JOHN GRIFFITHS

THE LUTE AND THE POLYPHONIST

Lutes and related plucked instruments - citterns, vihuelas, guitars, and bandoras - were present in every sphere of cultured music making in the sixteenth century. Even in the church, where they are obscured by their preclusion from the performance sphere, lutes and other plucked instruments were owned and played by many of the musicians who composed and sang polyphonic church music. In light of our growing understanding of the lute and lute playing, this study aims to revisit the role of the lute in the composition, dissemination and reception of vocal polyphony, as well as the manner in which plucked instruments still remain marginalised in contemporary perceptions of renaissance music. My aim is to draw attention to the role of the lute within the milieu of vocal polyphony, insisting – as numerous other scholars have done – on the centrality of the instrument to our understanding of sixteenth-century musical life. I argue along the lines of Howard Mayer Brown that the relegation of the lute and its music to the periphery is to ignore some fundamental realities.¹ Some 30,000 works are estimated to survive for the renaissance lute and its cognates, printed lute books were frequently issued in large print runs in response to a demand from urban amateurs, and instruments were produced en masse. In this latter question, my own research into the production of vihuelas in Spain indicates that perhaps in excess of a quarter of a million instruments (vihuelas and guitars) were built there in the sixteenth-century, and even this is a highly conservative estimate.² Similar projections have not been made of other regions, as far

¹ HOWARD M. BROWN, The Importance of Sixteenth Century Intabulations, in Proceedings of the International Lute Symposium Utrecht 1986, ed. Louis Peter Grijp & Willem Mook, Utrecht, STIMU Foundation for Historical Performance Practice, 1988, pp. 1-29. See also HÉ-LÈNE CHARNASSÉ, La réception de la musique 'savante' dans le monde des amateurs: les receuils de cistre au XVI^c siècle, in Atti del XIV Congresso della Società Internazionale di Musicologia: Trasmissione e recezione delle forme di cultura musicale, ed. A. Pompilio et al., Torino, EDT, 1990, vol. 3, pp. 59-67.

² This estimate is based on the fact that the names of some 150 *violeros* are known. Even if this were as many as a quarter of the number of makers who actually made instruments, we could speculate 600 makers building an average of as few as twenty instruments each year for a twenty-year working life, the number of instruments would be 240,000.

as I am aware, yet documents, such as the 1552 inventory of Laux Maler's workshop in Bologna that lists more than 1100 lutes, suggest that similarly high figures are likely in Italy as well.' These statistics are but one indicator of the extent to which the lute was played and suggest that the marginalisation of the lute in our reconstructed image of sixteenthcentury European music is indeed a distortion of reality. It might be likened to constructing an image of the nineteenth century that ignored the existence of the piano: the lute was no less intrinsic to its own time.

The lutenist has been marginalised from the polyphonist for a number of reasons. Despite the sizeable surviving lute repertory, the instrument's role was nowhere as central to the development of musical thinking as vocal polyphony, and its status was not as high as that of music conceived for ceremonial use by secular and ecclesiastical patrons. Moreover, the musical institutions of these patrons employed greater numbers of singers than lutenists, the lute did not participate in liturgical performance, and musical chapels were more important to the propaganda interests of their patrons than were their favourite minstrels. While these realities are undeniable, they only partially explain the peripheral position of the lute in modern scholarly consciousness. The principal contributing reason is much simpler. It is the alien nature of the lute's tablature notation, marvellously practical and comprehensible to players but seemingly impenetrable to others, that creates a psychological and mechanical barrier and has inhibited many of even the finest scholars of renaissance music, despite the availability of many accessible modern editions.

The purpose here, then, is to strengthen the perception of the role of the lute in musical life by pointing to some of the ways that it was an intrinsic part of musical thinking, musical creativity, and musical practice. The enormous quantity of surviving intabulations of motets, masses, madrigals and the like provide the most overt and direct link between the lutenist and polyphonist. They can assist in tracing many correlations and parallels, but it is symptomatic of our scholarly mentality that we tend to hold intabulations at arm's length from their models, regarding them as the realm of the instrumentalist and not the polyphonist, and little more than the remnants of performance practice. One of the broader concerns of this study is to promote a view of these works as part of the same creative process and musical tradition, part of the same repertory,

³ M. W. PRYNNE, The Old Bologna Lute-makers, «The Lute Society Journal», V, 1963, p. 19.

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music enjoyed by the same consumers. By discarding the distinction created within our own scholarly tradition, it is possible to develop a more sophisticated understanding of the ways in which lutes and other plucked instruments were contributors and participants in mainstream musical life and to consider the ways in which they formed part of the chain of events from musical conception through to musical transmission and reception.

