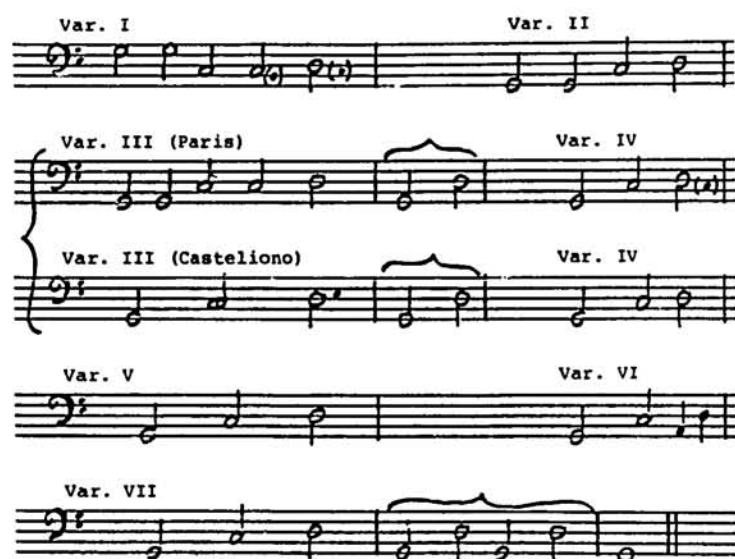
=Quart livre (Le Roy & Ballard, 1553), fol. 5.
- (4) The Hague, Gemeente-Museum, MS 20.860, "Siena Lute Book," fl. 10v, [Ricer del Francesco da Parigi [=Francesco da Milano according to other concordances using the name]. [=Vaccaro, I, No. 2, without reference to this manuscript.]

=Premier livre (Fezandat, 1552), fol. 6v.
=Premier livre (Le Roy & Ballard), fol. 6v.

The fantasia cited in (1), above, opens with seven variations on the bergamasca formula, a very early instance of

the appearance of this formula. The latent harmony with its underlying rhythm is shown in EXAMPLE IIIa, and variations 3 and 4 in EXAMPLE IIIb. Between the Italian and Paris versions of the fantasia there are a number of lacunae, similar to those which we noted in the comparison of two versions of No. 109. Yet here, again, both have inherent logic: in the Casteliono reading,

EXAMPLE IIIa: Bass Pattern (Bergamasca) of the de Rippe Fantasia



Another early example of the Bergamasca occurs in the euphemistically titled dance-like pieces called "fantasias" in Barberis's tablature of 1549 for four-course guitar. (BrownI 1549/2 is incorrect in saying these pieces are for seven-course guitar.)

harmonic rhythm accelerates, whereas the Paris print, with its slower harmonies may be said to provide a solid expositive emphasis in the first and third variations.¹² Later the Casteliono version omits one, nine and ten quarters, but since the Paris reading will simply repeat a section varying it slightly, the Casteliono version still provides a hearing of all essential materials.

EXAMPLE IIIb

The image displays a musical score for Variation III, comparing two versions: Casteliono (top) and Paris (bottom). The Casteliono version is labeled 'Var. III' and shows measures 19 through 23, with a question mark above measure 22. The Paris version shows measures 19 through 23c, with a 'Ra' marking above measure 19 and a 'Vi-de' marking above measure 21. Both versions are written in treble and bass clef with a key signature of one sharp (F#). The Casteliono version includes a 'Vi-' marking above measure 19 and a 'Vi-' marking above measure 22. The Paris version includes a 'Vi-' marking above measure 21 and a 'Vi-' marking above measure 23c.

12
Notice also the changes to the cadences at 9-11, 28-30 and 34-36, since we shall discuss similar differences later.



The coda, shown in EXAMPLE IIIc, is not particularly satisfactory in either version with the strange resolution of the prepared G to C cadence leading into the last full measure. Since this is an instance of a familiar type of fantasia that "searches out" its beginning, a comparison of the opening measures and the coda may be instructive in seeking a possible correct reading. (Compare EXAMPLES IIIc and IIIId.)

EXAMPLE III C and D

EXAMPLE IIIc.

(Casteliono)

(Paris)

The musical score for Example IIIc consists of two systems of piano accompaniment. The first system is labeled '(Casteliono)' and the second is labeled '(Paris)'. Both systems consist of a treble and bass staff. The music is in 4/4 time and features a mix of eighth and sixteenth notes, with some rests. A dashed line connects the end of the '(Paris)' system to the beginning of the 'EXAMPLE III d.' system.

EXAMPLE III d.

The musical score for Example III d consists of two systems of piano accompaniment. The first system consists of a treble and bass staff. The second system consists of a treble and bass staff. The music is in 4/4 time and features a mix of eighth and sixteenth notes, with some rests. A dashed line connects the end of the '(Paris)' system from Example IIIc to the beginning of the first system of Example III d.

Among cadence formulas encountered in de Rippe's music is one with the leading-tone triad in first inversion proceeding to the "tonic." (See EXAMPLE IV.5 and 9.) In several instances these cadences are "modernized" with substitution of a "dominant" triad, but usually in the Casteliono version. (See EXAMPLE IV.6 and 10.)

EXAMPLE IV

Casteliono

Paris

Paris

Munich MS

The Munich version does, however, have a 7-6-1 cadence (See EXAMPLE IV.12). This paradox suggests that both versions may be several removes from what de Rippe may have originally conceived.

The Munich versions of the de Rippe *ricercar*/fantasies show little evidence of being copied from the Le Roy & Ballard prints. They in fact display the same traits that characterize known changes between Parisian and Italian versions of de Rippe's music. The corrections (or attempts thereat) in the Munich manuscript suggest that the copyist was working from a corrupt tablature--certainly he could not have been that inaccurate. The references to the 1562 print entered by the "marginalia hand" may have been added when the copyist, while seeking a solution to some of the strange-sounding passages, consulted the print, a copy of which

was in Herwarth's library at the time of its sale to the Duke of
Bavaria.¹³ Perhaps the Munich pieces came from a southern French
source where Italian tablature was in use (de Rippe's proximity to
Lyons has already been mentioned), or from a lost Italian print.

The spelling of his name ("Alberto de Ripa") and the use of
the term "recercar," rather than "fantasie," suggests a non-
Parisian source. Likewise the relationship of No. 105 to a La
Fage motet and No. 110 to "Fauté d'argent" points towards a date
early in de Rippe's career.¹⁴ Thus the works in the Munich fas-
cicle deserve careful attention if we are to reach a properly
impartial judgement of de Rippe's music from an historical-

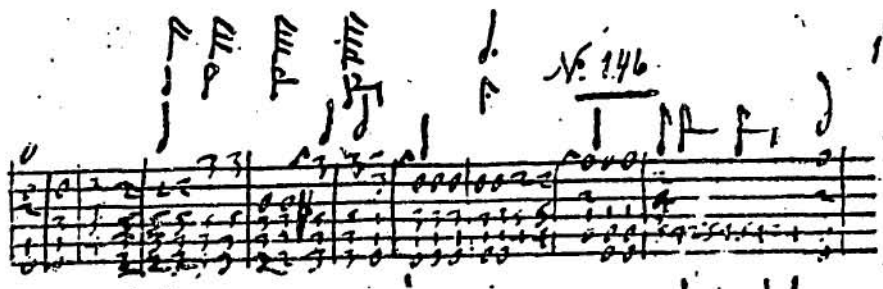
13

Why then didn't he simply play from the print? Today,
as then, many lutenists, especially amateur ones, find it
difficult to change from one system of tablature to another. In
the 16th-century publishers did a brisk business in supplying
foreign music "translated" into the locally used system. This is
perhaps the reason why the Francesco da Milano pieces (copied from
Neapolitan tablature) were entered into Paris, Rés 429, and
Drusina edited Newsidler's Venetian print from Italian into German
tablature.

14

Fantasia XX in Vaccaro's edition may also be early since
it seems to use the melody "Adieu mes amours," although John Ward
has told me that he once thought that de Rippe's No. XX was a
parody of Narváez's No. I ("Parody Technique in 16th-Century
Instrumental Music," p. 222), but he now wonders if both composers
weren't drawing on musical commonplaces, although there is a
striking resemblance to a passage in Gombert's "Tu pers ton temps"
in both the de Rippe and Narváez pieces, and this apart from the
use of "Adieu mes amours."

Casteliono in Milan and Marcolini in Venice (among a few others) used the diamond-shaped notes of vocal music for rhythm signs, as did Moderne in Lyons until as late as ca. 1550. Hand BC seems to use, apparently depending on which type style he is copying from, both the diamond-shaped notes and the later more universal flagged stems. (He may have preferred the diamond shapes, since in Mus Ms 266, fol. 117, he shows equivalencies between the two: see ILLUSTRATION II.)



I wish to avoid the creation of any "ghosts," but in the preface to his edition of music by Francesco da Milano (1536), Marcolini da Forlì promises a print devoted to the best works of the "Aquilano, Milanese and Mantovano" (Marco dall'Aquila, Francesco da Milano and Albert de Rippe). The content sounds

Cf. John M. Ward's article in The New Grove where he writes (XVI, 49), "Several of the [de Rippe] fantasias . . . are overlong, poorly organized and occasionally awkward pieces," a point well-taken. De Rippe's fantasias are among the longest of any lutenist of the 16th century. Perhaps part of his longwindedness should be laid to Morlaye, who may have been attempting to memorialize his teacher by extending and commenting, musically, on the works. Might he not have heard his teacher take a fantasia and expand upon it improvisationally, extending it in time? And might he not attempt to recreate this in his edition?

similar to Casteliono's print of the same year, which also contain works by Borrono. Was Marcolini contemplating piracy? Or had he in mind a print to complement Casteliono's?

Scribe BC has shown himself to be far from a skilled composer in the two original *ricercars* (one a parody) that he sketched in Mus Ms 267. Perhaps we should actually be grateful for his dilletantism. By working through his clumsy emendations, bearing in mind the types of alterations that Morlaye may have made, it may be possible to reconstruct the original de Rippe texts.
16

16

While such conflation may teach much, I am not convinced that an edition combining the "best readings" from several sources is entirely valid, since the resulting product represents a piece that never existed. Likewise, one might argue that our efforts should be directed towards the publishing of collections as they existed in the 16th century, not collected editions of the works of a single composer. From an historical point, we should be witnessing composers from within the context of their time.

Chapter V

The Newsidler Fascicles

The name of Melchior Newsidler (b. Nuremberg, 1541, d. Augsburg, ca. 1598) has already been broached several times in connection with music and musicians in Augsburg, and the dedications of several of his books to patricians in the Herwarth circle. He is perhaps one of the most important German lutenist-composers of the mid-16th century. His compositions, which survive in greater numbers than those of any of his contemporaries, were widely disseminated in print and manuscript. Many wear a patina of brilliant ornamentation, "mit fleiss aussgesetzt, auch artlich und zierlich Coloriert," as he advertises on his 1574 Lautenbuch,¹ and frequently move into the instrument's highest tessitura, thus demanding of the player great virtuoso skill.

Melchior's original works and the intabulations modelled on the vocal compositions of his contemporaries show him to be an excellent composer for the instrument, and his works doubtless exerted important influences on other lutenist-composers of his

1

His father had used the term "nach organistischer Art" on his books of 1536. The Christoph Loeffelholz Orgelbuch (Berlin, Mus Ms 40034), dated 1585 on the binding, contains as No. 10, "Ein gutter Neysidlicher [sic: the spelling is the same as on the 1566 Venetian print] danntz" and "Nachdanntz," which may be either an organ piece by or dedicated to him. In the index it is called "Newsidlicher danz." I have been unable to locate any concordance among Melchior's dances for lute.

day.

2

He was certainly most prolific. Moreover, we have printed volumes which were prepared under his supervision, a rarity in 16th-century lute publications. His works include the following (the full count is not yet in, however, and so the figures given here are only approximate):

(1) 23 fantasias and ricercars, including parodies on Clemens non Papa's "Rossignolet qui chantez," Rore's "Anchor che col partire," Verdelot's "Dormendo un giorno," and Josquin's "Cœur langoureux." (Undoubtedly other parodies still await detection.)

(2) 34 German and 38 Italian dances.

(3) 104 intabulations:

	Latin Motets	Italian Pieces	Chansons	Lieder
Josquin	3			
Hofhaimer				1
Willaert	1		1	
Senfl	2			1
Mouton	1			
Verdelot	2	1	1	

2

A critical editions of Melchior Newsidler's output is well deserving of highest priority. In the 1960s Thomas Binkley started a complete edition which was announced in Kurt Dorfmueller, "Newsidler," *MGG* IX, col. 1410, but his manuscript was destroyed in a fire[place?]. Being aware of the particularly knotty editorial complexities of Newsidler's output (which will be apparent by the end of this chapter), Mr. Binkley has apparently decided not to resume his projected edition.

More recently, the Hungarian lutenist-musicologist Daniel Benkő has told me of his interest in editing a complete edition of the lute music of all Newsidlers (Hans, Melchior and Conrad), and has started with the works of Hans. Thus, his Melchior edition is perhaps some years away.

	Latin Motets	Italian Pieces	Chansons	Lieder
Appenzeller			2	
Festa, C.		1		
Sandrin		1	3	
Sermisy			2	
Brack				1
Crecquillon	2		7	
Arcadelt		1	3	
Berchem	1	1		
Godard			1	
Cadeac			1	
Canis			1	
Clemens	2		3	2
Hollander				1
Pathie			1	
Ferabosco, D.		1		
Regnart				2
Rore		4	1	
Scandellus		1		1
Zirler				1
Gosse			1	
Lupi Didier II			2	
Lupus	2			
Azzaiola		1		
Lasso	13	3	13	3
Dressler	1			
Morell			1	
Meiland	2			
Ivo de Vento				1
Eccard	1			
Anonymous		1		7

A good introduction to Melchior Newsidler is his "Fantasia super Anchor che col partire" (Mus Ms 1627, No. 12; TRANSCRIPTION No. 139), a parody of Cipriano de Rore's madrigal, which sometimes precedes it in the sources (Ibid., No. 11; TRANSCRIPTION No. 138). Rore's madrigal treats the text in the usual renaissance point-of-imitation technique, giving each line a distinct musical subject (shown with the letters A through H on the transcriptions and at the end of TRANSCRIPTION No. 139 abstracted from the intabulation). Newsidler quotes each of Rore's subjects in turn, expanding and commenting upon them (on one occasion employing augmentation) until he has created a parody almost twice the length of the

original madrigal. Perhaps in keeping with the mood of the madrigal text, Newsidler is here rather restrained with ornamentation. The intabulation and fantasia do appear, however, in his ³ Deutsch Lauten-Buch, a publication supervised by him. In this print both intabulation and fantasia appear in slightly more embellished readings, an interesting phenomenon which we will examine in greater detail later. (The beginning of the printed version is shown at the end of TRANSCRIPTION No. 139.)

Information about Melchior Newsidler's life is fairly abundant.⁴ For our purposes it will suffice to provide a short chronology of his activities as the foundation for discussion of his music as it comes down in the Herwarth tablatures and in Paris, Ms Rés 429.

1531: Born in Nuremberg, eldest son of the lutenist Hans Newsidler (b. Pressburg, 1508, d. Nuremberg, 1563) and brother of ⁵ Conrad (also a lutenist).

1552: Receives Augsburg citizenship on December 31st. Head of the Augsburg town "Stille Musik."

³ Strassburg: Jobin, 1574.

⁴ Adolf Layer's essay, "Melchior Neusiedler," provides the most thorough biographical information, and from it derives most of the information contained in the articles by Kurt Dorfmueller in MGG, IX, 1407-11, and Hans Radke in The New Grove, "Neusidler." A few letters from Melchior, several of which Layer seems to have been unaware, were lost only recently. I will have occasion to mention them later.

⁵ See Hans Radke for up-to-date information, The New Grove, XIII, 156-8.

1561: Returns briefly to Nuremberg to assist in the up-bringing of his brother Henslein (b. 1553). This brother and possibly Conrad (b. 1541; d. in Augsburg after 1604) follow him to Augsburg.

1563ff.: Travels to Italy (according to Fétis,⁶ in the company of Philippe Camerarius). This is the year of plague in Augsburg.

1566: Il primo libro intabolutura di liuto Melchior Newsidler Alemanno, Sonatore di Liuto in Augusta, ove sono Madrigali, Canzon Francesi, Pass'e mezi, Saltarelli & alcuni suoi Ricercari (Venice: Gardano, 1566), dedicated to Johann Langnauer; and Il Secondo Libro . . . ove sono Motetti, Canzon Francesi, Pass'e mezi & . . . Ricercari (ibid., 1566), dedicated to Melchior Linck.

1571: A selection of pieces from the 1566 Gardano print is published at Louvain by Phalèse & Bellère, and included in their later volumes. It is probably through these Dutch prints that Newsidler's works reach England, where they appear in some manuscripts along with works of John Dowland.

1572: Bernard Jobin's Newerlessner . . . Lautenstueck are published in Strassburg. It includes some pieces drawn from Newsidler's work: perhaps Jobin's interest may have prompted

⁶ Fétis, "Neusiedler," VI, 307.

Newsidler to offer his book of 1574 to Jobin for publication.

1573: Benedictus de Drusina, Melchior's student, publishes the contents of the 1566 Gardano print at Frankfurt an der Oder, "translating" it from Italian into German, as Tabulatura continens Praeantissimas (Eichorn, 1573), dedicated by Drusina to August, Elector and Duke of Saxony.

1574: Travels to Strassburg to supervise the publication by Jobin of his Teutsch Lautenbuch, dedicated to Princess Dorothea, Duchess of Bavaria and Wittenberg. In this year Hans Fugger commissions his portrait at a cost of 61 Gulden 20 Kreutzer. It is probably not the one by the Venetian-resident artist Paris Bordone, now in the Oslo National Gallery.

1576: Applies for (but does not receive) a position at the Stuttgart court. According to Fétis (loc. cit.), Gardano reprints the 1566 books in this year, and again in 1595 (no copies are extant; but the latter date is confirmed in Goehler, Mess-Katalogen, item 1.674.)

1580: Receives appointment as lutenist to Ferdinand II and resides in Innsbruck, as well as Augsburg (he receives "Reisegeld" for his travels between the two cities). Salary: 25 Gulden, plus 5 Gulden for subsistence and lessons.

1581: Dismissed from Innsbruck for eating meat during Lent.

1583 ff.: Fugger accounts show frequent payments to Melchior at New Year's and for his performances "bey der Tafel," at banquets, and while sledding. These payments are rather substantial and amount to at least 42 florins for the year 1583.

1587: According to Fétis, a volume of six intabulations of Josquin motets for six voices is published in Venice.

1589-90: Since he is ill with gout, he receives alms from the Fuggers of at least 12 florins, paid upon the intercession of Marcus Welser. Dies in 1590, or shortly thereafter.

1595: The Strassburg Lautenbuch is reprinted by Jobin, and two years later one bearing the title Teutsch Lautenbuch schoener neuer Lautenstück,⁷ suggesting a second volume with different ("neuer") contents. The first book of 1566 is again reprinted in Venice, in 1595.

I have alluded to the possibility that the Munich lute manuscripts may contain works in Newsidler's hand. If so, they would be by far the most extensive autographs by a major re-

7

The entries in Goehler, Messkatalogen, 1.674-6, the following (numerous "sics" are needed, but it should be noted that the Messkatalogen often transcribe title pages quite accurately, errors and all, and may thus signal different press runs):

Il pr. lib. intabulatura di Lauto di M. N. Alemano, Senatore di Liuto in Augusta ore sono Madr., Canzon Francesci, Passemezi, Saltarelli & alcuni suni Ricercari. Novam. da lui poste in luce. fol. Venet. 1595.

Teutsche Lautenbuch, darinnen künstlich Muteten, Liebl. Ital., Französ., teutsche Stücke, frölich teu. Däntz, Passomazzo, Saltarelle, u. 3 Fantaseyen. Alles mit fleiss ausgesetzt, auch artlich und zierlich coloriert, d. M. N. fol. Strassb. 1586, 1595.

Teutsch Lautenbuch schoener neuer Lautenstück etc., so mit Fleiss zusam. getragen d. [Weylandt] M. N. fol. Strassb. gedr. b. Jobin [in Verl. Tobias Lützen.] 1597. [Weylandt = deceased]

8
naissance lutenist.

On December 23, 1577, Newsidler wrote to Duke Wilhelm II, sending wishes for "a radiantly good and peaceful New Year." He mentions that in previous years he had sent lute pieces for the New Year, and that this year his greetings included a few "gar guette" German dances. The letter reads as follows (a facsimile⁹ is provided in PLATE II, below).

Durchleuchtiger hochgeborner Fürst Genediger herr / Eure
Fürstlichen Genaden / sendt mein vnderthenigste dienst /
samt wünschung eines Glückselligen guetten und fridlichen
Newen Jars Jederzeit beuor / demnach sich E. F. G. Ge-
nedigst zuerinneren wissen / das ich derselben wie Jar her /
ettliche stück auff die lautten Zum Newen Jar vnderthenigst
presentiert / hab ich denselben brauch izt / auch nachkhumen
wollen / vnd derwegen etlich gar guette deusche thentz
zusamen geschriben / welche ich (dieweil ich selbst zu E. F.
G. nicht khumen khinden) E. F. G. hiemit vnderthenigst
pressentieren thue / mit vnderthenigster bitt E. F. G.
wollen dieselben mit Genedigem willen ohn Vnd auffnemen / /
deren ich mich darneben vnderthenigst befolchen due / datum
Augspurg den 23 December Anno 77

E. F. G.

vnderthenigster

gehorsamer

Melchior Newsidler

8
Extant are autograph entries and corrections in the hand of John Dowland. An entry in the now lost Dohna-Lauk Stammbuch is thought to be Bakfark's, and we do have commonplace books by important players such as Galilei, Bottrigari and Cavalcanti.

9
Munich, Staatsarchiv für Oberbayern, H. R. Fasc. 478, No. 734. The date 1567 given in Boetticher, Lasso, is incorrect. He simply noted the modern penciled date given on the file folder.

[Addressed:]

Dem Durchleuchtigen Hochgebornen Fürsten vñnd Herrn Herrn
Wilhalm, Pfalzgraffen bey Rein / Herzog in Obern vñd Nidern
Bayern / Meinem genedigem fürsten vñnd Herrn..

Do the works mentioned by Newsidler survive in Munich? The evidence is strong, but not entirely conclusive. The most likely candidates are the pieces copied by Scribe A. These do not include "etlich gar guette deusche thentze," to be sure, but of the lute books in the Herwarth acquisition more than half were lost, and certainly popular German dances of the day are more likely to be used (and lost) than the intabulations of motets and madrigals that do survive among the works copied by Hand A.

x x x x

Before examining the relationships of the concordances with pieces copied by Hand A, a short digression is necessary in order to examine how lute tablatures were disseminated in the 16th century. The intabulation, the most prevalent genre of 16th-century instrumental music, requires special attention, since most of Newsidler's output, and that of Hand A, consists of such pieces.

Sixteenth-century publications and manuscripts of lute and keyboard music are saturated with intabulations based on favorite vocal part music. The model is moulded to the playing capabilities of the intended instrument and invariably clothed in the ornate coloration of runs, trill-like figures, turns, mordents, etc., that transform the original into an elaborate, idiomatic virtuoso display piece.

Intabulations can provide much information about performance practices, and lute intabulations, in particular (since they give exact indications of accidentals), can provide important resources for the realization of *musica ficta*, and the style of embellishment may provide clues for improvisation.¹⁰ Published books containing intabulations by famed German "colorists" such as Ochsenskhun, Kargel, Jobin and Waissel, must have enjoyed popular

10

There may very well be, as I suspect, regional preferences in both *musica ficta* and ornamentation, but the question is far from being settled. For this reason, it is necessary to determine the regional paternities of the many intabulations coming down to us; German anthologies may contain unchanged Italian intabulations, for example.

11
appeal due to the style of ornamentation they employed. Italian
intabulations of Parisian chansons, of course, paved the way for
the fecund canzona da sonare. Unfortunately the intabulation has
been little studied, and conclusions will be valid only when the
12
entire repertory has been surveyed.

The examination of a few samples will illustrate the phenomena and lay the groundwork for our discussion of music in the New-sidler fascicle. But first, it is necessary to establish some principles.

The process of intabulation was doubtlessly a laborious one, as the sketches elsewhere in the Munich manuscripts testify, and it seems hardly likely that every version of an intabulation was made from scratch. Lutenists appear to have usually taken over an existing intabulation, adding, changing, or adopting the embellishment of another.
13

11
Evidence points to none of these lutenists ever having published their own original compositions, such as fantasias and ricercars. Several of Kargel's fantasias have been identified as colored versions of works by others, Ochsenkhun published no abstract music or dances, and Jobin (an amateur) and Waissel (a teacher and pastor in northern Germany) acknowledge in the prefaces to their books that they are simply publishing choice pieces collected over the years from diverse locales.

12
See Thibault, "Instrumental Transcriptions," and Brown, "Accidentals and Ornamentation," for two recent studies.

13
In this discussion I am using the terms "arranger," "arrangements," etc., to refer to adaption of an intabulation by a later lutenist, in contrast to the ciphering of an intabulation directly from the vocal model.

The construction of a genealogy of lute tablatures, as they were disseminated, therefore, is not always possible, except when a piece is copied or printed exactly (as in the case of the Phalèse publications, and books like those of Heckel with its heavy borrowing from Wecker, and of Gerle [1552], from Venetian prints). Judging from the lute's popularity, large quantities of lute music must have circulated in print and in manuscript, and a great many generations of intervening versions have been lost.¹⁴ Careful examination can provide some clues, however, especially when a tablature was transferred from source to source, or edited by a famed lutenist. The relationship between an intabulation as first

14

In this discussion I do not wish to suggest that in any of the instances one version of an intabulation was made directly from another. (There are, as we shall see, examples in the Munich manuscripts where a lutenist did work from a known source in preparing an ornamented version. Also Berlin, Mus Ms 40598, contains embellishments added in a second hand.) The amount of lute music that has been lost must be tremendous, and unquestionably many intermediate versions of the intabulations cited here must have existed at one time.

In 1552 Morlaye contracted for 1200 copies of the de Rippe volume, yet today only two copies are known. And as Heartz (Attainnant, p. 122) comments, this was the normal press run for music in the 16th century. Some tablatures which have survived may indeed be accounted for by unusual circumstances; such as Capirola's student (as he writes in the preface) having his lute book illuminated so that it would be preserved, if not for its music, for its pictures.

The lute was the most popular instrument of its time. Even as late as 1701 Thomas Janowka waggishly commented that one could cover the roofs of the palaces in Prague with lutes (quoted in Vogl, "Johann Anton Losy," 59), and they certainly must have had music to play. In 1566 the Fugger inventory alone included 141 lutes (Smith, "Fugger Inventory") yet Pohlmann's fairly extensive list shows that only 55 instruments built before 1613 now survive in museums around the world (see his Laute, Chitarone, pp. 298-408).

made from the model and the later appearance of that same intabulation, enlivened and colored by a number of successive lutenists can become very complex. Each lutenist might in turn adopt what appealed to his fancy from the previous version, sometimes encrusting additional ornamentation on top of that in the earlier arrangement. This is certainly evident in several versions of "Io mi son giovinett'e" in TRANSCRIPTION No. 140. In other cases, the scribe not wishing to waste ink on an obvious cadential ornament, might omit it.¹⁵ Sometimes it is possible to spot, in an apparent re-working of one of their intabulations, the remnants of the distinctive style of ornamentation of a master lutenist, such as¹⁶ Albert de Rippe or Valentin Bakfark.

