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**Permalink**

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**Journal**

Lute Society of America Quarterly, 49(2-3)

**ISSN**

1547-982X

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**Publication Date**

2014-07-01

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# The Dissemination Of Lute Music in Renaissance Society: The Case Of Tablature Sheets

By Hiroyuki Minamino

The change in lute playing from the monophonic ensemble style using the plectrum-plucking technique to the polyphonic solo style using the finger-plucking technique took place sometime in the mid 15th century.<sup>1</sup> Once this had happened the performance of polyphonic compositions arranged for solo lute required the lutenist-composers' understanding of the counterpoint of the composition before it could be performed. The lutenist-composers needed to record what they composed and to remember it for future performance. These requirements resulted in the invention of a notation system suitable for this purpose. Consequently several types of lute tablature were devised in the third and fourth quarters of the fifteenth century.<sup>2</sup>

Lute tablature is a pitch-less notation. Since it uses ciphers to tell the lutenist where to stop the strings on particular frets, the player can produce the required notes without knowing which musical notes he is playing but simply by following their locations on the lute fingerboard. This notational system exempted the lutenists from acquiring a theoretical foundation in music and led directly to performance of music itself. Thus, lute tablature must have greatly contributed to the rapid growth of performance of polyphonic compositions on the solo lute among both musically literate and illiterate lutenists.

The practice of playing from lute tablature was widely adopted in Renaissance society shortly after the tablature notation was invented. Although the lute instructions written in the 16th century are silent about this aspect of performance practice, the iconographical sources assist us to understand how the 16th-century lutenists used tablature to play from.<sup>3</sup> A series of early 16th-century Franco-Flemish paintings depicting Mary Magdalene before and after her conversion, for instance, shows us the symbolic meaning of the lute as well as practical performance practice. In one of these paintings attributed to the so-called Master of the Female Half-Lengths, Mary Magdalene is in the act of playing a lute reading from a single sheet of music.<sup>4</sup> The music depicted in the painting is the two-voiced intabulation of a Parisian chanson "Si j'ayme mon amy" notated in French lute tablature.

Another painting of Mary Magdalene attributed to Jan van Hemessen (or Jan van Amstel?) depicts three (or four) lute compositions, two (or three) on a bound lute book and one on a sheet of paper, all notated in French lute tablature.<sup>5</sup> The compositions in the lute book are the three-voice intabulation of a French chanson "Helas je l'ay aymee" and an unidentified intabulation, while the one on the sheet is a dance-like piece. Mary Magdalene is holding a lute on her lap and turning a page of the lute book. An anonymous Flemish painting of about 1530 depicts Mary Magdalene in the act of reading a book.<sup>6</sup> Her musical activities, lute playing and possibly singing, are put aside, which can be seen by the open lute case that signifies the returning of the instrument. The symbolism of the painting is her conversion and the rejection of worldly frivolities and pleasures. A bound lute book is now useless and left on a table. The reminiscence of her past is symbolized by the choice of the vocal model for the two-voiced intabulation of an erotic Flemish chanson "O waerde mont" notated in French lute tablature. The musical compositions depicted in these paintings of Mary Magdalene are intabulations of polyphonic music that require a notation capable of presenting all the voices in one stave.

Where, how and in what condition did the painters such as the Master of the Female Half-Length, Jan van Hemessen, and anonymous Flemish master acquire the lute music they painted? Hemessen's painting of Mary Magdalene depicts four pages of tablature for solo lute on a bound lute book and one page on a sheet of paper placed underneath a closed book. The pages are filled with tablature symbols, each page apparently starting with a new piece, with no copying errors or erasures. This indicates the painter's systematic plan of painting the pieces from the already existing tablatures. Therefore, the painter's workshop must have possessed some bound manuscripts and single sheets of lute music in case the subject of a painting necessitated such an addition. That the lute music depicted is the result of an accumulation of sheets of lute tablature of various origins is suggested by the differences in size and notation between the compositions in the book and the composition in the sheet. The former pieces



Melchior Newsidler, *Teutsch Lautenbuch*, Strasbourg in 1574



are notated on five five-line tablature staves with the alphabets written on the lines, while the latter piece is notated on four five-line staves with the alphabets written between the lines.<sup>7</sup>

