Intabulation as Process and Practice

Lute solo intabulation at the beginning of the 16th century based on vocal polyphony

Thesis for the completion of the Master of Music

Asako Ueda
Student Number: 3104648
Main Subject: Lute/Theorbo

Main Subject Teacher: Prof. Joachim Held and Mike Fentross
Master Circle Leader: Dr Kathryn Cok
Internal Supervisor: Wouter Verschuren
External Supervisor: Prof. Dr Marc Lewon

March, 2021 at the Royal Conservatoire The Hague

Acknowledgement

Throughout the writing of this thesis, I have received a great deal of support and assistance.

First and foremost I am extremely grateful to my supervisors, Prof. Dr Marc Lewon for his patient guidance and insightful advice and knowledge he shared with me. Aside from his guidance, I would also like to thank him for the plectrum lute lessons he gave me at the Schola Cantorum Basiliensis. Without his persistent help, this research would not have been realised.

I would also like to thank my supervisor, Wouter Verschuren and my Master Circle Leader, Dr Kathryn Cok for their positive encouragement, guidance and feedback. Their introduction on “artistic research” motivated me and changed my ideas about how musicians ought to do research.

My sincere thanks also go to my lute teachers, Mike Fentross and Prof. Joachim Held. They were patient and positive with me all the time throughout my studies, starting from my Bachelor’s studies at the Royal Conservatoire of The Hague, and gave me valuable information. Not only did they guide me as lute teachers, but they treated me as a musician and they introduced me to the professional field in the Netherlands.

Furthermore, I would like to express my gratitude to Graham Flett for reviewing my English.

I am grateful to the Fund of Excellence for their Excellence Scholarship for realising my dream of studying as a master student and writing this present thesis. My gratitude also extends to the Swiss-European Mobility Program, the Royal Conservatoire of The Hague and the Schola Cantorum Basiliensis for accepting me as an exchange student. My short exchange at the Schola Cantorum Basiliensis made this research possible.

In addition, I would like to thank Kiichi Suganuma for his support as a friend, sharing information and inspiration he gave me through his dissertation and hospitality during my stay in Basel.

Finally, I must thank Arlo Shore for reviewing the present thesis again and again, and supporting me in many possible ways.

List of contents

List of tables

List of figures

List of videos

Abstract

Intabulation refers to the arrangement of vocal pieces for what Johannes Tinctoris refers to as a "perfect instrument", amongst which he counts such instruments as keyboards and the lute – and it implies writing out the parts of a polyphonic composition into tablature. However, after playing many surviving intabulations for several years, I had a strong feeling that there must be an "unwritten" solo lute intabulation practice behind the "written" intabulations from the beginning of the 16th century, in contrast to the more "composed" intabulations from the time after the mid-16th century. While surviving sources provide us with much information on what lutenists played, they also hide the "unwritten" practice which they did not record. We can only imagine what was happening. In this thesis, I investigate the process of intabulation by lute players from this time by analysing and comparing different versions of the same song from different sources. Through this research, I trace the transition of the changing style of intabulation, which is in turn related to the transition of lute technique from plectrum to finger-plucked and the change in style of the vocal models. Moreover, the diffusion of printed music changed the manner of the transmission of music. To conclude, I hypothesise that lute players might have listened to and copied each other's intabulations unconsciously, and when they wanted to preserve their work, they might have made some adjustments to their intabulations. The study also suggests how to apply these ideas to actual intabulation practice, which will be presented in the Research Symposium online as a video format.

Introduction

Historically Informed Performance (HIP) is a movement of early music specialists performing music informed by historical sources. These sources include treatises (music theory treatises, but also related treatises such as dance treatises), musical transmissions, poems, archival materials, and iconography. Written sources can provide us with valuable information, but we sometimes forget that written-out information and music are but a fragment of the musical practices that existed at the time. There are also many oral traditions that are grounded in a practice of improvisation, and often these practices did not survive as much as written sources did, or only a fragment of such an unwritten tradition survived and might only be preserved for some special purpose (e.g. education, record, monument et cetera). Essentially, what these musicians actually wrote on paper or parchment amounts to a mere fraction of the unwritten musical practices that characterised lute-playing in the 15th and 16th centuries. This raises the question whether the interpretation of only written-out pieces can constitute a truly "authentic" performance practice. Indeed, it is impossible to trace what exactly musicians in earlier times played (because we can obviously not listen to them) but still, written sources provide clues for how musicians of this era played.

In this thesis, I focus on intabulations for solo lute from the beginning of the 16th century. This was a transformational time for the instrument's repertoire. Traditions from the 15th century still carried on, so naturally ways of playing that stem from this will be discussed in this thesis. For example, in the 15th century, it was common for lute players to improvise upon a tenor line (the *cantus firmus*). On the other hand, several written-out intabulations for solo lute survive in manuscripts dating from the late 15th century. This research will also acknowledge how the lute underwent a transformation, both musically and technically, during the late 15th to the early 16th century. Whereas before this time the lute had been played with a plectrum, after the beginning of the 16th century players started to pluck the lute with only their fingers. Of course, we have to assume a transitional period, in which some players continued to play with a plectrum while others started to play with their fingers, they might have even used different techniques depending on the piece.[1] Another point of discussion is that around 1500, there were fewer surviving sources (intabulations) for solo lute than there were in later periods. As Kiichi Suganuma has

[1] My studies in the Royal Conservatoire the Hague were focused on repertoire from after the 16th century. In order to complete my thesis, it was important to study 15th-century repertoires and plectrum lute playing. Thankfully, I was able to study plectrum lute with Prof. Dr Marc Lewon at the Schola Cantorum Basiliensis by using an exchange study system (Swiss-European Mobility Program).

pointed out, the absence of surviving sources indicates that lute practice was more of an un-written tradition, one which did not require intabulations, which is why they are largely lacking from this period.[2]

In 2011, Martin Staehelin presented a fragmentary manuscript (D-Wa cod. VII B Hs Nr. 264) as a lute source. Following this, in 2014, Marc Lewon suggested the official name for this source as, "Wolfenbüttel Lute Tablature", and he investigated the source thoroughly, establishing that it was a significant discovery in his 2018 dissertation.[3] The newly-discovered lute tablature was an important missing link between soloistic lute and organ practice, and also a link between intabulation and diminution styles and tablature notations for both organ and lute; furthermore, it served as another piece in the puzzle to show the transition from the plectrum to finger playing of solo polyphony on the lute.[4] Among many scholars, Martin Kirnbauer had already inferred a relationship between organ tablature and solo lute playing.[5] Adding to it, Suganuma showed consistency and differences in the style of these different periods of solo lute intabulations, together with the diminution repertoire for other instruments.[6] Additionally, Paul Kieffer compiled and analysed *cantus firmus* works for lute.[7] These thorough studies did not leave a lot of things unexamined. However, I would like to add my study from the point-of-view of a lutenist, whereby I will analyse and focus on examining my practice when realising actual performances.

The present study arose from my personal artistic feeling. During my studies at the Royal Conservatoire The Hague I studied surviving intabulations, but I also made my own intabulations in mid- to late 16th-century styles and performed them myself. However, even though I have a strong affection for

---

[2] original text (in Japanese): " 15世紀においてインタヴォラトゥーラは基本的に「書き残されない」ものだったということである。それは専門的な技術を身に付けた職業音楽家が即興で行うものであり、本質的に記譜する必要は存在しなかった。16 世紀において書かれたインタヴォラトゥーラの資料が急増する原因は、第一章でも述べ たように楽譜の印刷出版の開始と、音楽愛好家への新たな市場の開拓に他ならない。15 世 紀における資料の少なさは、インタヴォラトゥーラが「無かった」のではなく、「書き残されなかった伝統」を示唆するものである。"

English translation following by present author: "In the 15th century, *intavolatura* was basically "unwritten". It was improvised by a professional musician with specialized skills, and there was essentially no need to notate. The reason for the rapid increase in the number of materials written in *intavolatura* in the 16th century is nothing but the start of printing and publishing of sheet music and the opening of new markets for amateur musicians, as mentioned in Chapter 1. The scarcity of material in the 15th period suggests that Intavolatula was not "absent" but "a tradition that was not left behind." cited from Suganuma, Kiichi. "*Intabulation and Diminution: Its Consistency from the Late Medieval Ages to the Early Baroque Period.*" Master thesis., Tokyo University of the Arts, 2015, p. 94.

[3] Martin Staehelin, "Norddeutsche Fragmente mit Lautenmusik um 1460 in Wolfenbüttel," in *Kleinüberlieferung mehrstimmiger Musik vor 1550 in deutschem Sprachgebiet: Neue Quellen des Spätmittelalters aus Deutschland und der Schweiz* (Abhandlungen der Akademie der Wissenschaften zu Göttingen, Neue Folge 15), (Berlin: Walter de Gruyter, 2011). Marc Lewon, *Transformational Practices in Fifteenth-Century German Music*, PhD dissertation, (Oxford, 2018), pp. 103–188.

[4] Ibid.

[5] "Daß die vergleichsweise zahlreich erhaltenen Quellen mit deutscher Orgeltabulatur im Prinzip auch das Repertoire der Lautenisten erschließen, ist an sich naheliegend und wurde auch immer wieder vermutet – nur fehlten bislang konkrete Belege." Cited from Martin Kirnbauer, '"Possi stampar canto figurado ne intaboladure dorgano et de liuto" – Zur Problematik früher Instrumentaltabulaturen," in: *Ottaviano Petrucci. 1501–2001*, (Basler Jahrbuch für historische Musikpraxis, 25 (2001) (Winterthur: Amadeus Verlag, 2002), pp. 159–175.

[6] Suganuma, *Intabulation and Diminution*.

[7] Paul Kieffer, *The Canntus Firmus Works for Lute: A Study of Cantus Firmus Improvisation and Intabulation Circa 1500 with a Detailed Performance Edition,* Masterarbeit, (Basel, 2014).

this repertoire I found the early 16th-century solo lute intabulations comparatively difficult to understand and play. It felt like I was playing someone else's spontaneous ideas and I found it difficult to sympathise with them.

From this personal experience, I raised several questions which will be investigated in this thesis: When it comes to the manifold surviving solo lute intabulations from around 1500, where is the line between "unwritten" and "written" intabulation? Intabulating involves the writing out of several parts into tablature, but does this twofold distinction really apply to all pieces? What was the process of appropriation of vocal polyphony for a lutenist of the early 16th century? How can we apply this to our own processes? In order to investigate these questions, I analysed different versions of the same song from different written sources. In the next stage, I tried to apply these traces of an historical practice myself.

This thesis consists of three parts. In the first part, "Tradition", I will outline the research that has been done so far. In the second part, "Analysis" I will show my analysis of different versions of the same piece. My personal experience and the result thereof are described in the final part, "Practice".

Preliminary remarks
0.1 Tablature

Tablature is a notation system that was used for instruments, mainly keyboard and plucked instruments from the early 14th until the 18th century.[8] Lute tablatures survive from the second half of the 15th century onwards.[9] From around 1500 onwards, we have several kinds of tablature for the lute: French tablature with letters (figure 1.1), Italian tablature with numbers (figure 1.2), Neapolitan tablature also with numbers but without "0", and German tablature with letters and numbers (figure 1.3).[10] French, Italian, and Neapolitan tablature have lines which represent the courses of the instrument, while German tablature does not have lines because it assigns numbers and letters on every possible fret position individually.[11] German tablature appears to have been invented before the others.[12] Sebastian Virdung (ca. 1465–after 1511) credited Conrad Paumann who was a blind "master of all masters" for the invention of the German tablature in his "Musica getutscht" (printed in Basel, 1511).[13]

Figure 1.1 (French tablature)
Pesaro manuscript, p. 65

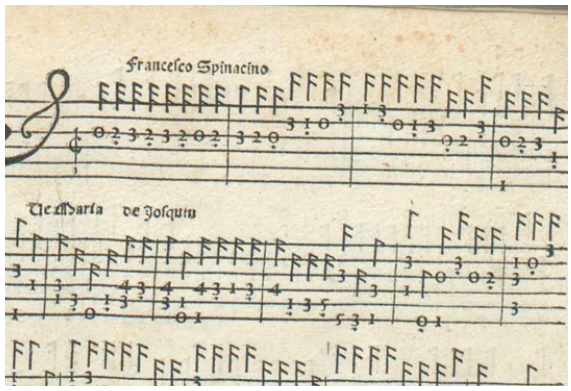


Figure 1.2 (Italian tablature)
Francesco Spinacino
"Intabulatura de lauto libro primo"
(Venice, 1507), p. 3

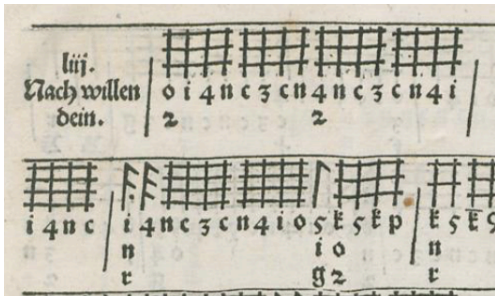


Figure1.3
(German tablature)
Hans Neusidler
"Der ander theil des Lautenbuchs"
(Nuremberg, 1536), fol. Bg

[8] Theoretically, any instrument could have its own tablature: Vidrung describe recorder tablature, Martin Agricola described gamba tablature, for example.

[9] Dart, Thurston, John Morehen, and Richard Rastall. "Tablature." *Grove Music Online.* 2001; Accessed 4 Mar. 2021.

[10] Dinko Fabris. "The Origin of Italian Lute Tablature: Venice circa 1500 or Naples Before Petrucci?" Basler Jahrbuch für Historische Musikpraxis XXV (2001): 143–158, 2001.
And we also have Spanish tablature which is similar system as Italian tablature, but the other way round, top line indicates the top string like French tablature, it was mainly used by Spanish composer, Luis de Milán. Also we have Kassel-Wolfenbüttel tablature system.

[11] "Course": see Glossary.

[12] Thurston Dart, John Morehen, and Richard Rastall. "Tablature." *Grove Music Online.* 2001; Accessed 4 Mar. 2021.

[13] Beth Bullard, "Virdung [Grop], Sebastian." *Grove Music Online*. 2001; Accessed 22 Nov. 2020.

0.2 Primary source list/abbreviations

Lute tablatures in manuscripts

-**WolfT**: **Wolfenbüttel Lute Tablature** (Lute tablature)[14] (D-Wa cod. VII B Hs Nr. 264) ca. 1460

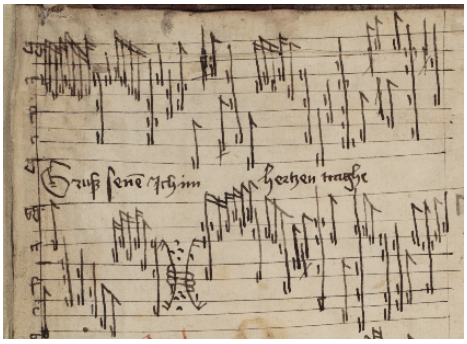


Figure 1.4 **WolfT**, fol. Br.

The earliest surviving lute tablature in Western-Europe. It consists of two paper folios containing five intabulations for five-course solo lute. The tablature is written on 5 staves with "open note heads" that are tied together with vertical lines ("*concordancia*" in historical terminology), and also indicates *musica ficta* with stems down, similar to keyboard tablature.[15] These signs are similar to the ones explained in The Kassel Collum Lutine (D-Kl, 2° Ms. Math. 31, fols. I, II, 1r–v) which however does not contain any actual musical samples.[16]

-**Pes**: **Pesaro manuscript** (French tablature)[17] (1-PESo MS 1144) from ca. 1480–1490

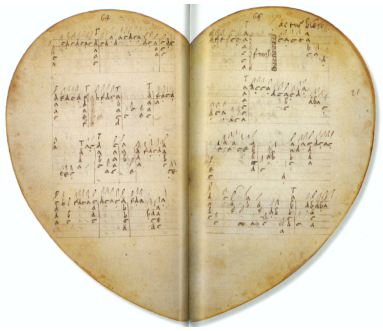


Figure 1.5 **Pes**, pp. 64–65

The Pesaro manuscript consists of 170 paper leaves containing Italian poetry and tablature for lute and lira da braccio. The bookbinding suggests it is from the Salzburg school of bookbinding. At least 4 different scribes contributed to the creation of this manuscript.[18]

-**Fri**: **Fribourg manuscript** (Italian tablature) (CH-Fcu, Cap. Res. 527) [olim: Falk z 105]

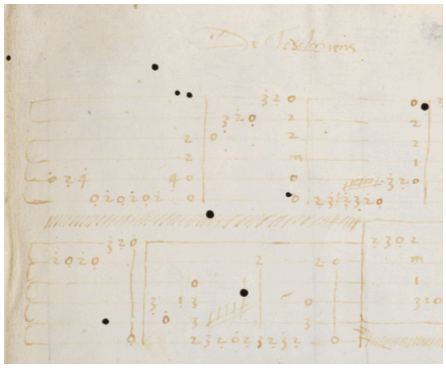


Figure 1.6 **Fri**. fol. 2r

Containing only one piece for lute, an intabulation of "De tous biens plain", the Fribourg manuscript consists of 239 paper pages. It was owned by Peter Falk (1468–1519), a notary and court clerk in Fribourg as recorded in 1493, and mayor of Murten during 1505 to 1510. He is also documented to have frequently travelled to Milano. It is unknown when exactly it was written. It is often assumed to date somewhere between 1513 and 1519, but Young suggests that judging by the style the music it might have been composed long before the 1490's.[19]

---

[14] The official name of the manuscript is suggested and discussed about "tablature" by Marc Lewon in his dissertation; Lewon, *Transformational Practices in Fifteenth-Century German Music*. This dissertation also contains edition of the manuscript.

[15] "*musica ficta*": see Glossary.

[16] Ibid., p. 103, 171.

[17] It contains also Neapolitan tablature, but added later period.

[18] Robert Crawford Young and Martin Kirnbauer, *Frühe Lautentabulaturen im Faksimile / Early lute tablatures in facsimile*, ed. by Thomas Drescher (Pratica Musicale 6), (Winterthur/Schweiz: Amadeus, 2003), p. 130.