Functions of the lute

The role of the lute in the broader panorama of the sixteenth-century soundscape becomes clearer if explained in terms of its various functions within musical life. In its symbolic role the lute was the Orphic lyre reincarnate, while in the realm of musical practice it served as a performance medium in diverse social settings. The lute also fulfilled other functions that were much more private and individual: it was played for recreational enjoyment, it was a didactic tool, the theorist's laboratory, a compositional aid, and a vehicle for musical transmission. It is these latter roles that deserve greater attention. There is little need here to reiterate what is already widely understood about the lute as the public performance instrument par excellence, extensively played by professionals and amateurs for solo music or to accompany song, vocal polyphony or dance music within diversely constituted ensembles. Eyewitness accounts of sixteenth-century lute performances help point to its role as a cultural symbol. Such an interpretation can be derived, for example, from Pontus de Tyard's renowned account of a performance by Francesco da Milano that «transported all those who were listening into such a pleasurable melancholy» so that they were «deprived of all senses save that of hearing, as if the spirit, having abandoned all the seats of the senses, had retired to the ears in order to enjoy the more at its ease so ravishing a harmony ... ».4 Performances that even partially moved the affections so profoundly surely reaffirmed to listeners the Pythagorean and Platonic views of cosmic harmony and the effects of music that were embodied in the legends of Orpheus and other heroes who used music to triumph against adversity. This capacity and function of the lute has been underestimated

⁴ Pontus de Tyard, Solitaire second ou prose de la musique, Lyon, 1555, cited and translated in ARTHUR J. NESS, The Lute Music of Francesco Canova da Milano (1497-1543), Cambridge Mass., Harvard University Press, 1970, p. 2.

in evaluating the instrument's popularity and in assessing the depth of its significance within the musical consciousness of the time. The power of the lute to move the affections had a cultural value that surpassed practical considerations of portability and its ability to play music of considerable polyphonic complexity. The reincarnate lyre of Orpheus was widely perceived as a pathway to cultural elevation. For some this probably went as far as providing a sense of inner spiritual enlightenment while for others not so deeply influenced it was used, in the manner advocated by Castiglione, for the external ostentation of either condition.

Contemporary evaluations of the lute also fall short in estimating its use as a part of private recreation, particularly in the urban context. Just as the piano in the nineteenth century, the lute too was the equivalent of today's domestic CD player, and was a fundamental part of the sixteenth-century domestic and urban soundscape. In this role, it was the lute that brought the polyphonic vocal repertory into the domestic environment and into the consciousness of many people who otherwise would have had little opportunity to partake of it. Moreover, much of this lute playing was probably private and individual, done without an audience for recreation and self-edification. Philosophers, clergy, soldiers, lawyers, merchants, princes, students, poets, as well as many other dilettantes of both sexes figure among the numerous groups within sixteenth-century society for whom the lute formed part of their recreational pastime.

The lute was also a didactic tool. Lutenists who aimed to compose their own music used the instrument to learn their craft. Intabulations of vocal polyphony permitted the assimilation of mainstream compositional technique and style and, in many ways, the evolution of lute music through the sixteenth century may be seen as the increasing adoption of principles and techniques adapted from the vocal mainstream. The Spanish theorist Juan Bermudo is explicit in proposing to players, vihuelists in his regional context, a progressive working method for those who aspired to create their own works.⁵ This method involves progressively intabulating simple duos, three-part homophonic compositions such as *villancicos*, and finally four and five-voice works by such masters as Josquin, Morales and Gombert. He recommends this course of study as a necessary preliminary for players who wished to invent works from their own fantasy, and to ensure that these compositions did not suffer

⁵ JUAN BERMUDO, Libro llamado declaracion de instrumentos musicales, Osuna, 1555; rpt. Kassel, Bärenreiter, 1957, fol. 99v.

from bad taste. Such instructions underline the fact that intabulations put at the lutenist's disposal works by the leading polyphonists of the time. Those who had only limited access to formal education learnt harmony and counterpoint on the lute through self-directed study, but using materials of the same quality as those who became apprenticed to professionals. Tablature was really an extraordinary invention. On the one hand, it permitted musicians to make scores out of part music with previously unknown ease at the same time as it allowed players with negligible musical training to perform some of the most sophisticated music of the era simply by following a set of instructions for finger placement. The effect was to broaden the consumer base for vocal polyphony immeasurably, especially for what we might call active participant consumers.

The lute also contributed to advances in the science and theory of music. The particular nature of the lute's fretted fingerboard, for example, presented tuning problems that were closely linked to the vigorous debates of contemporary music theorists from the time of Tinctoris and Ramos and throughout the sixteenth century. The problems of the division of the octave on fretted instruments were unlike those of any other instrument for the same series of ratios had to work for strings tuned in G, C, D, F and A (on a standard lute in G). This meant, for example, that the interval between an open string and the third fret (the minor thirds G-Bb, C-Eb, D-F, A-C, and F-Ab) all had to be equivalent, and the chords and consonances resulting from strings played simultaneously had to be in tune with one another. Lutenists found diverse solutions to this problem that are reflected in various theoretical writings such as Bermudo's discussion of the vihuela that applies a modified Pythagorean system, Gerle's adaptation of meantone temperament to the lute, and Vincenzo Galilei's experiments that lead to the first formulation of equal temperament.⁶ These solutions cannot have gone unnoticed by the many lutenist singers and composers of polyphonic music, and it is naïve to imagine that their sound worlds were independent in face of the ever-increasing awareness that lutenists and polyphonists were not mutually exclusive groups. Similar conclusions may be drawn when considering the development of harmonic thinking in the sixteenth century. The lute is a