A number of factors can be used to distinguish families of intabulations, although any one factor is usually not sufficient to determine lines in the genealogical sense. These factors, which we shall discuss shortly, include:

(1) common realization of musica ficta (as MUSICAL EXAMPLE 1 shows, there is usually not too much unanimity among the lutenists

15

This is the case in some of the fantasias by Francesco da Milano in The Siena Lute Book at The Hague.

16

Albert's style is fairly easy to distinguish, as will be evident from some of the comparative examples to follow. He is fond of a very idiomatically lutenistic "broken style" that distributes tones of a chord in unpredictable ways, sometimes top note, middle note, bottom note, another time, middle, bottom, and top note, etc. His style is very much related to 17th-century "style brisé," and indeed may be at its roots. (The matter has not yet been thoroughly investigated.)

Bakfark's intabulations may be recognized by their use of dotted rhythms.

in their application of ficta),

(2) similar or obvious encrustation of embellishment,

(3) unique or unusual ciphers (using 6 on the A course, rather than 1 on the D, for example, when each would be possible),

MUSICAL EXAMPLE 1: "Io mi son giovinett'e"



Table for Musical Example I

	(a)	(b)	(c)	(d)	(e)	(f)	(g)
266, No. 11	#	#		#	x	#	#
266, No. 135	#	#		#	x	#	#
Jobin (1572)	#	#		#	x	#	#
Galilei (1563)				#			
Hove (ca. 1612)	#				#		
Newsidler (1566)	#	#		#		#	
Fallamero 40032, p. 268	#		b		#	#	
Galilei (1584)	#	#			#		
Galilei (1584)						#	

x reads the note "b" in tablature.

(4) the tuning selected for the intabulation; (transposi-

17

The renaissance lutenist, in tuning his instrument, is invariably advised to pitch the top string as high as comfortably possible, and then tune the other strings. Lutes in duets and larger groupings are simply assigned relative pitches in the sources, e.g., that the second lute is a fourth below the first.

This does not mean, however, that intabulations should necessarily be transcribed using a tuning that will reproduce the pitch level of the model. If one were to transcribe intabulations back into the pitch levels of the models, a number of nominal tunings seem to have been used in the Renaissance, such as B natural, D, C, F, etc., as well as the more usual G (which in the 16th century was favored in Italy and France) and A (favored in Germany).

The G tuning has become standard in modern lute editions made in all countries except Germany, where scholars and editors still insist on using A tuning to transcribe even English and Italian tablatures. Reading from transcriptions made in tunings other than G is annoying to performers and others accustomed to conceiving a transcription according to the courses and frets that would be used in the tablature. And secondly, it is not the way in which a renaissance musician thought of his instrument.

Benvenuto Disertori in his edition of the Bossinensis arrangements of frottole for voice and lute and Charles Jacobs in his various editions of Spanish vihuela music (published without tablature!) have misunderstood this.

To transcribe in other than the standard G tuning may, in fact, misrepresent the intent of the original. There is no mention of different sized lutes in Bossinensis, as Disertori implied with his "lauto grosso in mi," and "lauto piccolo in la." Bossinensis simply indicates the relationship between the pitch of the voice part and a string or stopped note. Disertori transposes the lute part to fit the pitch of the voice part in mensural notation. Had he, however, used just one tuning, and transposed the voice part, he would have discovered that the voice part falls conveniently within a single tessitura. To use Disertori's edition, one would have to perform one frottola with an alto and a large lute, then the next with a soprano and a small lute, etc. Bossinensis was actually quite practical in preparing his collection. Given 16th-century notions about transposition, it may be demonstrated that Bossinensis thought of his lute tuned to G.

tion seems invalid here). One should bear in mind that re-naissance lute tunings are nominal, and it is (to my knowledge) Praetorius who in 1603 first assigns specific pitch names to the different sized instruments. The choice of nominal tuning seems to have been determined, as various treatises on intabulation practice suggest, by the range and mode of the model, although certainly ease in playing must also have dictated the choice. Apparently lutenists were quite capable of conceiving the frets as representing a number of different hexachords, a logical assumption, since lutenists must have had to transpose a great deal when playing in ensemble. (This may, in fact, account for passages with cross relations when imitated at a higher or lower pitch, since the lutenist may have been thinking in different

 18

I know of only one instance of a tablature being transposed, and a questionable one at that. The curious Venetian lute book of Antonio di Becchi contains (without identification of the original composers) a number of fantasias and ricercars by Francesco da Milano and Francesco Spinacino in which the tablature is a tone lower. This results in some of the downward lines jumping up a seventh when the original descended to the instrument's low G. Could di Becchi have been intabulating from ensemble fantasias and ricercars? One piece (BrownI 1568/1, No. 38), masquerading as a fantasia is in fact an intabulation of the anonymous chanson "L'autre jour je vis par ung matin." (It is not a parody; see TRANSCRIPTION Nos. 38 and 39 from Mus Ms 266 and di Becchi's publication.) The extent to which ensemble ricercars and fantasias are current in the lute repertory, where they belong not with original works conceived for lute, but under the category of intabulation, has not received much investigation, but deserves attention if we are to have an understanding of the growth of idiomatic writing for the lute.

Other instances of ensemble music intabulated as lute ricercars or fantasias includes the Willaert ensemble ricercars in Domenico Bianchini's 1548 publication and the ricercar/fantasias (one word is used on the titlepage, the other in the print) by Julio da Modena and Willaert in da Crema's Book VII. (The unique ricercar/fantasias that da Crema attributes to Francesco da Milano may likewise have been ensemble pieces originally; they are not typical of his other pieces.)

hexachords. The question is an important one, deserving of thorough investigation.)

(5) the original intabulations will differ from one another if made from models having variant readings.

(6) It is also possible to spot a family of intabulations by the way in which later arrangers may have mis-interpreted the version from which they were working. The lutenist/arranger may "hear" and ornament a cadential suspension at a point where there is none in the vocal model, or interpret an earlier intabulation as a series of chords, rather than the contrapuntal lines that may have been intabulated for performance on the lute with the great care of the pen of masters such as Francesco da Milano or Melchior Newsidler. Later incarnations of an intabulation may, therefore, break the cross rhythms of polyphony, even destroying the original voice-leading.

All of these changes may find their way into subsequent arrangements, and when taken together, permit classification of intabulations into families.

The problem of tracing lineages of 16th-century lute intabulations is a very complex one, as even a cursory look at the comparative examples supplied in this section will show. Many common features, especially ornamentation, may be coincidental, rather than borrowed. This is evident from the way in which "Susanna ung jour" is ornamented in the versions given in TRANSCRIPTION No. 141. It does not seem that lutenists would make a conflation from several arrangements, but rather that a common repertory of "riffs," as a popular musician would call them today,

existed. Occasionally they may have been placed at the same position in different intabulations or arrangements. On the other hand, there do seem to be examples in which the ornamentation is indeed borrowed directly from a predecessor and altered in the later arrangement. Only a detailed examination of all features can suggest true lineage, and it is not always the most obvious element, embellishment, that may be the deciding factor.

Many of the features may be illustrated in 14 intabulations of Arcadelt's "Quando io penso al martire," shown in the fold-out, MUSICAL EXAMPLE 2. It rivals "Susanna ung jour," "Ung gay bergier," and Josquin's "Benedicta es coelorum Regina" in standing among the most popular intabulation in the repertory, and unlike those pieces, seems always to have been intabulated using G tuning. I have tried to group the intabulations and arrangements into what may be families. (Complete citations are given in the Concordances):

Family A

Francesco da Milano	(publ., Venice, 1546)	[FdaM]
---------------------	-----------------------	--------

Family B

Francesco Vindella	(Venice, 1546)	[Vin]
Albert de Rippe	(publ., Paris, 1553)	[AdeR]
Antonio Paladino	(Lyons, 1553)	[Pa]

Family B.1

Mus Ms 266, No. 127	(ca. 1545)	
Melchior Newsidler	(Strassburg, 1574)	[MN]

Family B.2

Valentin Bakfark	(Lyons, 1553)	[Bak]
Mathheus Waissel	(Frankfurt/Oder, 1573)	[Wais]

EXAMPLE VI. A (beginning)

	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
MODEL								
FDAM (1546)								
VIN (1546)								
ADER (1553)								
PAL (1553)								
No. 127								
M.N (1574)								
BAK (1553)								

7

8

9

10

11

12

13

14

First system of musical notation, measures 7 through 14. The notation is arranged in a grid with 5 rows and 8 columns. Each measure contains musical notation for a single staff, typically featuring a treble clef, a key signature of one sharp (F#), and a 4/4 time signature. The notation includes various note values (quarter, eighth, and sixteenth notes), rests, and accidentals. Measure 11 includes the handwritten annotation "reass e" above the staff.

Second system of musical notation, measures 15 through 22. The notation continues in a grid with 3 rows and 8 columns. The musical notation is consistent with the first system, featuring treble clef, one sharp key signature, and 4/4 time. Measures 15-22 show a continuation of the melodic and harmonic material, with some measures containing more complex rhythmic patterns and accidentals. Measure 22 includes a handwritten annotation "h" above the staff.

10

11

12

13

14

15

16

17

Handwritten musical score on a grid of 8 columns and 8 rows. The columns are numbered 10 through 17 at the top. The notation includes various musical symbols such as notes, rests, and accidentals. A handwritten note "reads e" is present above the second staff in column 11. The score is written in black ink on a white background.

M. 110
 (1574)

BAK
 (1553)

WAIS
 (1573)

Ochsen-
 kun
 (1558)

Tobin
 (1572)

ARIS
 (1556)

No.
 1161

(illeg.)

Family B.3

Sebastian Ochsenskhun	(Heidelberg, 1558)	[O]
Bernard Jobin	(Strassburg, 1572)	[Jobin]

Family C

Paris Ms 429	(ca. 1550)	[Paris]
Wolf Heckel	(Strassburg, 1556)	[H]
Mus Ms 266, No. 161	(ca. 1550)	[No. 161]

I would like to point out some identities and differences among the various arrangements and intabulations according to category.

Model:

Several possible versions of Arcadelt's model appear to have been used in the intabulations that served for the extant arrangements.

(1) FdaM, Paris and Bak seem to be lacking the passing-tone motion of the alto line of m. 6-7.

(2) Vin lacks the motion but has the g eighth-note on the second eighth-note of m. 7.

(3) FdaM, AdeR, Bak and Paris are lacking the note g on the second eighth-note of m. 4.

(4a) Paris, H and No. 161 seem to have an alto line, m. 8-9, that ascends "e-f#-g;" in Bak, MN and No. 127, the note e is omitted and the previous g treated as preparation for a suspension resolved to "f#". Conversely, at m. 4 No. 161 and Bak omit the note e and introduce a suspension. The tritone c/f# of m. 5 seems to have caused trouble since it doesn't sound too well if one fails to hear the lines from which it derives; this may account for the f natural in AdeR and the re-sounding of the a in O and

Jobin.

(4b) the model used by FdaM and others has a rest and leaps from "e" to "g."

(4c) Jobin seems to have a model with "d-e-g" (note the voice-leading; or has Jobin missed the suspension "d-c" from the previous measure in making his arrangement? Cf. Wais)

(4d) In m. 16, O and Jobin share similar unique readings, which may be attributed either to their being based on a different model, or (more likely) a confused earlier intabulation.

Embellishment:

(1) The similar embellishment in MN and No. 127, which passes through the middle range of the instrument is typical of early intabulations. Also see Jobin (at m. 13), Vin (at m. 14) and AdeR (at m. 17). The type of ornamentation that serves to preserve and clarify the voice-leading is typical of mid-century intabulations and arrangements (e.g., Bak and Wais at m. 4).

(2) The escape-tone at measure 3 in Wais and Bak is pivotal in distinguishing their lineage from that of No. 127, Vin, Pal, O, Jobin and MN, with their re-iterated (rather than sustained) "e". Is it possible that the escape tone derives from a mis-reading of an arrangement such as AdeR (the ciphers would be the same: 2-3-0)? A similar feature at m. 10 seems to group No. 127, MN, O, and Jobin together, while Wais and Bak extend the line with a "c" escape note.

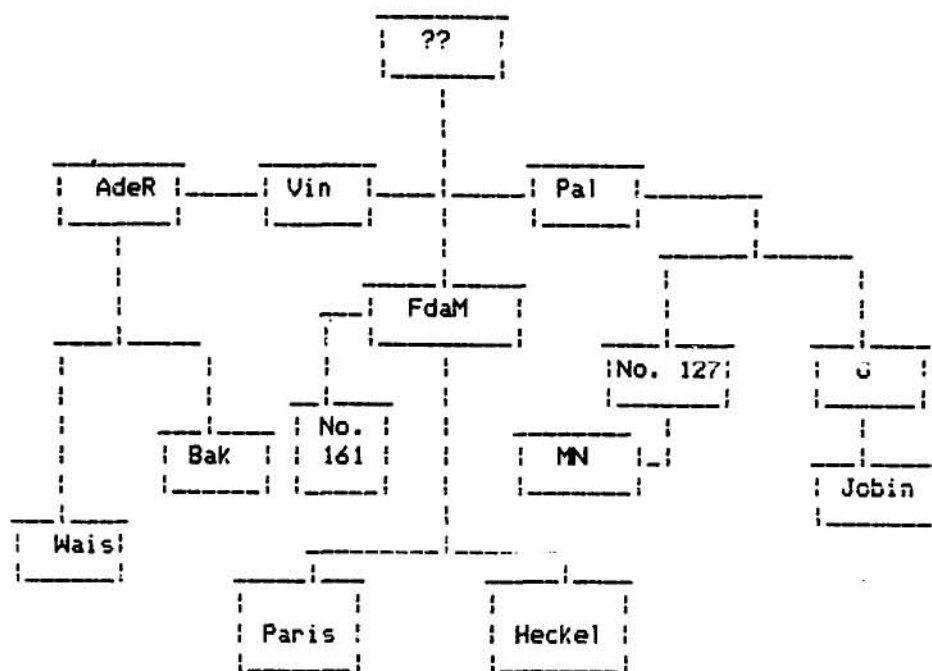
(3) The ornamentation in m. 12, 14 and 15 in O, Jobin, and Wais, seems to have its basis in an arrangement such as Pal. A relationship between O and Jobin is evident from the incorrect

rhythm at m. 12. Intabulations Wais (at m. 14) and Bak (at m. 15) seem to have added an encrustation of ornamentation to the arrangements.

(4) Vin, AdeR, Jobin and Wais share a common anticipation at m. 11.

I would like to suggest the hypothetical lineage shown below, with a reiteration of the caveat given earlier: a large number of sources are lost, and I do not propose that the pieces shown with lines in the table were copied or arranged directly from one-another. It seems, in fact, that our discussion suggests that many versions intervened between those which have survived. Only O and Jobin seem closely associated.

TABLE



After this digression we can now return to the Newsidler

fascicle. The simple relationships among the pieces copied by Hand A and their sources will be quite apparent, as I would like to illustrate.

Pieces copied by Scribe A have concordances elsewhere much closer than those observed in the 14 intabulations of "Quand'io penso al martire," in which only the Ochsenkhun and Jobin intabulations seem to be related. This is quite evident from a few comparative examples. For the most part, the concordances show encrustations of ornamentation, such as the three intabulations of "Io mi son giovinett'e" mentioned previously.

MUSICAL EXAMPLE 3A suggests a hierarchy, with Jobin in the middle, if it was he who made the arrangement (he was, professionally, a printer and engraver, and most of his publications reprint the work of others; he was associated with Melchior Newsidler, as we have seen). His arrangement retains the ornamentation of measures 1 and 4 of Ms 266, No. 11 (copied by Scribe A). But in the second half of measure 3, Jobin's version has an encrustation of 64th-notes, added to the Ms 266 version. (The differences in the first part of the 32nd-note figure may be misplaced ciphers). The arrangement in Ms 266, No. 134 (copied by Scribe C 2), adds ornamentation to all three figures. Similar relationships among Scribe C2, Ms 1627 and Newsidler's 1574 print are shown in MUSICAL EXAMPLE 3B.

MUSICAL EXAMPLES 3A and 3B

Musical Example 3A.

To mi son giovinette

266, No. 11

Jobin (1572)

266, No. 134

3 0 2 3

3 0 2 3

3 0 2 3 0 2 3 1

Musical Example 3B.

Anchor che

266, No. 125

1627, No. 11

MN 1574

6 4

m. 15

m. 8

m. 15

m. 8

m. 15

no tie 6 4

6 4

m. 15

The situation is a bit more complicated in MUSICAL EXAMPLE 4 (on the following page), intabulations of "Signor mio caro." They are certainly related since both omit one measure contained in the vocal model. The Newsidler 1566 printed arrangement seems later in the hierarchy, but the actual situation may be that both stem from a common ancestor, now lost. This is suggested by other concordances between the pieces in the Ms 266 fascicle (Nos. 1-14) and that print. Although equally overlaid with mordents, the prints have them at different places. Cf., in particular, "Carita di Signore," Ms 266, No. 3, and 1566, No. 8. The British Library copy (printed on papers with the watermark of a crossbow/countermark "AA") has handwritten corrections throughout (I have not recently examined the characteristics of the hand that made the entries). Many of these follow readings in the Scribe A fascicle of Mus ms 266, suggesting a later provenance for the manuscript versions. See MUSICAL EXAMPLE 5, passages from a passamezzo by Newsidler.

MUSICAL EXAMPLE 5.

MN 1566

266, No. 8

Handwritten corrections in GB:Lbm copy.

266 AND Lbm corrections

MUSICAL EXAMPLE 4.

Signor mio caro (Rore/M. Newsidler)

Print: 1566, II, No. 7

MJs Ms 260, No. 2

(sic)

Print

MJs Ms 200

* = corrections in GB: Lbm - opy

one beat missing in both

⑥ ⑦ * * ⑧

MUSICAL EXAMPLES 4 (continued) and 6.

Print

Mus. Ex. 4

Mus. Ex. 6

Mus. Example 6 Vray dieu disoit.

266,
No. 137

266,
No. 6

MN
1566

m.13

m.20

No. 137

No. 6

MN
1566

MUSICAL EXAMPLE 6 (on the previous page), "Uray dieu disoit," shows the relationship between an arrangement copied by Scribe C 2 and the Scribe A/1566 versions.

I have indicated usual left-hand fingerings in some of the transcriptions, since this, in particular, may be a unique feature. High positions are particularly typical of Newsidler's output, so much so that it is sometimes possible to spot a Newsidler piece simply from the many ciphers indicating the eighth, ninth and even tenth fret. He will choose a nominal tuning for an intabulation that will sometimes cause the piece to be intabulated using high positions, when other lutenists will select a tuning that permits many open strings and first- and second-positions. Even in pieces where a low position is feasible, Newsidler will opt for a solution incorporating a higher position. MUSICAL EXAMPLE 6 is very typical of his procedure. Most lutenists would use second and third frets for passages such as those shown in measure 2, for example. Also see MUSICAL EXAMPLE 3 B.

The superius of Ferabosco's "Io mi son giovinett'e" (TRANSCRIPTION No. 140) lies particularly high in the vocal original. Of the lutenists' intabulations and arrangements only Newsidler's uses a "conventional" A tuning to intabulate the work. The others all select C or D tunings, which of course, permits the first note of the superius to be played on the top course open, or second fret. In Newsidler's hands, exploitation of the upper regions may be put to dramatic purpose, as in Ricercar Quarto from Book II (1566). The piece gradually soars into higher and higher positions, attaining a stratospheric g in measure 58, four-fifths of the way

through (see PLATE I and MUSICAL EXAMPLE 7).

MUSICAL EXAMPLE 7



Relevant concordances for the pieces copied by Scribe A are the following (prints are identified by BrownI sigla):

- 1566/2 and 1566/3 (the Venetian prints by Gardano),
- 1572/1 (the anthology edited by Jobin),
- 1573/3 (Waissel's anthology drawn from works by a number of lutenists),
- 1574/5 (the Newsidler works published by Jobin), and
- 1586/5 (Sixt Kargel's anthology, which likewise borrows from a number of lutenists).

The sign "<" ("greater than") indicates that the concordant work has an encrustation of ornamentation added to the version as copied by Hand A, and the sign ">" ("lesser than"), that the concordant version has less ornamentation.

Mus Ms 266, Nos. 1-14

1. (1v-2) Alla dolce Ombra di Cipriano / A 4
2. (2v-3) Signor mio Caro di Cipriano / A 4 <1566/2, No. 7
=1572/1,
No. 8
3. (3v-4) Carita di signore: / A 4 di Cipriano <1566/02, No. 8
4. (4-4v) Con leyfus'io / Jaques de pont
does not =1566/02 (different tuning)
5. (5v-6) Pis ne me Peult Venir a 5 / Criquillon <1572/1, No. 16
6. (6-6v) Vray dieu disois A 4 Orlando <1566/2, No. 15
=1572/1,
No. 20
7. (7v-8) SousSpirs ardans (Arcadelt) <266, No. 136
<1566/2, No. 10
- 8-9. (8v-9) Passa e mezo M[elchior] N[ewsidler] =1566/2, No. 13
10. (10v-11) Bewar mich herr [Zirler?] <1572/1, No. 24
<1574/5, No. 23
11. (11v-12) Iomi son giovinetta [Ferabosco] <1572/1, No. 10
<Mus ms 266,
No. 134

12. (13 [formerly 76ff.]) Hay Lass A. 4 di Orlando <1566/2, No. 12
<1572/1, No. 21

13. (13v-14) Susanna / Vng Jour A.5. / =1566/3, No. 7
di Orlando <1573/3, No. 22
>Mus ms 266,
No. 149
(That is, No. 149 is the model for the versions of Mus ms
266, No. 13 and 1573/03, No. 22)

14. (15-16v) Sancta Maria A.6. vocum / di Vertalot

[unicum]

Mus ms 1627, Nos. 1-12

1. (1-3) Gustate et videte. Prima Pars [Lasso] =1566/3, No. 6
Diuites Eguerunt: Secunda Pars =1586/5, No. 20

2. (3v-5) Bene Dicam Dominum: Prima Pars [Lasso] >1566/3, No. 6
In Domino: Secunda Pars =1586/5, No. 17

3. (5v-6v) Je ne me puis tenir d'aimer [Appenzeller] [unicum]

4. (6v-7v) Jouisance di adrian Willaert [unicum]

(does not=1566/3, No. 9, or 1572/1, No. 18)

5. (8v-9) Tutte La Nuit [Crecquillon] >266, No. 164

6. (9v-11) Je file quant Dieu me done >Paris, No. 14
de quoy [Gosse]

7. (11v) Cumo di aigio lasat'o Vita mia [Azzaiola]

Vocal Model: Munich, Mus ms 1503e, No. 1

8. (12) Tu mi fay star scontiento [G tuning]

Vocal Model: Munich, Mus ms 1503e, No. 2

9. (12v-13). La ferarese =Donaueschingen, I, fol. 10

[Unattributed in Donaueschingen,
but among pieces by Newsidler.]

10. (13v-14) Se dire lo soie [Appenzeller]

[unicum]

11. (14v-15) Anchor che col Partire. <1574/5, No. 21
 4 Vocum / Cipriano di Rore >266, No. 125

=?1571/6: Phalese & Bellere, publ., No. 114
 (same intabulation, but different ornamentation)

15. (15v-16v) Fantasia super anchor che col <1574/5, No. 46
 partire di M: Melchior
 Neusidler 1572

Mus Ms 2987, Nos. 37-38

37. (12-12v) Susanna Vng Jour
 M[elchior] N[ewsidler]
 [Lupi Didier II]

=?1586/5, No. 34
 (similar embellishment)

38. (13-13v) Per su hospiti boschi: / A.4. Voce di Constanze
 festa

[unicum]

Paris, Res 429

2. (2v-4) Passa e' mezo antico (c) =1574/5, No. 41
 Saltarello
3. (4v-6) Passa e' mezo antico (f) =1573/3, No. 28
 Saltarello
4. (6v-8) Passa e' mezo antico (d)
 Saltarello
5. (8v-10) Passa e' mezo antico (g)
 Saltarello
6. (10v-12) Passa e' mezo antico (e)
 Saltarello
7. (12v-13) chi Passa Per questa Strata (c/C)
9. (14v-22) In te domine Sprerauij / prima pars =1574/5, No. 5
 [Lupus]
 Et propter Nomen tuum / seconta pars
10. (22-29v) Vita In ligno moritur / prima pars <1574/5, No. 3
 [Senf]
 Qui prophetice / seconta pars
 Qui Expansis / Tertia pars

11. (38-38v) Stabat mater dolorosa / prima pars
[Josquin]
Eya mater / secunda pars
12. (38v-47) Benedicta Es Celorum / prima pars (1574/5, No. 1)
Perillu daue Secunda Pars
Nunc mater / Tertia pars
13. (47v-48v) Chi passa per questa strata (d/D)

This suggests the following schema, again recalling that intermediate versions may have existed at one time:

Scribe K (Padua), No. 164	<1627, No. 5
Scribe D (Italian), No. 149	<266, No. 13 = 1566/II, No. 10 (Waissel), 1573
Scribe C 2 (staffliner 1.7/1.1), No. 137	<266, No. 6 <1566/I, No. 15 =Jobin (1572), No. 20
Scribe C 2 (staffliner 1.6/1.3)	<1627, No. 11 (dtd. 1572) <MN 1574, No. 21
1627, No. 6	<Paris I, No. 14
1627, No. 12 (dtd. 1572)	<MN 1574, No. 46
Lost Source <1566/I & II, Nos. 7, 8, 10, 13 <266, Nos. 2, 3, 7-9	
266, No. 7	<Scribe C 2 (staffliner 1.6/0.8), No. 136
Paris I, Nos. 2, 10, 12	<MN 1574, Nos. 1-3
Paris I, No. 9	=MN 1574, No. 5
1627, Nos. 1-2	=Kargel (1586), Nos. 15, 17

Did the fascicles copied by Hand A not come with the Herwarth acquisition, the "Pintl" of manuscripts of little worth? Until the mid-19th century the lute manuscripts at Munich existed as unbound sheets stored in envelopes that became catch-alls for diverse and unrelated music, some from the 17th century, such as keyboard music and the parts for a ballet. Thus they may have indeed reached the ducal library by means other than the Herwarth acquisition. Furthermore, in some fascicles of the Munich lute manuscripts are entries by a Nebenschreiber, Hand BA, BZ, etc., whom I have suggested may have been Herwarth or perhaps a lutenist in his employ. That scribe often seems unable to resist scribbling something on a page of blank staves, at times even defacing what had been a beautifully, and perhaps professionally copied fascicle. Yet the pieces by Hand A in Mus Ms 266 have blank staves untouched by Hand BA, BZ, etc. Each piece is arranged carefully on facing pages, leaving blank staves at their ends. (Folios 13-18 were in Maier's arrangement of Mus Ms 266 placed as folios 76-81 but carry the same watermark, so belong together with the main fascicle. The fascicle may have started with the Verdelot motet, followed by the two chansons by Wilhelm's composer, Lasso).