[19] Ibid., pp. 162-163. The entire manuscript can be seen online: http://www.e-codices.unifr.ch/en/bcuf/CapRes0527

-Cap: **Capirola Lute Book** (Italian tablature) (USA-Cn Case M S V M C. 25) ca. 1517

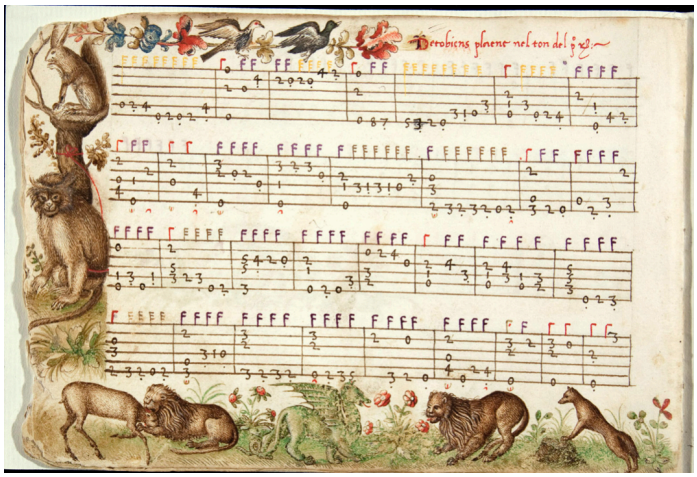


Figure 1.7 **Cap**, fol. 20v

Extraordinarily ornamented book preserving Vincenzo Capirola's work, created by his student Vidal. The book contains a preface explaining among other things the meaning of signs in intabulations and how to play the lute beautifully.

The preface starts as follows:

> Compositions of Meser Vincenzo Capirola, gentleman of Brescia.
> Considering that several divine works have been lost by the ignorance of their owners, and desiring that this almost divine book written by me will be preserved forever, I, Vidal have adorned it with such noble paintings, so that if it should be owned by somebody with no knowledge in the (musical) field, he would keep it for the beauty of the pictures. Surely, the things written in this book have as much harmony as the art of music may express. This will be very clear to those who diligently read through it. It is most important to preserve this for the future, as several pieces have not yet been given by the composer to anybody else other than me. Do not be surprised if in the beginning or further on in the book you find some easy or short pieces, as I needed them at the beginning of my studies and being good I include them here.[20]

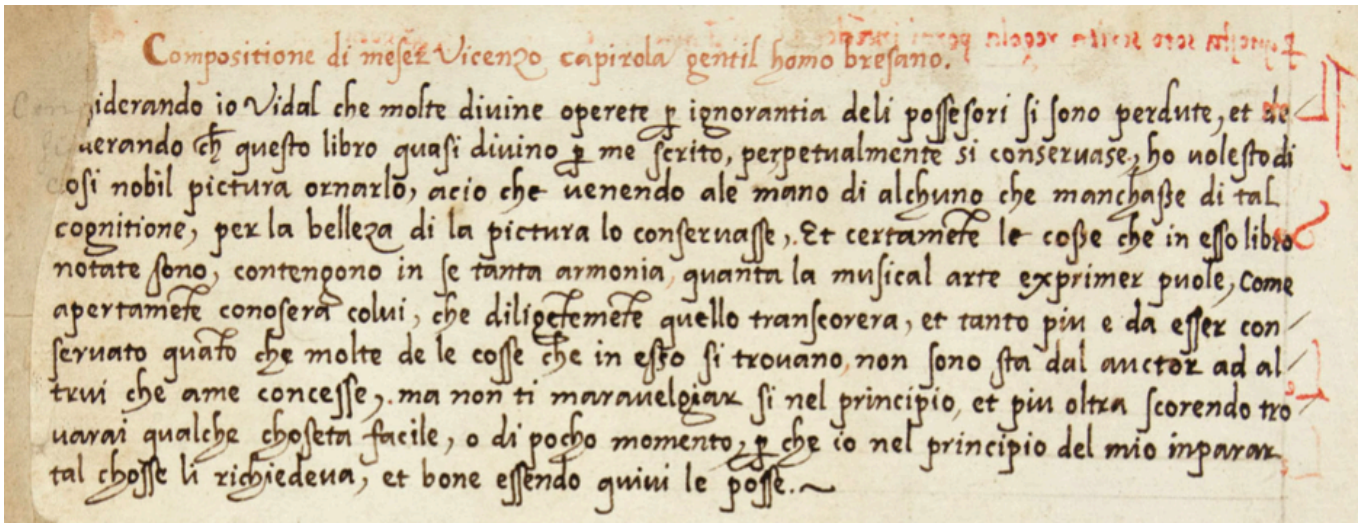


Figure 1.8 **Cap**, fol. 1v

[20] English translation from:
Federico Marincola, *The Instructions from Vincenzo Capirola's Lute Book - A NEW TRANSLATION*. The Lute: The Journal of the Lute Society, 23 part 2, 23-28, 1983, p. 23.
Edition: Otto Johannes Gombosi. *Compositione di Meser Vincenzo Capirola. Lute-book (circa 1517), edited by Otto Gombosi,* Published with the assistance of the Newberry Library of Chicago, 1955.
The facsimile can be seen online:
https://imslp.org/wiki/Capirola_Lutebook_(Capirola%2C_Vincenzo)

-Bli: **Blindhamer's lute tablature** (German tablature) (A-Wn Mus. Hs. 41950) ca. 1525 [21]

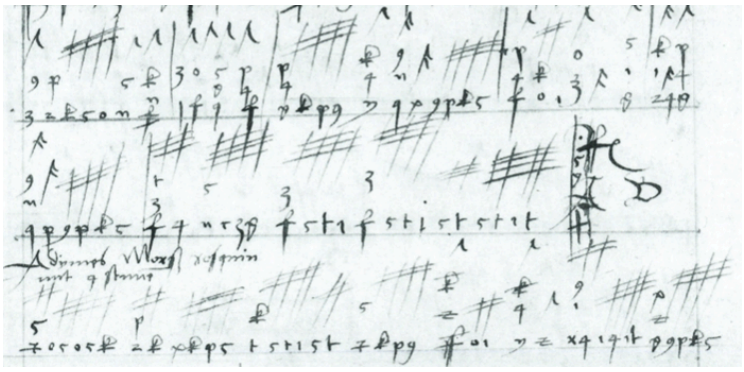


Figure 1.9 **Bli**, fol. 5r

One of the earliest substantial sources of German lute tablature.[22] Two different hands can be distinguished, but because they are similar, they might also have been written by the same person with a long time between them.[23] The manuscript consists of three sections. The first section contains a long composition titled "Preambulum", about which Kirnbauer said: "Preliminary studies of the Praeambulum indicate that it was probably made up of several sections, thereby explaining some of the inconsistencies".[24] The second section contains intabulations, and the third section has untitled arrangements. Kirnbauer said:

> The second section contains intabulations and arrangements which can be characterized through Newsidler's commentary to one of his collections: *The following sundry little songs / the best and noblest / thus are the most in use / and are the most dearly heard / And they are ornamented by particular effort and with excellent runs* […] some of the compositions notated in the tablature are also in the repertoire of the Nuremberg lute prints of Hans Gerle and Hans Newsidler, though always in divergent versions and tonalities.[25]

From the fact that the letters "AB" appears in some of the pieces, and "finis Adollf [/] blindhomer etc" is written in folio 8, the pieces are attributed to Adolf Blindhamer (c1475 – between 1520 and 1532), who was a lutenist of Maximilian I.[26] He is known from Hans Gerle's descriptions of his intabulations and the admiration he showed for him, as will be discussed in the next chapter.

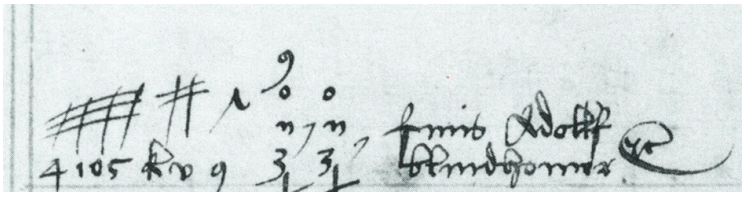


Figure 1.10 **Bli**, fol. 8r

---

[21] Edition: Roman List. Die Lautentabulatur "A-Wn, Mus. Hs. 41950". Diplomarbeit, Universität Wien. Philologisch-Kulturwissenschaftliche Fakultät, BetreuerIn: Lodes, 2013.

[22] Robert Crawford Young and Martin Kirnbaue, *Frühe Lautentabulaturen im Faksimile / Early lute tablatures in facsimile* p. 233.
However, there are earlier ones (Königsstein, mid-15th & the example in Virdung, 1511), also, we have German tablature printed before (Judenkünig).

[23] Ibid., p. 234.

[24] Ibid., p. 240.

[25] Hans Newsidler, Ein new künstlich Lauten Buch, Nürnberg 1536 (Brown 15367), fol. Bbiiij – also the title of a concordance with No. 10 in this tablature.

[26] Franz Krautwurst and Beth Bullard. "Blindhamer [Blindthaimer, Blyndthamer, Plinthamer], Adolf." *Grove Music Online.* 2001; Accessed 4 Mar. 2021.

Keyboard tablatures in manuscripts

The following two sources are the most thoroughly researched of the many sources associated with Conrad Paumann that survive today. Conrad Paumann (c1410–1473) was a German blind organist, lutenist and composer.[27] Christoph Wolff said "The organ pieces of the fourth fascicle of the Lochamer Liederbuch, and also the bulk of the compositions in the Buxheim Organbook, can be identified as products of the Nuremberg and Munich Paumann schools."[28]

-Bux: **Buxheimer Orgelbuch** (mensural notation & organ tablature) (D-Mbs Mus. ms. 3725)[29]

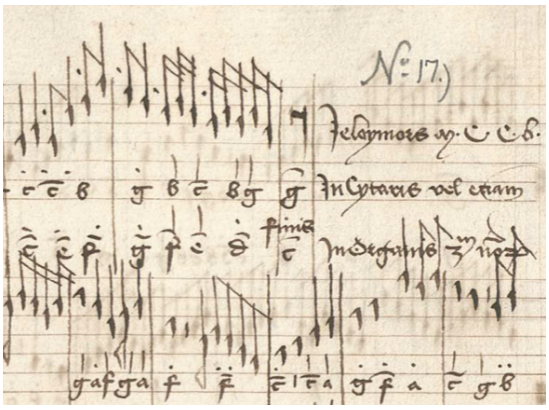


Figure 1.10 **Bux**, fol. 7r

The Buxheimer Orgelbuch contains an intabulation of a chanson by Gilles Binchois "Jelaymors" (= "Je loe amours et ma dame mercye"). This piece is often cited as an indication that organ tablature was also used in plucked ensembles such as the lute duo: The rubric below the title of the piece "In Cytaris vel etiam In Organis" could indicate the alternative mode of performance for lute duo (or other combinations such as lute and harp, or solo harp/lute) (figure 1.10).[30]

-Loch: **Lochamer Liederbuch** (mensural notation & organ tablature) (D-B Mus. ms. 40613)[31]

The Lochamer Liederbuch contains not only keyboard tablature but also monophonic and polyphonic songs, and a section called "Fundamentum Organisandi" attributed to Conrad Paumann which will be discussed in chapter 2.3.

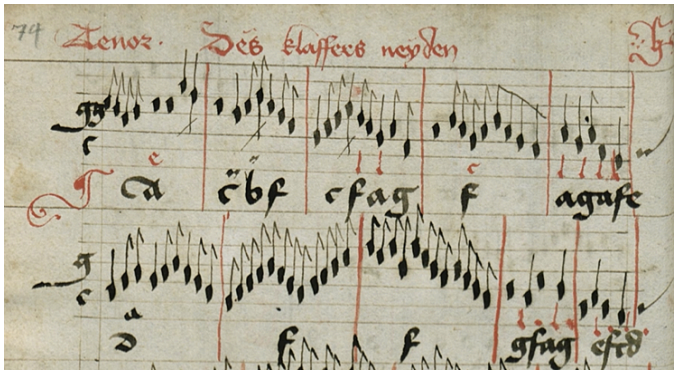


Figure 1.11 **Loch**, p. 74

---

[27] Christoph Wolff, "Paumann, Conrad." *Grove Music Online.* 2001; Accessed 4 Mar. 2021.

[28] Ibid.
The term "Paumann school" ("Paumannschülerkreis") is suggested by Konrad Ameln (ed.), *Lochamer-Liederbuch und das Fundamentum organisandi von Conrad Paumann*, Berlin: Wölbing-Verlag, 1925, p. 14 and used by Lewon, *Transformational Practices in Fifteenth-Century German Music*.

[29] Edition: Bertha Antonia Wallner, *Das Buxheimer Orgelbuch*. Kassel: Bärenreiter, 1958.
Facsimile: https://imslp.org/wiki/Buxheimer_Orgelbuch_(Various)

[30] Robert Crawford Young and Martin Kirnbauer, *Frühe Lautentabulaturen im Faksimile,* p. 189.

[31] Edition: Marc Lewon (ed.). *Das Lochamer Liederbuch in neuer Übertragung und mit ausführlichem Kommentar,* Reichelsheim: Verlag der Spielleute, 2007 (vol. 1), 2008 (vol. 2), and 2009 (vol. 3).
Facsimile: https://imslp.org/wiki/Lochamer-Liederbuch_(Paumann%2C_Conrad)

Printed lute tablatures

-Spinacino 1: **Francesco Spinacino** "Intabulatura de lauto libro primo" (Venice, 1507) [32]

-Spinacino 2: **Francesco Spinacino** "Intabulatura de lauto libro secondo" (Venice, 1507)

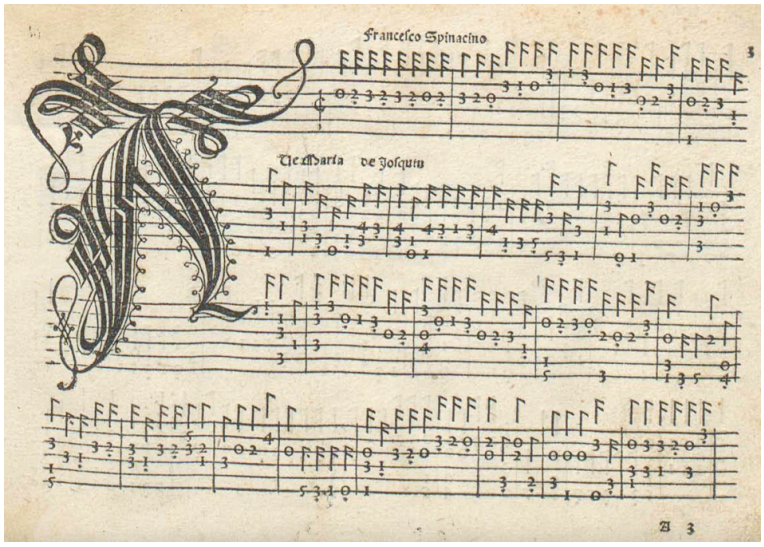


Figure 1.12 **Spinacino 1**, fol. 3r

These two publications by Italian lutenist Francesco Spinacino are the earliest publications of lute music.[33] Aside from solo pieces, they contain duets that are generally considered to be a written documentation of the lute duo practice as it existed in the 15th century. However, the cantus part is written with a consistent rhythm, which contradicts the description of how Pietrobono improvised (Pietrobono was a lute well-documented lute virtuoso in the 15th century, known for improvising on top of the tenorista.[34] It will be discussed in Chapter 2.2 Pietrobono, Henricus and Orbo).

-Gerle: **Hans Gerle** "Tabulatur auff die Laudten" (Nuremberg, 1533)[35]

Hans Gerle (c1500–1570) was a German instrumentalist, lute maker, compiler, and arranger.[36] He was probably a pupil of Adolf Blindhamer.[37] He published three volumes of music in Nuremberg: "Musica teusch, auf die Instrument der grossen unnd kleinen Geygen, auch Lautten" (1532) which was later enlarged and published as "Musica und Tablatur" in 1546, "Tabulatur auff die Laudten" (1533) and "Eyn newes sehr künstlichs Lautenbuch" (1552).[38] "Music teusch" also includes instructions on playing the

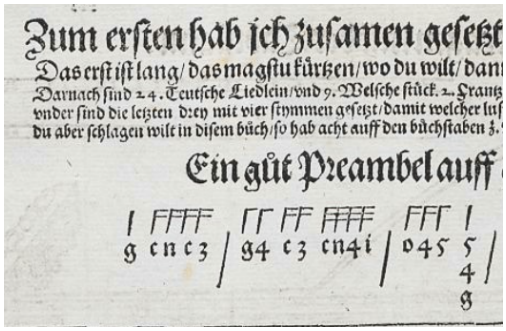


Figure 1.13 **Gerle**, fol. 3v

---

[32] Edition for Spinacino 1 and Spinacino 2:
Lyle Elmer Nordstrom, "An examination of the first book of lute tablatures by Francesco Spinacino". D.M.A. project - Dept. of Music, Stanford University, 1969.
Facsimile: https://imslp.org/wiki/Intabulatura_de_lauto%2C_Libro_1_(Spinacino%2C_Francesco) and https://imslp.org/wiki/Intabulatura_de_lauto%2C_Libro_2_(Spinacino%2C_Francesco)

[33] Lyle Nordstrom, "Spinacino, Francesco." *Grove Music Online.* 2001; Accessed 4 Mar. 2021.

[34] "tenorista": see "Glossary"

[35]Edition and transcription: Charnassé Hélène, Meylan, Ramond and Henri Ducasse: *Tablature pour les luths: Nuremberg, Formschneider, 1533 réalisation informatique par transcription automatique par le groupe E. R. A. T. T. O. du C. N. R. S.* (Paris: Société de musicologie, 1975).
Facsimile: https://imslp.org/wiki/Tabulatur_auff_die_Laudten_(Gerle%2C_Hans)

[36] Howard Mayer Brown and Lynda Sayce. "Gerle, Hans." *Grove Music Online.* 2001; Accessed 4 Mar. 2021.

[37] Franz Krautwurst and Beth Bullard. "Blindhamer [Blindthaimer, Blyndthamer, Plinthamer], Adolf." *Grove Music Online.* 2001; Accessed 4 Mar. 2021.

[38] Howard Mayer Brown (ed.): Instrumental Music Printed Before 1600: A Bibliography, (Cambridge, Mass. 1965).

lute and on music theory.