⁶ See MARK LINDLEY, Lutes, Viols and Temperaments, Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 1984; WOLFGANG FREIS, Perfecting the perfect instrument: Fray Juan Bermudo on the tuning and temperament of the vihuela de mano, «Early Music», XXIII, 1995, pp. 421-436; EUGEN M. DOMBOIS, Die Temperatur für Laute bei Hans Gerle (1532), «Forum Musicologicum», II, 1980, pp. 60-72; VICTOR COELHO (ed), Music and Science in the Age of Galileo, Dordrecht, Boston, Kluwer Academic Publishers, 1992 («The University of Western Ontario Series in Philosophy of Science», 51).

chordal instrument and it is abundantly evident from the surviving repertory that lutenists used stock chord shapes wherever they could, and that they understood the harmonic function of chordal progressions long before they were ever described or formulated theoretically.7 Reading between the lines of Bermudo's recommendations to aspiring vihuelists cited above, it is clear that the purpose of intabulating three-part música golpeada (strummed music) such as the villancicos of Juan Vásquez was to learn fundamental harmonic progressions. Once again, we must acknowledge that many of the musicians who played this music were polyphonists, and their knowledge of the harmonic dimension of linear polyphony must surely have been informed by their practical experience with the lute as well as with keyboard instruments. In effect, lutenists were practising a form of basso continuo or basso seguente long before the invention of terms to describe them, and cementing their understanding of chords and the nature of harmonic progressions. This is abundantly clear from the formulaic dance patterns and variation schemes that proliferate in lute tablatures. It is indeed strange that modern scholarship has remained impervious to some of the very simple realities of sixteenth-century musical practice that are abundantly evident in the surviving lute repertory, and the only explanation I can offer for this is the absence of contemporary theoretical descriptions of such practices.

The use of the lute as a compositional aid is related to the instrument's didactic and recreational uses. Here, there are numerous further links between the lute and the creators of vocal polyphony. There were lutenists who were polyphonists and polyphonists who were lutenists. In their own time, they probably made no such distinction and probably all considered themselves musicians, but we tend to categorise them based on the dominant area of their output. We do not need to search far to find lutenists who applied a sophisticated polyphonic skill to their instrumental compositions, musicians such as Francesco da Milano or Valentin Bakfark to name but two. At the same time, there are those whom we principally regard today as lutenists but who also composed part music. The best known of them is undoubtedly John Dowland, but we can also

⁷ Even though not fundamentally a work devoted to plucked instruments, it is Tomás de Santa María who provides the earliest attempt to define the nature of chords in the *Libro llamado arte de tañer fantasia* Valladolid, Francisco Fernandez de Cordoba, 1565. This particular issue is discussed in SAMUEL RUBIO, *La Consonancia (acordes) en el* Arte de Tañer Fantasía *de Fray Tomás de Santa María*, «Revista de Musicología», IV, 1980, pp. 5-40, and MIGUEL ROIG-FRANCOLÍ, *Playing in consonances: a Spanish Renaissance technique of chordal improvisa-tion*, «Early Music», XXIII, 1995, pp. 437-449.

include lesser known figures such as Philip van Wilder,⁸ the recently revived Neapolitan Fabrizio Dentice,⁹ and the vihuelist Luys de Narváez who, according to recently discovered documents, considered himself primarily a polyphonist and secondly an instrumentalist.¹⁰ In the same way, numerous composers whom we think of as polyphonists also played the lute and used the instrument for recreational purposes if not didactic ones as well. It is here that the links between the lute and the polyphonist remain largely unexplored. It would seem perfectly natural to use the lute as a compositional tool, at least to try out pieces during or after the compositional process. But can we go further and ask if our Dentices, Dowlands, Guerreros or Palestrinas used the lute as a more intrinsic part of the act of composition, not merely to inform their musicianship in an indirect way, but in situations analogous to Stravinsky composing orchestral music at the piano.

One of the most frequently-cited references to the role of the lute in vocal composition is a letter written by Don Annibale Capello to Gugliemo Gonzaga (18 October 1578) that reveals Giovanni da Palestrina to have intabulated at least some movements of a his newly-composed *Missa Dominicalis*. In her recent pioneering book on compositional process in the sixteenth century, Jessie Ann Owens speculates cautiously that «Palestrina may have used the lute in composing, either as a way of sounding out the music or as a way of notating it».¹¹ Even though her book is an exemplary and unprejudiced examination of renaissance compositional process that looks at instrumental and vocal music with equal

⁸ Van Wilder (c. 1500-1553) was a lutenist at the court of Henry VIII in England whose surviving works include more than forty vocal compositions. See his *Collected Works*, ed. J. Bernstein, New York, Broude, 1991 («Masters and Monuments of the Renaissance» 4), and DAVID HUMPHREYS, *A study in emulation: Philip van Wilder's* En despit des envyeulx, «Early Music», XXIX, 2001, pp. 93-106.

⁹ Dentice's vocal music has been republished in DINKO FABRIS, Da Napoli a Parma: itinerari di un musicista aristocratico. Opera vocali di Fabrizio Dentice, 1530ca-1581, Roma-Milano, Accademia Nazionale di Santa-Skira, 1998 («L'Arte Armonica, Serie II, Musica Palatina», 3). Dentice's lute music will be published shortly in The Lute Music of Fabrizio Dentice and his Neapolitan Circle, ed. John Griffiths and Dinko Fabris, Madison, A-R Edition («Recent Researches in Music of the Renaissance»).