A number of 16th-century paintings depict singers and instrumentalists who hold a sheet or sheets of music papers rolled up or crumpled in their hands. A portrait of the Augsburg lutenist Melchior Newsidler on the title page of his lute book entitled *Teutsch Lautenbuch*, published in Strasbourg in 1574, for instance, holds with his left hand a music paper on which some notes in mensural notation are written while holding with his right hand the neck of a lute.<sup>8</sup> That mensural notation is preferred over lute tablature in an illustration for the title page of a lute book may symbolize Newsidler's knowledge of music theory as well as his ability to make intabulations of polyphonic music.

Newsidler's example as well as the series of paintings that depict Mary Magdalene may tell us the way the music compositions were transmitted and the manner in which they were performed in the 16th century. Indeed, music may have been notated as individual pieces in the form of a single sheet or sheets of papers which were used for performance. Antonfrancesco Doni in his *Dialogo della musica*, for instance, offers a description of a music-making scene in which his interlocutors are provided with individual pieces taken out of the *carnaiolo* (small repository or pouch) for performance.<sup>9</sup>

Individual musical compositions were circulated among the composers, professional musicians, and the patrons of music, often enclosed in letters. Claudin de Sermisy's letter of about 1529, for instance, tells us that a motet "Este merci" was sent with a letter to an Este agent to be delivered to the Duke of Ferrara.<sup>10</sup> Antonfrancesco Doni speaks of sending a friend a madrigal enclosed in his letter.<sup>11</sup> Theoretical writings and musical examples were also exchanged among theorists and musicians, perhaps page by page, section by section, or chapter by chapter.<sup>12</sup>

Lute music was likewise circulated in the form of a sheet or sheets of papers often enclosed in letters sent to the lutenists' patrons or friends. Bartolomeo Tromboncino's letter of 1535 to the theorist Giovanni del Lago, for instance, shows that one of Tromboncino's compositions was sent to him with a letter.<sup>13</sup> Tromboncino included only one composition, a frottola "Se la mia morte brami" arranged for solo voice and lute accompaniment; therefore it must have been in the form of sheets of paper.<sup>14</sup> Lorenz Beheim sent his fellow German humanist Willibald Pirckheimer two "bassadanzas" by Giovan Maria Hebreo, together with some other instrumental music, in 1506.<sup>15</sup> Melchior Newsidler sent his "very good" ("gar guette") German dances for solo lute enclosed in his letter to the future Wilhelm II of Bavaria.<sup>16</sup> It is quite certain that Newsidler sent his compositions to win the favour of his potential patron at the Bavarian court, considering his earlier attempt at his unsuccessful application for a position at the Stuttgart court in 1576.

Some existing lute manuscripts may be a remnant of the practice of circulating lute compositions in sheets or small quantities. A German manuscript of ca. 1510-1520 conserved in Freiburg (Convent des Capucins, Ms. Falk Z.105) contains a single piece of lute music, an intabulation of Hayne van Ghizeghem's chanson "De tous biens plaine."<sup>17</sup> That the intabulation is notated in Italian lute tablature indicates that this intabulation originated in Italy and

either brought back to Germany or sent from Italy.<sup>18</sup> A manuscript compiled in Naples in the late 15th or early 16th century (Bologna University Library, MS. 596, HH 2-4) includes two pieces (probably for the viola da mano) and a tuning diagram all notated in Neapolitan viola da mano tablature. They form a unit, suggesting that the compiler of the manuscript copied them from a single source and providing evidence of the tuning diagram specifically included to instruct how to read Neapolitan tablature and to aid how to play the following pieces.<sup>19</sup>