-Neusidler 1: **Hans Neusidler** "Ein newgeordent künstlich Lautenbuch in zwen Theyl getheylt: der erst für die anfahenden Schuler" (Nuremberg, 1536)[39]

-Neusidler 2: **Hans Neusidler** "Der ander theil des Lautenbuchs" (Nuremberg, 1536)[40]

Figure 1.14 **Neusidler 2**, fol. Bii r

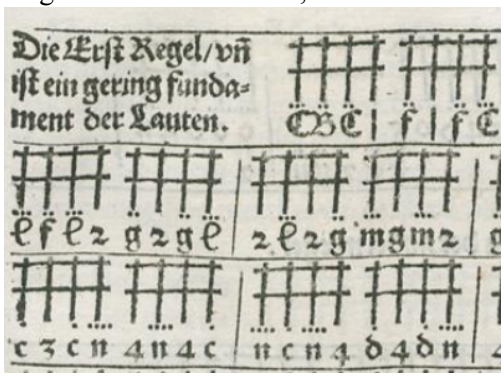


Figure 1.15 **Neusidler 2**, fol. Ciii r

Hans Neusidler (ca. 1508/9–1563) was a composer, lute player and lute maker.[41] He is regarded as a lute teacher: he published eight books, including an introduction to lute playing; some of the pieces feature left-hand fingerings with dot signs (figure 1.14 and 1.15).[42] Difficulties of the pieces are varied in his book with the pieces becoming more difficult towards the end. Neusidler's book starts from 1 to 2 voices, then progresses to 3 voices, and then 3 voices which are embellished with diminutions and eventually 4 voices towards the end of his book. Often, he reduces the number of voices of the intabulated models. There are some intabulations from chansons, which should have three voices, but are only intabulated with tenor and contra tenor (lacking the cantus), which is unusual because cantus and tenor are regarded as the most important voices. Marc Lewon suggested to interpret this as a lute-duo practice:

> Neusidler's treatment of the lower voices of Cecus non judicat de coloribus […] seems, in fact, to apply the same principle that Spinacino already used in his duets: tenor and contratenor are set up in a very similar fashion, while the missing upper voice can be added easily in the form of improvised diminutions.[43]

[39] Facsimile: http://digitale.bibliothek.uni-halle.de/vd16/content/pageview/5125943

[40] Edition and transcription into French tablature: John H Robinson and Miles Dempster (ed.), *Der ander theil des lautenbuchs Hans Neusidler (1536)*, (Montreal: Score Conversions, 1995).

[41] Hans Radke, Wolfgang Boetticher, and Christian Meyer. "Neusidler family." *Grove Music Online.* 2001; Accessed 4 Mar. 2021.

[42] Ibid.

[43] Cited from: Marc Lewon, "Agricola et ung bon joueur de luz – Agricola and the Lute", in: *Quarterly of the Lute Society of America* 43/4 (2008): pp. 7–21, p. 17.

Part I

Traditions

Chapter 1. "written" traditions in the 15th century
1.1 Intabulation and diminution

The Italian word *intavolatura* was used throughout the 16th and 17th centuries, but at the time it simply referred to published books of lute or keyboard music. It was used on title pages, such as Francesco Spinacino's *Intabulatura de lauto libro primo* (Venice, 1507) or Antonio Valente's *Intavolatura de cimbalo* (Naples, 1576).[44] These music books often contained "intabulations" in the modern sense of the word (i.e. pieces originally written for a vocal setting but arranged and transcribed to tablature notation for lute or keyboard). Intabulation is a modern term, but to avoid confusion I will use the term "intabulation" to mean the arrangement of a vocal piece for an instrument.

We can trace back the tradition of intabulation to the Middle Ages. The earliest source for intabulation is the Robertsbridge Codex for a keyboard instrument (most importantly organ).[45] A large number of intabulations for keyboard instruments from the 15th century survive, especially from the Paumann school of the German-speaking lands. Keyboard tablature was also reappropriated to serve for the lute, as Lewon demonstrated in his analysis of one of the earliest lute sources, WolfT.[46] Intabulations were common repertoire in the 16th century.[47] In fact, intabulations formed the majority of the solo lute repertoire, the remainder consisting of purely instrumental pieces like dances, recercares and fantasias. It is worth noting that when Sebastian Virdung talks about the lute in his "*Musica getutscht*", Andreas Sylvanus, his friend, asked Virdung: "How shall I learn to intabulate for the lute?", before he even mentions how many strings and frets the lute has.[48] This indicates that playing intabulations was very common.[49]

However, as Anne Smith points out, the practice of solo lute intabulation declined towards the end of the 16th century, while the performance of purely instrumental music flourished.[50] The style of solo lute

---

[44] Howard Mayer Brown (ed.), "*Intabulation*" The New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians, London: Macmillan Publishers Limited, 2001 (accessed 16.11.2020).

[45] Robertsbridge Codex: London, British Library GB-Lbl Add.28850.
Howard Mayer Brown (ed.), "*Intabulation*" The New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians, London: Macmillan Publishers Limited, 2001 (accessed 16.11.2020).

[46] Lewon, *Transformational Practices in Fifteenth-Century German Music*.

[47] John Ward, "The Use of Borrowed Material in 16th-Century Instrumental Music", in: *Journal of the American Musicological Society* 5, no. 2 (1952): pp. 88–98. Accessed March 5, 2021.

[48] English translation from: Beth Bullard, *Musica getutscht: a treatise on musical instruments (1511) by Sebastian Virdung,* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2007, p. 149.

[49] Sebastian Virdung, Musica getutscht (1511, Basel). Also note that the title page says "Musica getutscht und außgezogen durch Sebastianus Virdung, Priester von Amberg verdruckt, um alles Gesang aus den Noten in die Tabulaturen dieser benannten dreye Instrumente der orgeln, der Lauten und der Flöten transferieren zu lernen kürzlich gemacht." English translation for the title: "Musica, written in German and extracted [from a larger work] by Sebastian Virdung, priest from Amber, with [instructions] for learning how to transcribe all song from the notes into the tablature of the three instruments named here: the organ, the lute, and the recorder: [instructions] presented in brief form, to honor the illustrious noble prince and lord, Lord Wilhelm, Bishop of Strassburg, his gracious lord.", translation from Ibid., p. 54.

[50] Douglas Alton Smith, *A History of the Lute from Antiquity to the Renaissance*. (Lexington: Lute Society of America, 2002), p. 48.

intabulation changed constantly throughout the 15th and 16th centuries.[51] Suganuma discussed the changes in style in different periods: 1500s–1520s, 1530s–1540s, 1560s–1570s, and he emphasised that "especially within the passaggi extracted in this study, there exists a certain "consistency" to the intabulation that neither develops nor culminates. In the passaggi listed in the appendix, we can find a number of common musical forms and manners of application. If the passaggi is an essential element of intabulation, it has been of 'consistently high level'."[52] In other words, even though the style of intabulation changed throughout the decades, the level of performance of players remained consistent.

Ideally, lutenists transcribed all parts of a polyphonic piece into tablature from the notation of the vocal model (where each part was written separately on the same page or in a separate partbook). However, it is not always this simple, especially for solo lute music: because of technical limitations, sometimes it was not possible to play all the voices of the original setting (even though Tinctoris called the lute a "perfect instrument"[53]) or it caused unnecessary difficulties for the left hand, which could be solved by changing notes or adding diminutions. In order to make a transcription idiomatic to the instrument (lute), a process of appropriating is needed. There are a few sources explaining the process of intabulation. In "Musica getutscht" (1511), Virdung only explained which note is where on the fingerboard, and showed an example of an intabulation for the lute (which was incidentally later criticised by Arnolt Schlick saying that it was "so inartistic, so unrefined, so impossible and so corrupt", but Minamino interpreted that the example Virdung showed was just a first step of the intabulation, Schlick might have used this to a tool to attack him).[54] Martin Agricola shows three steps of how to intabulate in his Musica instrumentalis deudsch (Wittenberg, 1529). The first stage is open score with tablature (figure 2.1), then second stage is without mensural notation but with the rest sign before the entrance of each part (figure 2.2), then finally only necessary ciphers for performing (figure 2.3).[55] On the other hand, Hans Gerle explains different steps, which is first to transcribe the cantus alone into the tablature, and then cantus and tenor, finally to add the contra (bassus). If the piece is in four voices, the contra altus comes last. This process is later passed on to Adrian Le Roy "A Briefe and Plaine Instruction to Set All Musicke

---

[51] Suganuma, *Intabulation and Diminution.*

[52] Ibid., p.106. Original text (in Japanese): "インタヴォラ トゥーラという存在は、[…] 特に本研究で抽出したパッサッジにおいて、インタヴォラトゥーラには発展すること も頂点を作ることもないある種の「一貫性」が存在する。附録に掲載したパッサッジには、 多くの共通する音型や施し方が見出せる。インタヴォラトゥーラにとってパッサッジが本 質的な要素であるならば、その在り方は「一貫して高いレヴェルにあった」のである。"

[53] See "Glossary"
Tinctoris, "DE INVENTIONE ET USU MUSICAE (The invention and practice of music) Book 4":
"According to this, the two middle strings tuned to a major third and the rest in fourths, thereby making the Lyra [lute] completely perfect." English translation:
Anthony Baines. "Fifteenth-Century Instruments in Tinctoris's De Inventione Et Usu Musicae." The Galpin Society Journal 3 (1950): 19-26. Accessed March 3, 2021. doi:10.2307/841898. p. 22.

[54] Hiroyuki Minamino, "The Schlick-Virdung Intabulation Controversy", in: *The Lute: The Journal of the Lute Society* 46, 2006, pp. 54–67. Retrieved from https://escholarship.org/uc/item/94x2g07m, p. 54.

[55] Ibid. Figure 2.3 is from p. 59

of Eight Diuers Tunes in Tableture for the Lute" (London, 1574), where it describes to intabulate from the highest voice (Cantus, altus, tenor, bassus).[56] Interestingly, there are no surviving treatises explaining how to add diminutions appropriate to the instrument.

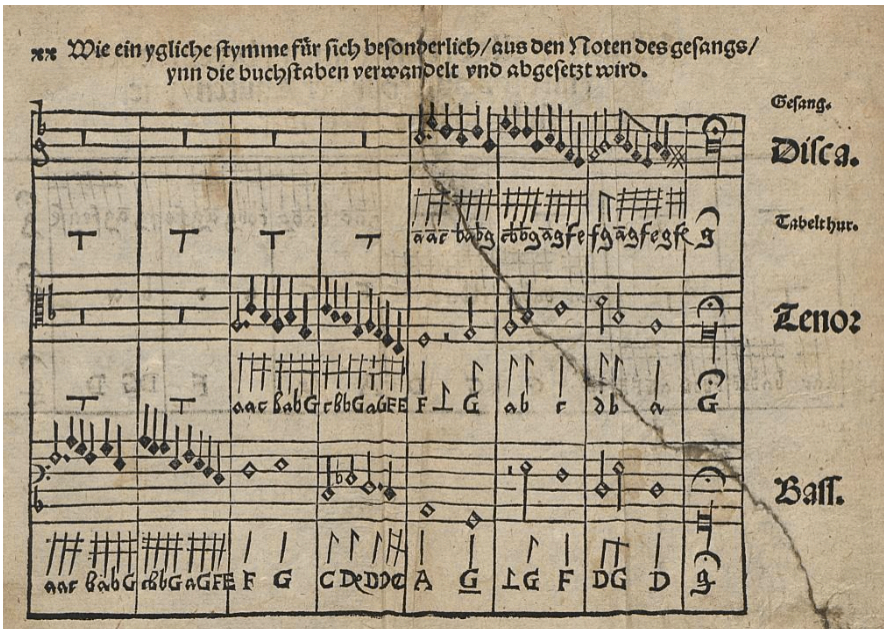


Figure 2.1 "Step 1" Martin Agricola, Musica instrumentalis deudsch (Wittenberg, 1529), fol. 3

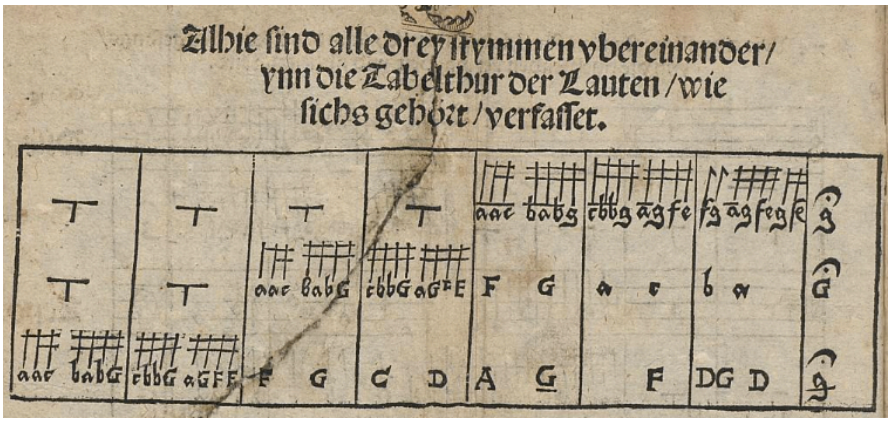


Figure 2.2 "Step2" Martin Agricola, Musica instrumentalis deudsch (Wittenberg, 1529), fol. 3

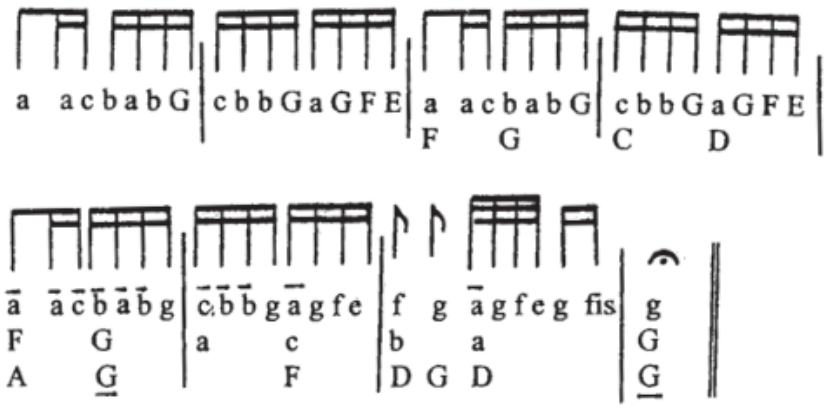


Figure 2.3 "Step3" (Editorial reconstruction of the final stage in Agricola's method) by Hiroyuki Minamino

[56] Ibid.

Adding diminutions (or "colours", to use a historical term) is perhaps the most common technique used in the repurposing of vocal repertoire for the lute.[57] Intabulations often have diminutions added to the original polyphony because the lute cannot sustain notes for long. However, the addition of diminutions is not limited to lute music, but was also common practice for other instrumentalists playing vocal music in Europe for many centuries. It is perhaps because instrument does not carry text as singer do, so diminution was "rhetorical device" for instrumentalist. Also, because diminutions create a physical movement of the body, which in addition to releasing tension from the player helps with the flow of the music, giving shape to each note. For some instruments, like the lute, changing the sound quality of the note (i.e. by adding diminutions) is easier than controlling its dynamics. The lute does not allow for changes in dynamics after a note is plucked, but a skilled player can control the quality of the sound. The practice of adding diminutions was also a discipline. The German lutenist Hans Gerle described how Adolf Blindhamer played intabulation:

> In order to expand his art and ability, the aforementioned Adolff [Blindhamer] proceeded in this fashion which all artists of music and of these instruments should adopt. When he played in front of those versed in music or famous singers he nevertheless let himself be heard beforehand in his prelude in such a way that his precision and art appeared great. Also, when he performed a set piece, he played it at first as it stood in the score, ornamented only with few coloraturas, secondly with well formed runs, and thirdly he played and executed it with proportions, but in such a way as not to take away from the sweetness and perfection of the song.[58]

He explained that there were three levels of sophistication: (1) play as it is ("literal transcription"), (2) with diminutions, and (3) with proportions. However, I assume intabulating without diminutions ("literal transcription") was also a viable choice for the intabulator.[59] There are a few solo lute intabulations which do not contain many diminutions, for instance "Malor me bat" by Francesco Spinacino in his second book.[60] The intabulation might also have been a format for the transmission of vocal pieces. It is hard to say whether these kinds of literally transcribed pieces were an intentional choice of the intabulator, or whether they served to record the vocal piece, much like piano reductions of orchestral pieces in modern days. Lewon stated that "We should ask whether we define an instrumental arrangement as a notational and technical adaptation (tablature) or as a musical (tablature or mensural) arrangement of a song for instrumental performance. […] A sensible solution to the question of what defines an "instrumental arrangement" is to take both parameters—the degree of truly instrumental elaboration as well as the technical-notational aspect of the transmission—into account."[61]

---

[57] I acknowledge that singers were also adding diminutions.

[58] Young and Kirnbauer, *Frühe Lautentabulaturen im Faksimile / Early lute tablatures in facsimile*, pp. 249–250.

[59] Lewon pointed out a piece from Bux: "There are examples of working arrangements which basically consist of a literal transcription from mensural notation to tablature that can be found in abundance in compilations such as BUX (one example of many: BUX 199 (fols. 110v–111r) "Vierhundert Jar uff diser erde"). Cited from Lewon, *Transformational Practices in Fifteenth-Century German Music*, p. 56.

[60] Francesco Spinacino "Intabulatura de lauto libro secondo" (Venice, 1507).

[61] Lewon, *Transformational Practices in Fifteenth-Century German Music*, p. 58.

Virtuosity and the identity of the instrumentalists are also matters, which cannot be ignored. It should be noted that virtuosity here does not necessarily equate to technical difficulty, but rather refers to expressivity. The anecdote above also testifies that the purpose of diminutions and proportions was not to impress. Playing diminutions without “losing sweetness and perfection of the song" was considered and aspect of virtuosity. Diminution was a tool to express vocal music, which was considered superior to instrumental music. Sylvestro di Ganassi stated in the beginning of his canonic treatise “*Opera intitulata Fontegara*” (Venice, 1535): “Be it known that all musical instruments, in comparison to the human voice, are inferior to it”, but at the same time diminution started being used as a tool to show the virtuosity of players.[62] Suganuma concluded his dissertation: “The instrumentalists of the time, like Ganassi, claimed to be ‘imitators of the voice’, but they were conscious of their own abilities and possibilities that were not present in the vocal music.”[63] It is interesting that when diminutions are added to an intabulation, the chosen tempo for the intabulation tends to be slower than the original vocal setting; it is often impossible to play intabulations in the same tempo as the original vocal setting because of the abundant ornaments. Consequently, intabulation is the hybrid art between the original vocal music and the interpretation and appropriation by instrumentalists.

---

[62] English translation from: Peter Hildemarie, *Opera intitulata Fontegara A treatise on the art of playing the recorder and of free ornamentation*. Edited by Hildemarie Peter. <English translation by Dorothy Swainson.>. (Berlin: Robert Lienau, 1959), p. 9.