The pieces are copied on fairly expensive paper, and this with the careful layout suggests a presentation copy. Newsidler's

initials in a monogram appear following the passamezzo/saltarello pair. In other places the initials or full name usually appears at the end of fascicles copied by Scribe A, and also at the end of the 1574 print. The bifolium in Mus Ms 2987 may have become reversed, since it seems appropriate to begin a presentation copy with "Per su hospiti boschi," and then end with the intabulation of Lupi's "Susanna ung jour" with Newsidler's initials.

Nos. 1-11

1-----|
 2-wm-----| |
 3-----| | |
 4-----| | | |
 5-----| | | | |
 6-wm---| | | | |
 7-----| | | | |
 8-wm---| | | | |
 9-wm-----| | | |
 10-wm-----| | |
 11-----| |
 12-wm-----|

13-wm-! Nos.
 14----| 12-14

 15-----|
 16----| | No. 14
 17-wm-| |
 18-wm---|

In attempting an answer, an examination of Newsidler's handwriting, as shown in his letter to Albrecht V (see PLATE II), seems essential. The letter is most certainly in his hand, since it shows little sign of being the work of a professional scribe, particularly when compared with the letter by the Italian "bassiste" to the Munich court, Agostino Persei (see PLATES III and IV.)

1
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Und gleichiger Carlsoberkammer Junger Kammerling Carl
 von Seiwigen Jann dem Ich habe ankommen, und E. K. G.
 allese geringfügige Sachen, die an der Regierung meines
 andern Jann dem Ich habe ankommen, und E. K. G.
 Hofhaltung, demnach aber E. K. G. die allam mein
 am englisch damals die ankommen nicht angetroffen,
 das Ich ankommen und demnach nach Italia verweisen,
 in dem Ich alle Sachen dem H. G. Orlando übergeben
 gestellt, mit die, also E. K. G. die also ankommen
 und demnach die Hofhaltung, und demnach also
 Jann dem Ich habe ankommen, das die mir will gemacht
 Jann dem Ich habe ankommen, damit Ich noch einmal Jann dem
 E. K. G. noch vor meinem das Jann dem Ich habe ankommen
 müßte,

15
 16
 17
 18
 19
 20
 21
 22
 23
 24

Und gleichiger Carlsoberkammer Junger Kammerling Carl
 von Seiwigen Jann dem Ich habe ankommen, und E. K. G.
 allese geringfügige Sachen, die an der Regierung meines
 andern Jann dem Ich habe ankommen, und E. K. G.
 Hofhaltung, demnach aber E. K. G. die allam mein
 am englisch damals die ankommen nicht angetroffen,
 das Ich ankommen und demnach nach Italia verweisen,
 in dem Ich alle Sachen dem H. G. Orlando übergeben
 gestellt, mit die, also E. K. G. die also ankommen
 und demnach die Hofhaltung, und demnach also
 Jann dem Ich habe ankommen, das die mir will gemacht
 Jann dem Ich habe ankommen, damit Ich noch einmal Jann dem
 E. K. G. noch vor meinem das Jann dem Ich habe ankommen
 müßte,

den Wert gefragt, hat er mir geantwortet, es sey ihm nicht feil
 wolle er auch nicht verkaufen, sondern E. K. G. freigegeben
 und unfertig verfahren, aber weil es nicht so bequemlich
 paßt, so das Ende Altjars mit mir heraus bringe, können
 verkaufen Sie das auf E. K. G. beforderung und mein
 widerstand im Italia,

Beschließend, weil es nicht mehr von 2. Absatz von
 meiner Seite der Aquilegia abwärts sind, und da die
 mein abwärts nicht mehr bringt, so gelangt an
 E. K. G. mein unfertiger Satz, und bequemlich mit dem
 abfertigen, mit gütlicher Erlaubnis der Herrschaften für
 dessen Befriedung, so Sie mir mit demselben Fortschreiten
 pflegt, einmahl noch dem Absatz abgeben,) damit nicht
 und wenn es nicht mehr und dem Ganzen zufrieden,
 E. K. G. und unfertig der G. dankende,

E. K. G.

The latter's (which was quoted in Chapter I), with its well-formed letters and scribal uniformity, must be the work of a professional Briefmaier. (It also seems unlikely that an Italian would have mastered German script so well.) The two stand comparison, since anomalies may assist us in defining the characteristics of Newsidler's handwriting.

There are a number of features common to both letters.

18

German lower-case Rs resemble our lower-case W. Melchior's hand is, however, a bit bi-lingual--as one might expect of a musician who travelled to Italy. Not always does he use the German form of the letter R, but rather mixes it with an Italic R, which resembles our lower-case U (see also the Italics in Persei's letter). The Rs in "Hochgeborner" (l. 1) and the ones in "herr" (line 2) use both forms, as does his signature, "Newsidler" using the Italic form, and "Melchior," the German. The word "December" (l. 19) also uses the Italic form.

Lower-case E in German script resembles our lower-case N or
19
printed lower-case R. Newsidler also uses the German form, as

18

For example in the Persei letter, the words "Hochgeborner" (line 1) "Jaren" (line 2), "erzaigung" (line 3), and "mir" (line 11), and in Newsidler's letter, the first R in "Hochgeborner" (line 1), "beuor" (l. 5), "vnterthenigste" (l. 3), and "Melchior" (l. 23).

19

See, for example in Persei's letter the words "-em" (l. 6), "meinem" (l. 13), "ettliche" (l. 3), "erzaigung" (l. 3), "Presentieren" (l. 5), etc.

in the words "herr" and "Genaden" (l. 2), "ettlich" (l. 7) and the last E in "pressentieren" (l. 14). But again, Newsidler's hand is²⁰ bi-lingual, since he also uses an Italic E.

The conventional lower-case M in German script is expanded, so that the upstroke does not re-trace the downstroke. That is, the letter has two dips in its midst. This is evident in most of the Persei Ms.²¹ Newsidler's Ms are, however, closer to ours,²² and sometimes have the second hump a bit higher than the first.

German lower-case Hs are made of two loops, usually connected²³ with the following letter.

The German lower-case letters CH are usually joined together in a figure in which the C resembles a cresting wave attached to

20

See the other Es in "pressentieren" (l. 14), in "beuor" (l. 5) and "Melchior" (l. 23).

21

See "mein" (l. 5), "mit" (l. 9), "mir" (l. 11) and "meinem" (l. 13).

22

See Newsidler's "meins" (l. 2), "demnach" (l. 5), "nachKhumen" (l. 10), "Khumen" (l. 13), "Genedigem" (l. 16), "auffnehmen" (l. 17) and "December" (l. 19).

23

See Persei's word "hab" (l. 7), etc., and Newsidler's "nachKhumen" (l. 11), "ettlich" (l. 7 & 11). Newsidler frequently does not connect the H to the following letter, as in the words "her" (l. 7), "nachKhumen" (l. 10) "welche" (l. 12), and many other places.

the lopped H, See Persei's and Newsidler's words "Hochgeborner" (line 1 in both letters), "Ich," and "Melchior" (line 23)--he'd²⁴ certainly want his name to be recognized. But--on other occasions the letter C in the formation CH is hardly a swell, let alone a cresting wave, and in contrast to the Persei H in the CH formation, which slants left to right, Newsidler's slants right to left, the bottom loop is not completed, and the downward portion of²⁵ the H sometimes intersects with the swell.

Newsidler's Ws are also different from those in Persei's²⁶ letter. Frequently Newsidler also indicates a W or U with a small half-circle left open on the right, as in several of those words, and in "Zum Neuen" (l. 8) and "Augspurg" (l. 19). (In Persei's the large pen flourishes, bordering on the decorative, are left open at the bottom.)

The D in "December" is made by combining what we would call an L and a reversed C, leaning heavily forward. The capital A of "Augspurg" and "Anno" are formed with three strokes, an upward one with a loop before the upstroke is made, a down-stroke which bends to the right, and then the cross-stroke.

24

Also Persei's "sachen" (l. 8), and "nicht" (l. 6), and Newsidler's, "ich" (l. 7 & 9), "nachkhumen" (l. 10), "welche" (l. 12).

25

See "fridlichen" (l. 4), "demnach sich" (l. 5), and (significantly towards the end of the letter when he may have been tired) "auch" (l. 10), "ich" (l. 12) and "ich mich" (l. 17).

26

Compare Persei's words "wiewol" (l. 8), "welchem" and "widerumb" (l. 18), and Newsidler's "wie" (l. 7), "welche" (l. 12), "wollen" (l. 15) and "Newsidler" (l. 23).

Unfortunately, there are not too many numerals in the letter. However, two sevens, a two and a three appear in line 19. The two is a German type, fallen forward, one might say. The three is narrower in its upper part than its lower, and the sevens seem to have been made with the pen grazing the paper before and after the numeral, creating a nib at the beginning and end.

Some of these features are found in the tablatures copied by Scribe A: The sevens with loop in Ms 266, No. 13, in particular, the small circles above Us and Ws (passim), and the three-stroke As with loop.²⁷ The toppled numeral two does not always appear in the tablature in the same form as in the letter, but does occasionally, perhaps during lapses in copying. (See PLATE V, line 4, measure 1, etc., and the date "1572."²⁸) The German type might²⁹ be inappropriate to Italian tablature.

²⁷ 266, No. 1, 12 and 13, Ms 2987, No. 38, and Paris I, fols. 4v and 37v.

²⁸ Also 266, No. 4 (measure 2), 266, No. 3 (fol. 4, line 4).

²⁹ Paris I, fol. 37v, Ms 266, Nos. 1, 12 and 13, and in Ms 2987, No. 38.

PLATE V.

Handwritten musical score, Plate V, featuring ten staves of music. The notation includes various notes, rests, and bar lines, with some numbers (e.g., 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7, 8, 9, 10, 11, 12) written below the notes, possibly indicating fingerings or measure numbers. The score is written in a cursive, handwritten style.

Handwritten text on the left margin:

Handwritten text, possibly a title or description, written vertically along the left margin of the musical score.

PLATE VI

14

Handwritten musical score for Plate VI, featuring ten staves of music. The notation includes various notes, rests, and dynamic markings (e.g., *f*, *fz*, *fz*, *fz*, *fz*, *fz*, *fz*, *fz*, *fz*, *fz*). The score concludes with the text "Finito l'opera" and "Vng. Jov. di Orlando".

The seven with nibs at the beginning and end appear often, as
30
well.

The reader, having perused the plates showing samples of Scribe A's work, may have wondered what conclusions may be drawn, since the titles of pieces copied by Scribe A are in Italic script and Newsidler's letter is in German.

Well, one (and unfortunately only one) title is in German script, "Bewar mich herr," added to the end of the piece, presumably when the scribe was tired after entering the tablature; Scribe A's titles are usually more elegant, as we have seen. (See PLATE VII.)

30

Additional examples of Newsidler's handwriting existed until recently, and my attempts to locate them have been unsuccessful. They may have been destroyed in World War II, or the call-numbers may have been changed:

(1) Undated letter to the Augsburg Rath with an appeal to settle differences among Stadtpeifer, quoted in Schletterer, "Aktenmaterial aus Augsburg," 5. (According to Schletter's transcript, some of the words are in Italics.)

(2) Letter recommending an Augsburg lutemaker to Archduke Ferdinand, Innsbruck, Landesregierungsarchive, Kunst-sachen, No. 710, III.34, cited in Layer, "Neusidler," 196.

(3) Letter dated 13 October 1561 to the Nuremberg Pflegschaftsbehoerde, quoted *ibid.*, 184.

(4) Letter requesting appointment to Stuttgart court. I have made no inquiries to Stuttgart.

PLATE VII.

Handwritten musical score for Plate VII, consisting of ten staves. The notation includes various note values (quarter, eighth, sixteenth notes), rests, and dynamic markings such as *ff* (fortissimo) and *f* (forte). The score concludes with a double bar line and the handwritten text *Finis. Behar mig for*.



The B consists of an L with superimposed and forward-leaning "3," similar to the D of "December," the E is the Italic type, the W has a final loop and the R is about half-way between the German and Italic types. The M resembles ours, rather than the German type, and has a second hill higher than the first, the CH is of the swelling, rather than "cresting wave" type, and slants right to left. The H is not connected to the following E in "herr," and that word has an Italic E, and both the German and the Italic types of R: compare the same word in the letter (line 2) and the two types in Newsidler's full signature, as well as the Rs in his name on PLATE V. There can be little doubt that Scribe A and Melchior Newsidler are the one and the same.

The Munich and Paris manuscripts are, therefore, an extremely valuable resource for the study of 16th-century music. They are one of, and may actually be, the most extensive collection of autographs by any composer of the Renaissance.

By providing a vivid example of how a lutenist might vary the embellishments applied to a musical example, much may be learned. Newsidler was active when lute ornamentation became linear (rather than the earlier type crossing through the voice parts, as in early intabulations), his style of ornamentation may have valid application to ensemble music as well, permitting us to abstract the processes of embellishment as found in a practical musical source.

Since he made so many intabulations, these supply abundant models for further examination of musica ficta as lutenists ap-

plied it to vocal music. Did Melchior change his mind very much? Actually, he is fairly consistent. But his afterthoughts may reveal much, and deserve particular attention.

Since he copied the pieces in the Munich and Paris manuscripts, and supervised the 1566 and 1574 prints, we have an invaluable and accurate yardstick against which to measure critically how the music of other composers of the Renaissance has come down to us.

Chapter VI

The Marco Fascicle: Watermarks, Gathering, Layers of Hand Seriation

Folios 19-62v of Mus Ms 266 contain perhaps the earliest music in the Herwart tablatures in terms of content and date of copying. Its 113 *ricercars*, intabulations and dances may be attributed for the most part to Marco dall'Aquila, with a few other works by Domenico Bianchini, Albert da Ripa, Francesco da Milano, one "Bernardo N," and an anonymous German.¹ Marco stands as one of the most famous and, as I shall argue later, one of the most influential lutenists of his day. He was frequently mentioned in company with Francesco, Alberto and Giovanni Antonio Testagrossa, themselves among the most praised performers of the early Cinquecento. Marco was active in Venice about two decades before Alberto and Francesco. His generation included Testagrossa (one of Francesco's teachers), Vincenzo Capirola, the phenomenal Brescian lutenist (who was also active in Venice for a

1

The *cara cosa* (No. 36d) and *burato* (No. 39) in the Marco fascicle also appear in Domenico Bianchini's Intabolatura de lauto . . . Libro primo (Venice: Gardano, 1546; rpt 1554, 1563), sig. C1v and C2, respectively, but may not have been composed by him. See my "Domenico Bianchini detto 'il Rossetto': Some Recent Findings," La Luth et sa musique II, ed. Jean Jacquot (Paris: CNRS, [forthcoming]), where I am able to show that most of the pieces in Bianchini's book (including the *ricercars*) are intabulations of music by others, and his original contributions are slight. It seems entirely possible that the two dances in Mus Ms 266 may have been lifted by Bianchini.

while), and the anonymous professional of the Thibault Lute Manuscript. Marco's activity falls, therefore, within the critical period between the Petrucci lutenists, Spinacino (1507), Giovan Maria Alemanni [Hebreo] (1508), Dalza (1508), and Bossinensis (1509/1511), and the deluge of printed lute music that begins with a trickle at Rome, Milan and Venice in 1536, and reaches flood-level in Venice after 1546.

During this period lutenists began using bare fingers, rather than a plectrum, to sound the instrument. The "Marco fascicle," as we shall call it, contains a very large number of unica by Marco that are of particular interest and importance in documenting playing and musical styles. This new lute music, codified in the works of Francesco da Milano, becomes the indigenous lutenist style through the time of John Dowland and the advent of stile brisé with the Parisian Gaultier School of the seventeenth century.

As presently bound, the Marco fascicle consists of eight gatherings, each with from one to six untrimmed bifolia (or sheets). The bifolia range in size from 42.6 to 44.2 by 31.5 to 33.3 centimeters, that is, about 32 centimeters wide and 44 high. Vertical guides, 16.3 centimeters apart, are inked on every page. A few blank folios with only vertical guides may have been intended as front- and end papers, but otherwise all pages are ruled, ten-times per page with a single six-line rastrum that measures 1.6 centimeters. The resulting staves are uniformly positioned 0.9 centimeters apart, suggesting that a grid may have been used and that the staff paper have originated in an establishment accustomed to lining music manuscript papers. The careful layout

of the fascicle places most pieces on a single, or two facing, pages, and little of the available space is without music, although seldom appearing cramped. The fascicle seems almost austere in its scribal style.

The fascicle contained, until recently, foliation in the upper-right hand corner and numbers at the head of each piece, which Julius Joseph Maier entered around 1860 when he inventoried Mus Ms 266. His foliation and numeration of pieces was revised somewhat, as we have noted, by Louise Martinez-Göllner in 1968. She re-arranged some of the gatherings, re-numbered the pieces, and corrected the foliation. The manuscript is now bound according to her revisions, although it may be argued that the present arrangement is still not entirely satisfactory.

The first four folios have original foliation, indicated "C 1"=fol. 21, "C 2"=fol. 22, "C 3"=fol. 23 and "C 4"=fol. 24, perhaps an abbreviation for "carta," or an indication for folios within a gathering. In the latter case, two gatherings ("A" and "B") may have preceded it, although no gatherings so marked appear within the Munich corpus of lute manuscripts. That the blank bifolio (fols. 19 and 20), intended as front papers (?), preceded it in Maier's disposition of pages seems to argue for an interpretation of "C" representing the word "carta." This first gathering is also the one most carefully copied. (Although this does not exclude the possibility of two, now lost, gatherings that were even more carefully copied. But this seems a weak argument.)

The paper contains an alternating pair of watermarks as one would expect in a 16th-century paper codex. The marks (reproduced

as ILLUSTRATION A) depict a striding bear, the insignia of the city of Bern. These marks are found in papers manufactured by the Bergier (or Hirt) and Peyer dynasties between 1468 and 1577 at their papermill "Zu Thal" near Bern.² Bernaise papers, famed for their excellence and reasonable price, were transported in large quantities northward down the Aare and Rhine rivers, and may be found in documents copied as distant as Salzburg, Coblenz, Alsace and even Dresden. They were, of course, most frequently used locally in Switzerland and its south German environs, and the striding bear mark is found in documents created at Constance, Feldkirchen, Kempten, Eichstätt, Memmingen, Augsburg and, of course, Bern itself.³

The marks given by Briquet and Lindt are not identical with

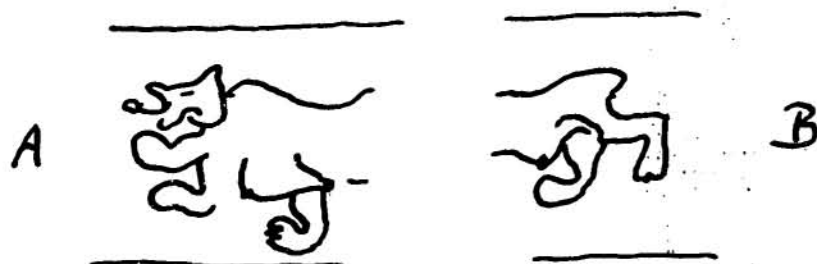
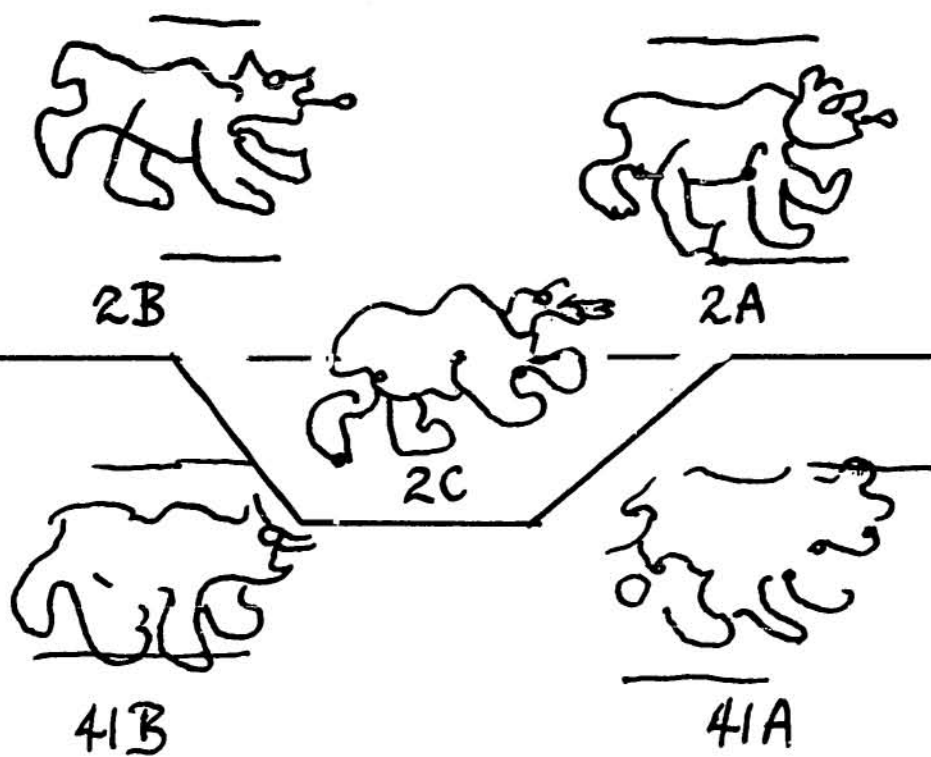
² For information on this papermill, see Lindt, Berner Papiermühlen, pp. 8-10, and Fluri, "Die Papiermühle zu Thal," pp. 192-236.

³ Les filigranes, Nos. 12256-78, and Lindt, Nos. 6-32, Nos. 700-727.

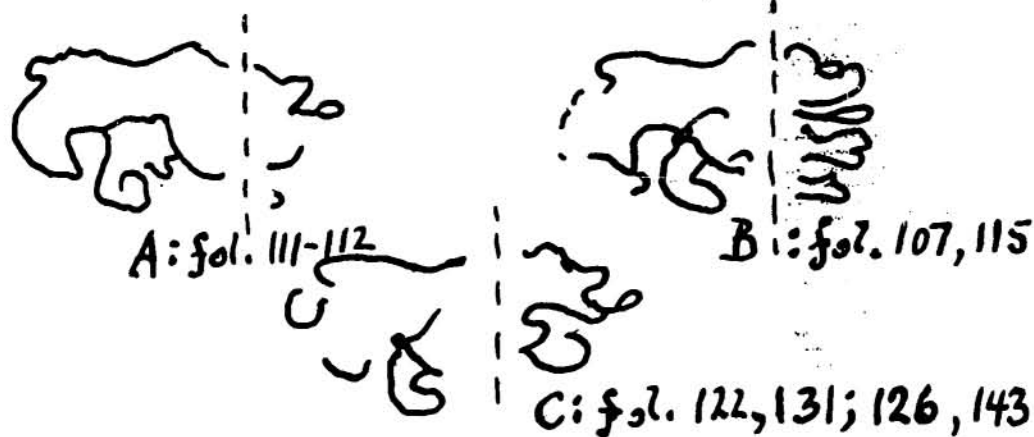
The striding bear watermark is encountered in a number of places in addition to the Marco fascicle. The end papers of the Marcus Welser partbooks at Munich (Mus Ms 1502) and those of the Nuremberg copy of Hans Newsidler's tablature of 1544 both carry it. We will encounter it also in the papers used by HAND F (No. 2c in ILL. A). It also appears throughout the papers in the "Mathematik- und Tabulaturbuch des Jörg Weltzell" (Munich, Universitätsbibliothek, 4/Cod. mus. 718), an interesting dated manuscript. Throughout the tablature section (fols. 97-151) are phrases such as "Discantus auff der Geygen / Im 1524 Jar," "Auff der lautdem / 1524," etc. In addition to intabulations of German Lieder for lute and for "Geigen," there are instructions for intabulating mensural notation for the lute depending on the range of the model, e.g., "Auff dass fa so den bass zu hoch gett." (The manuscript is inventoried in Gottwald, Universitätsbibliothek München.)

30 cm.

ILLUSTRATION A



Mus. Ms. 1502: End papers



Munich, Universitätsbibl., 4° Cod. ms. 718

those in the Marco fascicle, although several do share chain lines the same distance apart and have watermark designs of similar size and configuration. This is an important consideration, since the striding bear watermark also appears in some counterfeit papers⁴ manufactured by Hans Hurrenbain of Kempten. Many of the marks closest to ours are found in Bernaise and Swiss documents:

Briquet, No. 12269: Bern, 1513 (paper size: 32 x 42 cm)
Lindt, Nos. 20/21 (paired marks): Bern, 1514-15
(paper size: 30 x 40 cm)

Briquet, No. 12270: Zurich, 1518/27 (32.5 x 44), with similar variants noted by Briquet in documents from Bern, 1526, Augsburg, 1538, and Regensburg, 1532

Lindt, Nos. 700/701 (paired marks): Basle and Lucerne, 1521-31 (paper size: 32 x 42 cm)

Lindt, Nos. 30/31 (paired marks): Bern, 1540-60 (paper size: 31 to 32.5 x 42.5 to 43).

Most of these date from the early 16th century, and the mark seems to have been located for the most part in south German documents. Gerhard Piccard of the Hauptstaatsarchiv, Stuttgart,⁵ has informed me that documents now in Innsbruck contain exact matches with the pair of watermarks of the Marco fascicle.⁶ These

⁴ See von Hossle, Heft 14 (1926), 210-11.

⁵ Letter, 3 September 1968

⁶ Innsbruck, Landesregierungsarchiv, Hofregistratur A III/21.

are letters from Balthasar von Ramsweg, magistrate on Burg Gutenberg, dated 1 January 1535, and from R. Gobikofer of Feldkirch,⁷ dated January through March, 1536. Burg Gutenberg and Feldkirch were then Tyrolean lands near the eastern shores of the Lake of Constance, along the Upper Rhine River (now Feldkirch in in Austrian Vorarlberg/Tyrol and Burg Gutenberg in the Principality of Liechtenstein).

The presence of paper made from the same moulds in letters written from towns directly south of Kempten, Memmingen and Augsburg in the mid- to late-1530s is consistent (as we shall see) with the probable date of compilation of the Marco fascicle (but, of course, not necessarily of its contents). Wolfgang Boetticher errs here with his proposed date and provenance in the recent RISM volume.⁸ But it would likewise be improper to suggest that the Marco fascicle was copied in either Burg Gutenberg or Feldkirch--or even in Augsburg. There is ample reason for us later to conclude that the Marco fascicle did at one time reside in the Augsburg Herwarth library before coming to Munich in 1586 or thereabouts. The hand seems to be related to one appearing in

⁷ Letter, Dr. J. Moser of the Tiroler Landesarchiv, 4 April 1982.