Professional and amateur lutenists bought lute pieces from agents or distributors. John Petre, a son of Sir William Petre of Ingatestone Hall in Essex, for instance, pursued lute as his pastime and spent a substantial amount of money for buying lutes, lute strings, a wooden box to store lute strings, and lute songs during the time as a law student at the Middle Temple between 1567 and 1570.<sup>20</sup> Having equipped himself with lutes and lute strings, John tried to find some lute music. Back in 1562 his father Sir William Petre paid 2 shillings to "Mr. Lychefeld's man for bringing certain songs" to John.<sup>21</sup> "Mr. Lychefeld" appears to have acted as an agent for Petres.<sup>22</sup> In 1567 John paid 12 pence to "Mr. Litchfelds boye for bringyng me a songe for the lute."<sup>23</sup> Petre bought from Mr. Pietro "a booke for the lute and prickynge songs therin" for 20 shillings in 1567 and "songs for the lute" for the same amount in 1568.<sup>24</sup> If the standard price for a song were about 1 shilling at the time, Petre would have acquired the total of about forty songs from Pietro who might have acted as a distributor or a copyist working for a *scriptorium*.

The *scriptoria* and individual copyists produced music manuscripts and made business of disseminating music compositions. Pierre Alamire, an early 16th-century Flemish music scribe, produced manuscript books of polyphonic vocal music in great quantity.<sup>25</sup> Mathew Holmes, a singing man at Christ Church, Oxford, in the late 16th century, made a group of manuscripts for solo lute, for broken consort, and for solo cittern.<sup>26</sup> The *scriptoria* and professional copyists must have supplied lute music to his customers, perhaps copying out selected pieces from his repositories and selling them piece by piece in single sheets.

Some collectors and lutenists, both professional and amateur, accumulated a quite substantial amount of individual pieces over a period of years that were later bound together, a process that resulted in creating their own "manuscript books." Some of the lute manuscripts in the possession of the Augsburg patrician and bibliophile Hans Heinrich Herwart, for instance, may be the result of this process. Several manuscripts preserved in the Bavarian State Library associated with Herwart "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."<sup>27</sup> Each fascicle is "a collection of folios and bifolios."<sup>28</sup> However, Herwart's case may be one of few exceptions for the accumulation of lute music in the 16th century, because the collector must have had good connections and financial means to collect lute compositions from various countries. That many of the music sheets were possibly not bound and therefore were easily torn or lost may account for the relatively small amount of the surviving music sheets compared with the number of surviving printed lute books and bound lute manuscripts. Some pieces from the manuscript books such as Her-

wart's may have been disseminated to friends and acquaintances to various parts of Europe. Therefore, the collectors of lute music became an important part in the dissemination of lute pieces in the 16th century; they were not only receivers, but also became active suppliers.

Some extant lute manuscripts show signs of having once been used in connection with lute lessons taken by amateur musicians, where the lute pieces were directly acquired from their instructors. The most famous example is the manuscript compiled by a Vidal in Venice about 1517 that consists only of his teacher Vincenzo Capirola's compositions, which were given to Vidal during his lute lessons; the manuscript is the only source that contains Capirola's compositions.<sup>29</sup> Perhaps Capirola gave Vidal piece by piece during their lessons, and Vidal later made a tutor by copying out the pieces into a single manuscript book. Vidal decorated his manuscript with illuminations in various colors, fearing that the manuscript come into the possession of some ignorant collector and hoping that his decoration would prevent its destruction.<sup>30</sup>

Ambassadors, emissaries of foreign governments, or travelling merchants, monks or musicians became the mediators to disseminate the lute compositions that were otherwise unavailable because of geographical distance between the places or the lack of trading enterprises. A case in point is the acquisition of Italian lute music in early 16th-century England. In his letter of 1517, Sagudino, a member of the Venetian embassy in London, asked his friend Alvise Foscari in Venice to send him some pieces by "Zuan Maria" for exchange for some English music.<sup>31</sup> This "Zuan Maria" is no doubt the celebrated Jewish lutenist Giovan Maria Hebreo who was praised by the Roman humanist Paolo Cortesi as one of the most eminent lutenists on the polyphonic manner of lute playing.<sup>32</sup> It is reasonable to assume that Foscari tried to search for Giovan Maria's lute compositions circulated in sheets of music. We do not know whether he accomplished his mission. Foscari could have been more successful if he tried to find a copy of Givan Maria's lute book which Ottaviano Petrucci published as the third of his lute series with the title *Intabulatura di lauto libro tertio* in Venice in 1508,<sup>33</sup> considering the fact that some copies of Petrucci's third lute book appear to have been available when Ferdinand Columbus purchased a copy in Rome in 1512.<sup>34</sup>