¹⁰ See JUAN RUIZ JIMÉNEZ, Insights into Luis de Narváez and music publishing in 16th-century Spain, «Journal of the Lute Society of America», XXVI, 1993, pp. 1-12. Two motets by Narváez also survive: De profundis clamavi published in Quartus Liber cum Quatuor vocibus: Motteti Del Fiore (Lyon, Jacques Moderne, 1539), and reprinted by Berg y Neuber in Tomus Tertius Psalmorum Selectorum, Quatuor et Plurium Vocum (Nuremberg, 1553); and O salutaris hostia published in Quintus Liber Mottetorum ad Quinque, et Sex, et Septem Vocem (Lyon, Moderne, 1542).

¹¹ JESSIE ANN OWENS, Composers at Work: The Craft of Musical Composition 1450-1600, New York, Oxford University Press, 1997, p. 309.

rigour and on the assumption that the similar problems faced all composers, her preliminary findings based primarily on sketch material will benefit from further expansion. The lute's role is recognised, but the discussion only hints at the more central role of the lute as a tool in polyphonic composition. Owens speculates, for example, that some composers – Palestrina among them – may have used the lute to sketch out the harmonic framework of compositions, a point that certainly invites further investigation. She also discusses the scant sketch material that combines tablature and mensural notation, possibly the work of Guillaume Morlaye, and suggests the possible role of the lute in harmonisation.¹²

Such evidence offers little more than tantalising beginnings. Insufficient information about sixteenth-century musicians has been gathered that might indicate how many polyphonists were lutenists and vice versa. The fragmentary information currently at our disposal inclines me to suspect that a considerable number of recreational lutenists will emerge from the ranks of polyphonic singers and composers. Conversely, it is certainly true that lutenists from the 1530s onwards set themselves very similar musical and aesthetic goals to those of vocal composers.

Intabulations and transmission

The initial impetus for this study came not from a concern about the lute's role in the creative act of composition, but from the other end of the process, from intabulations and, in particular, intabulations of vocal works whose models no longer exist. One of the fundamentals of the sixteenth-century lutenist's art was the ability to unravel the polyphonic voice leading of music written in tablature, a notation system in which voices are not distinguished from one another. Modern lutenists acquire the same skill as modern editors who produce polyphonic mensural transcriptions of music from tablature sources. Moreover, for many lutenists, a good measure of the pleasure of playing the lute emanates from the process of reconstructing the polyphony during performance. Lutenists learnt to do this while playing simple dances, abstract fantasias and ricercars, as well as when they played intabulations. In playing instrumental arrangements of music that was already known to them, sixteenth-century lutenists could interpret the music with phrasing and structural articu-

¹² Owens, pp. 150-153.

lation derived from their knowledge of the text, and could distinguish the voices from one another using their prior knowledge of the polyphonic web.

Lutenists today learn many of the same skills that were practised by sixteenth-century players, among them the ability to decode in a credible fashion the polyphony of intabulated vocal works, including works whose models are no longer extant. It is exactly the same process that is involved in deciphering a ricercar transmitted only in tablature notation. This effectively places them at the end of a transmission chain that starts in the sixteenth century and, like any skilled tablature reader of the time, they are able to receive and comprehend polyphonic works notated in this format. This observation may seem provocative in that it includes contemporary musicians in the chain of transmission and reception that commenced in the sixteenth century, whereas as scholars, we tend to see ourselves as neutral observers, temporally distant from the practices of the remote past. More specifically, it also leads to question often asked among scholars of instrumental music as to why it is that lute and vihuela tablatures are excluded from consideration in the study of the transmission of polyphonic repertory. After all, the vast majority of surviving sixteenth-century intabulations are not the highly embellished beyond some modest formulaic cadential decoration, their original structure is not distorted, and their encoded polyphony was understood by the musicians who played them in former times. Moreover, for those concerned with contemporary issues such as music reception, music outside the mainstream, musical peripheries and urban music making, tablature sources provide a wealth of information that complements and enhances printed and manuscript sources in mensural notation.

In the case of Spanish secular music, for example, this question has particularly relevant implications due to the surprisingly small size of what must have once been a substantially larger repertory. Spanish polyphonic settings of secular texts were largely the work of composers employed within the church, composers such as Vásquez, Guerrero, Ceballos, and many more, perhaps even Morales. But not many survive. Had Guerrero not published a volume of his madrigals adapted *a lo divino* in 1589, we would hardly have any of his secular music.¹³ There are only two pieces by Ceballos, and the only secular music possibly by Morales is

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¹³ FRANCISCO GUERRERO, *Canciones y Villanescas Espirituales*, ed. Vicente García and Miguel Querol, Barcelona, Consejo Superior de Investigaciones Científicas, 1955 («Monumentos de la Música Española», 16).