⁸ Handschriftlich, pp. 214-5. Because of his insistence in treating each volume as an entity, Professor Boetticher's dates are sometimes off substantially. For example, Mus Ms 266 contains a fascicle bearing the date 1568, apparently leading him to date the entire manuscript, "um 1555-1575; Datierung 1568," although it may be demonstrated that some sections are earlier and some later than the dates he suggests. Furthermore, there is no evidence that all fascicles of, for example, Mus Ms 266 stem from the Augsburg, Herwarth library; some may have reached the ducal library independently, as I have suggested earlier in regard to the "Newsidler fascicle."

tablatures associated more directly with Hans Heinrich Herwarth of
9
Augsburg.

FIGURE I shows the contents of the Marco fascicle. The first three columns provide the following:

- (1) the position of the paired watermarks
(A and B)
- (2) the modern foliation of 1968, and
- (3) the modern pencilled numeration of the pieces.

Brackets show the disposition of bifolia into gatherings marked I through VII. (Gathering III follows gathering IV in the Figure, since [as I shall argue later] it may originally have been positioned there.) The middle column transcribes the titles literally. A "+" before the title indicates those pieces which have been crossed-out in the manuscript with a diagonal pen-stroke. The key of each piece (assuming a G tuning for sake of comparison) is given in the next column. A final column provides a few comments, including the identification of composers whose works served as models for the intabulations (none are given in the manuscript).

9

The history of the lute and lutenists in Tyrolian lands leaves much to be desired, but a few possible connections may be mentioned. From September, 1580, until May, 1581 (when he was dismissed for eating meat during Lent) the Augsburg lutenist Melchior Newsidler was employed at the Innsbruck court of Ferdinand II, and Giacomo Gorzanis appears to have had patrons from the Tyrol (as well as Ulrich Herwarth, as we have seen). He dedicated his lute books to Johannes Kisl and his son Georg from Kottingbrunn (both officials at the ducal court at Krainberg), Maurice von Metrichstein from Pizelstetten, Baron Vito von Dürnberg from Gorizia (the Triestine ambassador to the Venetian Republic) and his wife, Rachel Malavasia, and the music-loving traveler Archduke Karl of Austria.

Figure I

THE "MARCO" FASCICLE: CONTENTS

I	19 19v 20 20v 21(=1)	{BLANK} {BLANK} {BLANK} {BLANK}	Throughout this list, the name "Laqla" appears with a slashed Q, = Laqluilla
	16 17 21v 18 19 20	+Recercar (Recircar) de Marco de Laqla senza Canto +Recircare de MD.LA {untitled} Recircar de M. MD.LA Recircar de MD.LA {untitled}	(G) =No. 34 (c-g) (g) (g) (Bb-g) (D-g) {The untitled pieces, Nos. 17, 20 and 21 are short "Nachleuffl" (= "Tochatas")}
	22(=2) 22v 23	Recercar de franc ^o de Milano Re: care MD.LA Recircar de M. MD.Laqla	(a Phrygian) =No. 35 (G) (d-a) =No. 162
	23(=3) 23v 24	{continued} +Re: care MD.La	(F)
	24(=4) 24v 63 63v 25 25v	{continued} Recircare de M. MD.Laqla {BLANK STAVES} {BLANK STAVES}	(G) Removed in 1968
	26 26v 27 27v 28 29 30	{No. 25, continued} {No. 25, continued} +Recircar de MD. Laqla {continued} {continued}	(F) =Castellano, 1536
	27 27v 28 29 30	{untitled} Recircare de Marco de Laquila +{untitled: Marco?} +Re: care MD. La	(Bb-g) (d) (g) (D) Cf. No. 23 Or Francesco da Milano?
II	28 28v 77 77v 29 29v	31 +Recercar {Marco?} 32 Re: care de MD.LA 33 +{untitled: Marco?} 114 {untitled: ricercar?} 114b 34 +Recar 35 Re: care Franco de Mil ^o	(d) (G) (F) (e Phrygian) (G) (a Phrygian) Removed in 1968: Hand "By." below a fragment of a ricercar (copied by Hand H) based on Josquin's "Benedicta es Regina coelorum." =No. 15; last layer =No. 21; last layer
	29v	{BLANK PAGE}	
IVa	38 38v 39 39v 40 40v	50 {untitled: ricercar?} 51 Recircare de francesco {continued}	(F) (d Phrygian)
	39 39v 40 40v	52 {untitled} 53 {untitled: ricercar?} {continued}	(g) (g-d)
	40 40v	54 +{untitled: ricercar?} {continued}	(g Phrygian)
	40v	55 {untitled: ricercar?}	(G)
IVb	41 41v 42 42v 43 43v 44 44v 45 45v 46 46v 47 47v	56 Mille Regres 57 Parille dait (Per illud ave) 58 Prima pars Nisi dominus {continued}	(d Phrygian) (f) (d) gJOSQUIN gJOSQUIN gSENFL
	42 42v 43 43v 44 44v 45 45v 46 46v 47 47v	Secda pars Cum dederit {continued}	(g) gSENFL
	43 43v 44 44v 45 45v 46 46v 47 47v	59 Was wirt es doch des wonders noch 60 Il est iour 61 +Chour Languer {continued}	(F) (g) (a) gSENFL gSERMISY or MOULU gJOSQUIN
	44 44v 45 45v 46 46v 47 47v	62 +Amy souffre de MD.La 63 +Il est bel e bon MD.LA {continued}	(F) (d) mMOULU mPASSEREAU
	46 46v 47 47v	64 +Nous Bergieres da marco da Laquila 65 La Bataglia da marco da Laquila {continued}	(F) mT. JANEQUIN mJANEQUIN
IVc	48 48v 49 49v 50 50v	66 {untitled: ricercar?} 67 duna Cossa spagnola 68 Recercar de marco. Caro a. H.HE. 69 Recercar de marco da Laquila {continued}	(G) (C) (d) (G) Francesco da Milano, N 45 No rhythm signs No rhythm signs
	49 49v 50 50v	70 Recar d MD Laqla 71 Priambolo de marco da Laqla {BLANK STAVES}	(g) (g-F) {BLANK STAVES}
	50 50v	{BLANK STAVES}	{BLANK STAVES}

Figure I, continued

III	A	30	36a	LA Cara cossa No. 1	(d)	
			36b	Seguit aliud No. 2 Cara Cossa	(d)	
			36c	No. 3 Cara Cossa	(c)	
			36d	No. 4 Cara Cossa	(c)	=Bianchini, 1546 (?)
		30v	36e	No. 5 Cara Cossa	(c)	Mostly without rhythm signs
			36f	No. 6 Cara Cossa	(g)	
			36g	No. 7 Cara Cossa	(f)	
			36h	No. 8 Cara Cossa	(d)	
			36i	No. 9 Cara Cossa	(d)	
			36j	+{beginning of No. 36i}		
	B	31	36k	No. 10 Cara Cossa	(f)	
			36l	No. 11 Cara Cossa	(g)	
		31v	37	[Passamezzo antico and saltarello]	(c)	
				[BLANK STAVES]		
		32	38a	La traditora No. 1	(g-D)	No bar lines
			38b	De la traditora No. 2	(c-G)	
			38c	De la traditora No. 3 MD.La	(f-C)	
			38d	No. 4 Tenor de la traditora	(g-D)	
		34	38dd	del Sorau de la traditora	(c-G)	No bar lines
				[BLANK STAVES]		
	B	35	39	Doze impresare el vostro burato a	(F)	=Bianchini, 1546 (?)
				Capita No. 1		
			39a	Doze impresare il vostro burato da	(C)	No bar lines
				buratare la mia farina		
		35v	40	el Sorau. Bernardo non puol stare	(C)	
			40a	Tenorj Bernardo non puol stare	(G)	
			41	Tocha tocha la Canella	(C)	
			42	[Romanesca?]	(C)	
			43	ti partti chour mio charo	(G)	
		36v	44	Pomo	(g)	
	A		45	Marchesa de San Luzo	(f)	
			46	Chanalecha	(g)	
			47	[untitled]	(Eb-c)	
		37	48	Piouerine	(Ab-f)	
			49	bragantin	(C)	
		37v		[BLANK STAVES]		

V	B	51	72	+Las voules vous que vne persone	(F)	(m)VERMONT
			73	+A la venturu	(g)	(m)WILLAERT
		51v		(continued)		
		52	74	+Las que cranis mon amy	(G)	(b)SERMISY
			75	+Doulce memoyre da B	(d)	bSANDRIN
		52v		(continued)		
			76	+Vaincre ne peu	(g)	bSANDRIN; =No. 84
		53	77	+Si vne heur perfecte. B.	(C)	bSERMISY
			78	+Vous Vsurpe	(g)	(b)SANDRIN
		53v	79	+Or dira ce que Vouldre	(f)	(b)unicum; not Sermsy
	A		80	+Je nause estre content. B.	(D)	bSERMISY
			81	+Content de vous	(Bb)	(b)SERMISY
		54	82	+Je ne fais rien que requerir	(f)	(m)SERMISY
			83	+Contre Raison	(g)	(m)SERMISY
		54v		(continued)		
			84	+Vaincre ne peu. De m Bernardo	(g)	bSANDRIN; =No. 76

VI	A	55	85	+Plus mil Regres	(d)	(?)JOSQUIN
				(continued)		
		55v	86	+Dictes san peur	(g)	(b)SERMISY
			87	+Volant Souffrir de m Berdo	(G)	bJACOTIN
		56	88	+La rousee du moye de may	(F)	(m)GOMBERT or WILLAERT
				(continued)		
		56v	89	+Aupres de vous secretement	(Bb)	(m)SERMISY
				(continued)		
		57	90	+Mauldicte soit la mondaine Richesse	(F)	(m)SERMISY
				(continued)		
	B	57v	91	+Si mon malheur m Bernardo	(G)	bLE PELLETIER
			92	Content Desir de m Bernardo	(g)	bSERMISY
		58	93	Ce qui soloyt. de Ber	(d)	bSANDRIN
				(continued)		
		58v	94	Quil vuoldra Sauoyr qui je suis	(g)	(b)SANDRIN
			95	+Cest a grand tort de m da Laquila	(F)	mSERMISY

VII	A	59	96	+Maulgre moy	(F)	(m)SERMISY
				(continued)		
		59v		[BLANK STAVES]		
		60	97	+Amour me voyant Sans tristesse	(F)	(m)SERMISY
			98	+Jayme le ceur de mamye	(F)	(m)SERMISY
		60v				
		61	99	+Sarra martin. De m Albert	(f)	aJANEQUIN: "Martin menoic"
				(continued)		
		61v	100	+Changer ne puyt	(F)	(b)LUPI
				[BLANK PAGE]		
	A	62		[BLANK PAGE]		
		62v				

Lower case letters indicate the attributed (or, within parentheses, the supposed) intabulator:

g=an anonymous German
m=Marco dall'Aquila
b=Bernardo "N"
a=Alberto [da Ripa]

As the fascicle now stands, it divides into sections by gatherings and genres:

I-II. (fols. 21-29v; nos. 15-35): Ricercars and short
10
modulatory "priambolos."

III. (fols. 30-37v; Nos. 36a-49): Venetian dances.

IVa. (fols. 38-40v; Nos. 50-55): Ricercars and untitled pieces, probably ricercars.

IVb. (fols. 41-47v; Nos. 60-71): Intabulations of motet movements, of a Lied, and of chansons.

IVc. (fols. 48-50v; Nos. 66-71): Ricercars, a priambolo and untitled pieces, again probably ricercars.

10

These untitled pieces are brief, four- or five-measure flourishes with a few chords and running scale figures, comparable to the early Italian tochata, such as those in Casteliono's 1536 print, intended to close a set of dances ("tochata nel fine del ballo"). In the present examples several are modulatory, beginning and ending in different modes, and may have been intended as interludes in bitonal dances, such as the traditora, or vocal pieces, such as some of the frottole that begin in one "key" and end in another. Only one is titled "Priambolo" (No. 71 by Marco dall'Aquila), the others being untitled. Thus their function in beginning or ending a piece requires further consideration. A German term sometimes encountered is "Nachläuffl."

V-VII. (fols. 51-54v, 55-58v, 59-62v): Intabulations of chansons, most by composers in Attaignant's stable.

With these groupings by genre, the fascicle approaches the format of a printed lute tablature, whereas the typical 16th-century lute manuscript is a common-place book with pieces entered over its owner's lifetime, usually in the random order in which he encountered them. A few examples should suffice:

(1) The now lost Dohna/Lauk "Lautenstammbuch" in Ka-
11
liningrad has pieces entered by date between 1550 and 1552

(2) The "Scheele Lute Book" in Hamburg gathered
between 1613 and 1616 in diverse locales from Naples to
12
Frankfurt.

(3) The beautifully illuminated "Capirola Lute Book"
now in Chicago, so carefully assembled around 1517 by Capi-
13
rola's student Vidal as a monument to his teacher.

11
Former Stadtbibliothek, MS Sign. Gen. 2.150. (It is
rumored to have been rediscovered.)

12
Staats- und Universitätsbibliothek, Ms M B\2768, olim ND
VI 3238 ms. (I seem to be the first to notice that this manuscript
was copied by the famed Dutch lutenist Joachim van den Hove)

13
Newberry Library, Case VM 140 C.25.

Manuscripts formerly belonging to professional players are often in particular disarray, for example,

(1) The ex-Thibault Italian manuscript, compiled about
14
1510-15.

(2) The "Cavalcanti Lute Book" in Brussels.
15

(3) The famous "Bottrigari Lute [recte: Viola da Mano]
16
Book" in Modena.

The Notable exceptions generally have clean, uniform paleography, suggesting that they may have been prepared in professional scriptoria:

(1) The "Siena Lute Book" now in The Hague.
17

(2) The "Hainhofer Lute Book," copied in Augsburg, but
18
now in Wolfenbüttel, with its numerous "books," each devoted to a separate genre.

Printed sources, on the other hand, tend overwhelmingly to

14
Bibliothèque national, Rés Umd. ms. 27, olim Neuilly-sur-Seine, Private Library of Genevieve Thibault, MS IV.

15
Bibliothèque royale, MS II.275.

16
Biblioteca estense, MS C 311.

17
Gemeente Museum, MS 28.B.39, olim 20.860.

18
MS 2/Guelf. 18.7/8.

be arranged by genre (sometimes even sub-grouped by mode), with ricercars and fantasias provided for each of the keys encountered
19
in subsequent intabulations and/or dances, etc.

In the Marco fascicle blank pages fall at the ends of Gatherings II, III, IV and VII, dividing it into an arrangement which suggests the following:

Book I. Ricercars and Dances=Gatherings I-II and III
Book II. Ricercars and Intabulations=Gatherings IV and V-VII

We have noted that Mus Ms 266 existed as unbound fascicles, bifolia and leaves until the mid-19th century when they were bound, apparently in much the same order as Maier found them.

19

Italian prints during the early 16th century are usually arranged by genre. Only two exceptions may be cited: Castelvino (Milan, 1536) and Bianchini (Venice, 1546). Early German sources are often didactically ordered, mixing intabulations, abstract pieces and dances, according to difficulty or playing techniques (Hans Newsidler, 1540 and 1544), by successively higher left-hand positions (Judenk nig, 1523), or according to ornamentation (Berlin, Deutsche Staatsbibliothek, Mus Ms 40580, a manuscript of south German origin, perhaps from Munich). By mid-century, German prints adopt the Italian manner of generic groupings. For details see BrownI.

Phal se and Bell re's Theatrum musicum, longe (Louvain, 1571) has opening sections devoted to fantasias and then to intabulations. Within each section pieces are grouped continuously by mode, except for short fantasias and intabulations that break the modal organization. These appear to have been added later to fill out what would have been incomplete pages, after the total plan had been set. Thus, even in a printed source, one may speak of "layers" (The print contains unica by Sixt Kargel, and given the firm's piratical proclivities, it probably contains pieces from Kargel's lost Nova & elegantissima Italica & Gallica Carmina [Moguntinae (=Mainz): Franz Behem, 1569.]) Thus the Behem print probably contained pieces other than those in Kargel's 1574 print.)

With the reorganization of the manuscript in 1968, a few questionable changes were made which require comment.

1. Two folios (the present folios 63 and 77) were removed from within the Marco fascicle.

- a. A folio of blank staves appeared between folios 25 and 26. Crosses ("x") appear at the bottom of folio 24v and at the top of folio 25 showing the continuation of Ricercar No. 25. This sign is not used regularly in the fascicle, suggesting that at the time of copying, the blank folio was positioned there. (Possibly, the scribe contemplated re-copying Ricercar 25, which is difficult to decipher as it stands.)

- b. A more serious extraction concerns folio 77 containing the present Nos. 114a and 114b. This folio is ruled as are others in the Marco fascicle and contains the striding bear watermark. In Maier's arrangement it fell between Nos. 33 and 34. At its top is a 19-measure fragment, perhaps of a ricercar (no. 114a), which like No. 32 (No. 33 is only a short "preludio"), takes as a point of departure the opening measures of Josquin's "Benedicta es coelorum Regina." Thus two related pieces would in effect, have followed one another. The remainder of the folio contains another untitled piece in the Phrygian mode on E, likewise probably a ricercar. This piece is copied by "Hand BY," as we shall label it. The piece may have been entered in order to provide a ricercar in a mode otherwise unrepresented in the fascicle. Its removal in 1968 to the middle of Mus Ms 266 (where it joins other pieces copied by Hand BY) circumvents evidence that

Hand BY was a Nebenschreiber in the Marco fascicle.

2. Quaternions are normal in 16th-century folio manuscripts, and Gathering I, with its original foliation, and Gathering III are indeed quaternions. Thus the exceptions seem curious.

a. An incipient quaternion of intabulations by our anonymous German lutenist seems to form Gathering IVb (folios 41-47 inclusive), lodged as it is within a gathering of ricercars (Gathering IVa/c, folios 38-40 and 48-50).

b. In Maier's time Gathering IVb was placed differently: the present folio 41 (containing Nos. 56, 57 and the beginning of No. 58) followed the blank pages at the end of Gathering IVa/c, that is, after folio 50. Maier counted the continuation of No. 58 (now folio 42 recto) as a separate piece following No. 55, with the pieces on the three bifolia

20

A misunderstanding about the relationships among the various copyists of the Munich manuscripts is perpetuated by Boetticher in his descriptions, when he confuses the terminology of Haupt-, and Nebenschreiber (see Boetticher, Handschriftlich, pp. 214-24). For him a Hauptschreiber has entered a large number of pieces, a Nebenschreiber, only a few. A Nebenschreiber should properly be one who adds corrections or additional pieces to a fascicle or page first copied by a Hauptschreiber. Proper differentiation of the terms can shed important light on relationships among separate fascicles. For example, Hand C1 copied two pieces on a bifolium and later Hand B2 added a piece to the staves that were left blank. Thus Hand B2 (a Hauptschreiber, elsewhere) is in this instance a Nebenschreiber (see Mus Ms 266, folio 80-3). Hand C2 has added corrections to folios copied by Hand F (see *ibid.*, folios 124-5v), here becoming a Nebenschreiber.

(folios 42-47) following it. Thus these pieces, since they continue from page to page and are therefore intact, must have formed a quaternion, with the page previously attached to folio 41.

c. An inquiry about the page belonging with folio 41 also seems in order. Is it to be found elsewhere in Mus Ms 266, or in the other Munich lute manuscripts? Since folio 41 has the striding bear watermark and this paper has no countermark, the missing folio would have to be without a watermark. That is, it would have to be other than folios 63 and 114 which carry the watermark. Other single folios appear without watermark in Mus²¹ ms 266, but only folio 119 seems a logical candidate. In Maier's disposition of the manuscript this folio was the penultimate piece in Italian tablature. It contains Melchior de Barberiis' intabulation of La Fage's motet "Elizabeth

21

Other possibilities in Mus ms 266 include folios 106, 124, 125 and 136.

Zachariae" copied by Hand BX on staves drawn free-hand. The page has the same ink-drawn right and left vertical guides, 16.3 centimeters wide, which we have noted throughout the Marco fascicle, even on pages without staves. The last folio of Gathering IVb was, therefore, originally blank, and it seems logical that it was separate from Gathering IVa/c, perhaps following No. 71, where Maier had originally, and I think properly, positioned it.

d. It seems, furthermore, quite possible that Gathering II belongs with the three remaining bifolia of Gathering IV (folios 38/50, 39/49 and 40/48). Both gatherings contain ricercars. Since folios 28v and 29 have matching ink splotches, these folios would seem to have formed the innermost bifolio of Gathering IVa/c, although the unlined, blank folio 29v also suggests that 28/29 could also have been the outer sheet for the gathering. Folio 29 may have been blank

The printed source, a unicum, is Intabulatura di lauto. Libro sesto (Venice: IG. Scottol, 1546), fol. 24v-27. The Munich copy was taken directly from the print since it omits tablature on folios 25 through 26v (that is, the manuscript copy precedes directly from the end of fol. 24v to the beginning of fol. 27). Barberis's intabulation follows variant readings found in Modena, Archivio capitolare, Codex IX, a repertory that Edward Lowinsky believes might have been brought to Ferrara by Willaert. See The Medici Codex of 1518, *Monuments of Renaissance Music*, 3 (Chicago, 1968), 61 and 148f., with transcriptions, *ibid.*, 4, 100-106.

This, of course, provides a terminus post quem of 1546 for our hand BX.

at one time during the copying process since it contains two *ricercars* which (as we shall see) formed the last scribal layer. Folio 77 was probably a later insertion, as we have seen above.

3. Unlike the other gatherings examined so far, Gatherings V, VI and VII consist of two-bifolia each, not four.

a. Since No. 95 continues between Gatherings VI and VII, sheets 55/58 and 59/62 must have been the outer sheets of two gatherings; ink splotches on folios 58v and 59 match. The blank pages that close Gathering VII suggest an ending to the section of *chanson* intabulations.

b. Should Gatherings V and VI form a quaternion? At this time suffice to point out the anomaly of bifolia 51/54, 56/57, 59/62 and 60/61 with intabulations by Marco dall'Aquila, and bifolia 52/53 and 55/58, with only Bernardo's.

What may have been the original disposition of folios and gatherings in the Marco fascicle is emerging. Such a consideration is important if one is to establish and isolate what could have been the several sources from which the scribe worked, including the possibility of a lost print containing music of Marco dall'Aquila. A close examination of scribal style, musical contents and sources of the vocal works selected for intabulation will assist in developing a hypothesis.

x x x x

Within the Marco fascicle the hand shows remarkable consistency, suggesting that the fascicle was copied within a narrow span of time. Since many pieces are contained within single or facing pages (thus sparing the performer annoying page turns), the fascicle was evidently carefully planned. Shorter pieces tend to fall towards the bottom of a page, and thus may have been entered after the longer pieces were laid out.

Readings are unusually accurate, and seldom corrected or altered, suggesting that the copyist did not enter into the compositional process by adding ornaments or changing ficta, for example.²³

The supple, uniform fluency of paleography suggests an experienced copyist, as some of the examples in FIGURE II illustrate. From gathering to gathering there is virtually no difference in the ciphers, even between what we shall identify as the earliest and very last layers. The proportions between the sizes of cipher and rhythm sign remain constant even when the copyist seems to be using a sharper pen nib and the copying becomes smaller. (As he worked well apace with the sharper nib, he some-

23

Upon comparing the nearly 40 intabulations with their models, one discovers a six-measure lacuna in Senfl's "Nisi dominus" (No. 58), and single measures missing from Sermisy's "Je n'ose estre content" (No. 80), "Contre raison" (No. 83), "Mauldicte soit la mondaine richesse" (No. 90) and "Amour me voyant sans tristesse" (No. 97). Elsewhere less than 30 notes are dropped, amazing accuracy, as anyone who has worked with 16th-century lute music will attest, and doubtlessly some of the errors may have existed in the sources from which the copyist was working.

times allows the pen to graze the paper in an upward, looping sweep in preparation for the downward stroke. The sharper nib seems to cause bar lines such as those in FIGURE II.12c, whereas a duller one leads to those of FIGURE II.12d.)

The scribe regularly enters the titles in Italic script at the ends of pieces, often (if there is space) with an ornamental garnish of the pen. Gothic script is used only occasionally, for the titles of No. 28 (a *ricercar* by Marco dall'Aquila) and for Nos. 56 and 59 (intabulations of Josquin's "Mille regres"). There is no reason to believe that the copyist was other than German, although titles in French and Italian are more accurately spelled than in most German lute manuscripts and prints.

Some spelling differences may have resulted from the copyist's having used different sources:

Gathering I: "recIrcar" (except No. 21, a *ricercar* by Francesco) and "Marco dE Laquilla"

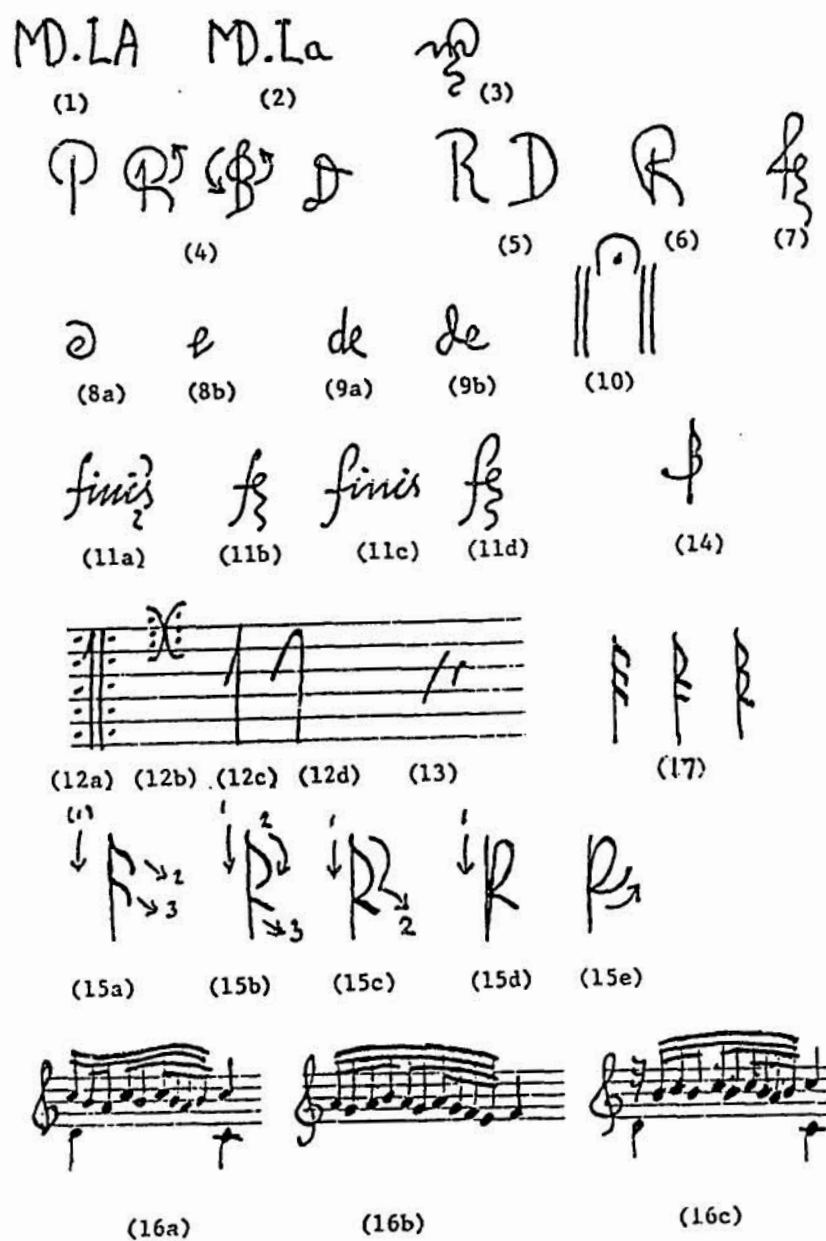
Gathering II: "recErcar" and "Marco dA Laquilla" (The "da" spelling also appears in Gathering VI.)