[63] Suganuma, *Intabulation and Diminution*, p. 108. Original text (in Japanese): 当時の器楽の担い手たちは、ガナッシのように「声楽の模倣」を謳いながらも、声楽には無い自らの能力と可能性に意識的であった。

1.2 “Res facta” – improvisation versus written-out

“Res facta” is a term that appears in Tinctoris’s treatise “Liber de arte contrapuncti”, but it is rather confusing:

Tinctoris, *Liber de arte contrapuncti* (1477), II.xx:

> 1. [C]ounterpoint, both simple and diminished, is made in two ways, that is, in writing or in the mind, and how resfacta differs from counterpoint.
> 2. Furthermore, counterpoint, both simple and diminished, is made in two ways, that is, either in writing or in the mind.
> 3. Counterpoint that is written is commonly called resfacta.[64]

Ernest T. Ferand concluded in his famous article “What Is "Res Facta?” that the term *res facta* has two different meanings. One refers to written-out music, the other to improvisation, be it note-by-note composition or florid counterpoint.[65]

Horsley wrote in New Grove Dictionary’s entry on “improvisation” that in the 15th century written-down composition and improvisation are clearly distinguished, but for solo music on “perfect instruments” the line is less clearly drawn.[66] A perfect instrument, according to Tinctoris, is an instrument that can play instrument with no (or very few) limitations regarding range and pitches (such as chromatic alterations), such as keyboard instrument, lutes, and shawms.[67] The arrangement (or intabulation) of vocal polyphony flourished on this type of the instrument. Even though the art of intabulation is a “written” practice, for it entails writing out the parts of a polyphonic composition into tablature, Hans Gerle’s description in chapter 0.2 also suggests there was an “unwritten” or “semi-written” process for intabulation.

---

[64] *I. Quod tam simplex quam diminutus contrapunctus dupliciter fit, hoc est scripto vel mente, et in quo resfacta a contrapuncto differt.*
2. Porro tam simplex quam diminutus contrapunctus dupliciter fit, hoc est aut scripto aut mente.
3. Contrapunctus qui scripto fit communiter resfacta nominatur.
Margaret Bent: “*Resfacta" and* “*Cantare Super Librum”,* Journal of the American Musicological Society 36, no. 3 (1983): 371-91. Accessed October 18, 2020. doi:10.2307/831232.

[65] Ernst T Ferand, *‘What Is* “*Res Facta”?'* Journal of the American Musicological Society 10, no. 3 (1957): pp. 141-50. Accessed October 18, 2020. doi:10.2307/829784.
Also see Rob C Wegman, “From maker to composer: improvisation and musical authorship in the Low Countries, 1450–1500”, in: Journal of the American Musicological Society 49 (1996), pp. 409–479.

[66] “Perfect instrument”: see “Glossary”
Imogene Horsley, “2. History to 1600.”in: Nettl, Bruno, Rob C. Wegman, Imogene Horsley, Michael Collins, Stewart A. Carter, Greer Garden, Robert E. Seletsky, Robert D. Levin, Will Crutchfield, John Rink, Paul Griffiths, and Barry Kernfeld. “Improvisation.” *Grove Music Online.* 2001; Accessed 4 Mar. 2021.

[67] Tinctoris, “DE INVENTIONE ET USU MUSICAE (The invention and practice of music) Book 4”:

“According to this, the two middle strings tuned to a major third and the rest in fourths, thereby making the Lyra [lute] completely perfect.” English translation:
Anthony Baines, “Fifteenth-Century Instruments in Tinctoris’s De Inventione Et Usu Musicae.” The Galpin Society Journal 3 (1950): 19-26. Accessed March 3, 2021. doi:10.2307/841898. p. 22.

1.3 Ensemble playing and solo playing for lutenists

Johannes Tinctoris (ca. 1430/35?–1511) was the most influential theorist of the 15th century and a composer.[68] He described two types of lute players:

> *Siquidem nonnulli associati supremam partem cujusvis compositi cantus cum admirandis modulorum superinventionibus adeo eleganter eo personant, ut profecto nihil prestantius. Inter quos Petrus bonus Herculis Ferrarie ducis incliti lyricen (mea quidem sententia) ceteris est preferendus.*
> *Alii (quod multo difficilius est) soli cantus non modo duarum partium, verum etiam trium et quatuor artificiosissime promunt.*
> *Ut Orbs ille germanus: ac Henricus Carolo Burgundionum duci fortissimo super serviens. Quem etiam germanum: hec sonandi peritia: celebrem pre omnibus effecit.*
>
> Some teams will take the treble part of any piece you care to give them and improvise marvelously upon it with such taste that the performance cannot be rivalled.
> Among such, Pietro Bono [Avogari], lutenist to Ercole, Duke of Ferrara, is in my opinion pre-eminent.
> Furthermore, others will do what is much more difficult; namely to play a composition alone, and most skilfully, in not only two parts, but even in three or four. For example, Orbo, the German or Henri who was recently in the service of Charles, Duke of Burgundy; the German was supereminent in playing in this way.[69]

Hence, one type of lute player plays solo, while the other plays in ensembles, improvising a top part over the tenor (and contra tenor) played by a "*tenorista*".[70] David Fallows stated that a "team" of two players is evidenced in payment records.[71] He continues to say that the *tenorista* would have played not only the tenor but also the contra tenor (the lower voices, i.e. not the top part). Fallows also pointed out three ways to notate duo playing for *discantista* and *tenorista* (see also figure 2.4, 2.5, and 2.6):

> If the 15th-century duet style of Pietrobono was as I have described it, two aspects of its notation are relatively obvious. The *tenorista*, playing or learning the two lower parts of a chanson, would need some kind of a score reduction : that could be done in staff notation, though I know of only one 15th-century example, the Vienna leaf giving a score of Dufay's ballade "Ce jour le doibt" with the tenor part in void notation and the contratenor in black notation on the same stave; or it could be done in tablature, either a lute tablature (as at Bologna) or the German keyboard tablature being adequate.[72]

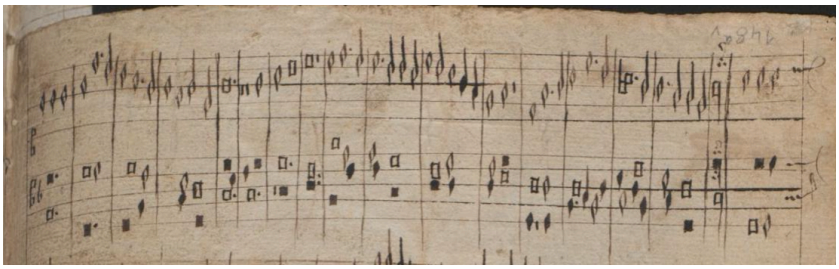


Figure 2.4 "Ce jour le doibt" from MS 5094, f. 148v, void notation for contra part

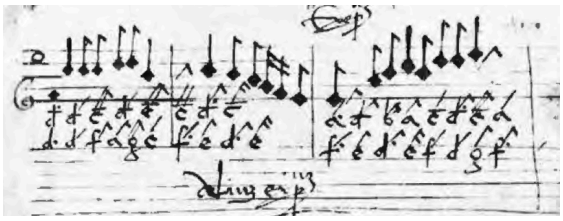


Figure 2.5
I-Bu MS 596. HH. 2, fol. 3,
Tenor and contra on keyboard tablature

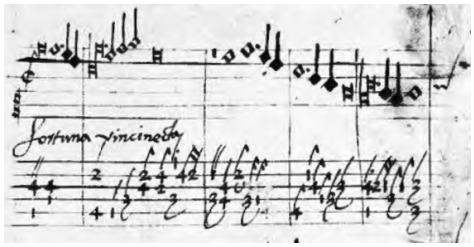


Figure 2.6
I-Bu MS 596. HH. 2, f. 1v,
Tenor and contra on Neapolitan tablature

[68] Ronald Woodley, "Tinctoris, Johannes." *Grove Music Online.* 20 Jan. 2001; Accessed 4 Mar. 2021.

[69] English translation by Anthony Baines, *Fifteenth-Century Instruments in Tinctoris's De Inventione Et Usu Musicae.* The Galpin Society Journal 3 (1950): 19-26. Accessed October 18, 2020. doi:10.2307/841898. p. 24.

[70] see glossary "*discantista* and *tenorista*".

[71] David Fallows, "15th-century tablatures for plucked instruments", in: *Lute Society Journal*, Vol. 19 (1977), p. 28.

[72] Ibid., p. 29.

Chapter 2. "Unwritten" traditions in the 15th century
2.1 The art of memorisation

The fact that most music in the 15th and 16th centuries was generally not written down meant that musicians had to memorise their music. Memorising was a norm of the time not only for musicians but can be seen in ancient societies in general. In the rhetoric of ancient Greece, Rome and the Middle Ages, *memoria* was one of the 5 canons. (1) *inventio* (invention), (2) *dispositio* (arrangement), (3) *elocutio* (style) (4) *memoria* (memory), and (5) *actio* (delivery). The *memoria* was not simply a process; the methodology used to help and improve one's ability to remember a speech was considered an art in itself. Mary Carruthers opened the introduction to her book:

> When we think of our highest creative power, we think invariably of the imagination. "Great imagination, profound intuition," we say: this is our highest accolade for intellectual achievement, even in the sciences. The memory, in contrast, is devoid of intellect: just memorisation, not real thought or true learning. [—] because we have been formed in a post-Romantic, post-Freudian world, in which imagination has been identified with a mental unconscious of great, even dangerous, creative power. Consequently, when they look at the Middle Ages, modern scholars are often disappointed by the apparently lowly, working-day status accorded to imagination in medieval psychology.[73]

Memorisation was important for people who gave speeches, but it was also considered to be important to memorise other things; for instance poems, the contents of dictionaries or encyclopaedias, music, et cetera.[74] Musical culture also benefitted from aids in memorisation. For instance, adiastematic neume notation without lines was not for sight-reading music that performers had never heard before, but for aiding their memory of melodies that they had learned by ear. The omnipresent Guidonian hand was a helpful tool to memorise notes and melodies for children and priests. The beautifully ornamented initial on each piece in codices helped to connect music to the performer's memory. Buying a codex or getting copy, or even making a copy on parchment was extremely expensive. Therefore, memorising was a normal and efficient way of transmitting music.

---

[73] Cited from Mary Carruthers, *The Book of Memory: A Study of Memory in Medieval Culture*, 2nd ed. Cambridge Studies in Medieval Literature. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2008. doi:10.1017/CBO9781107051126. Kindle edition.

[74] Anne Smith, *The performance of 16th-century music: learning from the theorists,* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2011).

2.2 Pietrobono, Henricus and Orbo

In the Tinctoris description cited in the previous chapter, three lutenists' name are mentioned. The first is Pietrobono de Burzellis [de Bruzellis, del Chitarino], an improviser in a "team", the other two lutenists are "Henricus" and Orbo, who play in a much more difficult style, namely solo.

Pietrobono is better documented than any other lutenist active in the Este court in Ferrara. His life is talked by Lewis Lockwood in his book:

> To the year 1441 and the very beginning of Leonello's rule also belongs the first appearance at court of Pietrobono, who ranks above Corrado or any other Ferrarese musician of the century in personal fame. As early as the first year of Leonello's rule, Pietrobono, then about twenty-three years old, was paid the considerable sum of twenty gold ducats, for unspecified reasons; this was exactly the amount paid to Dufay when he visited Ferrara in 1437, and again in 1443 at Bruges. In the mid-1440s more payments to Pietrobono and an increase in his salary confirm his local success; and in 1449 we find a tenorista named Zanetto mentioned in direct connection with Pietrobono. From then on, wherever the name of Pietrobono is found, we find nearby that of a tenorista who seems to be associated with him, apparently as a player on a tenor viol against which Pietrobono could improvise on his lute, and with whom he would probably also sing in polyphony, certainly in two parts and possibly in three.[75]

Not only Tinctoris mentioned his name as pre-eminent player. Pietrobono is also praised by Italian humanist Aurelio Lippo Brandolini (1454?–1497) in the following poem:

> *Interea immotum retinet servatque tenorem, fidus in arte comes, fidus amore magis.*
> *Contrahit attenuatque notas numerosque frequentes et variat multis et replet usque notis.*
> *Decurrit peragitque fides, mox rursus easdem mutatis repetit terque quaterque modis.*
> *Itque reditque lyra, vario tamen ordine semper, perque alios numeros itque reditque lyra.*
>
> During all of this his faithful companion holds firm and maintains the unmoving tenor, a faithful companion in art, even more faithful in love.
> He packs together the notes and the crowded rhythms, and he draws them out, and he varies them and he fills them yet again with many notes.
> He runs along and travels the whole length of the strings, and immediately repeats the same thing in three of four different ways.
> He goes back and forth along the lyre, but always with a different arrangement, and thus using different rhythms he goes back and forth along the lyre.[76]

The poem above testifies that Pietrobono's improvisations were rhythmically diverse and that he was able to repeat the same motives in different ways on various instruments. Unfortunately, no music attributed to Pietrobono survives (likely because it was improvised). A few lute duo intabulations by Francesco Spinacino imply the practice of lute duo (the team of discantista and tenorista), whereby the top player plays cantus part with diminutions and the bottom player plays the tenor and contra parts. However, in Spinacino's pieces, the diminutions in the cantus part are use mostly sixteenth notes; the rhythm is not varied. This contradicts what is written in the poem by Brandolini. Kirnbauer hypothesises

---

[75] Cited from Lewis Lockwood, "Music in Renaissance Ferrara, 1400-1505" Cambridge/Massachusetts, 1984, p.75.

[76] English translation by Jon Banks, *The Instrumental Consort Repertory of the Late Fifteenth Century.* (Routledge, 2019) Kindle edition (translation from "The Lute' in "Chapter 2 Lutes, Players and the Humanist Tradition").

that this has to do with the technicalities of notation – printing being a brand new technology.[77]
It is still not known who "Henricus" mentioned by Tinctoris was. Minamino suggests several names: Henricus de Ghizeghem, a singer at the Cambrai Cathedral, the composer Hayne van Ghizeghem (mentioning these first two might have been the same person: "…now considered more likely to be a relative of the composer"[78]), Henry Donfrist, a "Trompeete de guerre" at the Burgundian court and Henry Boucler.[79] Minamino finally considers Henry Boucler to be the most likely contender, because his first name, occupation as a lutenist and place and approximate period of employment correspond most with Tinctoris's description.[80]

Tincotirs mentioned Giovanni Joanne Orbo after Pietrobono as a great solo player. He is from Munich court and may have fled to Mantua, and can be traced in Ferrara and Milan.[81] Interestingly, he was a blind musician just like Conrad Paumann who is given a credit as a inventor of German keyboard tablature by Virding (Musica getutscht, 1511).[82] Thus far, no music of him has been found to survive, suggesting that he was playing an "unwritten" practice. Ness writes: "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".[83]

---

[77] Martin Kirnbauer, '*Possi stampar canto figurado ne intaboladure dorgano et de liuto' – Zur Problematik früher Instrumentaltabulaturen', Ottaviano Petrucci. 1501-2001,* Basler Jahrbuch für historische Musikpraxis, 25 (2001) (Winterthur: Amadeus Verlag, 2002), pp. 159–175.

[78] Hiroyuki Minamino, "Who was Henricus?", in: *The Lute: The Journal of the Lute Society* 46, 2006, pp. 68-72. Retrieved from https://escholarship.org/uc/item/9vp7f7hw, p. 68.

[79] Ibid.

[80] Ibid.

[81] Arthur 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* (Ann Arbor, Mich.: University Microfilms International, 1984, p. 341
Also see Hiroyuki Minamino, *Conrad Paumann and the evolution of solo lute practice in the fifteenth century*. Journal of Musicological Research, 6(4), (1986), pp. 291–310. http://dx.doi.org/10.1080/01411898608574570 Retrieved from https://escholarship.org/uc/item/0bs6p9vh

[82] Christoph Wolff, "Paumann, Conrad." *Grove Music Online.* 2001; Accessed 4 Mar. 2021.

[83] Arthur Ness, *The Herwarth Lute Manuscripts at the Bavarian State Library*, p. 341.

2.3 Internalising and extemporising for freedom: cadence, "pausa", and introductory grace-notes

There are various elements that give players the possibility to deviate from written music. One of these is the cadence, where players improvise on the spot. This practice also survived in 16th- and 17th-century solo diminution repertoire, as well as in 18th-century baroque ornamentation and it continues even until the 19th century (as "cadenzas" for soloist in concertos with orchestra). In diminution treatises from the 16th century, diminutions at the cadence (usually on *cantisans/cantus clausula*[84]) are discussed separately; thus, a distinction was made between diminutions at the cadence and diminutions in other places. In addition, the so-called keyboard tablatures of the Paumann school organ sources of the 15th century also occasionally have a "*clausule*" section, which contain musical examples of how diminutions of cadences could be realised.[85]

Another more specific element of 15th century sources is the *pausa*. The Paumann school keyboard tablature sources often have "*pausa*-markings between phrases. Lochamer has a section called "Fundamentum Organisandi Mastri Conradi Paumann Cecil de Nürnberga Anno 1452" (figure 2.7) attributed to the blind music master Conrad Paumann. "Fundamentum Organisandi" includes a category titled "*pause*", which shows musical examples of *pause* (figure 2.8). The player is supposed to play little phrases like the ones that can be found in these examples. Lewon showed this gives players some freedom.[86] Additionally, "Fundamentum Organisandi" also has examples of *clausule,*[87] as well as diminution examples on each interval. Furthermore, there are also some influences from Conrad Paumann's "Fundamentum Organisandi" in other keyboard manuscripts. The *Wrocław Tablature* (PL-WRu I F 687, a fragment from Dominican monastery in Breslau) has a section of "*Clausule*", and the *Tablature of Wolfgang de Novo Domo* (D-Hs ND IV 3225) has musical examples of diminutions on an ascending tenor and a descending tenor, and musical examples of diminutions upon each interval.[88] "Fundamentum Organisandi" is there for improvising/extemporizing a new counterpoint on a given *cantus firmus* (German and Latin monophonic chant) in long note values, this is not for intabulating the piece. "Fundamentum Organisandi" represents a phenomenon which Zöbeley called "*Spielvorgang*

---

[84] see Glossary.

[85] The term "Paumann school" ("Paumannschülerkreis") is suggested by Konrad Ameln (ed.), *Lochamer-Liederbuch und das Fundamentum organisandi von Conrad Paumann*, Berlin: Wölbing-Verlag, 1925, p. 14 and used by Lewon "In adopting the term "Paumann School" I do not refer to a place of learning in the traditional sense, nor to a school of thought, but to the assumed circle of students around Conrad Paumann ("Paumannschülerkreis") in Nuremberg and Munich.", in: *Transformational Practices in Fifteenth-Century German Music,* p. 9.

[86] Lewon, *Transformational Practices in Fifteenth-Century German Music*, p. 82.

[87] Titled "Fundamentun breve ad ascensum et descensum" in facsimile. p. 63.