The dissemination of lute music in the 16th century was a complex phenomenon. It was not a simple one-way traffic, as for example coming down from the composer to the public via the publisher. The lute compositions were more diversely disseminated and circulated, owing to a variety of artistic, financial, political, geographical, religious, as well as egotistic reasons.<sup>35</sup> There are a variety of possible scenarios for the avenues from which both the professional and amateur lutenists could acquire the lute pieces; for instance:

- The lutenist/composers to their amateur patrons, friends and students
- The lutenist/composers to their fellow professional lutenists
- The amateur lutenist to the professional lutenists
- The lutenist/composers to his publishers or printers
- The professional and amateur collectors to other professional and amateur collectors
- The collectors to the publishers, and

- The publishers to the professional and amateur lutenists via printed books

The lute pieces were transmitted in various forms; single sheet or sheets, bound or unbound manuscripts, and bound or unbound print books. The surviving single sheets, manuscripts and print books tell us many stories how the lute compositions were circulated to the various parts of Europe throughout the times, often resulting in creating variants, corrupt versions, or parodies.<sup>36</sup> The lute composition notated in the tablature sheet is the earliest manifestation in written form of the lutenist/composer's musical expression during its nascent time. Because of the compactness of the size and form in which the composition is notated, its wider circulation can more easily be managed than manuscripts or prints. The collectors accumulated the single tablature sheets from various sources both in time and place and then bound them together or copied into larger manuscripts. The publishers also employed this method for their sources for print books. The professional and amateur lutenists copied the individual pieces from the print books into single sheets or into their manuscripts, thus completing the cycle of dissemination of lute music in the sixteenth century.<sup>37</sup>

## Endnotes

<sup>1</sup> On the polyphonic manner of lute style, see Hiroyuki Minamino, "Conrad Paumann and the Evolution of Solo Lute Practice in the Fifteenth Century," *The Journal of Musicological Research* 6 (1986), pp. 291-310.

<sup>2</sup> On lute tablature, see Johannes Wolf, *Handbuch der Notationskunde* (Leipzig: Breitkopf & Härtel, 1913-1919; Wiesbaden, 1963), vol. 2, pp. 35-157; and Willi Apel, *The Notation of Polyphonic Music 900-1600*, 5th ed. (Cambridge, Mass.: Medieval Academy of America, 1953), pp. 54-81. For the invention of German lute tablature, see Hiroyuki Minamino, "An Invisible Notation: On the Invention of German Lute Tablature," *Discoveries: South-Central Renaissance Conference News and Notes* 17, no. 2 (2000), pp. 3, 13. For the invention of tablature for the vihuela in Spain, see idem., "Valencian Vihuela de Mano Tablature," *Lute Society of America Quarterly* 33, no. 3 (1998), pp. 4-6. For the invention of tablature for the viola da mano in Italy, see idem., "Neapolitan (Viola da Mano) Tablature," *Lute Society of America Quarterly* 34, no. 3 (1999), pp. 8-18.

<sup>3</sup> The woodcut on the title page of Francesco Marcolini's *Intabulatura di liuto . . . di M. Francesco da Milano*, published in Venice in 1536, depicts a lutenist playing from a book placed in front of him; reproduced in Arthur J. Ness, ed., *The Lute Music of Francesco Conova da Milano (1497-1543)* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1970), p. xxiii. Likewise the portrait of a lutenist (Bacfarck?) on the title page of Valentin Bacfarck's *Intabulatura Valentini Bacfarck*, published in Lyons in 1553, is playing a large lute reading from a music book; reproduced in Walter Salmen, *Musiker im Porträt, Band 1: Von der Spätantike bis 1600* (Munich: C. H. Beck, 1982), opposite to p. 124. Bartolomeo Veneto's "A Young Lady with Lute" depicts a solo lutenist with an open music book in front of her. The book shows the superius, tenor and bassus of a song notated in mensural notation. It would be very awkward for the lutenist if she attempts to play from the music book and to play all three voices simultaneously. The presentation of the music book must be symbolic, since the page is not facing the player but the viewer of the painting; reproduced and discussed in H. Colin Slim, "Multiple Images of Bartolomeo Veneto's Lute-Playing Woman (1520)," in *Music in Renaissance Cities and Courts: Studies in*