Usually the Marco pieces are identified with a monogram, "MD.LA"
24
or "MD.La" (FIGURE II.1-2), and the names Marco, Bernardo and

24

No. (1) appears in Gathering I, Nos. 15-19, 22; No. (2), I: 23-5, 30; II: 32; III:38c; IVb: 62-3.

FIGURE 11



Alberto may be preceded with an abbreviation for "messer" (FIGURE
²⁵ II.3). The letters "P," "R," "D" or "B" (when they occur) are
 usually written in two pen-strokes, the second counter-clockwise
²⁶ (FIGURE II.4). Another type, with clockwise motion, also occurs
²⁷ (FIGURE II.5). An "R" in one continuous stroke is found only in
 Nos. 34 and 35 (FIGURE II.6), which also have a unique "finis"
 indication made in one stroke (FIGURE II.7; cf. FIGURE II.11d).

Double bars consistently enclose the final measure (unless
²⁸ there is a repeat), and are topped with a fermata (FIGURE II.10)
 and followed with the word "finis," either written out or ab-
²⁹ breviated (FIGURE II.11). Repeat signs are the usual type
 (FIGURE II.12a), or (in Nos. 59-60) placed above the staff (FIGURE
 II.12b). The paleography of the letters e and the letters d also

²⁵

No. (3), IVc: 69-71; V: 84; VI: 91-5; VII: 100.

²⁶

No. (4), I: passim; II: 32; IVa: 50; IVc: 71; III: 40,
 44, 48; IVb: 57-8, 62, 65; V: 77; VI: 85, 87, 92.

²⁷

No. (5), II: 31; IVc: 68-70; III: 38-9; IVb: 56; V: 75,
 80, 83; VI: 86-7, 90, 91, 93; VII: 99.

²⁸

No. (10) appears throughout the Marco fascicle, except
 when the last section of music is repeated.

²⁹

No. (11a/c), I: passim; II: 31-2; IVa: 50-5; IVc: 66-7;
 IVb: 56-63, 65; V: 72-3, 82; VI: 84; VII: 97-8. No. (11b/d), II:
 32; IVc: 69-71; III: passim; IVb: 64; V: 74-8, 83; VI: 85-91; VII:
 96-7, 100.

differs from time-to-time (FIGURE II.8-9). A usual practice when a measure is divided between two staves is to employ slashes, the second shorter than the first (FIGURE II.13).

Rhythm is indicated by note stems with flags, the system encountered in Petrucci, Sulzbach (Naples, 1536) and Gardano in the 1540s. Castelfiono in Milan, Scotto and Marcolini in Venice used the diamond-shaped notes of vocal music, presumably because it saved casting new type, although the unsigned copperplate engraving (published no later than 1536, presumably by Marcolini) also uses diamond-shaped notes.³¹ Triple meter is indicated with measures of three in the dances of Gathering III, and in No. 58 (a Senfl motet intabulation), with 3. In Nos. 72 and 83 (chanson intabulations by Marco) and in No. 101 (a ricercar by Marco), triple is indicated with a leftward sweep to the rhythm sign (FIGURE II.14). This is essentially a conservative sign found at the latest in mid-15th-century vocal sources, usually for short groups of triplets. Petrucci is the only printer known to me to have had such type font, although a few early lute manuscripts do use it.

The rhythm signs do, however, undergo some metamorphosis. For example, one may delineate five types of minim, each of which emerges logically from the previous one.

³⁰ No. (8a), I: 19, 25-6; IVa: 51; IVc: 67; V: 56-61; VI: 88-90; VII: 96-8. No. (9a), IVc: 69; III: 38-9; IVb: 57-8, 62; V: 81; VI: 88-90. No. (9b), II: 35; IVc: 70-1; III: passim; VI: 92-5.

³¹ See Ness, Francesco, page 12, n. 26. This is the earliest practical musical source to use copperplate engraving.

The first type (FIGURE II.15a) has flags of equal length, and has been penned with three separate strokes: downward for the stem, followed by the upper and then lower flag.

The second and third types (b and c), although in effect very similar, have the top flag bent inward, towards the stem, as the copyist prepares to draw the lower flag. In the second (b) three strokes are used (as in the first type); in the third (c), two strokes, the upper and lower flags having been drawn without the pen leaving the paper.

The fourth and fifth types (d and e), likewise essentially the same, are drawn in a single motion with the pen remaining on the page: the pen moves downward and then upward to form the stem, and the flags are drawn as in the third type. The top of the rhythm sign tends to be slightly rounded. The fifth type is distinguished with an upward bend on the lower flag, caused as the copyist prepares for the downward stroke for the next rhythm sign.

Seminims correspond, the middle one in FIGURE II.17, for example, being transitional between the other two.

A similar effect shows in some of the lopped bar lines (FIGURE II.12c-d). Judging from evidence provided by a few unfinished pieces, Nos. 36e (a *cara cosa*), No. 65 (an intabulation by Marco of Janequin's "Bataille"), and Nos. 68-71 (ricercars by Marco), the copying process involved three steps. First, the ciphers were entered, perhaps extending for several pieces (see Nos. 68-71). Next, bar lines were added, perhaps at points of

32
articulation, and finally the rhythms signs.

33

Unlike, say, an elegant title or ornamental calligraphy, phenomena such as the five types of minim and incomplete bar lines tend to be the result of unconscious effort. During a session of copying, it seems entirely plausible that one type of rhythm sign and/or bar line might match on a sliding scale the scribe's impatience, haste and practiced fluency. Thus a means is at hand for projecting a relative chronology as a gradual deterioration from the earlier trim minim and complete bar line mirrors the scribe's waning enthusiasm for his project.

x x x x x

32

Tablatures without bar lines are by no means unusual in 16th-century lute sources. For example, two of the earliest surviving tablatures, Pesaro, Biblioteca Oliveriana, Ms 1144, and Bologna, Biblioteca universitaria, Ms 596 HH.2\4, are written without bar lines, and additional examples are found in the ex-Herwarth manuscripts, in the Cavalcanti and Siena lute books mentioned above, and in the mid-century prints of Matelart (Rome: Dorico, 1559), the joint Francesco and Perino Fiorentino tablature (ibid., 1566), and Galilei's Book I (ibid., 1568).

33

This procedure may perplex some readers, particularly since it seems more logical, given 16th-century notation, that the bar lines might be added last. But the evidence cited above in the footnote does support this, at least in the instances mentioned.

A skilled 16th-century lutenist would not find the procedure foreign, and as I have demonstrated convincingly (I believe) with the transcriptions of Nos. 68-71 (which have neither bar lines nor rhythm signs), one can easily render a viable reading from such incomplete tablatures, especially when finger dots have been included.

The section of intabulations (Gatherings V-VII) is in many ways the most perplexing. Unlike other gatherings in quaternions, it consists of three pair of bifolia. Few of the pieces continue from one page to another, thus impeding a determination of what may have been the intended disposition of folios and gatherings.

Most of the intabulations (by Marco, Alberto and Bernardo "N") draw upon models in the chanson collections published by Attaignant. Those attributed to Bernardo are fairly easy to distinguish, since they are plain and unadorned. Except for the unique "On en dira" (not Sermisy's setting, but using the same melody), they all belong to a distinct repertory that begins to appear in Attaignant's production during the mid 1530s, including second generation composers Sandrin and Le Peletier. Although Bernardo's intabulations include chansons of Sermisy, Jacotin and Lupi, who are represented in earlier books (1528-30), his selection of pieces by them come from Attaignant books published only 1532, and some not before the end of the decade. Most, in fact, seem to come from a series of volumes identified with consecutive
34
signatures:

Chansons musicales, in 4 vols., 1532-3 (signatures ϕ [phi] a-d, $\phi h-l$, $\phi n-q$): H [=Hertz] 30, 40 and 41.

34

For a summary of the signatures used by Attaignant, see Hertz, Attaignant, pp. 74, 381-6.

Chansons esleves, in 1 vol., 1536 (signatures a-h, i-q): H
70 and 71.

Chansons nouvelles, in 2 vols., 1538 (signatures a-d, e-h): H
80 and 81.

[Inner and outer sheets are indicated "i" and "o".]

Gathering & No.	Composer	H30 1532	H40 1533	H41 1533	H70 1536	H71 1536	H80 1538	H81 1538
oVI:86	Sermisy	5	20		8			
iVI:91	Le Peletier	20				23		
iV:80	Sermisy	22			21			
iV:74	Sermisy	23			22			
iV:77	Sermisy			20				
oVI:92	Sermisy			23		7		
iVI:87	Jacotin			22		18		
iVII:100	Lupi					10		
iV:78	Sandrin						7	
iV:81	Sermisy						9	
iV:76	Sandrin							3
oV:84	Sandrin (=No. 76)							3
oVI:94	Sandrin							4
oVI:93	Sandrin							9
iV:75	Sandrin							7

In contrast, Marco's intabulations are based on chansons
found in earlier Attaignant prints, and frequently in prints and
manuscripts of Italian provenance:

Chansons musicales, in 4 vols., 1528-30 (signatures e-h, i-m,
r-v, x-z, aa-d and ii-m): H2=9, H5, H6, H8, H14 and
H17.

Chansons a troys, in 3 vols., 1529 (signatures a-h): H10

Venetian prints:

Il primo libro de le canzoni francese (Antico & Scotto, 1535)

La Courone et fleur ds chansons a troys (Antico &
dell'Abbate, 1536)

Venticinque canzoni francesi (Gardano, 1538)

Di Constatio Festa il primo libro de madrigali a tre voce, .
 . . aggiuntovi . . . canzoni francese di Janequin
 (Gardano, 1541)

Primo libro di madrigali d'Archadelt . . . Con . . . canzoni
 francese (Gardano, 1542)

Italian manuscripts:

Florence, Bibl. Med.-Laurenziana, Ms. Ashburnham 1085
 Florence, Bibl. naz. centr., Magl. XIX.112

Gathering & No.	Composer	H2 1528	H5 1529	H6	H8	H14	H17	H10 1530	H10 1529	ItalPr	ItalMS
iIV:63	Passereau									A&S35	
iIV:64	Thos. Janequin									A&S35	
oVI:95	Sermisy	23	31							A&S35	Flo:2v
oV:73	Willaert						13			A&S35	
oVII:96	Sermisy			23						A&S35	
iVI:88	Willaert (?)									A&d36	
iVII:99	Janequin									Gar38	
iVI:89	Sermisy	24	3							Gar41:19	
oV:83	Sermisy		19							Gar41:45	
iVII:98	Sermisy							7		Gar42:19	
iVI:90	Sermisy					15					Ashb:3
oV:82	Sermisy						2				Ashb:5
iIV:62	Moulu							12			Flo
oV:72	Vermont	13									

There is, of course, no reason to believe that Bernardo or Marco prepared their intabulations directly from the indicated sources, or that the earliest appearance in print of a chanson necessarily provides a workable terminus a quo, since (for example), according to Andrea Calmo, Passereau's "Il est bel et bon" (No. 63) enjoyed a street-song popularity in Venice as early as 1530, well before its first known appearance in Parisian and Venetian prints in 1535 and 1536.³⁵ Curious, of course, is the

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Only Sermisy's "Amour me voyant" does not appear in earlier prints; it is first printed in Chansons vieilles, livre 2, 1537 (H 79, #30), and thus may have been reprinted there from an earlier, now lost print.

large number of Sandrin chansons from Chansons nouvelles which Bernardo intabulated--virtually all of his pieces in those two volumes.³⁶ Clearly Marco and Bernardo were working with repertoires separated by time and, in Marco's case, place as well.

36

Bernardo intabulated six of the eight Sandrin chansons in the first and second books of Chansons nouvelles (H 80 and 81); not intabulated are "Voyez le torte d'amours" and "Je ne croy." I have been unable to identify the musician "messer Bernardo." Since one of his intabulations appears in Mus ms 1511d with the attribution to "B.N.," we can assume that his last name began with an "N." Might he have been another member of the Newsidler family of lutenists? There is a Bernardo Todesco, "sonatore de leuto et alpa [harp]," who accompanied Pietrobono on his trip to Naples in 1473 (Wolffe, p. 132), and Bernardino Aldrati, known as "Zoppino," who was active in Mantua between 1511 and 1525. Both of these seem too early for someone intabulating, ca. 1539, such up-to-date pieces. Perhaps he is identical with the Maestro Bernardo, "sonatore fiorentino," who arrives alone and on foot in Mantua on July 22, 1537 (Bertolotti, Musica alla corte, p. 35).

Given the distinctive nature of the two repertoires, the final gatherings seem to be in particular disarray as they now stand. To clarify this apparent disorder, handwriting may be of some assistance, although the ciphers are so consistently alike throughout the fascicle that they are of little help (a reason for suggesting the work of a professional). But other scribal features may suggest layers of hand.

These scribal features (to be detailed below) permit the intabulations to be divided into the following groups:

A. Four Marco groups:

- ("Ma"): Nos. (m)72, m82, (m)97 and (a)99.
- ("Mb"): Nos. (m)73, m83, (?)85 and (m)98.
- ("Mc"): Nos. (m)88, (m)89 and (m)90.
- ("Md"): Nos. m95, (m)96, m64 and m65.

B. Three Bernardo groups:

- ("Ba"): (b)74, b75, b77, b79, b80 and b87
- ("Bb"): (b)78, (b)81, and (b)86
- ("Bc"): b84, b91, b92, (b)94 and (b)100

The features include the following:

	Group:
1. Custodes, in the form of small crosses, appear at the beginnings of the pieces	1. Ma
2. "Finis" indications (See FIGURE II.11c/d):	
(a) Spelled out, or abbreviated "fs," with a tight loop at the top of the "f."	2a. Ma, Mb
(b) Always abbreviated (even when there is ample room to spell it out)	2b. Mc, Ba
(c) Written out, or abbreviated, with a large loop on the "f"	2c. Bc, Md x
3. Musical ornamentation regularly uses the formulas given in FIGURE II.16a-c	3. Ma, Mb, Mc
4. Musical ornamentation is entirely lacking.	4. Ba, Bb, Bc
5. Right-hand fingering (dots below ciphers) is provided	5. Ma, Mb, Mc

6. Right-hand fingering indications are lacking	6. Ba, Bb, Bc, Md
7. Two varieties of final "e" are encountered (FIGURE II.8a-b):	
(a) One with a backward loop	7a. Ma, Mb, Mc
(b) One without the loop, and often sharp at bottom	7b. Md
8. Two configurations of "d's" (FIGURE II.9a-b):	
(a) With sharp turn at the bottom	8a. Mc
(b) With a loop	8b. Bc, Md
(c) Both types also occur equally	8c. Ba, Bb
9. The word "messer" and the name "Marco" are abbreviated with an "m" slashed with a curl (FIGURE II.3)	9. Bc, Md
10. The ink has a lighter consistency.	10. Md, Bc x

x No. 10: 92-3 and 84 of
Group Bc
No. 2c: Except Nos. 64-5

These scribal features may be displayed as in FIGURE III.

FIGURE III

("x x x" = a sporadic appearance of the feature.)
("0" = feature is absent)

	M a	M b	M c	B a	B b	B c	M d
1.	xxxxx			crosses (custodes?)			
2a.	xxxxx	xxxxx		tight "f" in "finis"			
3.	xxxxx	xxxxx	x x x	musical ornamentation			
5.	xxxxx	xxxxx	xxxxx	fingering dots			
7a.	xxxxx	xxxxx	xxxxx	"e" with loop			
8a.		x x x	xxxxx	x x x	"d" with sharp turn		
2b.	"fs" abbreviation		xxxxx	xxxxx			
8c.	both "ds"			xxxxx	xxxxx		
4.	ornamentation			00000	00000	00000	
7b.	"e" with sharp turn					xxxxx	
10.	light ink					xxxxx	x x x
6.	fingering dots			00000	00000	00000	00000
8b.	"d" with loop				x x x	xxxxx	xxxxx
2c.	"f" with loop					xxxxx	xxxxx
9.	"messer" abbreviation					xxxxx	xxxxx

They fall into clusters suggesting layers of hand. The first type of "d," for example, appears under "Mc" (anticipated under "Mb"), and continues under "Ba" and "Bb," and sporadically under "Bc." The second type of "d", however, begins to appear

under "Ba" and "Bb" as well, and then dominates under "Bc."

The various forms of "f" also differentiate apparent layers of hand: the tight "f" in "Ma" and "Mb," the "finis" abbreviation with looped "f" in "Mc," "Ma" and "Bb," and the written-out OR abbreviated "finis" with loop in "Bc" and "Md." A further distinction is the use of the special abbreviation for "messer" and lighter ink.

The presence or absence of right-hand fingering dots might be attributed to the scribe's having worked from different sources, one with the indications, the other without, once again suggesting that the scribe probably did not participate in the editorial practice while copying.

When these groupings are laid out in conjunction with the contents, some interesting patterns emerge, confirming that the gatherings, as they now stand, are somewhat "faulty" (in a geological sense). In FIGURE IV I have separated the bifolia and rearranged them to keep like groups together.

FIGURE IV

Fol. No.	Composer	Attain- gnant	Italian Prints	Ma	Mb	Mc	Ba	Bb	Bc	Md
68r 97	:(m)Sermisy	:		!Ma						
68v 98	:(m)Sermisy	:Att:29		!Ma						
61r 99	:(a)Janequin	:Gar:38		!Ma						
61v	:(#99, cont.)	:		!Ma						
100	:(b) Lupi	:Att: 36							:Bc	

Fol. No.	Composer	Attaining- nant	Italian Prints	Ma	Mb	Mc	Ba	Bb	Bc	Md
55r 85	(a) Josquin			!Ma						
55v	(#85, cont.)			!Ma						
86	(b) Sermisy	!Att:33/6						!Bb		
58r 92	b Sermisy	!Att:33/6					!Ba			
93	b Sermisy	!Att:38							!Bc	
58v	(#93, cont.)								!Bc	
94	(b) Sandrin	!Att:38							!Bc	
95	m Sermisy	!Att:28/9	!Gar:41							!Md
(continues on fol. 59r)										

56r 87	b Jacotin	!Att:33/6						!Ba		
88	(m) Willaert (?)		!A&S:36			!Mc				
56v	(#88, cont.)					!Mc				
89	(m) Sermisy	!Att:28/9			!Mb					
57r	(#89, cont.)				!Mb					
90	(m) Sermisy	!Att:29				!Mc				
57v	(#90, cont.)					!Mc				
91	b Le Peletier	!Att:32/36							!Bc	
51r 72	(m) Vermont	!Att:28			!Mb					
73	(m) Willaert	!Att:38	!A&S:35			!Mc				
51v	(#73, cont.)					!Mc				
54r 82	(m) Sermisy	!Att:29	!Ashb	!Ma						
83	(m) Sermisy	!Att:28	!Gar:41			!Mc				
54v	(#83, cont.)					!Mc				
84	b Sandrin [=76]	!Att:38							!Bc	
52r 74	(b) Sermisy	!Att:32/6						!Ba		
75	b Sandrin	!Att:38						!Ba		
52v	(#75, cont.)							!Ba		
76	b Sandrin [=84]	!Att:38							!Bc	
53r 77	b Sermisy	!Att:33						!Ba		
78	(b) Sandrin	!Att:38							!Bb	
53v 79	(b) Anon. [unicum]							!Ba		
80	b Sermisy	!Att:32/6						!Ba		
81	(b) Sandrin	!Att:38							!Bb	

Fol. No.	Composer	Attain- gnant	Italian Prints	Mb	Mb	Mc	Ba	Bb	Bc	Md
46r	64	m Thos Janequin	none!	!A&S:35						!Md
	65	m Janequin	!Att:29							!Md
46v		(#65, cont.)								!Md
47r		(#65, continued)								!Md
47v		(#65, continued)								!Md
59r		(#95, cont.)								!Md
	96	(m) Sermsy	!Att:29	!A&S:35						!Md
59v		BLANK STAVES								
62r		BLANK PAGE								
62v		BLANK PAGE								

A few observations regarding FIGURE IV:

(1) Bifolia 52/53, containing only works by Bernardo and 51/54, containing mostly Marco, seem to be improperly positioned.

(2) Bifolium 60/61 also contains works by Marco and would seem to belong with 51/54.

(3) Bifolium 56/57 begins with a Bernardo intabulation on level "Ba," ends with one on level "Bc," and within contains a series of Marco pieces (level "Mc" and "Mb").

(4) A logical succession would be to place bifolium 60/61 between bifolium 59/62 to permit blank pages to fall at the end of the section (and of the entire fascicle?), since level "Md" seems to have been the last layer, and was blank until the end of copying.

Before suggesting solutions and showing how the intabulations are related to other gatherings, a short digression is necessary. Seriation, a technique borrowed from archeology, may assist in projecting the order in which pieces were entered into the manuscript.

"Seriation" is an archeological technique used to determine chronological relationships. A series of phenomena are tabulated on slips of paper, and the slips are then shuffled until a pattern emerges, or re-arranged until they fit a paradigm. For example, by matching growth patterns in tree rings (caused by differences in annual rainfall) with a master paradigm for the region, an archeologist can determine the date of timber used in the construction of an ancient dwelling. Or successive strata at an archeological dig may yield different proportions of variously decorated pottery shards. When proportions of, say, three types of shards are tabulated from successive strata, arrowhead-like shapes, similar to that in FIGURE V.1 often result. The proportions reflect changing style preferences of the inhabitants as the latest fashion in pottery confronts an instinct to preserve tradition. Unusually angular dips or protuberances in the arrow shapes may indicate periods when a site was deserted. By matching frequencies at neighboring sites, one may determine relative chronology or trace the wanderings of a tribe as it moves from place to place.

By using the frequencies of the three types of minim shown in FIGURE II.15c, above, this technique may be adapted to assist in determining the layers of hand and relative chronology of the copying process in the Marco fascicle. Proportions of the three types should reflect the scribe's task: as he began the first trim minim should dominate, but while pushing ahead to complete his project, or a portion of it, the second and third types should

appear in greater frequency. Of course, the early trim type (FIGURE II.15a) would tend to reappear after a period of rest, thus reflecting to some extent the copyist's work schedule.

The *ricercars* in Gathering I and the intabulations of Josquin, et al., in Gathering IVb may serve as a control. Since Gathering I carries original foliation and in both gatherings the pieces often extend from page to page, the sequence seems not to have been disturbed. This cannot be proposed for other gatherings with pieces confined for the most part to a single page. When the proportions of the three types of minim and the completed bar lines are tabulated, arrow-like shapes emerge, as shown in FIGURE V.1-2. Each seems to grow or diminish within a cluster of pieces. For example, as the first type of minim in Nos. 15 through 26 diminishes in frequency, it is replaced by the second type; whereas in Nos. 56 through 64, it is the third type that becomes more prevalent. Although graphs V.1 and V.2 show the same phenomenon, they are not congruent and doubtlessly reflect different stages in the copying process. It is not possible to merge with any resulting logic items in the two graphs, and it would not be possible, for example, to suggest that the copyist worked on the two sections simultaneously alternating pieces. In other words, in FIGURE V.1, as the scribe pushes ahead, the first type is sacrificed to the second, but in FIGURE V.2, to the third type, suggesting that V.2 may be later than V.1.

These proportions and those of completed bar lines are also strikingly different in both groups of pieces.

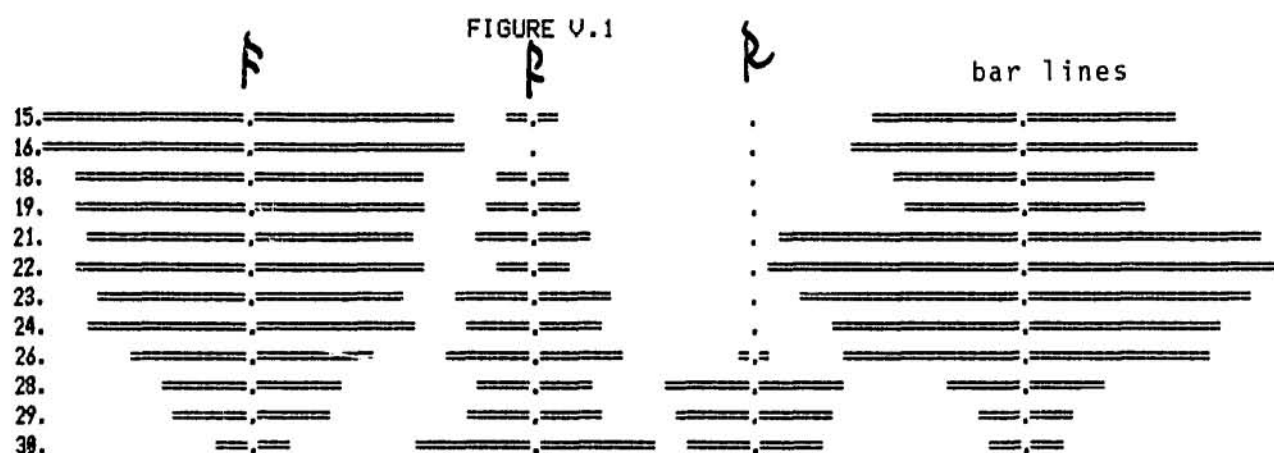
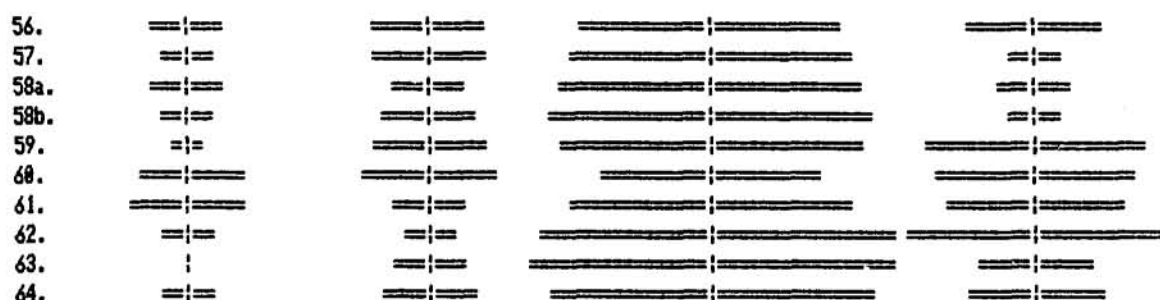


FIGURE V.2



The shapes may also represent cycles in the scribe's copying, especially where pattern anomalies occur. No. 62 seems out of place, for example, suggesting that it should receive some attention. Unusual protuberances, such as those at 22, 26 and 60 might indicate places where the scribe resumed copying after rest. In these instances, the scribe's usual stretch of copying in a sitting (if that is how we are to interpret it) may have been about five or six pieces.