[88] Modern edition and commentary of "Fundamentum Organisandi", Breslau, Staatsbibliothek IF 687 and Staatsbibliothek ND VI 3225: Apel, Willi (ed.): *Keyboard music of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries music (Corpus of early keyboard music 1)* American Institute of Musicology, 1963.

(playing-process)".[89] This is sort of a method which keyboard player learn to make music on the keyboard by exploring new melodies on it. I could imagine that by learning this process, keyboard player could also apply to making/playing their intabulation.

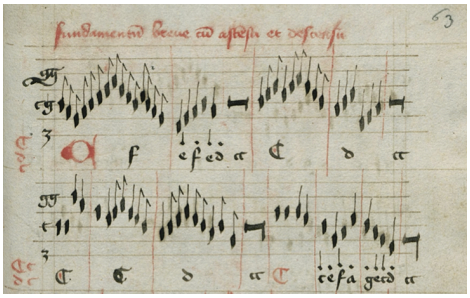


Figure 2.7 "Fundamentun breve ad ascensum et descensum" from "Fundamentum Organisandi", p. 63

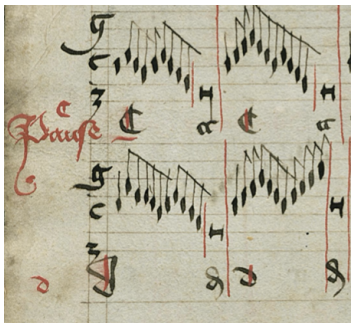


Figure 2.8 *Pause* from "Fundamentum Organisand", p. 58

The other important place for embellishment in intabulations is the beginning of the piece. Typically, there is an elaborate phrase on the upbeat which leads to the real beginning of the arrangement. Dragan Plamenac coined the term "introductory grace-notes" in his edition of the Faenza Codex.[90]

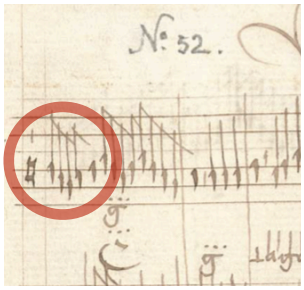


Figure 2.9 **Loch**, p.71

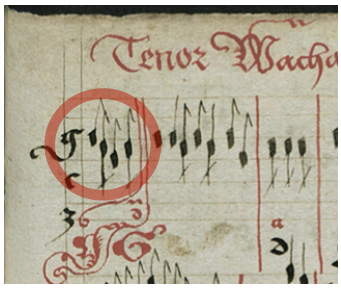


Figure 2.10 **Bux**, fol. 25v

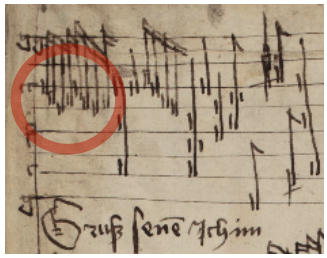


Figure 2.11 **WolfT**, fol. Br

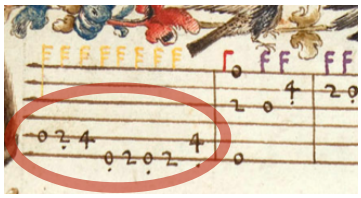


Figure 2.12 **Cap**, fol. 20v

These are seen in organ tablature sources and in lute intabulations; for example **Loch** (figure 2.9), **Bux** (figure 2.10), **WolfT** (figure 2.11), **Cap** (figure 2.12), **Fri**, **Pes**, and **Spinacino 1** & **2**. There is still no answer as to why there was such a practice, but I assume such an elaborate upbeat phrase helps to play with someone else in an ensemble or with dancers. Martin Kirnbauer pointed out that organ tablature was not only used to play solo music on keyboard instruments, but also on the lute.[91] Another clue would be that such a phrase almost always appears on cantus (both in organ sources and early lute sources).[92] Thus, when musicians played in an ensemble, they might have played these phrases to show the tempo or the timing of the start of the piece. However, it is still unclear why it also appears in lute solo intabulations, which is supposed to be played by a single player. My assumption is that tablatures might originally have

---

[89] Hans Rudolf Zöbeley, *Die Musik des Buxheimer Orgelbuchs*, vol. 10 (Tutzing: Schneider, 1964).
And Lewon, *Transformational Practices in Fifteenth-Century German Music,* p. 60.

[90] Dragon Plamenac (ed.), *Keyboard Music of the Late Middle Ages in Codex Faenza 117*: Corpus Mensurabilis Musicae 57 (American Institute of Musicology, 1977.

[91] Martin Kirnbauer, "'*Possi stampar canto figurado ne intaboladure dorgano et de liuto" – Zur Problematik früher Instrumentaltabulaturen', Ottaviano Petrucci. 1501-2001,* Basler Jahrbuch für historische Musikpraxis, 25 (2001) (Winterthur: Amadeus Verlag, 2002), pp. 159–175.

[92] There are some exemptions in ensemble pieces in "Alta danza" from the Cancionero de Palacio, where the upbeat is played in the tenor.

been written for ensemble playing but it became a part of their language; they did not even think about it seriously in the 15th century. As far as I know, in contrast to the *clausula* and *pausa,* there is no similar collection of musical examples of this type of phrase surviving from in the 15th century. Later examples like **Cap** and **Spinacino** tend to have slightly more variation in such phrases than earlier sources like **Bux** (figure 2.10) or **Loch** (figure 2.9).

Figure 2.13 **Spinacino 2** "Si dedero", fol. 29v

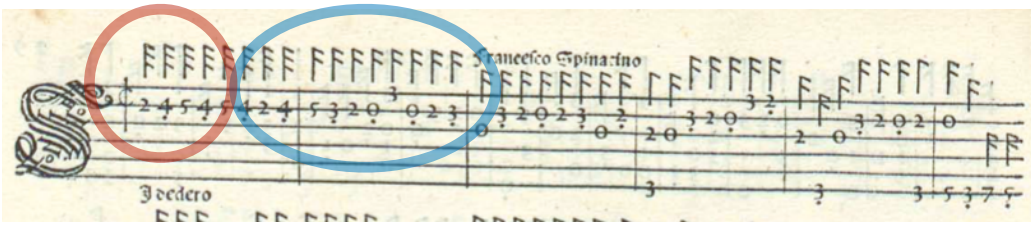


Figure 2.14 **Cap** "Si dedero", fol. 58

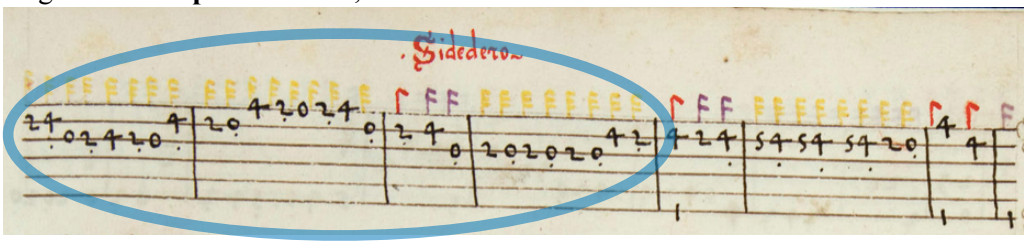


Figure 2.15 edition "Si dedero"

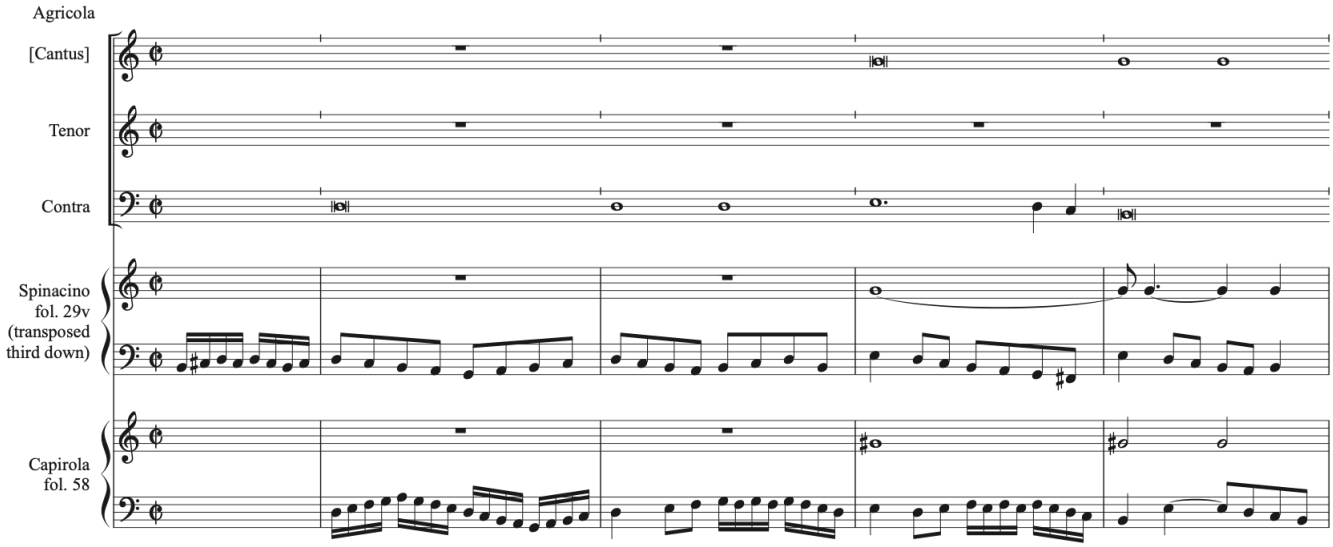
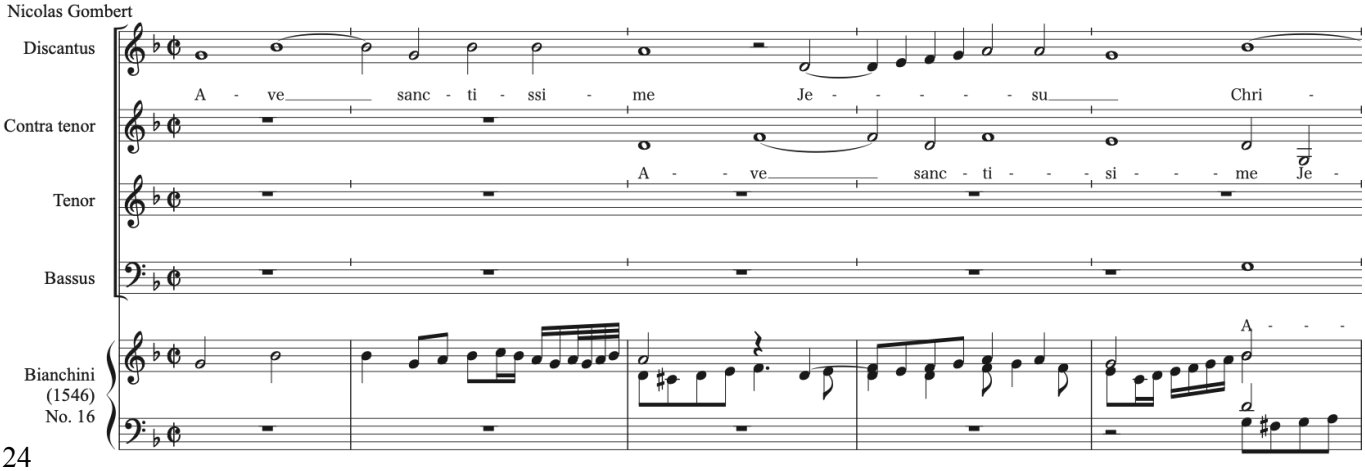


Figure 2.16 edition "Ave sanctissima"



This type of phrase disappears completely around the 1530s. The development of the introductory grace-notes are still unclear, my assumptions follow; some of the players (like Capirola or Spinacino) liked to vary this type of phrase or had own style and used this occasion to make the piece sound special (while sometimes they opted not to play such a phrase). Others might not consider such a phrase as important, or the simple version of the introductory grace-notes were sort of sign to play such a phrase working like a memory aid, so they might have played their favourite phrases on the spot. And then when it coming to around the 1530s, musicians might have realized that they did not need such a phrase for solo playing or went against this "old-fashioned" style as often happens in music history.

Besides the fact that Capirola and Spinacino wrote the introductory grace-notes longer and more varied than earlier keyboard sources, their "Si dedero" which are intabulations of motet by Agricola could be the evidence that they were careful with use of that. **Spinacino 2**'s "Si dedero" has a long elaborate phrase in the beginning (but not on the cantus, because the piece starts from the contratenor), and the diminution continues to the real beginning of the piece (figure 2.13). On the other hand, Capirola's "Si dedero" starts directly from the real beginning but the voice has elaborate diminution instead of it (figure 2.14). Capirola might have decided not to put the phrase before the real beginning because the diminution on the real beginning has similar function (or because the pieces does not starts with cantus). Lewon observed:

> While the versions by Spinacino and Capirola indulge in quasi-preludic runs in the first two measures, Neusidler's version begins with a motif which is later imitated and therefore more strongly reflects the structure of the original. Capirola takes a middle road and emphasizes the second entrance of the motif more clearly, thereby making discernable the imitation between the cantus and the tenor which enters last.[93]

Such an idea of "elaborating a phrase from the beginning" is rather against a modern thinking which is "ornamentation should be develop from the beginning, so the beginning of the piece should be quiet". Additionally, such a fashion was not special only in this specific time. It might be passed to later lute intabulations like Bianchini's "Ave santissima" in his "Intavolatura de lauto" (Venice, 1546); elaborate diminution is placed in the (real) beginning of the piece when the voice comes one by one while a phrase before the real beginning is already disappeared and can not seen is his publication (figure 2.15).

[93] Cited from: Marc Lewon, "Agricola et ung bon joueur de luz – Agricola and the Lute", in: *Quarterly of the Lute Society of America* 43/4 (2008), pp. 7–21, p. 13.

Part II

Analysis

Chapter 3. Analysis and comparative edition
3.1 Editorial remarks on the comparative editions

The aim of this comparative edition (see the **Appendix 1**) is to compare the different versions of intabulations with their original settings. In order to accomplish this, I have decided to include all the voices of the original settings. We already have a comprehensive comparative edition by Crawford Young of "De tous biens plaine",[94] as well as of other *cantus firmus* pieces analysed by Paul Kieffer.[95] However, I would like to extend upon their work. While they compared pieces only by their tenor lines I will also include the cantus and contratenor lines in my edition.

Transcribing lute tablature to modern mensural notation is always problematic, because the tablature is a "strike notation" which indicates only where and when to pluck but which does not indicate how long each note should be held.[96] Therefore, the voice leading has to be inferred by the performer or transcriber. I interpreted the voice leading based on the original setting of the piece. The polyphony of lute solo intabulations is often somewhat ambiguous. The voice leading of solo lute music has the tendency to sound different from what it is in the theory supposed to be. There are many ways to transcribe the original notes for the lute, but in this edition I transcribed based on the original voice leading, resulting in some long notes that would be impossible to sustain on the lute. Furthermore, voices occasionally seem to appear from thin air. In cases where this type of voice emerges, I have decided not to notate rests. The rest is only used where the original voice has one, or if holding a note until the next one creates an unwanted dissonance.

I notated the lute solo intabulations on two staves. I placed the highest voice (cantus/superius) on the upper staff, occasionally along with the middle voice when it happens to lie in the range between tenor and cantus. The tenor is on the lower staff but with stems up, while the contratenor and other lower voices are on the lower staff with stems down. In the facsimiles of the tablatures, the rhythmic sign shows half the note value, so eighth notes are usually transcribed as quarter-notes. When the original setting has a brevis my edition transcribes this as a semi-brevis in the lute settings (table 1).

---

[94] Young, Robert Crawford and Martin Kirnbauer: *Frühe Lautentabulaturen im Faksimile / Early lute tablatures in facsimile,* ed. by Thomas Drescher (Pratica Musicale 6), Winterthur/Schweiz: Amadeus, 2003.

[95] Paul Kieffer, *The Cantus Firmus Works for Lute: A Study of Cantus Firmus Improvisation and Intabulation Circa 1500 with a Detailed Performance Edition,* Masterarbeit, Hauptfach Laute, 2014.

[96] The term "strike notation" is introduced by Lewon, *Transformational Practices in Fifteenth-Century German Music*, 2018, p. 117.

Table 1 Note values in the comparative edition

	Longa	Brevis	Semi-brevis	Minima	Semi-minima	Fusa	Semi-fusa
Original setting							
Original setting (in the edition)							
Tablature							
Tablature (in the edition)							

Naturally, the original settings do not have bar lines. Some of the lute tablatures however do have "*tactus* lines", especially in prints. Early manuscripts have separations but they are placed differently from later printed tablatures. Furthermore, even in the printed tablatures, they are not placed according to the same rules as modern notation. For this reason, the term "bar line" is perhaps not the appropriate nomenclature, but I call them so for the sake of convenience.

As we discussed in Chapter 2.3 "Internalising and extemporizing for freedom: cadence, "pausa" and introductory grace-notes", often the very beginning of the lute settings start with a phrase of a few notes to lead to the actual start of the piece, a practice which comes from a long instrumental tradition. I did not count this phrase. Therefore, bar 1 starts from the next bar after this phrase.

There are some discussions about the tuning of the lute; a nominal A or G tuning.[97] For this edition, I would like to compare at the same pitch level, therefore, I occasionally transcribe with an assumed A tuning and at other times as an assumed G tuning. However it does not mean I assume the intabulation was written with that particular tuning in mind (even if it matches the tonality of the original setting, they might not have the mind of "it should be same note as the original", so written "transposed" is also very possible).[98]

[97] see Glossary.

[98] Howard Brown investigated the issue about the lute tuning in his study; Brown, Howard Mayer. "*Bossinensis, Willaert and Verdelot: Pitch and the Conventions of Transcribing Music for Lute and Voice in Italy in the Early Sixteenth Century."* Revue De Musicologie 75, no. 1 (1989): 25-46. Accessed November 19, 2020. doi:10.2307/928967.