a romance transmitted in tablature by Fuenllana.¹⁴ Alongside the polyphonic sources, Spanish tablatures conserve some one hundred secular pieces that do not survive in their original notational format. Why is this so? Little information survives concerning the original sources, and why do they not survive, and there are few clues regarding the type of sources used by the vihuelists, especially the recreational amateurs like Pisador and Daza who would have had limited access to polyphonic manuscripts prepared for use in noble circles. There is no evidence that these works were ever printed, but their presence in vihuela tablatures suggests that they must have circulated amongst musicians and amateurs in manuscript form. There is no evidence to suggest that they circulated in tablature format, but rather that surviving intabulations are the work of the compilers of the books in which they were published. Regarding these alleged manuscripts, probably cheaply produced fair copies, we have no indication of their reliability either in terms of their musical texts or composer attributions. A lone *tiple* partbook, possibly of this kind, is conserved in the Museo Lázaro Galdiano in Madrid, although it may equally have been the case that secular works circulated as individual pieces or groups on single sheets in choirbook format.¹⁵ It is interesting to speculate, although I cannot offer any substantial conclusions, whether it was from such manuscripts that better pedigreed manuscripts such as the Cancionero de Medinaceli were copied, or if the process was the reverse. It is noteworthy, however, that several of the works previously known only through the Cancionero de Medinaceli are also found in the Galdiano partbook, and that the versions are very closely related in musical detail. Similarly, the presence of nine of the pieces from the Galdiano partbook in published vihuela intabulations contributes towards the hypothesis of a manuscript tradition that remains beyond our reach. Of the ten works in question, one is found in Fuenllana's tablature, but this is not surprising given that he spent most of his life in courtly employment, and had probably been in the service of the Marquesa de Tarifa during the period in which Orphenica Lyra was compiled.¹⁶ It is more difficult to

¹⁴ ROBERT SNOW, The Extant Music of Rodrigo de Ceballos and its Sources, Detroit, Information Coordinators, 1980 («Detroit Studies in Music Bibliography», 44). The romance attributed to Morales by Fuenllana, De Antequera sale el moro was published in MIGUEL DE FUE-NLLANA, Libro de Musica de Vibuela, intitulado Orphenica lyra, Seville, Martin de Montesdoca, 1554; rpt. Geneva, Minkoff, 1981, fol. 145; modern edition in Orphénica Lyra, ed. Charles Jacobs, Oxford, Oxford University Press, 1978, p. 805.

¹⁵ Madrid, Museo Lázaro Galdiano, Ref 15411, sign. 648.

¹⁶ The work in question is Francisco Guerrero, *Ojos claros, serenos (Orphenica Lyra*, fol. 143) found both in the Cancionero de Medinaceli (N° 1) and the Galdiano partbook.

find a plausible explanation how Esteban Daza might have acquired the eight works included in *El Parnasso* (1576) that are concordant with the Galdiano manuscript if it were not by the existence of such a tradition as that I have suggested.¹⁷

Palestrina, «Da poi che io vidi vostra falsa fede»

When I commenced writing the present article my intention was to cement the nexus between the lute and the polyphonist by reconstructing a «lost» lost vocal work from a lute tablature, or at least a work preserved in incomplete form in extant vocal sources. Such an exercise serves to demonstrate in a highly practical way the validity of intabulations as sources of vocal music despite their different notational format. Not only valuable in terms of the recuperation of a lost work, such a reconstruction would also make the point that sixteenth-century musicians familiar with lute tablature would also have been able to comprehend the polyphonic nature of works they read or played from tablatures. Following on from an earlier reconstruction of a villancico by Rodrigo Ceballos from a tablature source.¹⁸ I set out to reconstruct Palestrina's incomplete madrigal «Da poi che io vidi vostra falsa fede», known until very recently only from tenor and bass parts preserved in Barré's Il terzo libro dele Muse (Rome, 1562).¹⁹ It was only after completing this reconstruction that I became aware of a surviving copy of the reprint of Il terzo libro delle Muse (Venice, Francesco Rampazetto, 1563), and it was only while in Rome consulting this source that the publication of the modern edition of the madrigal in the most recent volume of Palestrina's Opere com-

¹⁸ For this reconstruction of Ceballos' Pues ya las claras fuentes from Esteban Daza's El Parnasso (1576), see JOHN GRIFFITHS, The Transmission of Secular Polyphony in Renaissance Spain, Esteban Daza, and Rodrigo de Ceballos, in Encomium Musicae: A Festschrift in Honor of Robert J. Snow, ed. David Crawford, New York, Pendragon Press, in press.

¹⁷ Rodrigo Ceballos, Pues ya las claras fuentes (Galdiano 648, fol. 15; El Parnasso, fol. 84), Duro mal terrible llanto* (Galdiano 648, fol. 17; El Parnasso, fol. 91v) and Dime manso viento* (Galdiano 648, f. 14v; El Parnasso, fol. 93); Francisco Guerrero, Prado verde y florido* (Galdiano 648, fol. 21v; El Parnasso, fol. 83) and Esclarecida Juana* (Galdiano 648, fol. 30; El Parnasso, fol. 90v); Juan Navarro, Ay de mi sin ventura* (Galdiano 648 fols. 28v-29, El Parnasso, fol. 85v) and No ves amor* (Galdiano 648, fol. 2, El Parnasso, fol. 89); and Pedro Ordoñez, Ay fortuna cruel (Galdiano 648, fol. 22v-23, El Parnasso, fol. 77v). The titles indicated with an asterisk (*) are also concordant with the Cancionero de Medinaceli.