*Honor of Lewis Lockwood*, edited by Jessie Ann Owens and Anthony M. Cummings (Warren, Michigan: Harmonie Park Press, 1997), pp. 405-64; see also Benvenuto Disertori, "La leutista di Brera, o del sonare a liuto," *Rivista musicale italiana* 43 (1939), pp. 641, 642 (detail), 643 (transcription); and Volker Scherliess, *Musikalische Noten auf Kunstwerken der Italienischen Renaissance bis zum Anfang des 17. Jahrhunderts* (Hamburg: Verlag der Musikalienhandlung, 1972), pls. 44-48, pp. 131-33 (transcription). I am preparing a study on the performance practice of how the 16th-century lutenists (solo or in ensemble) used lute tablature or mensural notation to play from by examining the 15th- and 16th-century iconographical sources that depict the lutenist with a musical notation either mensural or tablature.

<sup>4</sup> Reproduced and discussed in Daniel Heartz, "Mary Magdalen, Lutenist," *Journal of the Lute Society of America* 5 (1972), pp. 52-67, pls. A-E, 61 (transcription); and H. Colin Slim, "Paintings of Lady Concerts and the Transmission of 'Jouissance vous donneray,'" *Imago Musicae* 1 (1984), pp. 51-73, Figure 5.

<sup>6</sup> Reproduced and discussed in idem., "Mary Magdalene, Musician and Dancer," *Early Music* 8 (1980), pp. 460-73, pls. 1 and 6 (detail), also the front cover of the issue; and idem., "Instrumental Versions, c. 1515-1554, of a Late Fifteenth-Century Flemish Chanson O Waerde Mont," in *Music in Medieval and Early Modern Europe*, edited by Iain Fenlon (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1981), pp. 131-61, Figure 1.

<sup>7</sup> One may wonder whether the difference in notation in so-called French lute tablature, such as the number of lines either five or six and the position of the alphabets either on line or between lines, offers a possibility that there were two distinct systems of French lute tablature when they were first devised. The earliest example of French lute tablature, in the so-called Pesaro lute manuscript, possibly originates from Italy in the late 15th century. These Mary Magdalene paintings discussed here may date from the 1520s and early 1530s, possibly making them the earliest known sources of French lute tablature found in the Franco-Flemish countries. The earliest printed examples appear in Pierre Attaingnant's lute books of 1529 and 1530, Guillaume Vorsterman's *Livre plaisant et tres utile* published in Antwerp in 1529, and Attaingnant's publication of Oronce Fine's treatise *Epithoma musicae instrumentalis* of 1530.

<sup>8</sup> The portrait is reproduced, among others, in Salmen, *Musiker im Porträt*, opposite to p. 144; and Hans Radke, "Neusidler," *The New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians*, edited by Stanley Sadie (London: Macmillan) vol. 13, p. 157; and Hans Radke et al., "(2) Melchior Neusidler," *Grove Music Online*, ed. L. Macy (Accessed 23 January 2015). On the volume, see Howard Mayer Brown, *Instrumental Music Printed before 1600: A Bibliography* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1965), item 1574-13.

<sup>9</sup> See James Haar, "Notes on the 'Dialogo della musica' of Antonfrancesco Doni," *Music and Letters* 47 (1966), p. 206. Craig Wright, "Voices and Instruments in the Art Music of Northern France during the 15th Century: a Conspectus," in *International Musicological Society, Report of the Twelfth Congress Berkeley 1977*, edited by Daniel Heartz and Bonnie Wade (Kassel, 1981), p. 644, points out that "singers at northern French secular courts... performed from an oblong sheet, the *rotolus* rather than from a music book." The frontispiece of Andrea Antico's *Canzoni nove* (Rome, 1510) shows four men singing from a book; see Martin Picker, "Antico, Andrea," *Grove Music Online*, ed. L. Macy (Accessed 23 January 2015) for a reproduction.