3.2 Analysis of “De tous biens plaine”

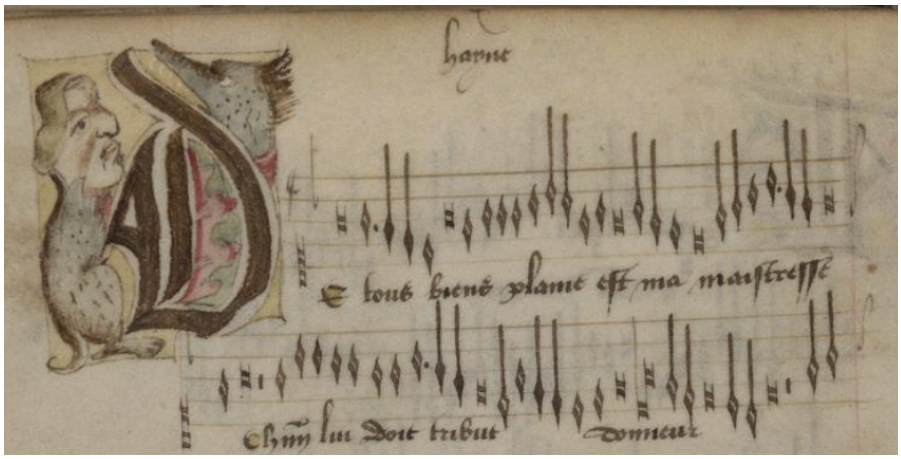


Figure 3.1 Dijon Chansonnier “De tous bien plaine” cantus part

There are many sources for the original setting of “De tous biens plaine”, but in my comparative edition I used a model based mainly on the version in the “Dijon Chansonnier”, which dates from the 1460s to the 1470s, as well as its identical transmission in the “Laborde Chansonnier”, which originates from the same time and area.[99] They are both written in a slightly simpler way than later sources, namely Petrucci’s “Odhecaton Canti A” (Venice, 1501) and “Bologna Q16” (circa 1487–1490).[100] Also, text placement is not clear in any of these sources, so I refer to the CMM edition for this.[101]

There are three lute solo intabulations surviving for “De tous biens plaine”, one in **Fri** which is just a fragment, one in the heart-shaped **Pes** manuscript, written by at least 4 hands and one in **Cap** which is a codex notated by a student of Capirola. **Fri** and **Pes** versions were published in facsimile reproductions and with a commentary by Martin Kirnbauer and Crawford Young in 2003.[102] In the **Fri** and **Pes**, the rhythmic indications are not as accurate as they are in later sources. For example, I refer to Young’s edition for the way rhythms are indicated. In the version I have made, I transcribed all of the lute intabulations assuming a nominal G tuning.

Another point to mention is that there is a large error in the **Fri**, which can be seen between bars 42 to 44. In this passage, I would suggest that there is a missing minima in the first half of bar 42 which occurs again in bar 44. Although, Young suggested that two minimas are missing between bar 44 and 45.

---

[99] “Dijon Chansonnier”: Dijon, Bibliothèque Municipale, Ms. 517, “Laborde Chansinnier”: Washington D.C., Library of Congress, MS M2.1 L25 Case.

[100] Bologna, Civico Museo Bibliografico Musicale, MS Q16.

[101] Barton Hudson (ed.), *Hayne van Ghizeghem: Opera omnia* (Corpus Mensurabilis Musicae 74) American Institute of Musicology, 1977.

[102] Young, Robert Crawford and Martin Kirnbauer: *Frühe Lautentabulaturen im Faksimile / Early lute tablatures in facsimile,* ed. by Thomas Drescher (Pratica Musicale 6), Winterthur/Schweiz: Amadeus, 2003.

3.2.1 Structure and texture

Even though the original setting is written in *Rondeau* form, the lute solo intabulations are notated without repeat sign or written-out repeated section.[103] This type of layout is not limited to lute intabulations, but can be seen in other textless chansons sources or sources of instrumental arrangements. It is still unclear if the musicians played with musical repetition. The original chanson was well-known, and surely they know it is written with *formes fixes.* These instrumentalists may have played just a simple A-B form, which is supported by what Lewon says on this matter in his dissertation:

> It has long been an unanswered question whether diminuted intabulations of vocal pieces were intended to be played in the form of the model chanson. Such a mode of performance would imply repeating the written-out diminutions and ornamentations, which would in turn counteract the aura of extemporisation that surrounds these reworkings.[104]

We can see clearly all the voices are there most of the time. **Fri** and **Pes** occasionally include big chords with more notes than the model has voices, so the number of voices is inconsistent—quite unlike in the style of later intabulations. Moreover, in the **Cap**, the number of voices are more consistent (mostly 3 voices are present). This is because **Cap** did not fill in the texture with chords. This difference can be explained by acknowledging the development of lute playing technique at this time, principally from the late 15th century to the beginning of the 16th century, which marks a transition from playing the lute with a plectrum to playing the instrument with fingers.[105] With the plectrum, the player could only pluck one string or the strings situated next to each other.

Crawford Young introduced a "mixed-technique" which consists of playing with a plectrum and plucking with fingers (middle or/and ring finger) at same time when the strings are apart. This hypothetical "mixed-technique" is used and developed by him and his students.[106] Another way of playing the strings apart is filling with notes in the middle strings. We can see this arrangement technique in **WolfT** as Lewon showed. Ivanoff concluded that some of the pieces in **Pes** were played with a plectrum, but Young doubted it in his edition:

> From the present writer's viewpoint, it is difficult to establish unequivocal criteria for determining what features must be present in lute tablature which would clearly indicate that plectrum play was intended.[107]

---

[103] Rondeau form: one of the *formes fixes* (see Glossary). ABaAabAB: "A" and "B" refer to textual and musical form parts. Upper case letters indicate refrain text, while lower case letters indicate new strophe text.

[104] Lewon, *Transformational Practices in Fifteenth-Century German Music*, p. 81.

[105] The main witness is Tinctoris, see Christopher Page, "The Fifteenth-Century Lute: New and Neglected Sources" in: *Early Music 9*, 1981, pp. 11–21.

[106] Lewon, *Transformational Practices in Fifteenth-Century German Music*, pp. 181–183.

[107] Ibid., p. 81. And Vladimir Ivanoff, "An Invitation to the Fifteenth-Century Plectrum Lute: The Pesaro Manuscript", in: Coelho, Victor Anand (ed.): *Performance on Lute, Guitar, and Vihuela. Historical Practice and Modern Interpretation* (Cambridge Studies in Performance Practice 6), Cambridge 1997, pp. 1–15.

3.2.2 Idiomatic lute writing

There are several places in the arrangements that might support the hypothesis that some of the pieces in **Fri** and **Pes** were played with a plectrum. In **Fri** bar 13 (figure 4.1) and 31 (figure 4.2), the tenor is missing even though it is an important voice in the original setting.[108] *If* **Fri** and **Pes** were played with a plectrum, it is probably because the cantus and contra are too far apart. The strings on the lute are too far apart as well. Playing only two voices is easier than playing three voices when holding the plectrum. Additionally, in **Pes** bar 31, the contra is placed an octave higher, so that all three notes can be played with a plectrum without using the fingers. On the other hand, in the same bar, **Cap,** which is not considered a plectrum lute source, all three voices are played at the original octave. In bar 7–8 (figure 4.3) in **Fri** the tenor is missing. This points to the fact that it was perhaps played with a plectrum. The arranger chose to intabulate only the contratenor and the cantus. However, the tenor is simply one octave higher than the contratenor. Because lutes at this time had diapason strings for the lowest courses, this means that given the instrument's setup, the tenor note would have sounded simultaneously when plucking the contratenor note. On the other hand, **Pes** chose to intabulate a different note for the contratenor, filling the notes between the contratenor and the cantus to enable playing the tenor note in this place.

Figure 4.1 "De tous biens plaine" comparative edition, bar. 13

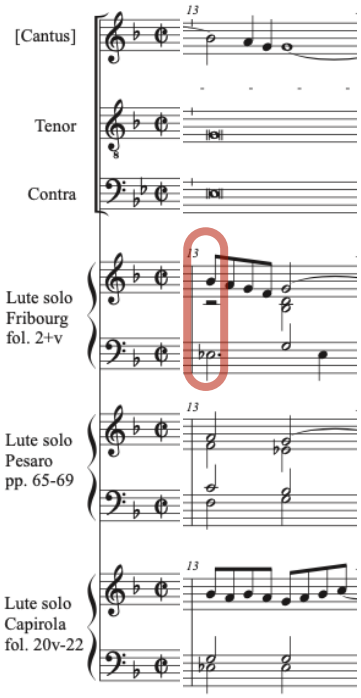


Figure 4.2 bar. 31

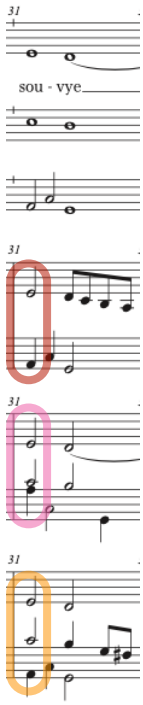
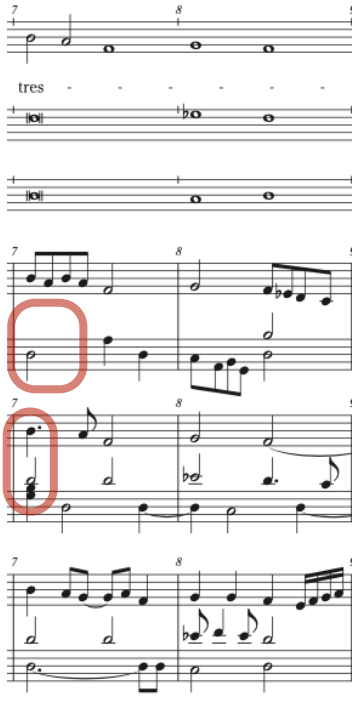


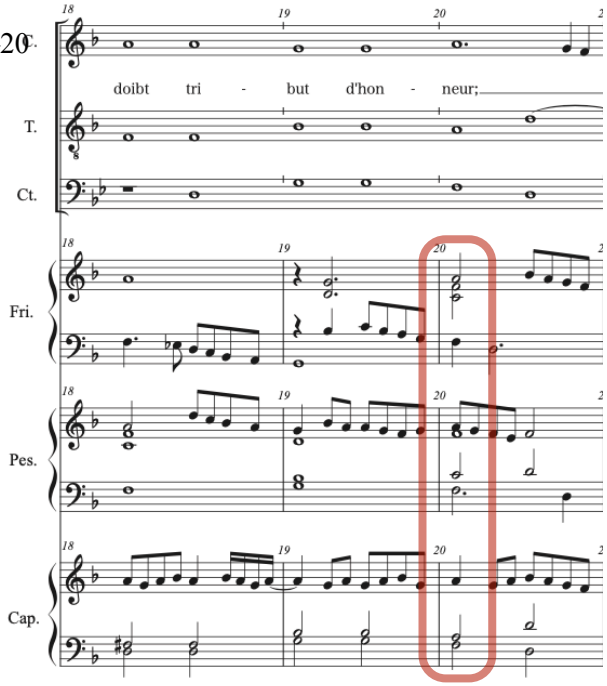
Figure 4.3 bar. 7–8



[108] The tenor could be seen as the most important part for a polyphonic structure in the Middle Ages. However, in these Burgundian chanson settings, the cantus could also be seen the most important voice actually because the text is often placed only on the cantus. Sometimes other parts also has text, depending on sources and chansons.

Although those intabulations were written in polyphonic thinking world, The "filling" might have been helped to create a mind of thinking in vertical. In **Fri** and **Pes** version, tenor note A in bar 20 is missing. Instead of that, they have F-C-F-A harmony where it could be F-A-F-A in this polyphonical context and technical difficulty is more or less same (or even easier with A). It might be because F-C-F-A sound better than F-A-F-A as later one has two F and two A instead of C (Figure 4.4).

Figure 4.4 bar.18–20



In bar 23 (figure 4.4) of **Pes**, the contratenor was changed from D to G likely due to the same reason (or it could also be just a mistake). G and B would have been non neighbouring strings so that player could pluck with the plectrum together. One more reason that I assume this piece in **Pes** was played with a plectrum is bar 8 (figure 4.6): the syncopated rhythm seems unnecessary. But if we look at **WolfT**, in order to play all voices with a plectrum, we find that the voices are played separately but not at same time, so that the result of is a syncopated rhythm.

Figure 4.5 bar. 23

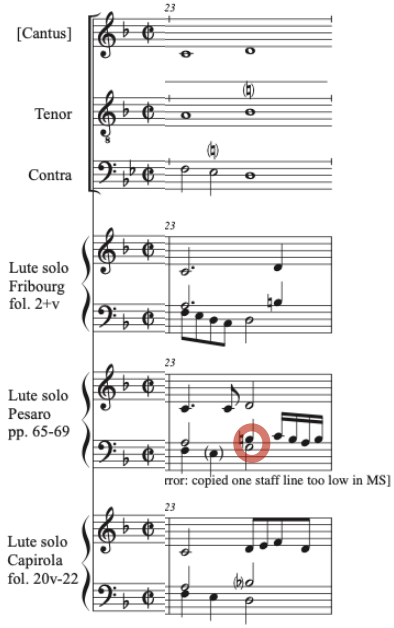
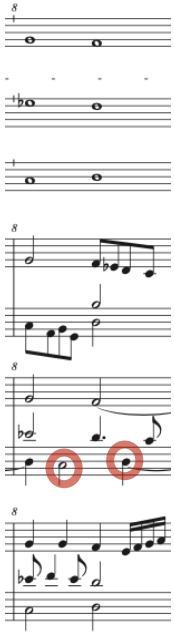
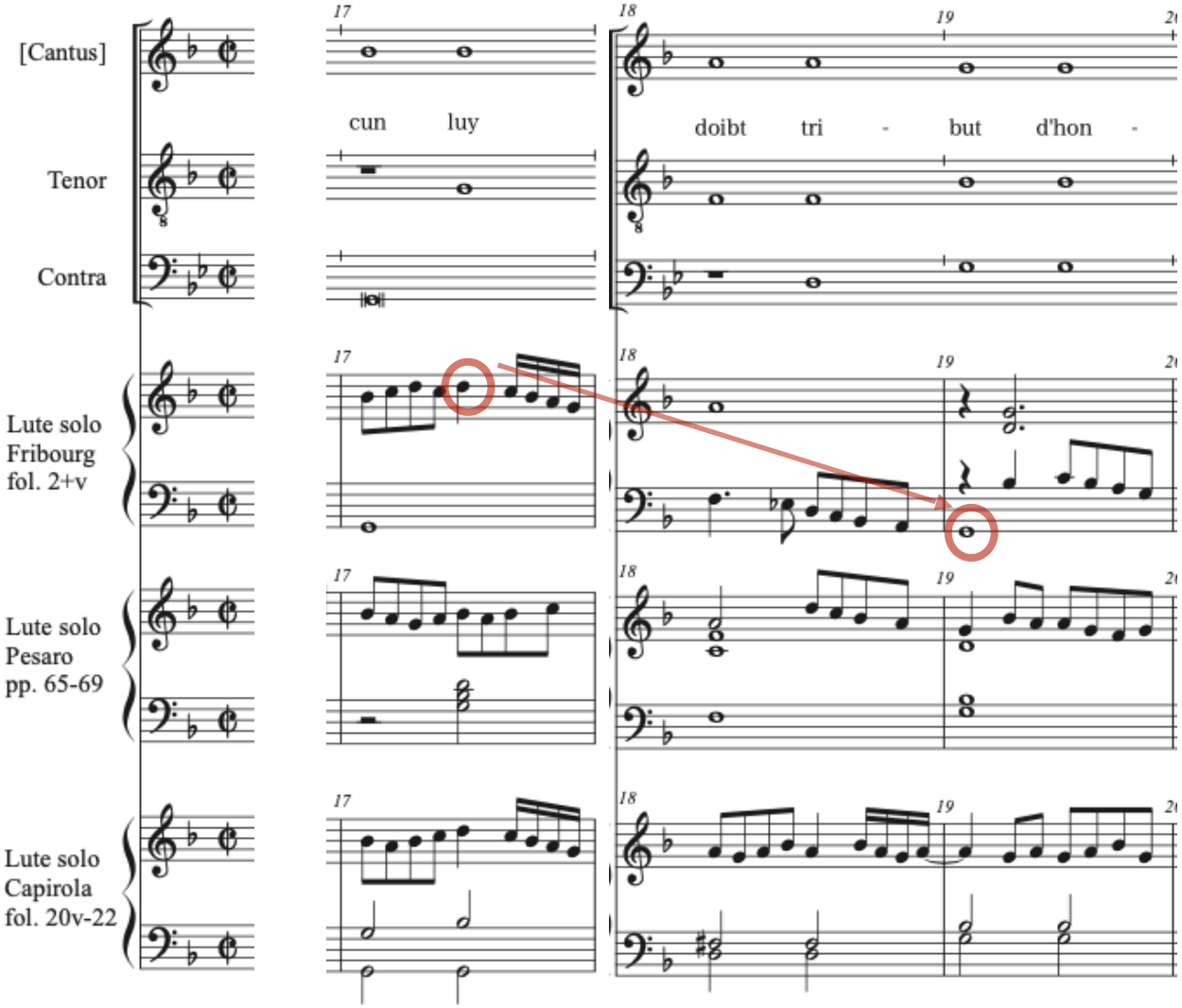


Figure 4.6 bar. 8



In **Fri** bar 17 (figure 4.7), the melody of the diminution is high. The left hand position has to go higher than anywhere else in the piece to reach the 7th fret (note D). This is a good spot for the cantus to go high because both the tenor and the contra are G (the contra being an octave lower than the tenor). The contra's G is an open course on the lute, of which the diapason string (an octave higher) can sound the tenor part without using the left hand. Additionally, this D is linked by a descending diminution, using the tenor to go to the contra, finally reaching the low G which is the lowest note of the lute. The technique used is simpler than in later intabulations (it is relatively less busy and has a simpler rhythm), but this passage, going down from the highest note (D) of the arrangement to the lowest note (G) in just two bars, would have been impressive to the listeners while still keeping the frame of the original setting.