¹⁹ RISM 1562⁷. The only extant parts of this publication are the tenor and bass partbooks preserved in the British Library in London. These parts were used in the partial transcription of the madrigal edited in GIOVANNI PIERLUIGI DA PALESTRINA, Werke, ed. F. X. Haberl et al., Leipzig, 1862-1907, vol. 33, p. 76.

plete came to my attention.²⁰ Even though the novelty value of the tablature-based reconstruction has been lost, the work still serves to make the more significant point about the role of intabulations in the transmission of vocal repertory during the sixteenth century.

The only known intabulation of *Da poi che io vidi vostra falsa fede* is found in the Neapolitan lutebook Kraków 40032 and is attributed not to Palestrina but to its intabulator Giulio Severino.²¹ This large anthology was compiled by an unknown lutenist-singer, initially in Naples and probably later in Rome also, during a twenty to thirty year period (c. 1580-c. 1610). Among its 350 works are some seventy intabulations, principally madrigals and chansons. Kraków 40032 is one of the most important documents concerning lute playing in late-sixteenth century Naples, and is a key to establishing links of musical interchange between instrumentalists from Naples, Rome, Parma and Spain.²² It is a major source for the works of the Neapolitans Fabrizio Dentice and Giulio Severino, Santino Garsi from Parma, and the Roman maestro Lorenzino. On account of this Roman connection the manuscript also has numerous concordances with the lute music collected in Rome by Lorenzino's student Jean Baptiste Besard that forms the basis of his *Thesaurus harmonicus*.²³

Among the intabulations in Kraków 40032, Da poi che io vidi vostra falsa fede is indicative of the strong musical links between Naples and Rome. Severino's intabulation is likely to have been drawn from the original 1562 Roman print published by Antonio Barré, a former papal singer turned publisher with close ties to Orlando di Lasso and the circle of exiled Neapolitans in Rome including the Dentices and the book's

²² A modern edition of the manuscript is currently being prepared by Dinko Fabris and John Griffiths and should be ready for publication in 2003.

²⁰ The sole extant copy of the Rampazetto reprint (RISM 1563⁹) is held in the Biblioteca del Conservatorio di «Santa Cecilia» in Rome. The madrigal is edited in Giovanni Pierluigi da Palestrina, *Opere complete*, vol. 35, tomo 2, ed. Lino Bianchi and Giancarlo Rostirolla, Rome, Istituto Italiano per la Storia della Musica, 1999, pp. 577-578. The editions in this volume do not appear in the Palestrina work list in the second edition of *The New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians*, London, Macmillan, 2001. I am grateful to Agostino Ziino for drawing the new modern edition to my attention.

²¹ Kraków, Biblioteka Jagiellonska MS Mus. 40032, p. 117. Perhaps a decade or more after the death of its owner, the book was bought by a German and eventually was acquired by the Preussische Staatsbibliothek, Berlin, where it remained until 1941. Lost during World War II, the manuscript is now in the library of the Jagiellonian University. An inventory is given in DIETER KIRSCH and LENZ METEROTT, *Berliner Lautentabulaturen in Krakau*, Mainz, Schott, 1992.

²⁹ JEAN BAPTISTE BESARD, Thesaurus harmonicus divini Laurencini romani, necnon praestantissimorum musicorum, qui hoc seculo in diversis orbis partibus excellunt, selectissima omnis generis cantus in testudine modulamina continens, Cologne, Greuenbach, 1603; rpt. Geneva, Minkoff, 1975.

dedicatee Don Indico Piccolomini, Duke of Amalfi.24 In addition to numerous Roman works the anthology contains Neapolitan madrigals by Luigi Dentice, Giovanni Domenico da Nola, and Stefano Lando.²⁵ The intabulator of Da poi che io vidi vostra falsa fede, Giulio Severino, together with his brothers Pompeo and Giovanni Antonio and their father Vicencello, are all listed by Cerreto among the most famous Neapolitan lutenists.26 All were known as «della viola», players of the distinctly Neapolitan viola da mano. A further eight works by Giulio Severino are extant in addition to his intabulation of Palestrina's madrigal.²⁷ Giulio Severino, however, was not only a renowned lutenist, but also a composer of vocal polyphony. Among his known vocal compositions are madrigals in Pietro Vinci's Madrigali libro primo (Venice, 1561) and other collections,28 and settings of Spanish sonnets by Garcilaso de la Vega.29 The Spanish settings are indicative of Severino as a nexus between Naples and Spain. The number and length of his Spanish sojourns is unknown, but his playing of the eight-course lute was praised in 1599 by the Sevillian painter Francisco Pacheco as the «best that was known in those times».30 Severino died in Spain in 1583 in service of the Spanish royal

²⁶ SCIPIONE CERRETO, Della prattica musicale, vocale et strumentale, Naples, 1601; rpt. Bologna: Forni, 1969, pp. 157-159. Only Giovanni Antonio was still alive at the time Cerreto's book was published. That Giulio, Pompeo and Giovanni Antonio were brothers is confirmed by the reference to «li tre fratelli Severino» in the list of Neapolitan musicians in CAMILLO TU-TINI, La Porta di S. Giovanni in Laterano (1644) cited in KEITH LARSON, The Unaccompanied Madrigal in Naples from 1536 to 1654, PhD diss., Harvard University, 1985, Appendix E, pp. 916-919.