<sup>10</sup> Daniel Heartz, "Les goûts réunis or the Worlds of the Madrigal and Chanson Confronted," in *Chanson and Madrigal 1480-1530*, edited by James Haar (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1964), p. 109.

<sup>11</sup> Haar, "Notes," p. 206.

<sup>12</sup> See Bonnie J. Blackburn, Edward E. Lowinsky and Clement A. Miller, eds., *A Correspondence of Renaissance Musicians* (Oxford: Clarendon Press; New York: Oxford University Press, 1991), pp. 3-14.

<sup>13</sup> For the letter, see Alfred Einstein, *The Italian Madrigal*, translated by

Alexander H. Krappe, Roger H. Sessions and Oliver Strunk (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1949/1971), vol. 1, p. 48; Knud Jeppesen, *La Frottola* (Aarhus: Universitetsforlaget i Aarhus, 1968-1970), vol. 1, p. 151; and Blackburn, Lowinsky and Miller, *A Correspondence of Renaissance Musicians*, pp. 869-70.

<sup>14</sup> See Hiroyuki Minamino, "Chicken or Egg: Frottola 'Arrangements' for Voice and Lute," *The Lute: The Journal of the Lute Society* 38 (1998), pp. 43-57, for a discussion of the piece and a modern transcription.

<sup>15</sup> Keith Polk, *German Instrumental Music of the Late Middle Ages* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1992), pp. 141-42.

<sup>16</sup> Newsidler's letter is reproduced in facsimile and translated in English in Arthur J. Ness, "A Letter from Melchior Newsidler," in *Music and Context: Essays for John M. Ward*, edited by Anne Dhu Shapiro (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1985), pp. 352-54. Freiburg, Convent des Capucins, Ms. Falk Z.105, ff. [2-2v].

<sup>17</sup> For the manuscript, see Jürg Stenzl, "Peter Falk und die Musik in Freiburg," *Schweizerische Musikzeitung* 121 (1981), pp. 289-96, 293 (reproduction).

<sup>18</sup> Italian lute tablature appears to have been used in southern Germany; see Arthur J. Ness and C. A. Kolczynski, "Sources of lute music," *Grove Music Online*, ed. L. Macy (Accessed 1 February 2015).

<sup>19</sup> For the manuscript, see David Fallows, "15th-Century Tablatures for Plucked Instruments: A Summary, a Revision and a Suggestion," *The Lute Society Journal* 19 (1977), pp. 18-20. On the pieces notated in so-called Neapolitan tablature, see Minamino, "Neapolitan (Viola da Mano) Tablature," pp. 8-18.

<sup>20</sup> See Frederick George Emmison, "John Petre's Account-Books, 1567-77," *The Galpin Society Journal* 14 (1961), pp. 74-75.

<sup>21</sup> Idem., *Tudor Secretary, Sir William Petre at Court and Home* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1961), p. 212.

<sup>22</sup> It is doubtful that "Mr. Lychefeld" is identical with Henry Lichfield who published his madrigal book in 1613. For this madrigal composer, see Joseph Kerman, *The Elizabethan Madrigal: A Comparative Study*, *Musicological Studies and Documents*, no. 4 (New York: American Musicological Society, 1962), pp. 21-22, 26, 253, 266; and David Brown, "Lichfield [Lichfield], Henry," *Grove Music Online*, ed. L. Macy (Accessed 23 January 2015). A "Galliard Lychfyld" for lute is preserved in the so-called Marsh Lute Book. On this manuscript, see John M. Ward, "The Fourth Dublin Lute Book," *The Lute Society Journal* 11 (1969), pp. 28-46.

<sup>23</sup> Emmison, "John Petre's Account-Books," p. 74.

<sup>24</sup> The "booke" might have consisted of the leaves of a bounded manuscript. Two printed books for the lute were registered to the Stationer's Company before 1567. One entry records: "recevyd of John alde [sic] for his lycense for pryntinge a book intituled the Sequence of lutyng. Another entry records: "recevyd of Edward Sutton for his lycense for the pryntinge of a boke intituled an ex[h]ortation to all kynde of men how they shuld lerne to playe of the lute by Roberte Ballarde." See Edward Arber, *A Transcript of the Register of the Company of Stationers of London; 1554-1640 A.D.* (London: Edward Arber, 1875-1877), vol. 1, pp. 298, 343. The connection between these two books and Adrian Le Roy's lute tutors is discussed in Hiroyuki Minamino, "Exorcising the Ghosts of Adrian Le Roy" (in preparation).