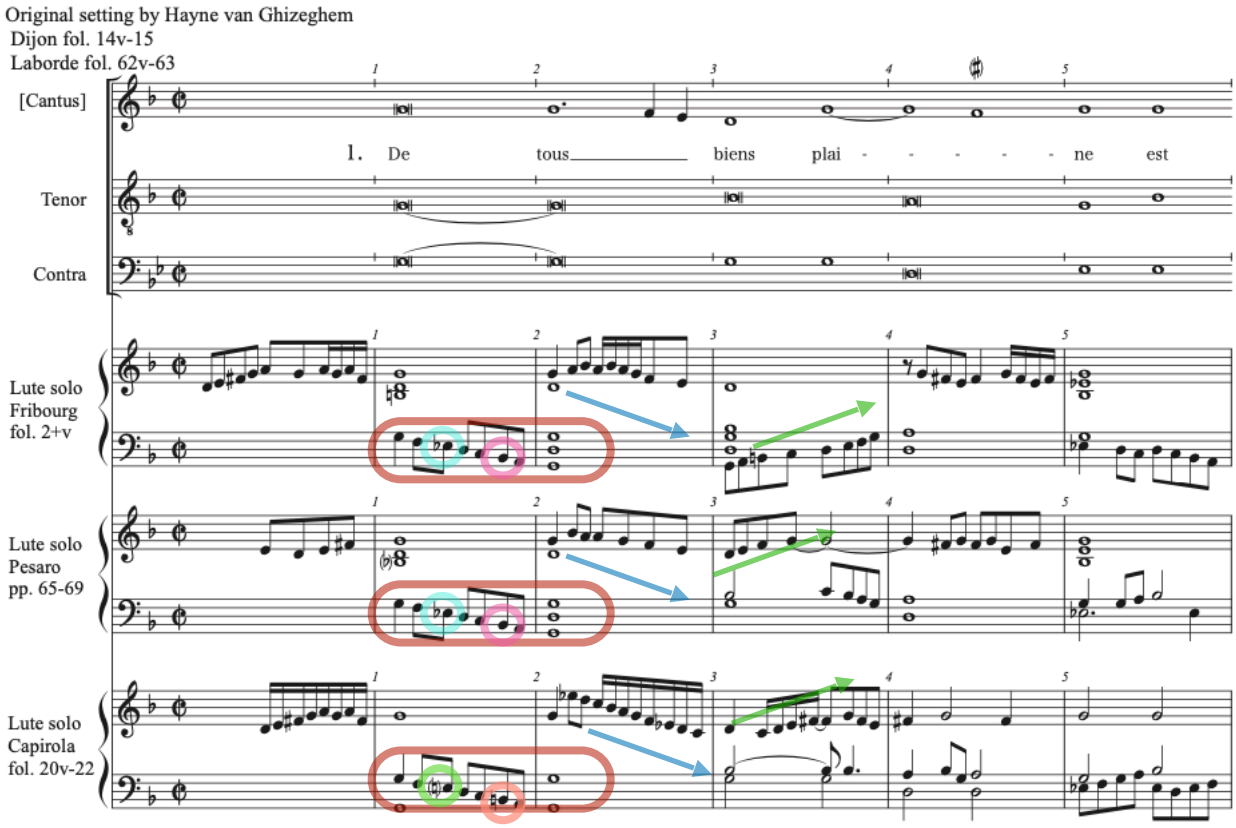
Figure 4.7 bar. 17–19



3.2.3 Correspondences

It is noteworthy that actually three of the lute solo sources look similar but in reality are subtly different.[109] Diminutions are often in the same place on the same voice, and even take on similar shapes sometimes. Take bar 1 for example, it descends from a high G to a low G. Bar 2 has descending diminutions on the cantus, and ascends in bar 3 (figure 4.8). In the "Chansonnier Cordiforme", one of the sources of Hayne's original setting, the first note of the Contra is the low G, the intabulator rather might be familiar with this version.[110]

Figure 4.8 bar. 0–5



Also similar is the linking from bar 6 to 7 (figure 4.9) with the semi-fusa (16th note) diminution b-a-g-a, although **Cap**'s version is more elaborately thought out, making a "conversation" between the tenor and cantus parts in the same bar. The ascending fusa (8th notes) diminutions in bar 11 are likewise similar. However, the accidental can be varied (just like in bar 1). A similarity in bar 22 is also noteworthy. On the second beat, the note G on cantus is dissonance to the tenor and contra. It is unusual that such dissonance happens in strong down beat. This kind of dissonance can be seen in earlier source, for example Loch, but it is rare in the 16th century. Such an exception gives a special sonority to the place (figure 4.10).

---

[109] The similarity between **Pes** codex and **Cap** is seen also in other pieces which is pointed out by Rubsamen, Walter H. *The Earliest French Lute Tablature.* in: *Journal of the American Musicological Society 21*, no. 3 (1968): 286–299. Accessed November 19, 2020. doi:10.2307/830536.

[110] Chansonnier Cordiforme: F-Pn Rothschild 2973.

Figure 4.9 bar. 6–11

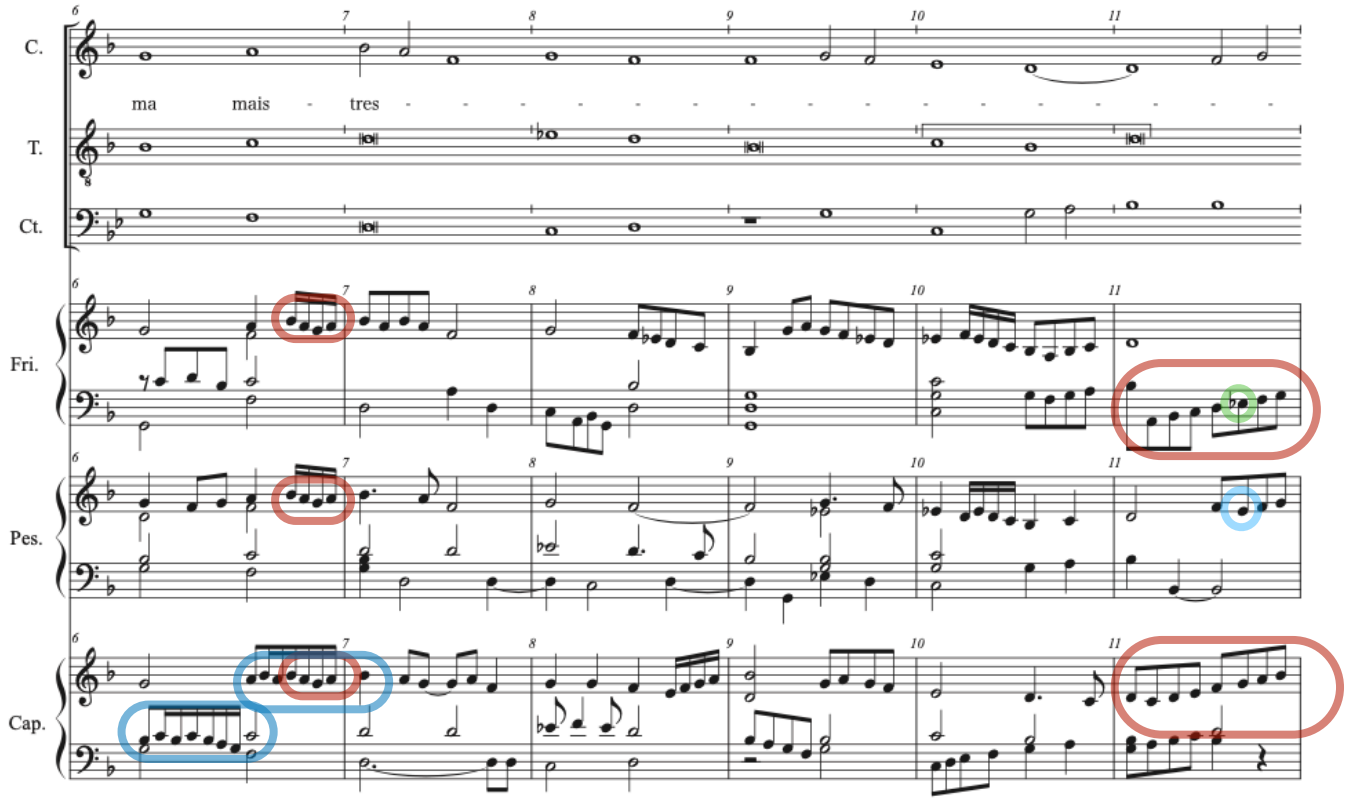
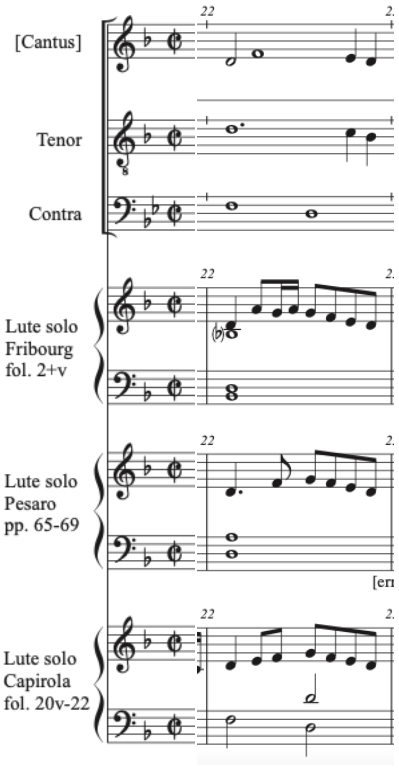


Figure 4.10 bar. 22



An interesting spot is bar 12 (figure 4.11), all three lute settings have the diminution a—b-a-g-a, but in **Fri**, it is placed one minima later than in the other two sources. The same thing happens in bars 35 and 36 (figure 4.12); the common diminution c-d-e-f is placed on a different beat in **Fri** and **Pes**. Another interesting example is bar 25 (figure 4.13); **Fri** and **Pes** have similar diminutions that start from D in the second half of the bar, but while **Fri** has d-b, **Pes** has d-a, which makes sense from the harmony on D in each version. This D is not included in original setting. One more example is in bar 28-29 (figure 4.14), where the traditional transition from the A part to the B part takes place. In **Cap**, the descending notes start earlier than in the original setting and go up in parallel 10ths with the cantus. The same happens in **Fri**, although in this case it is difficult to say for sure because of the non definitive rhythm signs, but the **Cap** version could support this interpretation and there are no other convincing options.

Figure 4.11 bar. 12

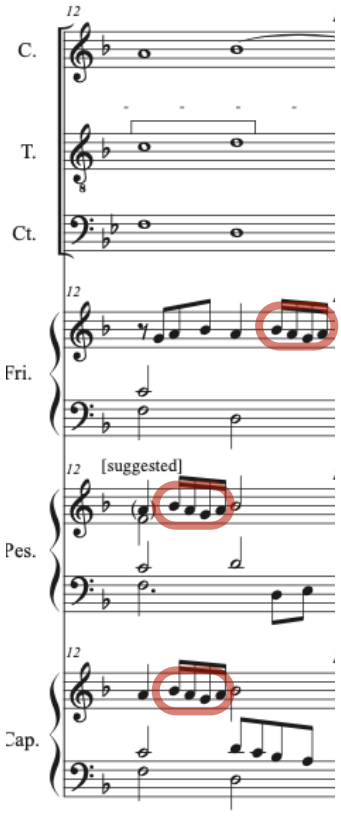


Figure 4.12 bar. 35–36

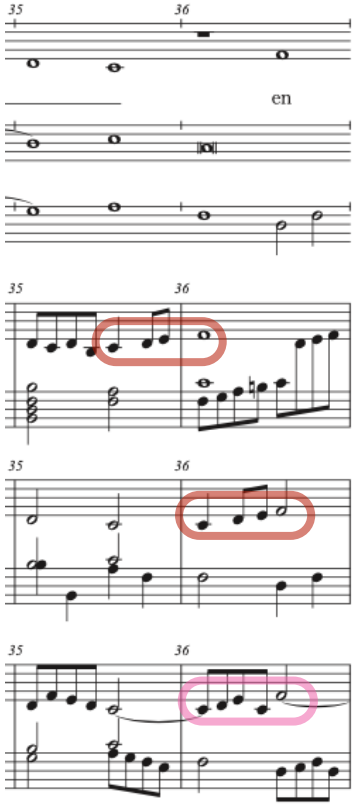


Figure 4.13 bar. 25

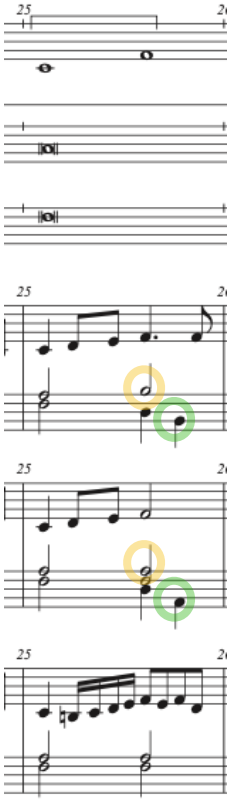
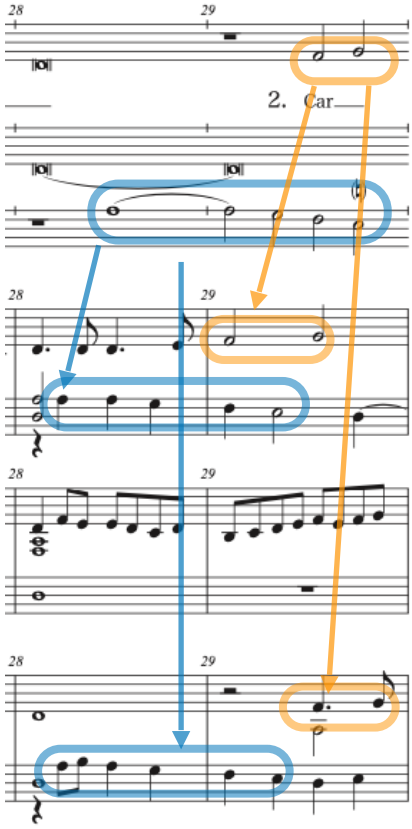


Figure 4.14 bar. 28–29



From these features I mentioned above, I assume that these three sources were not copied by from written music but might have been transmitted by playing and by listening.

3.2.4 Diminution

All three intabulations have many diminutions. Some of the diminutions are clearly on one voice, while some connect one voice to another (the latter is referred to as *bastarda* style).[111] The diminutions are almost always in a stepwise motion, and do not leap to a dissonance, although they might sometimes leap to an imperfect consonance.[112] The only exception to this rule is found in bar 22 (figure 4.15) of Fri. This might seem similar to bar 2 in the **Cap** version (figure 4.16), but the high A in Fri is an actual dissonance, while **Cap**'s high E-flat makes an imperfect consonance with G (and Capirola avoided the note D consciously on the first beat).

In bar 19 of Pes (figure 4.17), the dissonance does not occur after a leap, but on the repetition of a note. A diminution with a repeated note is not often seen in the 16th century (this being the only example all three versions of the piece), but it is often seen in earlier sources like **Bux** or the "Faenza Codex (I-FZc 117)". Furthermore, diminutions that are later referred to as *transitus irregularis or transitus inversus*, or the accentuation of a passing note, (i.e. with the dissonance on the downbeat of an eigth note diminution) also rarely happens in any of the three versions.[113]

Figure 4.15 bar. 22

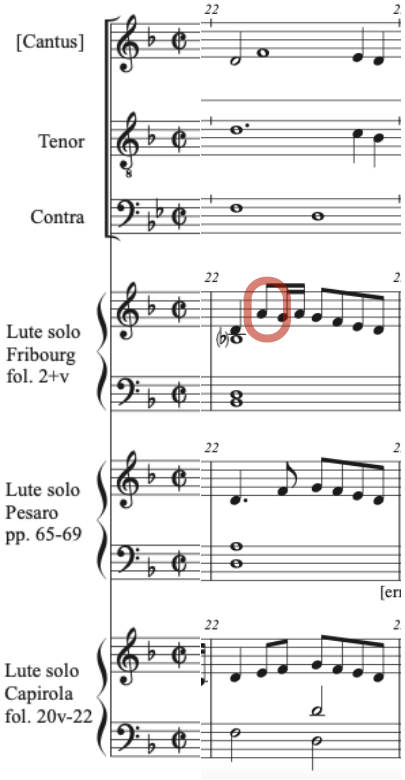


Figure 4.16 bar. 0–2

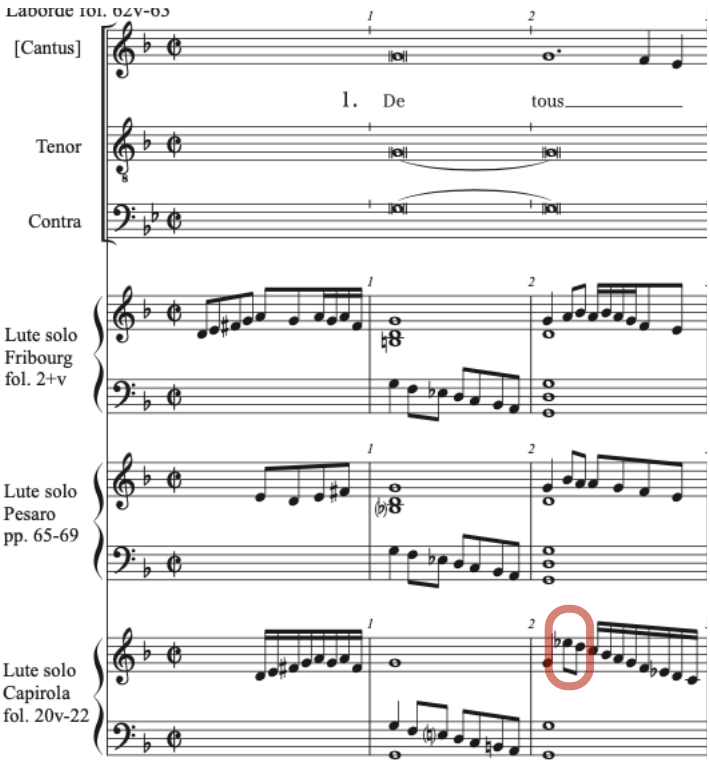
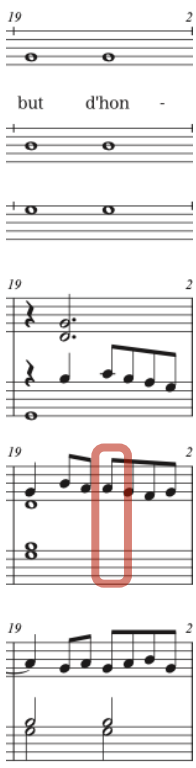


Figure 4.17 bar. 19



[111] *Bastarda*: see Glossary.

[112] Perfect consonance: unison, 5th and octave. Imperfect consonance: 3rd, 4th , and 6th.

[113] *transitus irregularis or transitus inversus* is historical term Christoph Bernhard in his "*Tractatus compositionis augmentatus*, c1657": Grove "Counterpoint" 14. Free style: "licentious" and "harmonic" counterpoint.

Cap has more virtuosic passages than other sources, for example in bar 32 (figure 4.18), 47-48 (figure 4.19) and 55–58 (figure 4.20). When such diminutions occur, they are often in the *bastarda* style and no other notes are plucked simultaneously.