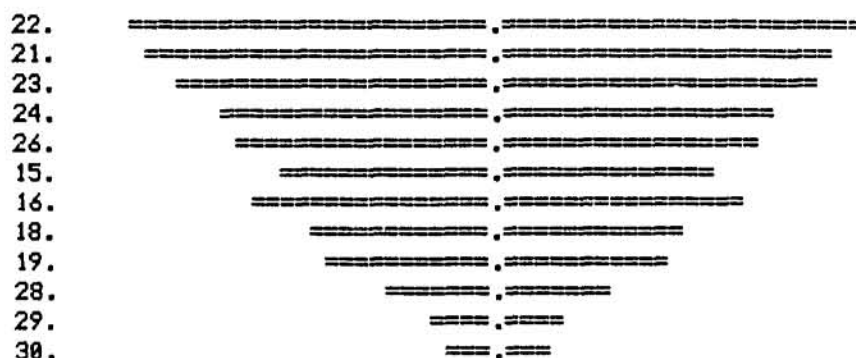
Other unusual changes appear in the minims between Nos. 21 and 22, 26 and 28, 59 and 60, and in the bar lines between 19 and 21, 26 and 28, and 58b and 59. Of these a coincidence of change between 26 and 28 occurs in both minims and bar lines, indicating, perhaps, that the copying process stopped in this gathering and continued elsewhere. This is particularly evident from the abrupt appearance of the third type of minim at No. 28.

Elsewhere the protuberances appear one piece earlier in the bar lines, producing an overlap. This agrees with evidence, discussed above, to argue that the copyist staggered the components, entering bar lines over a number of pieces, and then likewise the rhythm signs.³⁷ The bar lines may have been entered in the order of Nos. 21 through 26, 15 through 19, and then 28 through 30. The resulting shapes seem to match (see FIGURE VI).

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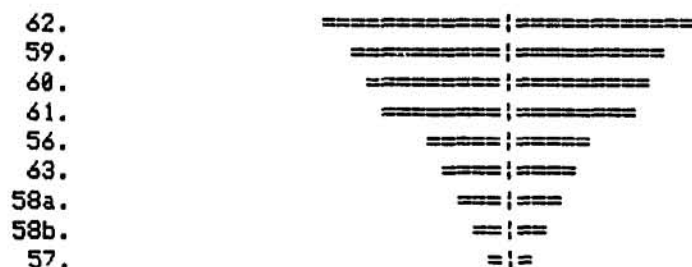
See No. 38, which has only ciphers and bar lines, and No. 65, which has ciphers, bar lines and rhythm signs through the first page, then three-quarters of a page with a few bar lines, and then a page with only ciphers. Nos. 68-71 have only ciphers, and one suspects that they may have been copied in sequence with No. 65, with which they share a number of other scribal features.

FIGURE VI A
Bar Lines Only



Above in footnote 37 I have remarked that it seems, according to the evidence in uncompleted tablatures, that bar lines may have been entered as a separate process in the copying. It may have been that they were in fact entered consecutively for a series of pieces with only ciphers and rhythm signs. Thus, above in FIGURE VI A, No. 22 may have had bar lines entered before No. 23, and No. 16, before No. 15. Likewise, the section of intabulations by the anonymous German might have had bar lines entered as shown below.

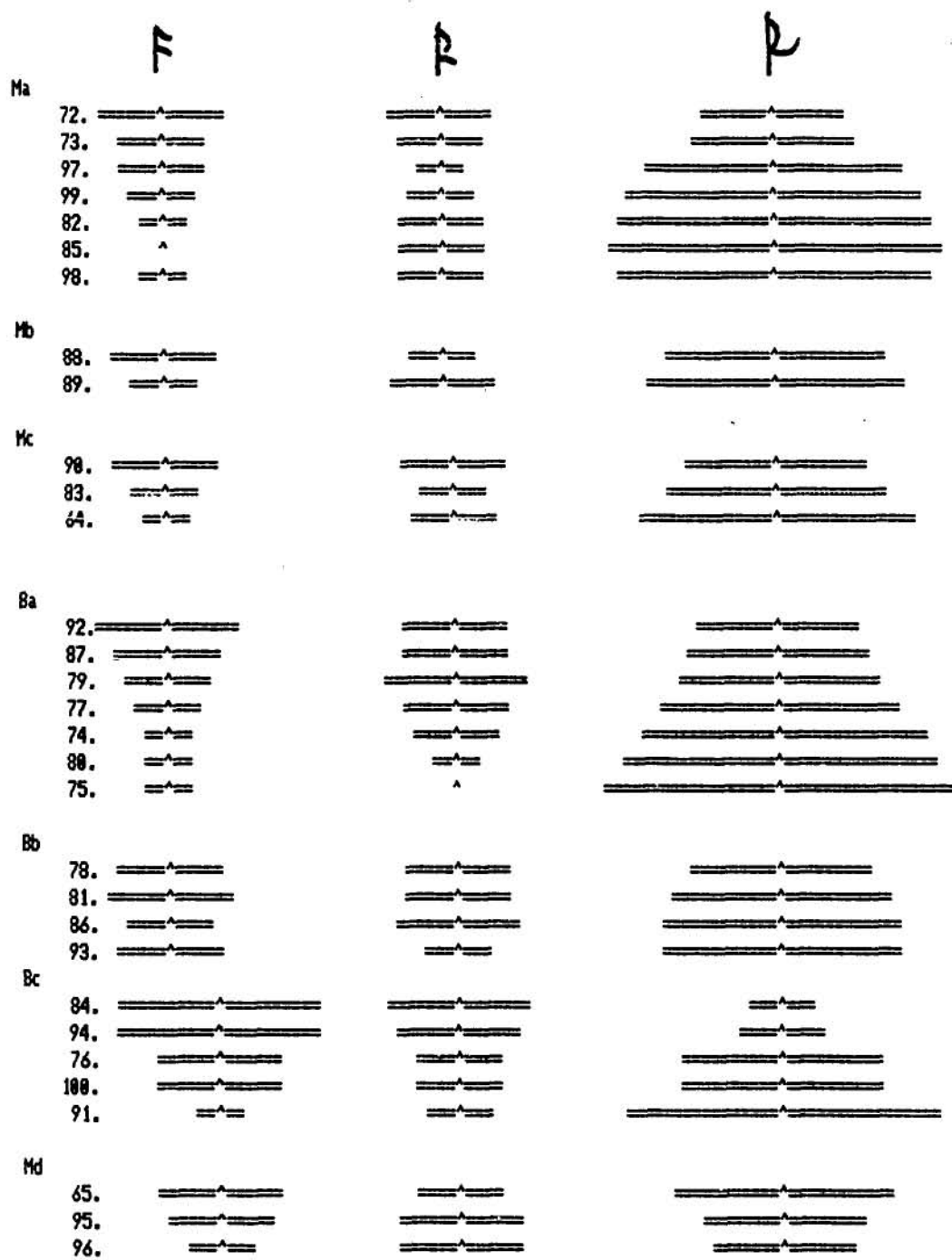
FIGURE VI B



The scribal idiosyncracies scattered throughout Gatherings V, VI and VII in a geologically "faulty" manner (as we have seen),





render the section of intabulations the most problematical in the Marco fascicle. Were the seriation tabulated in the order in which the pieces occur in the section, an erratic picture would similarly result. If, however, the tabulation is made according to the various levels of scribal hand ("Ma," "Mb," "Ba," etc.) some familiar patterns emerge. These may in turn be used to suggest how the bifolia may have been intended for grouping into larger gatherings. See FIGURE VII.

FIGURE VII



Bar Lines

Ma

97. 
 98. 
 99. 
 85. 




Mb-Mc

88. 
 89. 
 90. 
 83. 
 72. 
 82. 
 64. 
 73. 
 87. 





Ba

74. 
 75. 
 93. 
 79. 
 77. 
 92. 
 80. 




Bb

78. 
 81. 
 86. 

Bc

76. 
 91. 
 100. 
 84. 

Md

95. 
 96. 
 65. 

The bifolia may be arranged in any number of permutations and combinations. Ever present is the distinct possibility that they were never projected as leaves in planned gatherings. Indeed the plan may have, and probably did, change as copying proceeded. The bar lines on level "Mb" and "Mc" may have been added at the same time, perhaps even along with those for level "Ba." There is no striking contrast in ink (throughout the fascicle, as a matter of fact), so it seems probable that the bar lines were entered by the original copyist. The order, shown in FIGURE VIII, to be discussed next, seems logical.

In any event, our aim is to discover what may have been the original internal structure and number of sources from which the scribe worked, and the one shown in FIGURE VIII seems as good as any, and better than most. The order in which pieces may have been entered according to this evidence is summarized in the figure. Roman numerals show the order of minims and Arabic numerals within parentheses, the bar lines. The "tonality" of each piece, using G-tuning for comparison, is given with upper- and lower-case letters.

FIGURE VIII

Fol. No.	Composer	Ha	Ba	Mb & Mc	Bb	Bc & Mc	Md
46r 64	m T. Janequin	:	:	:	:	V F(7)!	:
65	m Janequin	:	:	:	:	:	I F
46v	(#65, cont.)	:	:	:	:	:	:
47r	(#65, cont.)	:	:	:	:	:	:
47v	(#65, cont.)	:	:	:	:	:	:
51r 72	(m) Vermont	I F	:	(5)	:	:	:
73	(m) Willaert (?)	II g (8)!	:	:	:	:	:
51r	(#73, cont.)	:	:	:	:	:	:
68r 97	(m) Sermisy	III F(1)	:	:	:	:	:
68v 98	(m) Sermisy	VII F(2)	:	:	:	:	:
61r 99	(a) Janequin	IV f(3)	:	:	:	:	:
61v	(#99, cont.)	:	:	:	:	:	:
100	(b) Lupi	:	:	:	:	IV F(4)!	:
54r 82	(m) Sermisy	V F	:	(6)	:	:	:
83	(m) Sermisy	:	:	IV g(4)	:	:	:
54v	(#83, cont.)	:	:	:	:	:	:
84	b Sandrin [=76]	:	:	:	:	I g(5)!	:
55r 85	(a) Josquin	VI d(4)!	:	:	:	:	:
55v	(#85, cont.)	:	:	:	:	:	:
86	(b) Sermisy	:	:	:	III g(3)!	:	:
52r 74	(b) Sermisy	:	V G (1)!	:	:	:	:
75	b Sandrin	:	VII d (2)!	:	:	:	:
52v	(#75, cont.)	:	:	:	:	:	:
76	b Sandrin [=84]	:	:	:	:	III g(1)!	:
53r 77	b Sermisy	:	IV C (5)!	:	:	:	:
78	(b) Sandrin	:	:	:	I g(1)	:	:
53v 79	(b) Anon. [unicum]	:	III f (4)!	:	:	:	:
80	b Sermisy	:	VI D (7)!	:	:	:	:
81	(b) Sandrin	:	:	:	II Bb(2)!	:	:
56r 87	b Jacotin	:	II G (7)!	:	:	:	:
88	(m) Willaert (?)	:	:	I F(1)!	:	:	:
56v	(#88, cont.)	:	:	:	:	:	:
89	(m) Sermisy	:	:	II Bb(2)!	:	:	:

57r	:	(#89, cont.)	:	:	:	:	:	:	:
90	:	(m) Sermisy	:	:	III F(3)	:	:	:	:
57v	:	(#90, cont.)	:	:	:	:	:	:	:
91	:	b Le Peletier	:	:	:	:	V G(3)	:	:
58r	:	92 : b Sermisy	:	:	I g(6)	:	:	:	:
93	:	b Sermisy	:	:	:	:	IV g(3)	:	:
58v	:	(#93, cont.)	:	:	:	:	:	:	:
94	:	(b) Sandrin	:	:	:	:	II g(2)	:	:
95	:	m Sermisy	:	:	:	:	:	II F	:
59r	:	(#95, cont.)	:	:	:	:	:	:	:
96	:	(m) Sermisy	:	:	:	:	:	III F	:
59v									
62r									
62v									

BLANK STAVES

BLANK PAGE

BLANK PAGE

A number of observations are germane. The scribe appears to have entered pieces regularly at the top of rectos, filling in a few pieces on remaining staves. Pieces in Dorian on d, g, f, etc., often appear towards the end of a spurt of copying. Chansons found only in Italian vocal prints (Nos. 64 and 88), as well as those that appear in Italian prints, are often on level "Mc." On the other hand, pieces intabulated from chansons appearing in the Chansons nouvelles of 1538 are in every instance added to pages that were for the most part already filled: those from the first book (Nos. 78 and 81) to level "Bb," and those from the second (Nos. 75-6, 78, 84, 93-4) to level "Bc." "Vaincre na peu" (Nos. 84 and 76) appears to have been copied twice in succession.

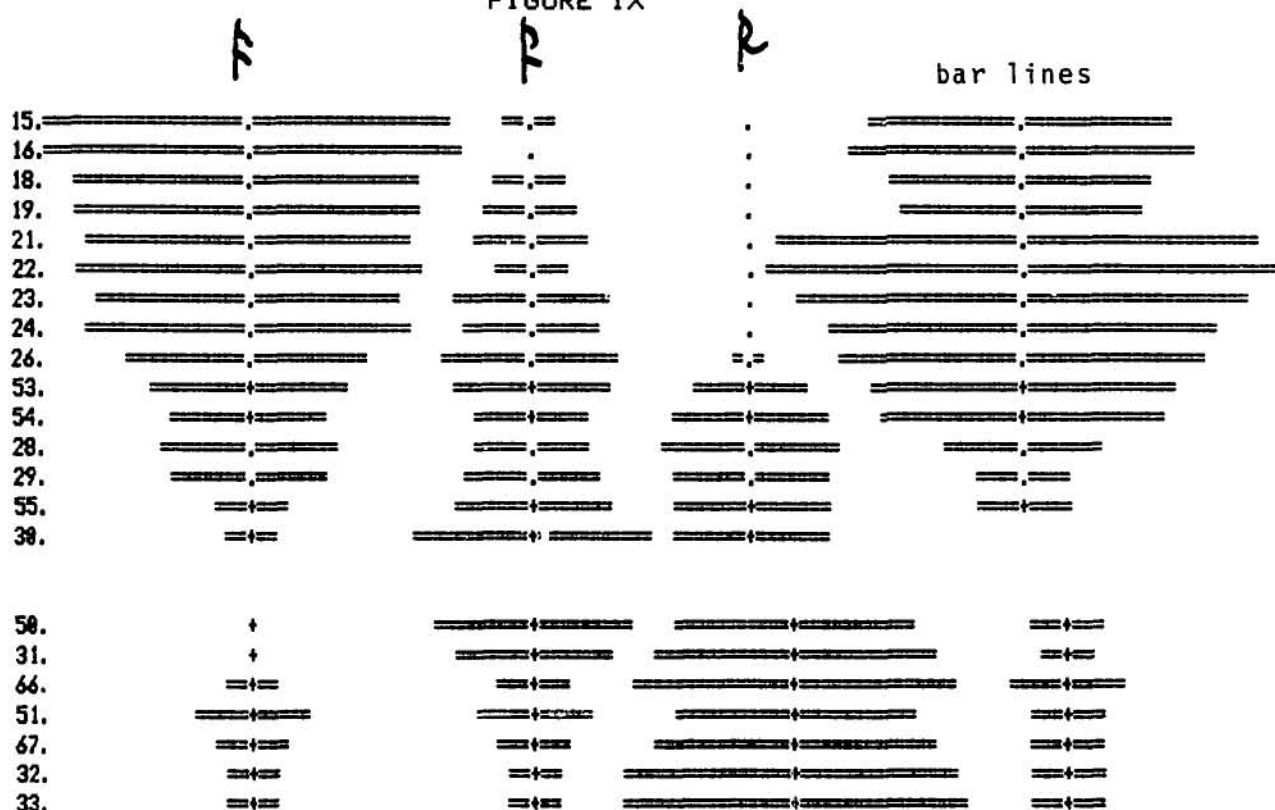
In laying out the fascicle, the copyist usually left pages of blank staves, or blank unlined pages, towards the end of each section devoted to a single genre. Logically, when a copyist had

a large amount of music on hand to be entered into a manuscript, he may have worked in full gatherings of quaternions adding bifolia if it appeared that only partial gatherings were needed to hold the projected compositions. In the present case, the copyist may have been working in bifolia, or binions, as seems evident with folios 55/58 of level "Ba." He may have kept them together until it became necessary to re-arrange the bifolio as an outer sheet, so that No. 95 could complete the last level. This may account for the intabulations seeming to fall first into binions, rather than quaternions. The copyist may have been working from several sources and have decided to add the post-1538 chansons when they became available, perhaps at the last moment. If, based on watermark evidence, the fascicle was copied in the late 1530s, then a sequence of binions followed by projected quaternions seems entirely plausible.

Likewise, as pieces were added to the sections devoted to other genres, additional bifolia might have become necessary with successive layers.

With this in mind and returning finally to the *ricercars*, it is not too difficult to determine how the gatherings might fit together. We have noticed that Gatherings II and IVa/c may have formed a unit following Gathering I (where they were positioned in Maier's arrangement). Lacunae occur in the seriation pattern of Gathering I, especially between Nos. 26 and 28. If the portions of Gatherings II and IVa/c are tabulated, they fit nicely with Gathering I. (See FIGURE IX.)

FIGURE IX



In laying out the gatherings by *ricercars*, dances and intabulations, the copyist seems usually to have worked in quaternions, leaving blank pages or pages of blank staves towards the end of each section and fitting in short pieces after the longer ones previously entered. Early in the process, folios may have been purposely left blank to provide space for other pieces in the same mode. This may account for folio 38r-v being blank in the first layer, No. 54 (Phrygian on g) forming an intended Phrygian group with No. 51 (Phrygian on a), and No. 22 falling early in the copying, but entered on a later folio to avoid page turns. The

order of Gatherings II and IVa/c given in FIGURE X.1 seems entirely plausible.

FIGURE X.1

folio	LAYER ONE	LAYER TWO	LAYER THREE	LAYER FOUR	LAYER FIVE
26	I (1) m26 (F)				
26v	(cont.)				
27		I m28 (d)			
27v		II (m)29 (g)			
		IV m/f30 (b)			
38			I 50 (F)		
38v				I(3) f51 (d Phryg)	
39	II 53x (g-d)				
39v	(cont.)				
40	III 54 (g Phryg)				
40v	(cont.)	III 55x (G)			
28			II (m)31 (d)		
28v				III(3) m 32 (G)	
			IV (m)33 (F)		
29					m 34 (G)
29v					f 35 (a Phrygian)
			[BLANK STAVES]		
48		III 66x (G)			
48v		II 67 (C)			
				m 68 (d)	
				m 69 (G)	
49				(cont.)	
					m 70 (g)
					m 71 (g-F)
49v			[BLANK STAVES]		
50			[BLANK STAVES]		
50v			[BLANK STAVES]		

A version laid out in binions is less successful, I think.

FIGURE X.2

folio	LAYER ONE	LAYER TWO	LAYER THREE	LAYER FOUR	LAYER FIVE
26	I m26 (F)				
26v	(cont.)				
27		I m28 (d)			
27v		II (m)29 (g)			
		IV m/f30 (D)			
39	II 53x (g-d)				
39v	(cont.)				
48	III 54 (g Phryg)				
48v	(cont.)	III 55x (G)			
48			III 66x (G)		
48v			II 67 (C)		
			m 69 (G)	m 68 (d)	
49					(cont.)
					m 70 (g)
49v					m 71 (g-F)
		[BLANK STAVES]			
38		I 50 (F)			
38v			I(3) f51 (d Phryg)		
28		II (m)31 (d)			
28v		III m 32 (G)			
			IV (m)33 (F)		
29				m 34 (G)	
29v				f 35 (a Phrygian)	
		[BLANK STAVES]			
50		[BLANK STAVES]			
50v		[BLANK STAVES]			

A curious feature of the Marco Fascicle, which has never

been convincingly explained, is the number of pieces that have been cancelled with a single pen-stroke. In her article on the Herwarth manuscripts (page 42), Dr. Martinez-Göllner has suggested that the cancelled pieces may have been inaccurate or out-moded. Another suggestion is that the pieces so marked may have been copied into another manuscript, or may have served for a print, being cancelled as they were entered.

These explanation are not too plausible. The readings are exceptionally accurate and it is often the most old-fashioned pieces that remain uncanceled: intabulations of works by Senfl and Josquin in Gathering IV and *ricercars* reminiscent of those by the Petrucci generation of lutenists in Gathering I, such as Nos. 18, 28 and the "Nachleuffl." There is, moreover, a uniformity in the consistency of the ink used in crossing out the pieces. Folios 58v-59 have corresponding ink stains, caused when the diagonal lines, still wet, blotted on the opposite pages, thus suggesting that the cancellations were probably made at one sitting, after the fascicle was fully copied. This is evident from Nos. 34 and 35, *ricercars* by Marco and Francesco which form the youngest layer. Nos. 34 and 35 duplicate Nos. 15 and 21, but contain no significant variant readings to suggest that they were added as corrections: Nos. 15 and 34 are struck through, Nos. 21 and 35 are not. This suggests that a piece was crossed off when it was located in another print or manuscript in the owner's library. The anomaly of duplicated pieces, one crossed off in the main fascicle, the other, on a page of late additions confirms my supposition.

In the "De Rippe Fascicle," as we observed, pieces were

copied from a presently unknown Italian source, not from the Parisian editions. The pieces were later annotated, perhaps as the owner compared the manuscript with the print. Phrases such as "fantasia 8 dess Ersstz Buchs Alberts" are scribbled throughout the fascicle. Pieces in the Marco Fascicle may likewise have been checked against the contents of another manuscript or print and duplicate pieces cancelled as the owner inventoried the contents, so to speak.

If the cancelled pieces are listed in the order in which they may have been entered into the manuscript, an interesting succession of ricercars paired by mode results:

15 Ricircar: Marco	G
16 Ricircar: Marco	g
24 Ricircar: Marco	F
26 Ricircar: Marco	F
54 [untitled]	g Phrygian
29 [untitled: Marco?]	g
31 Recercar: [Marco?]	d
30 Ricircar: Marco	D
33 [untitled: Marco?]	F

Likewise the uncanceled ricercars follow a succession of modes. It is significant that modulatory ricercars appear only among the uncanceled pieces. They may have been intended to serve as interludes for the section of dances in Gathering III, which also do not contain cancellations.

22	Recircar: Marco	G
18	Recircar: Marco	g
19	Recircar: Marco	B b-g
21	Recercar: Francesco	a Phr
23	Recircar: Marco	d-a
53	[untitled]X	g-d
28	Recircare: Marco	d
55	[untitled]X	G
50	[untitled]	F
66	[untitled]X	G
32	Re/car: Marco	G
51	Recircare: Francesco	d Phr
67	Cossa spagnola	C

X Use "broken style."

In summary, I believe that the foregoing discussion, as extended as it has been, provides grounds for suggesting the various sources from which the scribe worked, and perhaps even the order in which they were copied from that source or sources. The Marco pieces may very well have been copied from a print, or two, or at least from another manuscript arranged in the manner of the usual Italian printed tablature, that is, by genre. Certainly there is evidence, discussed in the following chapter, that Marco dall'Aquila may himself have published some of his music, although aside from a privilege granted him by the Venetian Signori, there is no supporting documentation of any such prints ever being issued.

I would like to propose three books of works by Marco, my division being based on the cancelled ricercars and the apparent final, uncompleted layer:

Book I (Ricercars and Intabulations)

15 Ricercar senza canto	G	Marco
16 Ricercar	c-g	Marco
25 Ricercar	G	Marco
24 Ricercar	F	Marco
26 Ricercar	F	Marco (ca. 1536)
29 [Ricercar]	g	Marco?
54 [Ricercar]	g Phr	Marco?
31 Ricercar	d	Marco?
30 Ricercar	D	Marco (or Francesco)
33 [Ricercar]	F	Marco?
72 Las voulez vous	F	Vermont/[Marco]
73 Ala ventura	g	Williaert/[Marco]
97 Amour me voyant	F	Sermisy/[Marco]
99 Martin menoît	f	Janequin/Alberto
82 Je ne fais rien	F	Sermisy/[Marco]
85 Plus nulz regres	d	Josquin/Anon.
98 J'ay me le cueur	F	Sermisy/[Marco]
88 La rousée du moye de may	F	Williaert/[Marco]
89 Aupres de vous	Bb	Sermisy/[Marco]
90 Mauldicte soit	F	Sermisy/[Marco]
83 Contre raison	g	Sermisy/[Marco]
64 Nous bergiers	f	T. Janequin/Marco

Book II (Ricercars and Popular Venetian Dances)

22 Ricercar	G	Marco
18 Ricercar	g	Marco
23 Ricercar	d-a	Marco
53 Ricercar	d-g	Marco?
28 Ricercar	d	Marco
55 [Ricercar]	G	Marco?
50 [Ricercar]	F	Marco? or Francesco?
66 [Ricercar]	G	Marco? or Francesco?
32 Ricercar	G	Marco
51 Ricercar	d Phr	Francesco
67 D'una cosa spagnola	C	Francesco? or Marco?
19 Ricercar	Bb-g	Marco
21 Ricercar	a Phr	Francesco

- 36 11 Cara Cosas
- 37 [Passamezzo antico and saltarello]
- 38 5 Traditoras (one for lute duet)
- 39 Burato (for lute duet)
- 40 Bernardo non puol stare (lute duet)
- 41 Tocha tocha la canella
- 42 [Romanesca]
- 43 Dance: "Tu te parti core mio caro"
- 44 Pomo
- 45 Marchesa de San Luzo
- 46 Canalecha
- 47 [untitled dance]
- 48 Poverine
- 49 Bragantine

Book III (Ricercars and Intabulations)

68 Ricercar (caro a H. HE.)	d	Marco
69 Ricercar	G	Marco
70 Ricercar	g	Marco
71 Priambolo	g-F	Marco
62 Amy souffrez	F	Sermisy/Marco
63 Il est bel & bon	d	Passereau/Marco
65 La Guerre	F	Janequin/Marco
95 C'est a grand tort	F	Sermisy/Marco
96 Maulgre moy	F	Sermisy/[Marco]

Perhaps as early, or even earlier, may be the source for
intabulations by a German lutenist:

56 Mille regnes	d Phr	Josquin/Anon. German
57 Per illud ave	f	Josquin/Anon. German
58 Nisi dominus	d	Senfl/Anon. German
59 Was wird es doch	F	Senfl/Anon. German
60 Il est jour	g	Sermisy/Anon. German
61 Cueur langoureux	a	Josquin/Anon. German

And finally what must be the youngest pieces in the
fascicle, the intabulations of Parisian chansons by Bernardo "N.",
divided by layers:

92	Content desir	g	Sermisy/Bernardo
87	Voiant souffrir	G	Jacotin/Bernardo
79	On en dira	f	Anon./[Bernardo]
77	Si une heur parfaict	C	Sermisy/Bernardo
74	Las que crainis mon amy	G	Sermisy/[Bernardo]
80	Je n'ose estre content	D	Sermist/Bernardo
75	Doulce memoire	d	Sandrin/Bernardo
94	Qu'il voudra savoir	g	Sandrin/[Bernardo]
78	Vous usurpes	g	Sandrin/[Bernardo]
81	Content de vous	Bb	Sermisy/[Bernardo]
86	Dictes sans peur	g	Sermisy/[Bernardo]
93	Ce qui soloit	d	Sandrin/Bernardo
84	Vaincre na peu	g	Sandrin/Bernardo
76	Vaincre na peu	g	Sandrin/Bernardo
91	Si mon malheur	G	Le Pelletier/Bernardo
100	Changer ne puis	F	Lupi Didier II/ [Bernardo]

The two duplicate ricercars, and perhaps the "Nachleuffl," must have been added, as I have noted, after the fascicle had been completed.