²⁷ These works are found in Kraków 40032, the Siena lutebook, and MOLINARO, Intavolatura di liuto, libro primo, Venice, 1599. Together with the sole extant work by Giovanni Antonio Severino, these are included in J. GRIFFITHS and D. FABRIS, The Lute Music of Fabrizio Dentice and bis Neapolitan Circle (see note 9).

²⁸ RISM 1568¹² and 1599¹⁸. See PIER PAOLO SCATTOLIN, «Severino, Giulio», The New Grove 2nd edition (2001).

²⁹ Valladolid Cathedral, MS 17, includes the tenor parts of his settings of Garcilaso's well-known sonnets O más dura que marmol and Pasando el mar Leandro.

³⁰ FRANCISCO PACHECO, Libro de descripción de verdaderos Retratos de Illustres y Memorables varones, (unpublished MS, Seville, 1599; rpt. Seville, Previsión Española, 1983), retrato 47, pp. 200-201. Severino is cited as «excelente músico de ocho órdenes, y el mayor que se cono-

²⁴ See DONNA G. CARDAMONE, Orlando di Lasso and Pro-French Factions in Rome, in Orlandus Lassus and his Time: Colloquium Proceedings Antwerpen 24-26.08.1994, ed. I. Bossuyt et al., Peer, Alamire, 1994, pp. 23-47.

²⁵ This publication therefore possibly forms another link in the chain of associations between Naples and Rome at the time when the *villanella alla napoletana* had just passed the height of its popularity there. See DONNA CARDAMONE, *The salon as marketplace in the 1550s: patrons and collectors of Lasso's secular music*, in Orlando di Lasso Studies, ed. Peter Bergquist, New York, Cambridge University Press, 1999, pp. 64-90, and EAD., *The Prince of Salerno and the Dynamics of Oral Transmission in Songs of Political Exile*, «Acta Musicologica», LXVII, 1995, pp. 77-108.

family.³¹ While these details are of marginal importance to the discussion, they underscore his international reputation as both as a lutenist and a polyphonist. In this case, therefore, we have a relationship that operates in both directions: a composition made by a polyphonist-lutenist intabulated by a lutenist-polyphonist.

The intabulations of systematic workers are not difficult to unravel with precision. By comparing the vocal model and Severino's intabulation of «Da poi che io vidi vostra falsa fede» it is clear that the lutenist's intention was to produce an unadorned arrangement, a short score in tablature. The intabulation therefore serves the purpose of demonstrating the exactitude with which lutenists made intabulations. An understanding of the intabulation process can elucidate the nature of the end product. In this regard, the method used by the Severino accords with the method proposed in the Neapolitan treatise by Bartolomeo Lieto and also with the Spanish practice found in the vihuela repertory and codified by Bermudo.32 These theoretical accounts are useful in explaining some aspects of the mechanics of intabulation." Preliminary to making an intabulation, some fundamental practical decisions need to be made. Bermudo explains how to put the polyphonic parts into mensurally notated score format, dividing the music into tactus units if necessary. He then advises the vihuelist to scan the notation of the original to ascertain its range, and determine where to place it on the instrument.³⁴ For a piece with a range of seventeen notes such as Da poi che io vidi vostra falsa fede (G-bb'), Bermudo advises that the lowest note be placed on the first or second frets of the sixth course (VI/1 or VI/2), and thus the highest note will be at the fifth fret on the first course (I/5). This exactly what occurs in Severino's intabulation: its range is VI/2 to I/5, his lowest note (G) one tone above the lowest note of the lute. Lutes, however, were commonly tuned in G or A - or at least perceived to be tuned in these

ció en aquellos tiempos» and whose lute playing (tañido de vihuela) was imitated on the monacordio by the organist Francisco Peraça.

³¹ FABRIS, Da Napoli a Parma cit., p. 47.

³² BARTOLOMEO LIETO, Dialogo quarto di musica dove si ragiona sotto un piacevole discorso delle cose pertinenti per intavolare le opere di musica et esercitarle con la viola a mano over liuto..., Naples, 1559 (rpt., ed. Patrizio Barbieri, Lucca, Libreria Musicale Italiana, 1993).

³⁹ Bermudo discusses the entire process in the Libro Quarto of his Declaracion, caps. 54-86. For a parallel Spanish-English text of this material, see DAWN ESPINOSA, Juan Bermudo 'On Playing the Vibuela' ('De tañer vibuela') from Declaracipn de instrumentos musicales (Osuna, 1555): a new translation with commentary, published as a monographic volume of the «Journal of the Lute Society of America», XXVIII-XXIX, 1995-1996.

³⁴ BERMUDO, Declaracion, cap. 70 «De algunos presupuestos para cifrar» fols. 98v-99; trans. in ESPINOSA, Juan Bermudo 'On Playing the Vihuela', pp. 55-60.

pitches whatever their real sound – but this intabulation assumes the lute to be in F. This raises another interesting question about the way lutenists adapted vocal polyphony to their instrument.