<sup>25</sup> Herbert Kellman, "Alamire, Pierre," *New Grove Dictionary* (London, 1980), 1:192-93; and idem., "Alamire, Pierre," *Grove Music Online*, ed. L. Macy (Accessed 23 January 2015).

<sup>26</sup> Ian Harwood, "The Origins of the Cambridge Lute Manuscripts," *The Lute Society Journal* 5 (1963), pp. 32-48. There is, however, no concrete evidence to support that Holmes made a living by copying out and selling the music compositions he accumulated in his manuscripts.

<sup>27</sup> Quoted from Arthur J. Ness, "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" (Ph.D. diss., New York University, 1984), vol. 1, pp. 1.



<sup>28</sup> *Ibid.*, vol. 1, p. 23.

<sup>29</sup> Chicago, Newberry Library, Case MS VM C.25: *Compositione di meser Vincenzo Capirola, gentil homo bresano*. Facsimile edition in Orlando Cristoforetti, ed., *Archivum musicum collana di testi rari*, 39 (Florence: Studio per edizioni scelte, 1981); the entire volume is edited in Otto Gombosi, ed., *Compositione di meser Vincenzo Capirola: Lute-book (circa 1517)* (Neuilly-sur-Seine: Société de Musique d'Autrefois, 1955).

<sup>30</sup> If this scenario is correct, one wonders what happened with the single sheets after the copying was completed. Vidal may have returned the individual pieces to Capirola after he copied them into his manuscript.

<sup>31</sup> Sebastian Giustinian, *Four Years at the Court of Henry VIII*, translated by R. Brown (London, 1854), vol. 1, p. 81; and quoted in John M. Ward, "A Dowland Miscellany," *Journal of the Lute Society of America* 10 (1977), p. 17.

<sup>32</sup> On Giovan Maria, see Hiroyuki Minamino, "Dream of a Dream: Giovan Maria's Extra-Musical Career," *The Lute: The Journal of the Lute Society* 37 (1997), pp. 9-16; and idem., "A Battle of Old and New: Giovan Maria Hebreo and Francesco da Milano at the Papal Court," *Lute Society of America Quarterly* 35, no. 4 (2000), pp. 7-9.

<sup>33</sup> Brown, *Instrumental Music*, [1518]-1.

<sup>34</sup> Catherine Weeks Chapman, "Printed Collections of Polyphonic Music owned by Ferdinand Columbus," *Journal of the American Musicological Society* 21 (1968), p. 63, item 30.

<sup>35</sup> There must have been certain reluctance on the part of the lutenist/composer to let his compositions out of his hands. They feared that their compositional secrets may have been exposed to other lutenists, the sentiment that prevented the professional lutenists to publish lute instruction books. On this point, see Hiroyuki Minamino, "Sixteenth-Century Lute

Treatises with Emphasis on the Process and Techniques of Intabulation" (Ph.D. diss., The University of Chicago, 1988), pp. 27-28.

<sup>36</sup> For the lutenist, his lute compositions are more personal than the vocal composition to the composer of vocal music. The vocal compositions, especially the polyphonic vocal music, need other singer or singers to be realized; this can also be said to the composer of instrumental ensemble music. The lutenist, on the other hand, can perform his solo compositions by himself without any aid from other lutenists, although the lute duets need another lutenist. The lutenist performed his composition, involving with improvisation, whether changing parts of the basic structure of the piece or adding different ornaments to various parts of a composition. If the improvisation was an essential part for compositional process and performance practice of the lutenists, the lutenist/composer may have less concerned about the concept of making "urtext" or "definitive version."

<sup>37</sup> This article is the first part of a larger study on the dissemination of lute music from the late fifteenth to the early seventeenth centuries which is divided into three categories, sheets, manuscripts, and prints.

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