34	Ricercar	G	Marco
35	Ricercar	a Phr	Francesco
17	[Nachleuffl]	g	Anon.
27	[Nachleuffl]	Bb-g	Anon.
52	[Nachleuffl]	g	Anon.
20	[Nachleuffl]	D-g	Anon.

An examination of the various styles of lute music contained in the fascicle will assist in validating the above hypothesis and will allow us to remove some of the question marks and brackets.

Chapter VII
Marco dall'Aquila and the
Style Change in Early Music for Lute

The earliest identifiable music intended specifically for lute dates from the turn of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries.¹ During the latter half of the quattrocento, as is evident from iconographical evidence,² a far-reaching change occurred in right-hand technique. Bare fingers replaced the plectrum in sounding the instrument,³ permitting solo polyphony to replace the lute's usual function as single-line instrument. The waning

¹ For an interesting and convincing argument that at least one piece from the Buxheim keyboard manuscript, copied in the mid-1460s in Munich, is for two lutes, one a discant part, the other a tenor in two parts, see Fallows, "Fifteenth-Century Tablatures," 30-33, and below.

² Reproductions of 15th- and 16th-century lutenists in solo and ensemble groups may be found in Dorfmueller, Studien, pp. 178-90 (with a discussion of the lute as an ensemble instrument on pp. 104-5); Danner, "Before Petrucci," 17; Heartz, "Mary Magdalene," 52-69, with plates between pp. 63 and 64; and Adler, Fach-Katalog, pp. 161-5.

³ That is, if bare fingers were always used. In a forthcoming article, Jessie Ann Owens and Paul O'Dette will comment on a recently uncovered description of a performance at Rome by Francesco da Milano, in which he played with silver picks attached to his fingers. Such picks are mentioned in 16th-century musical instrument inventories, but their purpose has here-to-fore been unrealized.

of the older style of play coincides with the appearance of lute tablature, perhaps the best practical notation in a day when score notation was rare. As a single line in an ensemble, the usual mensural notation in choirbook format had sufficed for the lutenist's music, and as a solo instrument the lute was usually played by the improvisatore of narrative poetry.⁴ Manuscript lute music before about 1500 is, therefore, quite exceptional, although discoveries of previously little known or unavailable sources have increased recently.

Italian sources, or those with predominately Italian pieces, include the following:

(1) Ca. 1490-1503: Pesaro, Biblioteca oliveriana, MS 1144 (olim 1193), "Miscelanea di Tempesta Blondi." North Italian? Neapolitan and French tablatures.⁵

(2) Ca. 1500: Bologna, Biblioteca universitaria, MS 596.HH.2/4. Neapolitan tablature (using "1" to indicate the open courses); southern Italian.⁶

[Venice, 1505: Marco dall'Aquila applies to the Venetian Signori for a privilege to publish lute tablatures]

4

See Haraszti, "La Technique des improvisateurs," 12-31; and Prizer, Courtly Pastimes, pp. 3-4, 63-4.

5 See Rubsamen, "The Earliest French Lute Tablature," for discussion, facsimiles and list of contents; also Fallows, "15th-Century Tablatures," 10-18.

6

See Fallows, 18-28.

(3) Venice, Petrucci, 1507: Francesco Spinacino of Venice,
Intabulatura de lauto, libro primo and secondo.

(4) Venice, Petrucci, 1508: Gian Maria Hebreo of Urbino,
Intabulatura di Lauto, libro tertio [lost].

(5) Venice, Petrucci, 1508: Joan Ambrosio Dalza of Milan:
Intabulatura de lauto, libro quarto.

(6) Venice, Petrucci, 1509/11: Franciscus Bossinensis,
Tenori e contrabassi.

(7) Ca. 1510-15: Paris, Bibliothèque nationale, Rés Vmd. ms.
27 (olim, Neuilly-sur-Seine, G. Thibault).⁷

(8) Ca. 1517: Chicago, Newberry Library, Case VM 140.C25:
"Compositione di meser Vincenzo Capirola." Copied in Venice.

(9) Venice, ca. 1520: Cose amoroze da cantar nel lauto.
[lost?]⁸

(10) Venice, Antico, ca. 1520: Frottole . . . con tenori et
bassi.

(11) Ca. 1532: Munich, Mus Ms 1511b, [Venetian dances].
(For contents, see Chapter I.)

⁷ Nos. (7) and (8) are now available in a facsimile editions, Geneva: Minkoff, 1981, and Florence: Studio per edizione scelte, 1981. The Capirola book, with an important preface, has been transcribed by Otto Gombosi (Neuilly-sur-Seine, 1955).

⁸ Listed in Thibault, "Vincenti," p. 18. It may equal item (10).

(12) Venice, Milan, Naples, 1536: First prints containing Francesco da Milano, Albert de Rippe, and Marco dall'Aquila.

(13) Ca. 1539: Munich, Mus Ms 266, "Marco fascicle," copied in southern Germany, but probably containing works produced much earlier.

Joanne Orbo, a blind musician from Munich, is said to have first introduced the newer method to Italy in the late 1460s, and the two manners of play, plectrum and polyphonic, existed side-by-side for over a half-century thereafter. Gian Maria Hebreo, composer of the lost Petrucci book III, is sometimes credited for bringing the newer technique to Italy (being mistaken in some accounts, one thinks, for Joanne Orbo; both enjoyed the sobriquet "Allemanni"). Gian Maria was heard at Rome in 1523:

There was Zuan Maria zudio with his three companions, and they all played a 4, he himself with the plectrum wonderfully.

Bartolomeo Tromboncino, a fine lutenist in the tradition of the improvvisatore, also used the plectrum, perhaps throughout

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Sanudo, I Diarii, 34, col. 216.

his life:

He will still play with his sonorous lute, . . .
 His sweet notes, his lovely style,
 His lute, his plectrum, and his welcome voice,
 Still resounds in the ears of all.

Three plateaus of renaissance lute technique and musical style may be discerned during the course of the change from plectrum to polyphonic play:

- (1) an age of virtuoso lutenist-improvisers,
- (2) the period of the lutenists contemporary with Petrucci's, whose polyphonic technique retained musical elements of the older style of play, and
- (3) a classical phase represented in Francesco da Milano's widely disseminated works that codified the indigenous style of polyphonic play through the time of Dowland, when lute technique succumbed to the fashionable style brisé sur les accords nouveaux.

Philippo Oriolo, in his poem about musicians on Mount Parnassus (ca. 1519), provides a convenient working list of important
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 Italian lutenists of the mid-Renaissance. All might be counted,

Hieronimo Cassio, Libro intitulato cronica (1525), translated from Knud Jeppesen, La Frottola, I (Aarhus, 1968), 148-9, in Prizer, "Lutenists at the Court of Mantua," 7.

The poem and identification of the various lutenists is given in Slim, "Musicians on Parnassus," pp. 155-63, with some corrections in his important article, "Gian and Gian Maria," 562-74. I have relied on Slim's identifications for many of the lutenists, but have provided additional information (where appropriate) in the list of players mentioned in the poem. Additional recent information includes the following: for Orbo, see below; Testagrossa has been dealt with extensively in Prizer, "Lutenists and the Court of Mantua"; Pietrobono, in Lockwood, "Pietrobono," esp. pp. 115-133; and for the correct identification of the lutenist known as "Zoppino," see Prizer, pp. 14-15.

nevertheless, among the most renowned of their day, judging from surviving accounts of their fame. That only a few possible candidates are missing from his list confirms the exclusivity of the group.¹² He parades his musicians before us, in near chronological order, although a few may be out-of-step, so to speak.¹³ They are as follows, with a few others (marked with an asterisk) who might have been included:

¹² The most striking omission from Oriolo's list is Albert de Rippe, but Albert, if he was born about 1500, was but a youngster at the time of Oriolo's writing. All of the Petrucci lutenists are cited, except Franciscus Bossinensis (publ. 1509 and 1511), whose arrangements of frottole for voice and lute show very little creative effort, suggesting that he may have been but a devil in Petrucci's shop. Oriolo's acuteness in including Francesco da Milano and Marco dall'Aquila in his list, well before their music had appeared in print, seems to confirm the select club that he founded. Some lesser lights, who broke into print in the mid-1530s and 40s, are notably absent, and the rather mediocre quality of their surviving music seems to confirm their absence: Domenico Bianchini (by profession a mosaicist at St. Mark's), Melchiorre de Barberiis (a Paduan priest and self-styled "sonatore eccellentissimo de lutto") and Giovanni Jacobo Albutio (a German pedagogue from Cleves, who seems not even to have earned renown in his adopted city of Milan).

¹³ Oriolo has continued the confusion about Gian Maria Hebreo and the elusive Giovan Tedesco. It seems hardly possible, according to the documents cited below, that Gian Maria, who published a book of lute music chez Petrucci in 1508, was a contemporary of Pietrobono, and Giovan Tedesco (if he is not identical to Giovanni Orbo) might have been a contemporary of Spinacino. I have altered Oriolo's chronological list to reflect these anomalies. Since he was writing about lutenists, long since departed, and known to him only by reputation, Oriolo's confusion is understandable.

Giovanni [Joanne] Orbo (fl. 1465-1501 in Munich, Mantua, Ferrara and Milan)

Pietrobono de Burzellis (1417-1498 in Ferrara and Hungary)

Gian Maria Hebreo (fl. 1492-1501 in Florence, Rome and Urbino)

Giovanni Angelo Testagrossa (1470-1530, active in Pavia, Milan, Rome, Parma, Urbino and Ferrara)

Francesco Spinacino (fl. 1507 in Venice)

Gioan [Janes?] Tedesco (fl. 1469-75 in Milan and Abbiategrasso)

Genovese [unidentified]

Marco dall'Aquila (ca. 1475-after 1537 in Venice)

Giovanni Ambrosio Dalza (fl. 1508 in Milan)

Bernardino Aldrati, "Zoppino" (fl. Mantua, 1511-after 1525)

✕ Vincenzo Capirola (1474-after 1548, active in Brescia, England [?] and Venice)

Francesco da Milano (1497-1543, active in Rome, Piacenza, Milan, Nice and Paris [?])

Gianetton (a fictional lutenist created to provide a foil for a dramatic entrance of Vindella?)

✕ Alberto da Ripa (ca. 1500-1551, active in Mantua, Rome and Paris)

Giovanni Antonio Vindella (fl. in Treviso; brother [?] of Giovanni Francesco Vindella)

The most renowned fifteenth-century plectrum lutenist is Pietrobono [da Ferrara] de Burzellis (1417-1498), for over a half-century one of the most remarkable musicians at the court of Dukes Borso, Leonello and Ercole II d'Este. His travels and activities are better documented than any other lutenist of his day.

His salary at Ferrara was considerable, indicating the esteem in which his patrons held him, and he achieved the rare honor (for a musician) of being named cavaliere. He is not only an important figure in the unwritten tradition of the improvvisatore, who performed narrative poems to the accompaniment of the lute, but is also known for his skill in playing in ensemble with other instrumentalists. Pietrobono performed regularly in team with a tenorista, one Zanetto Todescho in 1449 and after 1456, Francesco Malacise. No instrument is specified for the tenoristas, but a Janes Tedescho, who appeared at the Sforza court in Milan in 1469 and 1475 was accompanied by "suo compagno che sona la viola
¹⁴
[da mano?]." Johannes Tinctoris heard Pietrobono perform with a tenorista either in Naples (when Pietrobono traveled there in

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Lockwood, "Pietrobono," 121, 123.

15 Barblan, "Vita musicale alla corte Sforesca," 806. Nino Pirrotta, "Music and Cultural Tendencies," 158, is probably correct in suggesting that it was a plucked viola that Janes Tedescho played. Tinctoris claims that in Italy and Spain the viola without a bow is more often used. This is the viola da mano mentioned in the title page of Francesco da Milano's 1536 Naples print. It is also specified in the Bottrigari Lute [recte: Viola da Mano] Book in Modena, and in the very early tablature in Bologna, Biblioteca universitaria, MS 596.HH.2/4, among other places. It is the Italian designation for vihuela, causing confusion with the bowed instrument.

1473 with emissaries that accompanied Eleanor d'Aragona back to Ferrara as Ercole's bride) or in 1479 (when he visited Ferrara).

In De inventione et usu musicae, written probably between 1480 and

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1484, Tinctoris mentions Pietrobono specifically:

The lyre is called the lute, which we use at feasts, dances, and public and private entertainments, and in this many Germans are exceedingly accomplished and renowned. Thus some teams will take the treble part of any piece you care to give them and improvise marvellously upon it with such taste that the performance cannot be rivalled. Among such, Pietro Bono, lutenist to Ercole, Duke of Ferrara, is in my opinion pre-eminent.

Antonio Cornazano, writing about 1456, described a performance by

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Pietrobono of a "well ordered frotta:"

He sang to the cetra of modern love which he esteemed, . . . and ran everything in semitones [recte: semifuse?], always in proportions and syncopations, imitating the tenore on his cantoni [recte: cantino, top string?]; . . . he then

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Translated in Baines, "Fifteenth-century Instruments in Tinctoris's," 24. Pietrobono's grandfather was apparently German (Lockwood, "Pietrobono," 116), and this, or the fact that so many musicians at the court of Ferrara were, may account for Tinctoris's suggestion. That he was from Brussels ("de Burzellis") is unfounded.

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Antonio Cornazano, "Laudes Petri Boni Cythariste," Sforziade, canto vii, edited with commentary in Pirrotta, "Music and Cultural Tendencies," pp. 144-6. As Pirrotta cautions, Cornazano throws musical terms about with wild abandon, and his account may thus be suspect. For example, if Pietrobono "descended" with his left hand towards the rose of the instrument, then the pitch would have gone higher. If, however, Cornazano is referring to the right-hand motion toward the rose from the bridge (where the hand is usually expected to be rooted), the usual metallic, nasal sound of renaissance lute playing would gradually be replaced with sweeter and softer sonorities appropriate to Cornazano's description. If it is correct, the second suggestion carries important implications for renaissance lute performance practice. Unfortunately Cornazano's thrust was more likely towards floral paronomasia than technical description: "tal che fe' ponto in su la rosa, . . . la sententia era e fiori e non viole."

descended languidly to finish the piece, ending on a fine point near the rose, . . . and then, returning, as in an amorous circle, searched [cercare] out a buoyant dance.

This older style of Pietrobono is often contrasted with the
18
polyphonic manner. Tinctoris again:

Furthermore, others will do what is more difficult; namely to play a composition alone, and most skillfully, in not only two parts, but even in three or four. For example, Orbus the German, or Henri who was recently in the service of Charles, Duke of Burgundy; the German was super-eminent in playing this way.

Tinctoris names the viola da mano as the preferred instrument, as he continues:

While some play every sort of composition most delightfully on the lute, in Italy and Spain the viola without bow [viola da mano; vihuela] is more often used. On the other hand over the greater part of the world the viola with bow is used not only in this way, but also in the recitation of epics.

Nor must I pass over a recent event, the performance of two Flemings, the brothers Orbus, men who are no less learned in letters than skilled in music, named Charles and Johannes. At Bruges, I heard Charles take the upper part and Johannes the tenor in many songs, playing the viola in this way so expertly and with such charm that the viola has never pleased me so well.

Oriolo, whose list appears to be chronological, placed Johannes Urbo first, followed by Pietrobono. In 1470 a Johannes (Joanne, Giovanni) Orbo, a blind musician from the court at Munich was in the service of Margherita di Bavièra, consort to Federico I Gonzaga of Mantua. A blind lutenist would prefer to play with bare fingers rather than plectrum, it seems, and priority for polyphonic play could be assigned to him.¹⁹ He is probably identical with the Janes Tedescho who played lute to the accompaniment of viola at the Sforza court in 1469,²⁰ since Orbo was clearly there in 1468, as Sforza Maria Sforza reports in a letter written to his brother Galeazzo Maria Sforza from Belfiore in September:²¹

Heri non andassimo in campagna, ma al disnare havessimo diversi piacere, de clavicembala, de liuti, ed buffoni et de Maglistro Zohanne orbo, qual dixè maravigliosamente, più de l'usato.

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A similar situation exists with Conrad Paumann's supposed invention of German tablature. It is assumed that a blind person would hardly invent a system of notation, when actually German tablature would be ideally suited to the dictation of a blind lutenist, perhaps more so than any other type of tablature or musical notation.

20

Cf. H. Colin Slim, "Gian and Gian Maria," 563.

21

Emilio Motta, "Musici alla corte degli Sforza," Archivio storico lombardo, 14 (1887), 283n.

Orbo may have fled to Mantua and Margherita di Bavièra (his former patroness in Munich?). When Galeazzo wished to have "quel cieco miracoloso" with "tutti gl'instrumenti che sa sonare," Ludovico Gonzaga replied that it had been difficult enough to bring Orbo to Mantua. Orbo had developed an obsessive fear ("fantasia") that jealous Italian players might poison him, and he would eat only food prepared for him by Margherita.²² Galeazzo's was just one of a number of requests for Orbo in 1470. On three occasions King Ferdinand of Naples requested that "uno orbo musico de omne instrumento . . . dicto Joanne" be brought to the Neapolitan court, adding that the Duke of Bavaria had inquired about Orbo's conduct among his fellow musicians.²³ Later Orbo may be traced to Ferrara and again to Milan. At Ferrara in 1473 for his performance of songs and poetry, he received a gift of woolen and silk cloth to make a mantle, and in 1477 at a banquet given by

22

Giulio Bertoni, "Il Cieco di Ferrara e altri improvvisatori," Giornale storico della letteratura italiana, 94 (1929), 273-4.

23

The letters, dated 20 May, 6 and 21 July, 1470, are quoted in Antonio Bertolotti, Musici alla corte dei Gonzaga in Mantova dal secolo XV al XVIII (1890; rpt Bologna, 1969), pp. 8-9.

Ercole I d'Este for the Duke of Bari, a Sforza, he and another blind poet-musician Francesco Ciecho da Ferrara sang praises of the guests to the "lira" [=lute, according to Tinctoris]. The two performers were described as "ambidottissimi," a description which matches Tinctoris's mention of Johannes and his brother being "litteris eruditos." Orbo has left a number of poems, including a capitolo on the death of Mario Filelfo (son of Francesco?) and sonnets, including "Per alto mar con bianca barcha" and "Quando Madonna ²⁴ è sotto bianca veste." He may have been in Milan in 1475, since in that year a payment is recorded "al magistro Johannes Todescho sonatore de leguto, ed al suo compagno che sona ²⁵ la viola."

²⁶

Somewhat later, in 1510, Paolo Cortese ascribes to the Germans Balthasar and Gian Maria the first use of the polyphonic

²⁴ Giovanni Rua cites some additional documents by Johannes Orbo in "Postille su tre poeti ciechi," Giornale storico della letteratura italiana, 11 (1888), 294-98.

²⁵ Barbian, Vita, p.806, note 2.

²⁶ Paolo Cortese, De cardinalatu libri tres (Castel Cortesiano, 1510), fols, 73-73v, given in facsimile with a translation, in Pirrotta, "Music and Cultural Tendencies," 149-50, 153-4.

method, comparing their manner of play with the plectrum style of Pietrobono. He seems to have mistaken Gian Maria Hebreo [Allemani], however:

Lutes . . . For those sure-fingered proceedings, now repetition, now stopping, now lessening and almost interlacing of sounds, are in the habit of creeping easily into the minds of men with their exquisite sweetness. Which genre, indeed, has been more knowingly revived into artistic perfection by our generation, and is acknowledged as the first genre of playing that can be praised for the way in which it is arranged and put together. They say that it was first established by Balthasar and Joannes Maria, both surnamed Germanus, so that the simple [simplex] repetition in the high region used by the ancients would bejoined by a connection of all single sounds from the lower region, and from the latter a combined symphony called sociata would flourish more richly. Before them, in fact, Petrus Bonus Ferrariensis, and those who derived from him, often availed themselves of the repetition in the high region [diminutions or variations?]; not yet was the [present] mode of harmonizing all the individual [sounds] known, by which the sense of the ear can best be filled with perfect sweetness.

Many claims have been offered for the lutenist most responsible for codification of the new style. As we shall see later, the two techniques worked hand-in-hand, and Marco dall'Aquila seems to have been, chronologically, ideally suited to exert an influence on the new style.²⁷

In contrast to other lutenists of the Italian Renaissance, such as Joanne Orbo, Pietrobono da Ferrara, Albert de Rippe, Gian Maria Hebreo, and even Francesco da Milano, Marco remains in obscurity, in spite of his fine reputation (Orbo even placed him

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Gombosi in his edition of the Capirola lute book promotes Capirola as a significant figure within this same time span, but Gombosi's extensive investigation failed to show that Capirola was known beyond his own circle, and Capirola's works, as virtuosos as they are, do not have the formal cohesiveness of Marco's.

on Mount Parnasus, as we have seen, while he was still alive). We do not know his patrons, nor exactly where he was active, although presumably it was in Venice. Archival research will doubtlessly reveal much more about him.

According to his cognomen, he came from Aquila, a city in central Italy in the Abruzzi, then within the Kingdom of Naples, or perhaps from Aquileia, a town in the Venetian Republic about 80 kilometers northeast of Venice. Marco was most likely born in the late 1470s or 80s and lived at least until 1538, since he applied for and received a privilege to print lute tablatures in 1505 (if the date given by Schmid is correct), certainly after he had gained his majority and had been granted Venetian citizenship, and since Pietro Aretino mentions him in a letter dated December 1537.

His period of productivity falls, therefore, within the

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The name is variously spelled in the documents cited later:

Petition to Venetian Signori (1505):	Marco da l'Aquila
Oriolo's poem (ca. 1519):	Marco Aquilan
Letter of Spataro (1524):	Marco de laquila
Marcolini's print (1536):	Marco da l'Aquila
	Aquilano (preface)
Casteliono's print (1536):	Marcho da Laquila
	Marco da Laquila
	Marco de Laquila
Letter from Aretino (1537):	Marco da l'Aquila
Munich manuscripts:	Marco da Laq[ui]lla
	Marco de Laq[ui]lla
	MD. LA
Gerle's print (1552):	Marx vom Adler

Since Marco apparently signed the petition, the first spelling should have preference, although I have adopted the spelling in The New Grove.

three decades between Petrucci's publications of 1507-11 and the appearance in 1536 at Naples, Milan and Venice, of works by Francesco da Milano (1497-1543), Marco's junior by about 15 years. Although a few of Marco's compositions are reminiscent of Petrucci's lutenist-composers, most of his works (especially those published by Castelvino in 1536) are mature examples of the point-of-imitation and dialogue style that Francesco brought to a "classic" phase. Marco prefers the repetition structures of the frottola and Parisian chanson to the traditional continuously-evolving form that characterizes lute music under the spell of plectrum technique and 15th-century successive composition, with its typical ambling lines. He is without doubt a composer of importance.

In the preface to the collection of works by Francesco da Milano issued in May 1536 at Venice, Francesco Marcolini da Forlì placed Marco in company with Francesco da Milano and Albert de Rippe seemingly contrasting him with the older composers, Josquin des Prez, Gian Maria Hebreo and Giovanni Angelo Testagrossa, impressive company, indeed. The preface is worthy of complete quotation:

Francesco Marcolini, ai musici

Francesco Marcolini to the Musicians.

Gentle souls, even though all wind instruments and all strings, by holding the quality of harmony which is in the

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Translation after Mixter, "Two Venetian Lute Books," pp. 11-12.

spheres, while they move the hearers, are sweet, the tenderness of the sound which is born of the lute when played by the divine fingers of Francesco Milanese, Alberto da Mantua and Marco da l'Aquila, by making it felt in the soul, moves the senses of him who hears it. And because of this the singing formed by another throat increases so much in the sweetness which is given to it by nature and art when it is united with the sound of the lute that the world is in great obligation to Fossombrone [Petrucchi], inventor of the printing of tablatures in the manner in which they are published in books. But [as] they become very old and our age more cultured (since Josquin, the Count Gian Maria Hebreo, Testagrossa, Taddeo Pisano and similar people have created a school, [and] have veiled the fame of his name), [Petrucchi's anthologies] are known only as compositions at that time much praised.

The unique virtue of the three named above causes all beautiful intellects to fall in love with them, desirous of imitating them. But the accomodation has been lacking, the accomodation which Fossombrone knew how to provide, since no one knew how to find the way used by him. The numbers and notes of the sound were carved in copper and in wood with great loss of time and much expense.

But I, who repose after having grown tired in the service of the virtuous, have put my foot beyond others on the path that he made so secret that he did not think that it would be violated by anyone. But from this point it pleased God that he had given a sign to my industry; in the second print I will give not only the flowers of the Milanese, the Mantovano and the Aquilano, but also what there are of good things by any other man in this profession. I will also give a volume of masses, one of motets and one of madrigals composed by the very celebrated genius of the stupendous ADRIANNO, before whose knowledge all knowing people bow. If it pleases you, remember afterwards that the efforts of my diligence will give us the way of making ourselves, such as they are, the greatest lights of music and of sound.

Apparently Marcolini's business sense (he advertises a forthcoming tablature devoted to the three composers, and good things by others) caused him to include Marco with the generation of Francesco and Albert. The composers represented in the proposed print remind one of Castelfiono's book published in Milan in the same month, where (however) Marco's works are even more up-to-date than the pieces of Francesco printed by Marcolini. He

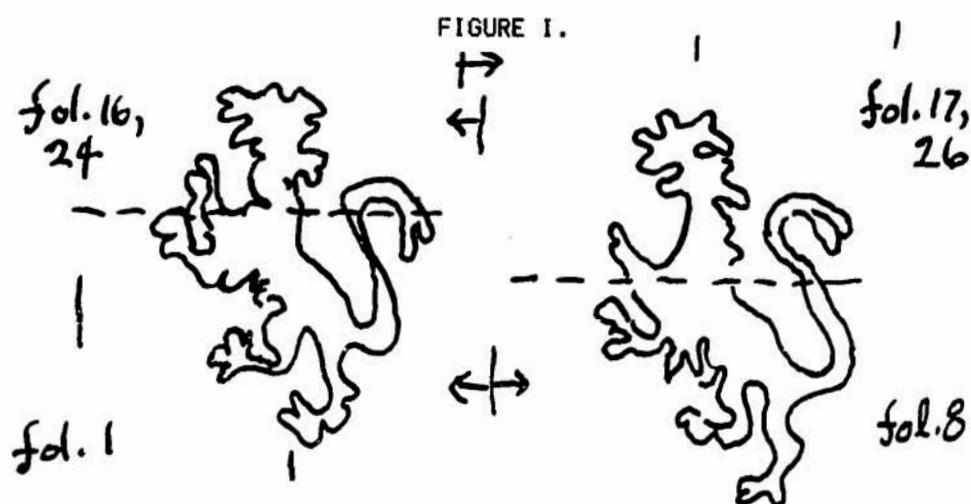
also promises books of masses, motets and madrigals by Adrian Willaert, of which only the volume of masses is known. The promised anthology of "flowers of the Milanese, the Mantovano and the Aquilano," if it ever appeared under Marcolini's imprint, is otherwise unknown. Marcolini seems to suggest at least some contact with Willaert, and one might wonder if he had similar connections with Marco dall'Aquila.