The primary purpose of Bermudo's chapters on his so-called seven vihuelas is to assist players make intabulations and adjust the frets for each piece using a modified Pythagorean temperament." In effect, Bermudo instructs players to use a system of mental transposition by which the instrument is *«imagined»* to be in a particular pitch irrespective of its real pitch. Rather than transposing the music, the pitch of the open strings was mentally transposed, using the fixed intervals of the lute or vihuela's normal tuning (4th-4th-major 3rd-4th-4th) above any note chosen to be the lowest on the instrument: G, A, B, C, and so on. Naturally, this method gives the same result as the alternative practice of transposing the music to a suitable «key» and then placing the transposed music on an instrument with a fixed tuning. If guided by the range of the piece, the F-tuning of the lute that resulted from Severino's choice was a secondary outcome. Once established, however, the lutenist still had the task of constructing the tablature itself, transferring the mensural score to tablature format. To assist in this, Bermudo advised novices in particular to construct fingerboard diagrams such as the one he gives for the tuning Severino used, his vihuela in Fefaut (fol. 106). Such visual aids are less likely to have been necessary for experienced players.

It is impossible to derive from the tablature itself whether Severino's method was to «change the music to the instrument» or «change the instrument», to paraphrase Bermudo.³⁶ Had Severino achieved his result by «changing the music», he would simply have had to transpose Palestrina's music up a whole tone to accommodate it in the same way onto a lute in standard G-tuning.³⁷ What is of greater significance is that the result of the process is an intabulation that sits well under the hand. In this sense, intabulations involving some kind of transposition constitute a form of arrangement, and one of the consequences of the process is that such pieces typically employ the common chord shapes and patterns of left hand progressions that were virtually intuitive to experienced

³⁵ See ANTONIO CORONA-ALCALDE, Fray Juan Bermudo and his Seven Vihuelas, «The Lute», XXIV, 1984, pp. 77-86.

³⁶ BERMUDO, *Declaracion*, fol. 90*v*: «Ahora hay músicos, que non contentos con mudar la música para la vihuela: sino dexan estar la como la hallan, y mudan las vihuelas».

³⁷ Concerning these alternate views regarding adapting polyphonic music to the lute, see JOHN WARD, Le problème des bauteurs dans la musique pour lutb et vibuela au XVI^e siècle, Le Lutb et sa Musique, ed. Jacquot, Paris, CNRS, 1957, pp. 171-178.

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lutenists. Severino's intabulation does just this: it uses a common vocabulary of chord positions, it is placed in a comfortable and manageable place on the fingerboard, and it uses a good number of open strings that lessen the burden on the instrumentalist's left hand and promote a fluid performance.

In a literal transcription such as Da poi che io vidi vostra falsa fede, and one in which the intabulator has made judicious decisions regarding transposition, few modifications of the original music are required for the purpose of instrumental arrangement. Severino's choice of transposition precluded the need to revoice chords or make other compromises due to idiomatic limitations. His changes, indicated in the accompanying score in boxes, are only minor and may summarised thus:

1. chromatic changes:

- omission of printed accidentals [bar 1 (A), b. 8 (A), b. 15 (T), b. 22 (A)]
- addition of musica ficta [b. 9 (B), b. 11 (A), b. 12 (A), b. 16 (S)]
- 2. correction of a perceived source error [b. 2 (T)]
- 3. probable misreadings of the source [b. 5 (all voices), b. 21 (A)]
- 4. modifications made for practical or idiomatic reasons:
 - rhythmic modification due to the limitations of tablature notation [bb. 3-4 (all voices), due to the difficulty of indicating notes tied over barlines]
 - octave transposition of a bass note [b. 10]
 - simplification by omission of a passing note [b. 11 (T)]
 - modification to avoid an unnecessarily difficult left-hand fingering [b. 18 (T). Both the rhythm of this bar and the unusual e[#] to avoid an awkward string crossing appear to have been modifications for this purpose].

One further change is less clearly motivated. It is impossible to determine whether the substitution of a sonority based on D in bar 22 (beat 3) for one based on E-flat in the source was a) already changed in the source from which Severino copied, b) a deliberate change made by him, c) a misreading, or d) a harmonic simplification aimed at technical ease. Bearing these modifications of the «Urtext» in mind, the parallel transcription of both vocal model and Severino's lute intabulation shows the exactitude of the instrumental translation of the vocal model and the way it might have been construed by lutenists who were able to unravel the encoded polyphony. It reflects Severino's concern, not uncommon among instrumentalists, for preserving the integrity of the model while creating a playable instrumental version. His arrangement exemplifies the ability of instrumental tablature to transmit vocal polyphony, particularly in an age in which tablature notation was widely understood by composers, professional musicians and amateurs alike. It is a small example of the proximity of lute music to vocal polyphony, of the lutenist to the polyphonist.

Da poi ch'io vidi vostra falsa fede

Vocal source: Il terzo libro delle Muse (Venice, 1563), fol. 16 Lute source: P: Kj Mus. 40032, p. 117 G. P. da Palestrina and lute instabulation by Giulio Severino





THE LUTE AND THE POLYPHONIST





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