The volume may not have appeared due to problems in printing lute tablature: Marcolini mentions experimentation and one experiment superseding the dated and signed 1536 print exists. It employs copperplate engraving, the first known practical source to do so. The result is rather crude in comparison to type-set tablatures, and he encountered registration problems in the double-impression process of the signed Francesco print.³¹ The watermark in the unsigned print, which I have been unable to

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See my Francesco edition, plates 4 and 5, and page 12, note 26.

identify, is a rampant lion, suggesting Venetian paper:



Marco also apparently engaged in publishing music, or had the intention to do so. In May 1498 Petrucci had received the exclusive privilege of printing "canto figurato" and "intabolaturre d'organo e de liuto" for 20 years in the Venetian dominions, pointing out that he had perfected a method for printing music. The privilege appears to have remained in effect for its full term, since no other printer is known to have issued music in Venice before 1520, when Andrea Antico succeeded to Petrucci's privilege. Marco dall'Aquila was, however, also

granted a privilege in 1505 as a result of his petition:

Serenissimi Principe ejusque Sapientissimo Consiglio

Humiliter supplica et servitor de la Sublimità Vostra
Marco da l'Aquila cum sit che cum grandissima sua fatica et
spesa non mediocre se habili inzegnato a comune utilitate de
quelli che se delectarono sonar de Lauto nobilissimo Instru-
mento pertinente a Vary Zentilhomini far stampar la tabul-
latura, et rason de metter ogni Canto in lauto cum summa
industria, et arte; et cum molto dispendio de tempo, et
facultade sua: la qual opera non mai e sta stampata: Se
degni la Illustrissima Signoria Vostra concieder de special
gratia al prefato supplicante vostro fidelissimo: che alcun
chi esser se voglia si in questa Città de Venetia, come in
tutte altre terre, et lochi nel Dominio de la Sublimità
Vostra non adisca, over prosama far stampar alcuna tabulla-
tura de lauto de alcuna sorte, nec etiam se alcuno la stam-
passe extra ditionem Illustrissimi Dominii Vostri, possi
quella vender, over far vender in questa Città ne altrove nel
predicto Dominio, sotto pena, si a quelli, che la stampas-

seno in le terre de la Sublimità Vostra, come a quelli la conducesseno a vender in ipse terre de perder irrimissibiliter le loro opere et libri tabullati, et per caduano de quilli stampati, over vendutti pagar Ducati X. Il terzo de la qual pena sia del accusator, un terzo de quel rector, over Magistrato a chi sara facta la accusa, et l'altro terzo de epso supplicante acio el possi cum tal gratia de Vostra Celsitudine continuar a vender le ditte opere et libri tabullati, et utilità che cum tanti sudori, et vigilie el prefato fidelissimo supplicante se ha acquistato, et questa prohibitione se intendi valer per anni X. come in similibus ad altri e sta concesso: ai piedi de la qual Sublimità Vostra humiliter se ricomanda.

Die 11 Martii 1505

Infrascripti Domini Consilarii intelecta suprascripta supplicatione terminaverunt quod suprascripto suplicanti, fiat quod petit.

Ser Franciscus Barbadico

Ser Nicolaus Foscareno

Ser Marcus de Molino

Ser Andreas Gritti

Most Serene Princes and Our Most Wise Council

Humbly the petitioner and servant of your grace, Marco da l'Aquila, from here, who with the greatest of his ability and at no modest expense has (to the mutual usefulness of those, including various gentlemen, who delight themselves by sounding the most noble instrument, the lute) taught himself to print tablature, and for that reason how to put certain songs to the lute with the greatest ability and art. And without much outlay of time and his faculties, such works

might never otherwise be printed, may our most illustrious Signory be pleased to concede the special privilege to your most faithful aforesaid petitioner: Since some who may aspire, as in this city of Venice, as in all other lands and places in the dominions of your unwavering grace, or if some want to print some lute tablatures of any sort, or even if some printed goods from out of your most illustrious dominions, thus be sold, if made to be sold in this city or elsewhere in the aforesaid dominions, under penalty for such, that those printers in the territories of your grace, lose without recovery such works and intabulated books, and for trafficking in such prints, if sold, pay ten ducats. A third of which fine shall go to the accuser, a third to the rector or magistrate before whom the accusation is made, and the other third to the petitioner, in order that the possessor of your benefice's privilege may continue to sell the said works and intabulated books, and thus gain from that which the aforesaid faithful petitioner has himself acquired with much sweat and vigilance. And that this prohibition shall have effect for ten years, similar to others which have been awarded. At the feet of your grace it is most humbly requested.

On the 11th day of March 1505.

Petrucchi's delay in taking advantage of the 1498 privilege may have first prompted Marco's petition, and it, in turn may have spurred Petrucci into issuing the Spinacino book in March 1507, almost exactly two years following Marco's privilege. Perhaps Petrucci challenged Marco's privilege. He certainly did so in 1513 when Jacomo Ungaro was granted the right to print music. On that occasion Petrucci protested and his exclusive right was restored to him and even extended for an additional five years.

Marco is also mentioned in a letter dated November 10, 1524, to the Venetian organist Marc Antonio Cavazzoni from Giovanni Spataro. It provides a quotation that has sometimes been used to suggest that lutenists were unqualified to make musical-theoretical judgements. Marco, called "a mere strummer of instruments," is considered less than qualified to comment on theoretical matters best left to the more serious "musician." Spataro does continue, adding that Marco is an "a man of high intelligence," but dismisses his possible knowledge about the
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"diapason superflua."

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In an aside, it might be appropriate to remark that it is at this time that lutenists, in particular, began to seek the acoustical foundations for an equal temperament which would suit their instrument. And, of course, Gorzanis provided a practical example with the pieces in Munich, Mus Ms 1511a. The early attempts at a theoretical basis for equal temperament on the lute, as described by 16th-century lutenists, has been the subject of several recent articles, including Lindley, "Luis Milán and Mean-Tone Temperament."

Returning to Spataro, his letter reads,

And if you wish to have clearer understanding of this excessive octave, look to Messer Pietro Aron to whom I wrote comprehensively with regard to this composition by Adriano several days ago; from which Messer Pietro I have had answer that His Excellency has discussed my ideas with a certain Maestro Marco de l'Aquila, a worthy lute player, living there in Venice, and a man of high intelligence. And he says he found that I say the truth--from which affirmation of my writings I derive little joy, though, for it seems strange to me that a musician [theoretical thinker] should go in search of the light of understanding to a mere instrumentalist ["uno pulsatore de istrumento"]. Well, let us not pursue this further. But I return to my statement that according to my weak judgement Messer Adriano does not merit as much praise as Your Excellency says.

Pietro Aretino provides a contrasting view to Spataro's

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suggestion about "strummers." He writes,

Nor do I marvel if someone of your quality listens to the printed ballings of others, because even Francesco Milanese [=Francesco da Milano], Alberto da Mantova [=Alberto da Ripa] and my Messer Marco da l'Aquila take pleasure in listening to the strummings of a barber's lute.

 34

After the translation, with original text, in Lowinsky, "Adrian Willaert's Chromatic 'Duo' Re-examined."

35

Quoted in Slim, "Francesco," p. 75.

It is from this letter to Paolo Manuzio, dated Venice, December 9, 1537, that we may conclude that Marco was alive at least until the end of 1537, living at a crucial moment in the emergence of a new and far-reaching instrumental style of composition.

For several decades the plectrum and polyphonic techniques existed side-by-side. Pietrobono da Ferrara (1417-1497) was certainly the most eminent practitioner of the ancient "simplex" manner, his particular skill being in improvising diminutions to the accompaniment of a "tenorista," a second player on the viola da mano. The tenorista seems sometimes to have played in the polyphonic manner, and we have noted that on one occasion it may have been Johannes Orbo, himself.

I would like to sample some Italian lute music from this critical period in its development, that is, from earliest surviving examples in the 1490s through the generation of Francesco da Milano (1497-1543), the composer whose widely disseminated works are most responsible for codifying what remained the indigenous style of lute music for almost a century after his death. A vital element is, I believe, the interaction of the older tradition of plectrum playing and the newer polyphonic manner. For our purposes I shall draw examples from three generations of lute music. This approach to Marco's music by means of a discussion of lute technique will serve as a point of reference, particularly since his output bridges a crucial juncture in the history of European lute music.

The first generation is, of course, that of the lutenist-composers represented in Petrucci's four books of solo lute music published at Venice between the years 1507 and 1508 (Joan Ambrosio Dalza, Francesco Spinacino and Gian Maria Hebreo). Gian Maria's book remains unfortunately lost (there was a copy in Herwarth's collection), and its loss is especially lamented here, since in addition to his pre-eminence in the polyphonic manner, Gian Maria appears also to have continued using the plectrum for ensemble performance until as late as 1523. Perhaps his music has survived among the many anonymous works still remaining to be identified, such as the prelude transcribed from the Phalèse print of 1547 (See MUSICAL EXAMPLE 16, below.).

The decades between Petrucci's publications and the first appearance of Francesco da Milano's music is represented only by manuscript sources, the most famous being the lutebook of Vincenzo Capirola dated about 1517. The most important figure of this second generation is, however, Marco dall'Aquila, active at Venice until 1537 at the latest. The Venetian Signoria granted him a privilege in 1505 to print music for ten years in competition with Petrucci. Although no prints are known to have been issued under this privilege, the "Marco fascicle" contains works which, as I have argued, may come from a lost print.

The third generation is that of Francesco da Milano. His some 130 extant works first appeared between 1536 and 1548, and

were continuously printed and copied on the Continent and in England until the first decades of the 17th century, a remarkable span of currency for a renaissance composer, testifying to the effect that his music must have had on contemporary lutenists.

Numerous lute publications and manuscripts explain lute technique, intabulation practices and musical rudiments. In the discussion I have relied for the most part on secondary sources, although the following fairly comprehensive list provides materials for additional study in manuscripts (for prints before 1600, see BrownI.):

ITALIAN

Pesaro, Biblioteca Oliveriana, MS 1144 (c1490-1520). Instructions in the form of sonnets and diagrams for tuning the lute.

Chicago, Newberry Library, "Capirola Lute Book." Information on ornamentation, fingerings, selecting strings, tenuto playing, etc.

Florence, Biblioteca nazionale centrale, MS Magl. XIX.106 (dated 1608 and 1609). Includes section entitled "Regole di musica."

Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, MS Rés 941 (dated 1609, 1616). Instructions for tuning the lute, starting with the inner courses.

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These have received some study recently, including Dorf-müller, Studien, 45-67, Amos Nelson, "Lute Practice in Germany," Paul Beier, "Right-Hand Position," Mark Southard, "Sixteenth-Century Lute Technique" Smith, "Waissel," and Gombosi, ed., Capirola. A comprehensive examination remains yet to be written.

GERMAN

Munich, Universitätsbibliothek, 4/Cod. mus. 718: Mathematik- und Tabulaturbuch of Jörg Weltzell, dated (in music section) repeatedly 1523, 1524. Tuning, intabulation, solmisation and mutation, etc., for lute and viol.

Berlin, Deutsche Staatsbibliothek, MS 40154. Contains instructions for tuning the lute starting with the inner courses. (ca. 1540)

Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, MS 1512. Instructions on fingering, tuning, selection of strings, fretting and rudiments of music. (ca. 1540)

Berlin, Deutsche Staatsbibliothek, MS 40588. Pieces arranged in progressive order (strummed to "colorierte"); instructions on tuning and diagram of fingerboard, dated 1552.

Ibid., MS 40632. At end of MS: instructions for intabulating vocal music, and for stringing and tuning. (ca. 1550)

Basle, Oeffentliche Bibliothek der Universität, MS F.IX,23: "Liber Ludovici Iselin." (1575). Instructions modelled after H. Newsidler.

Karlsruhe, Badische Landesbibliothek, Sammelband Mus Bd A 678. (fols. I-V): Latin instructions for intabulating vocal music. (Greek terms are used to label three tables showing equivalencies between German lute tablature and mensural notation [it is not, pace Boetticher, an "Uebersicht der altgriech. Tonlehre"]; (at end): short instructions for tuning three lutes in ensemble.

Wolfenbüttel, Herzog-August-Bibliothek, MSS Guelf 18.7-8 (Hainhofer) Instructions on reading French, Italian and German tablature systems; treatise on playing after Besard (1603).

Berlin, Deutsche Staatsbibliothek, MS 40143. Includes instructions for tuning four lutes.

Prague, Hudební oddelení národního musea, MS V.C.25. Explanation of French tablature and instructions for tuning, and an arrangement of "Puer natus in Bethlehem" in German tablature with chord-by-chord explanation of its fingering.

Berlin, Deutsche Staatsbibliothek, MS 40141 (at end:) Instructions on tuning and playing based on Besard (1603).

Leipzig, Musikbibliothek, MS II.6.23. Contains explanation of French, German and Italian tablature and instructions for tuning.

London, British Museum, Sloane MS 1021: "Stobaeus Lutebook." Includes two treatises on lute playing, one after Waissel, the other with instructions for playing in the newer manner. [This treatise is well deserving of a complete critical edition.]

Prague, Universitní knihovna, MS II KK 51: "Fundamenta der Lauthen Musique und zu gleich der Composition." [17th century]

Vienna, Oesterreichische Nationalbibliothek, MS 17706. Instructions in French and Italian for tuning the lute. [17th century]

Lund, Universitetsbiblioteket, MS Wenster Litt., G. No. 37. Four pages of instructions on fretting lute, tuning and fingering. [17th century]

Warsaw, Rps 38 (olim 2003): includes short "Unterweisung für Anfänger", included also in also in Rps 36. [18th century]

Wrocław, Biblioteka Uniwersyteka, MS Mf 2002 (one of the Kniebandl lute books). Four-page instruction for playing lute. [18th century]

London, Additional MS 31698. Includes instructions for playing lute or theorbo.

FRENCH

Basle, Universitäts Bibliothek: MS F.IX.53 (c1630). Instructions for tuning.

Vesoul, Bibliothèque de la ville, MS 711, MS 698 (olim 9287). Second volume contains instructions for tuning the lute, signed A. Petris.

Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale: MS Vm7 (Monin Lute Book). Instructions for playing basso continuo on lute. [17th century]

Bartolomi, Michel Angelo: Table pour apprendre basse-continue (Paris, 1669). A manuscript version of the treatise is in Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, MS frc 9360 (3).

Besançon: Bibliothèque Municipale, MSS 279.152-3. Vaudry de Saizenay MS. Includes three-page instruction on thorough bass playing on lute or theorbo.

ENGLISH

Glasgow, University Library MS R.d.43 (Euing Lute Book). Instructions for playing thoroughbass on the theorbo, ca. 1680.

Woodford Green, Private Library of Robert Spencer: "The Margaret Board Lute Book". Includes an explanation of the gamut in Dowland's hand and a table of graces, and the "Burwell Lute Tutor," both now available in facsimile editions by Boethius Press (Leeds, 1981).

In playing the lute the right hand is held near the bridge with the small finger supporting the hand on the sound-board.

Waissel explains (Smith, p. 69):

You should place the right arm at the base of the lute, so that the hand is stretched somewhat lengthwise, with the little finger resting firmly on the top of the lute.

To pluck the string, the thumb strikes downward under the fingers, and the fingers, upward over the thumb in fist-clenching-like movements (Gombosi, p.88):

And the thumb of the right hand should be placed under the second finger so that one finger [i.e., the index] does not meet the other [the thumb does not get in its way] in beating the strokes, one up and one down, etc.

et il deo grosso de / la ma[n] destra fa ch[e] sia sotto al secondo, et a[ue]l sto asio no[n] se scontri uno deo co[n] l'altro, nel bater de le bo- /te, una in su l'altra in zo, et c[etera].

This thumb-finger, under-over alternation, is the basic and most important technique of lute playing. It is particularly evident in the many running, scale passages which color so much music for the lute. It seems entirely possible that the technique developed from attempts to mold the single-line plectrum tradition to polyphonic performance.

What practical examples do we have of the 15th-century style of lute music for soloist (presumably with plectrum) and tenorista? David Fallows has suggested one example from the Buxheim organ book (see footnote 1). The aere venetiano also provides appropriate models of the style. These three-voice pieces with a very highly ornamented discant were apparently very popular around 1460, and

required especially trained performers. MUSICAL EXAMPLE 1 from Walter Rubsamen's article on the "Justiniana" well illustrates the genre. The discant with its range of an octave and a fifth is very much reminiscent of the early Spinacino and Dalza duos: a fairly simple tenor part supports a discant with elaborate divisions extending from one end of the tessitura to the other. The syncopations and change of meter remind one of Cornazzano's description of Pietrobono's performance (quoted above) where he "ran everything in [semifuse], always in proportions and syncopations," and Cortese's of the "simple repetition in the high region used by the ancients." Rubsamen's example shows the unelaborated version as appearing in Escorial, Ms IV.a.24, and the elaborate version published by Petrucci in his sixth book of frottole, where additional examples appear.

MUSICAL EXAMPLE 1.

The musical score consists of two systems of staves. The top system has two staves: the upper staff is a vocal line with lyrics, and the lower staff is a lute line. The bottom system also has two staves: the upper staff is a vocal line with lyrics, and the lower staff is a lute line. The lyrics are: "fa - re se non mo - ri - re e non po - ri - - - se non mo - ri - re e non po". The music is in a key with one flat (B-flat) and a 3/4 time signature. The tempo is marked "Allegro". The score is numbered 13, 14, 15, and 16 at the beginning of each system.

MUSICAL EXAMPLE 1 (Cont.)

17 18 19

- tro Ja - - may - sof - fri - re

- tro o - - - gia mai - sof - fri - re

20 21

ques - - to do - - - lor

Que - - - ste'l do - - - - - lor

As the intabulation given in MUSICAL EXAMPLE 2 shows, the two lower parts seem particularly suited to the lute. The part lies in the first position and there are a goodly number of open strings in use, with even the lute tuning of the bottom three courses being outlined twice (see measures 4 and 19).

MUSICAL EXAMPLE 2

*Neapolitan tablature

Spinacino and Dalza published lute duets in a style similar to the aere venetiano, in which one instrument plays single-line diminutions from one end of the instrument to the other, often so skirting the notes of the original upper part that they become lost within tumbling roulades, while the second lute (significantly labeled tenor) plays an unadorned intabulation of the vocal model, or its lower voices. (See, EXAMPLE 3, "Je ne fay," arranged by

Francesco Spinacino, *Intabulatura de Lauto*, Libro Primo (Venice: Petrucci, 1507), fol. 21, concluding measures.) This style of running counter-point is current throughout the century, and additional examples may be found practically everywhere, including the "contrapuntos con molta glosa" in Berlin/Cracow, Mus ms 40032, Francesco da Milano's *Spagna* for two lutes, and similar pieces in the "Cavalcanti Lute Book" in Brussels.

MUSICAL EXAMPLE 3

The musical score consists of two systems, each for a lute (I and II). The key signature is G minor (three flats: Bb, Eb, Ab) and the time signature is 6/8. The first system shows measures 1 and 2. Lute I begins with a melodic line that includes a triplet of eighth notes in the first measure. Lute II provides a rhythmic accompaniment. The second system shows measures 3 and 4, concluding the piece with a final cadence. The notation includes various note values, rests, and accidentals, with Lute I featuring more complex rhythmic patterns than Lute II.

Similar coloration is applied to arrangements of vocal music and ricercars for solo lute. (See MUSICAL EXAMPLE 4A and B, Joan Amrosio Dalza, "Tastar de corde," *Intahulatura de Lauto*, Libro Quatro [Venice: Petrucci, 1508], fol. 6.) Such running figures remain a basic component of lute music throughout the century,

MUSICAL EXAMPLE 4A

The musical score is written on five staves. The notation is a form of lute tablature, using rhythmic flags and numbers (0-5) to represent fingerings and positions on the strings. The first staff starts with a C-clef. The music is divided into measures by vertical bar lines. The notation is dense, particularly in the lower staves, with many repeated rhythmic patterns and numbers.

MUSICAL EXAMPLE 4B



becoming with Giacomo de Gorzanis and Antonio Terzi almost manner-
 istic. (See EXAMPLE 5. "Passememo antico primo," Giacomo de
 Gorzanis, *Intabolatura di liuto*, Libro primo [Venice, Gardano,
 1561], sig. A2, opening measures of various partes; and MUSICAL
 EXAMPLE 6, from Palestrina, "Vestivi i colli," arranged for two

MUSICAL EXAMPLE 5

The image displays four systems of musical notation for a lute. Each system is written on a grand staff with a treble and bass clef. The first system is unlabeled. The second system is labeled 'Terza Parte'. The third system is labeled 'Quinta Parte'. The fourth system is labeled 'Sesta Parte'. The notation includes various musical symbols such as notes, rests, and accidentals, indicating a complex piece of music. The key signature is one sharp (F#), and the tuning is G and C, as indicated by the natural signs on the first and second strings in the bass clef.

lutes by Giovanni Antonio Terzi, Intavolatura di Liutto, Libro primo [Venice, Amadino, 1593], pp. 19-20. G and C tunings. Terzi does not show right hand fingerings.)

MUSICAL EXAMPLE 6

The image displays a musical score for a lute piece, titled 'MUSICAL EXAMPLE 6'. It consists of four systems of music, each with a treble and bass staff. The first system is labeled 'I (C)' and the second 'II (G)'. The third and fourth systems are labeled 'I' and 'II' respectively. The notation includes various musical symbols such as notes, rests, and dots indicating upward strokes with the index finger. The first system shows a treble staff with a series of eighth notes and a bass staff with a single note. The second system shows a treble staff with a series of eighth notes and a bass staff with a single note. The third system shows a treble staff with a series of eighth notes and a bass staff with a single note. The fourth system shows a treble staff with a series of eighth notes and a bass staff with a single note.

Notes struck upward with the index finger are indicated in the original tablature and on these transcriptions with dots. (German tablature uses an upward hook on the rhythm sign to indicate the same thing.) Most books explain the dots, as does Petrucci in a forward published in all of his lute books, 1507-11 (Translation from Snow, "Spinacino," II, [unpaginated introduction]):

Item nota che tutte le botte sonno senza ponto de sotto se danno in giù: e quelle dal ponto se danno in su: excepto quando sonno più de una se pizzichano non essendo de sotto el ponto che bisogna darle tutte in su.

Note moreover that all the strokes without dots below are performed downward, and those with the dot, upward. Exception: when there is more than one that is plucked not having the dot below, take all in an upward direction.

(Petrucchi does not, however, always follow the practice of not giving dots when more than one note is sounded, and will indicate chords to be sounded upward with the index finger. This is a notational practice that I find only in early printed and manuscript tablatures. See the discussion of dance rhythms, below, for a few examples.)

Waissel's explanation is similar at the end of the century (Smith, p. 70):

In coloraturas, only the thumb and index finger are used, one after the other, the thumb striking downwards and the index finger upwards. Yet sometimes at the beginning of the coloraturas the strokes are broken and you must first strike downwards with the thumb and afterwards upwards with two or three fingers.

The thumb strikes downward on the "strong" portions of the beat, producing an effect not unlike that of the downbow of a string instrument, although, most certainly, good players of plucked and bowed instruments attempt to minimize any overly uneven accents thereby produced.

Melchiorre de Barberiis in 1546 prescribes that when dots are lacking in a tablature, the first note of diminutions is played with the thumb and that the note immediately before a chord is struck upward with the finger in order to allow time for the thumb

to "accomodate itself" in preparation for the following chord

(Beier, p. 9-10; the bracketed information is Beier's):

. . . and if you find a book which lacks the dots, note this rule: if the minute are an odd number, the first must be played downwards, following the order of one stroke upwards and one stroke downwards, those that go upwards always with the finger, those that go downwards with the thumb in sequence. . . [so that] the last stroke before the picego [strong beat at the beginning of a bar?] must be played upwards.

Item quando trouasti qualche libro falat o nelli ponti, Nota questa regola se le minute son disparo la prima si debbe dare in suso. Et se le minute son paro la prima darai in giù, seruando l'ordine una botta in su, & una botta i giù, & sempre quella che uanno in giu con el dito, & quella che uanno in giù con el diti di sotto sequente.

Da Crema's instructions (also 1546) are similar, and mention the upward stroke by the index fingers, and the "picigate" or "picego," which I take to mean simply tactus, although bar line also seems possible.

Et se ui sarrano alcuni punti scritte & postui di sotto alli numeri, sempre doue sia scritto il puntini, se du toccare in susu, & doue sia non si troueranno puntini, toccherate col dito grosso, ingiù. Così etiam che se trouaste nelle picigate li punti, se du toccare con LI DITI [my caps] da basso & lassar il grosso per quel colpy & non guardare che siano una per mezzo all'altra. Il che si fa per commodita percioche cercando il comodo de le ditti, & del Liuto, meglio si sona & più ageuolmente."

(Perhaps the practice of the thumb sounding notes immediately after the "picego" might be in fact be an explanation for bar lines in lute music, particularly when the text contains no fingering dots. Bar lines are, of course, rare in other renaissance music.) This may account for the irregular bar lines in the first prelude in Attaingnant's Tres breve instruction (which contains mostly unbarred tablature.)

Chords usually require a similar thumb-fingers, under-over movement. If the number of ciphers does not exceed the available fingers (that is, thumb plus two or three fingers), each note was usually plucked with a single finger. Although somewhat late, Waissel suggests (Smith, p. 70):

If the formation has four voices, pluck it with the thumb, index finger, middle finger, and ring finger. If the formation has five voices, pluck two strings at the same time with the index finger. If the formation has six voices, pluck two with the thumb and two with the index finger, and pluck the others with the other two fingers.

Chords of five or more notes may also be strummed with the thumb in one continuous downward motion, particularly in dances. Even four-note chords should be strummed in "Durchstraichen" according to Judenkünig (1523), if the notes fall on adjacent courses:

Ausserdem muss man dich auf merksammachen, dass du die einzelnen Saiten der Buchstaben und Ziffern, soviel reihenweise unter den rhythmischen Zeichen stehen, mit je einem Finger besonders berührst und anschlägst (falls sie nicht etwa die Zahl der finger der rechten Hand überschreiten) oder, wenn es mehr als vier sind und die Zahl der finger überschreiten, indem du mit einem Daumenschlag zugleich streifst. [Introductio, ca. 1515]

Und wann du die Tenntz lernen wild / so steen offft vier oder fünfft puechstaben oder Ziffer vber ainander / die straiß mit dem Dawmenschlag durch auss. [Underweisung, 1523]

Surprisingly the strumming technique does not survive in Italy to any great extent beyond a few dances. In Dalza's book some saltarellos and pivas require strumming throughout, as in MUSICAL EXAMPLE 7A and B, a saltarello and piva (alla Venetiana) (Dalza, fol. 17-17v):