Figure 4.18 bar. 32

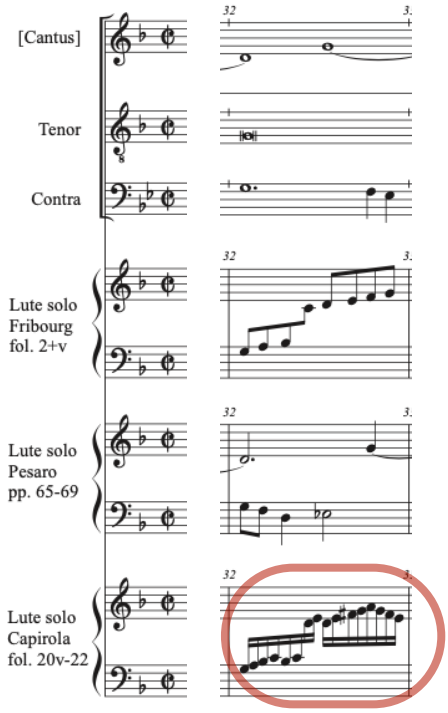


Figure 4.19 bar. 47–48

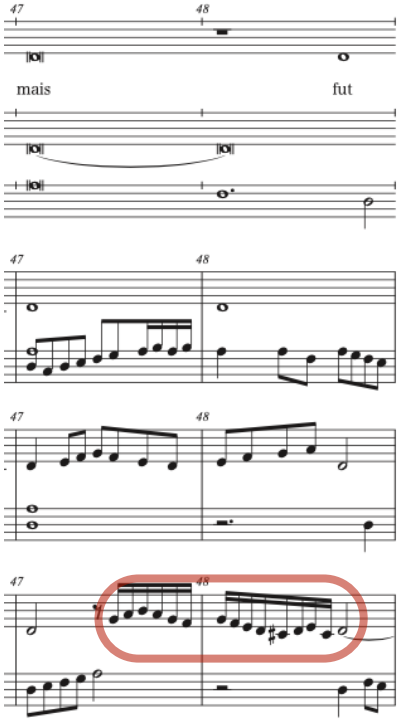
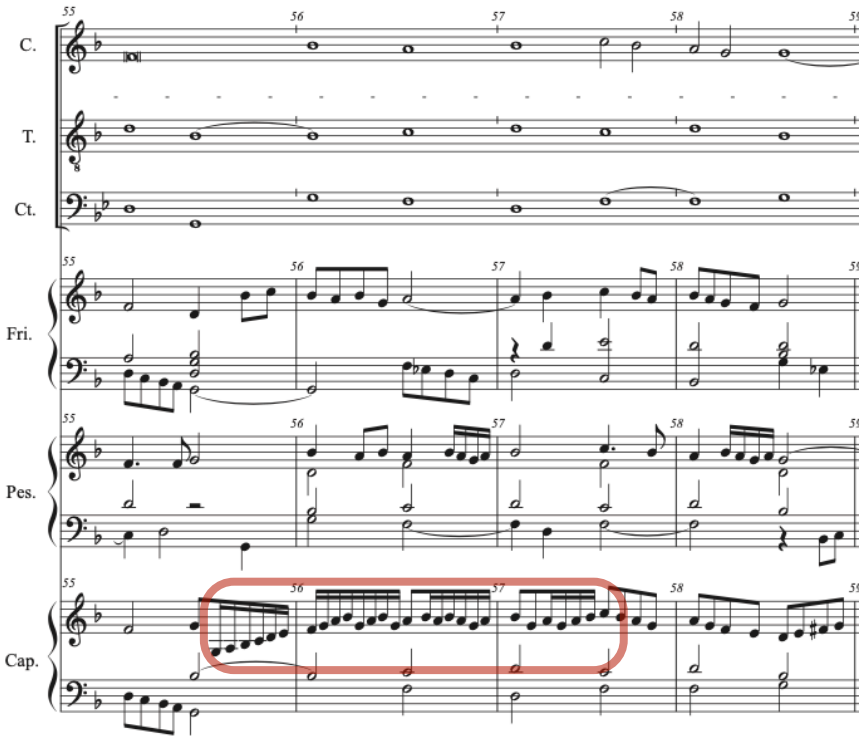


Figure 4.20 bar. 55–58

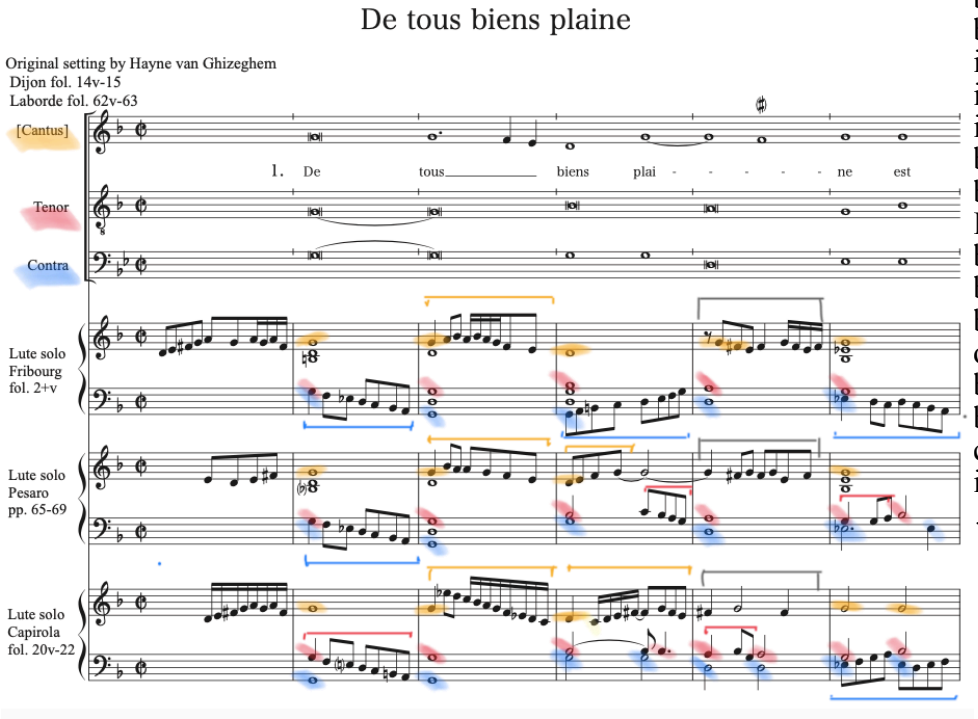


3.2.5 Empirical Analysis

I analysed the number of the places which have diminutions in the lute solo versions of the piece empirically in order to investigate the tendencies of each version and to find correspondences. I then categorised diminutions based on which one is based on which voice: cantus, tenor, contratenor, higher than cantus, lower than contratenor, or *bastarda* style and *cantisans*.[114] However, it is not always possible to categorise the diminutions because they sometimes need some interpretation. Thus, this is just to examine the tendencies; the exact number of the result is not what I would like to show.

The rules and methods of the analysis are as following: I counted a spot with half-bar as 0.5, and whole notes as 1. Repeated notes or rhythmic variation which does not contain other notes are not counted. A diminution which go through other voices within the same bar is counted as "*bastarda*", but if for example the cantus's diminution goes to tenor on the next beat for example, that is counted as a diminution of the cantus. "Upper" refers to diminutions on notes which are not on the cantus of the original setting but are higher than the cantus line. "Below" is diminution on notes lower than contratenor. "Cantisans" is a diminution on the soprano cadence; I counted these separately regardless of which voice they are, because usually these diminutions are on the *cantisans*. For example (see also figure 4.21):

Figure 4.21 Analyses comparative edition "De tous biens plaine"



Fri
bar 1: count as 1 on contratenor
bar 2: count as 1 on cantus
bar 3: count as 1 on contratenor (it is not counted as bastarda because it does not go through other voice in the same bar)
bar 4: count as 1 on cantisans
bar 5: count as 1 on contratenor
Pes
bar 1: count as 1 on contratenor
bar 2: count as 1 on cantus
bar 3: count as 0.5 on cantus/0.5 on tenor
bar 4: count as 1 on cantisans
bar 5: count as 0.5 on tenor (bar 5 contratenor is not counted because it is just a repeated notes)
……and so on.

After I marked and categorised the diminutions, I calculated the total number in each category and here is the result (table 2). The total number of bars is 60 for all of the versions. **Fri** has 61.5 spots, **Pes** has 41 spots and **Cap** has 63 spots. **Fri** and **Cap** has more spots which have diminutions than total numbers of bars. Of course it is possible

[114] See "Glossary"

that there are diminutions at same time in different voices. **Pes** has 41, so this version is simpler than other versions.

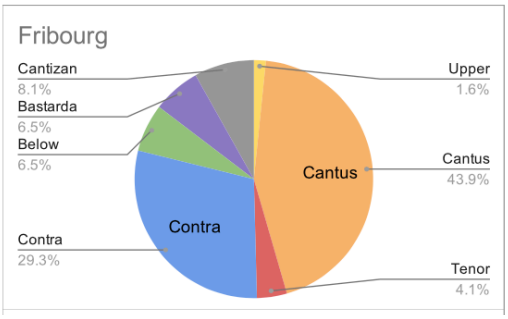
I also calculated the percentage of diminutions in each category. Out of all three, the cantus has the most diminutions, and the contra also has quite a lot of diminutions. The diminutions on the cantus happens most often (especaily **Pes**), the second is on contratenor, and third the tenor.

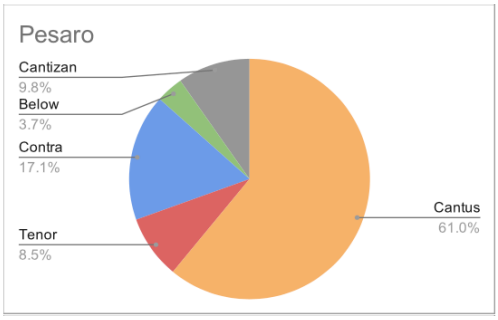
Diminutions in the intabulations from the sources of Paumann school in the 15th century and also **WolfT** are often on the cantus line, which is connected to the ensemble playing practice (one player, the "discantista", played the upper line with diminutions and the other one, the "tenorista", played the tenor and contratenor +α) . **Cap** seems to be more balanced in this way.

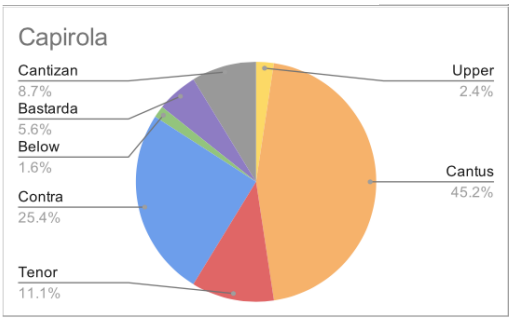
Table 2 result of Empirical Analysis of "De tous biens plaine"

	Upper	**Cantus**	**Tenor**	**Contra**	Below	**Bastarda**	**Cantizan**				Total bar
Fribourg	1	27	2.5	18	4	4	5		Total spots	61.5	60
Pesaro	0	25	3.5	7	1.5	0	4		Total spots	41	60
Capirola	1.5	28.5	7	16	1	3.5	5.5		Total spots	63	60

Fribourg	1.63%	43.90%	4.07%	29.27%	6.50%	6.50%	8.13%		Total spots/Total bar	102.50%	60
Pesaro	0.00%	60.98%	8.54%	17.07%	3.66%	0.00%	9.76%		Total spots/Total bar	68.33%	60
Capirola	2.38%	45.24%	11.11%	25.40%	1.59%	5.56%	8.73%		Total spots/Total bar	105.00%	60







3.2.6 Rhythmic arrangement

Given that the lute's sound does not sustain, notes are often plucked more than once. Sometimes, they are not simply plucked with two notes of equal value, but played with rhythms. A good example of this is in **Fri** is bar 13 in contra (figure 4.22), bar 28 in cantus (figure 4.23). Similar occurrences can be seen in **Pes**, bar 5 (figure 4.24), bar 24 (figure 4.25) but with an octave jump and bar 42 (figure 4.26),

Figure 4.22 bar. 13

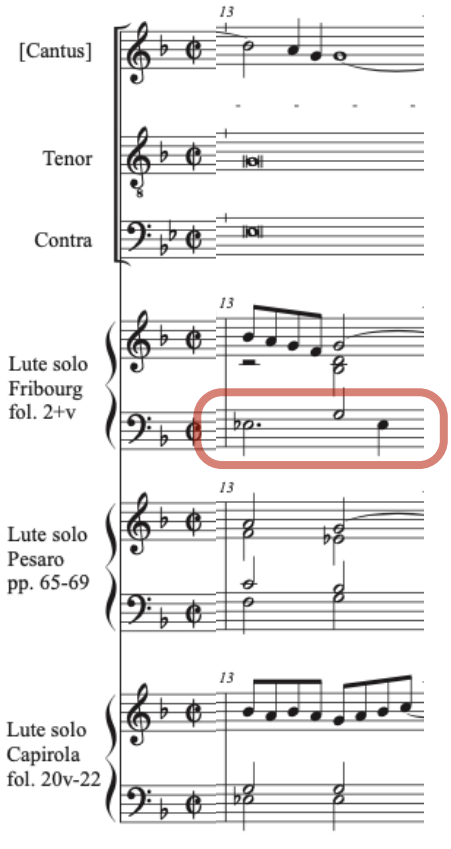


Figure 4.23 bar. 28

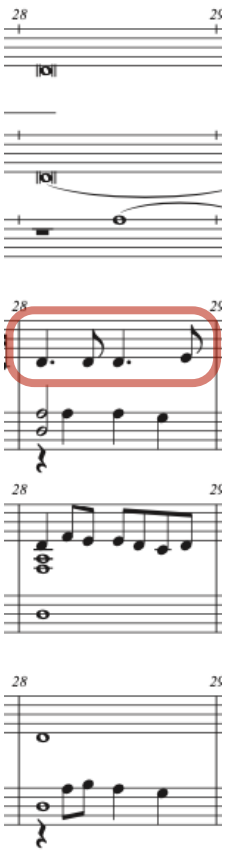


Figure 4.24 bar. 5

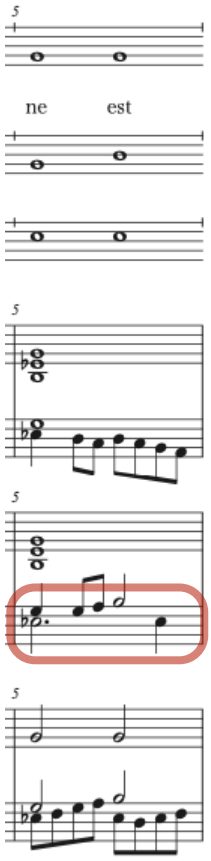


Figure 4.25 bar. 24

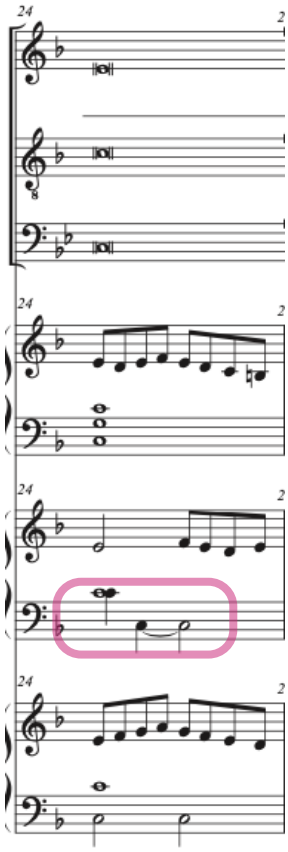


Figure 4.26 bar. 42

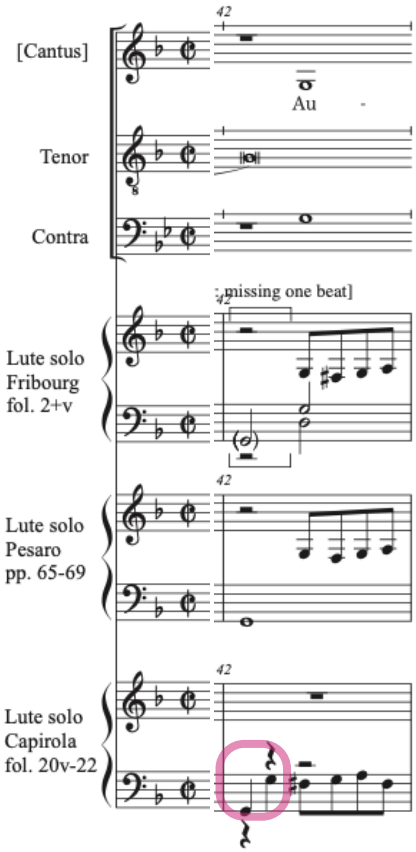
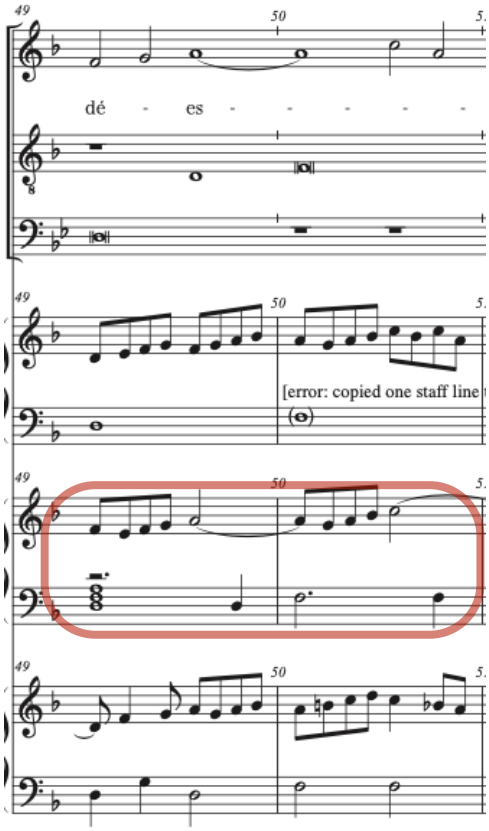


Figure 4.27 bar. 49–50



where the tenor also jumps octave lower. This repeated note or a note followed by an octave jump fills the empty space which could be considered awkward. In **Pes** bar 49 and 50 (figure 4.27), the intabulator used this repeated note as an opportunity to make a conversational phrase with a diminution on cantus.

In **Cap**, he plays more complicated rhythms, like in bar 7 (figure 4.28). What he does in bar 15 and 16 is very unusual and creative (figure 4.29), making this version very unique. **Cap** consciously tries to vary the rhythm. As for syncopated rhythms, we can see these besides what I mentioned above about bar 3 (figure 4.30), also in bar 37 (figure 4.31), bar 45 to 46 (figure 4.32) and bar 49 (figure 4.33). In bar 52 (figure 4.34) the diminution divides the minima in three. This kind of changing of the division (2 or 3) is mentioned by Blindhamer and appears in the poem that described Pietrobono.[115]

Figure 4.28
bar. 7

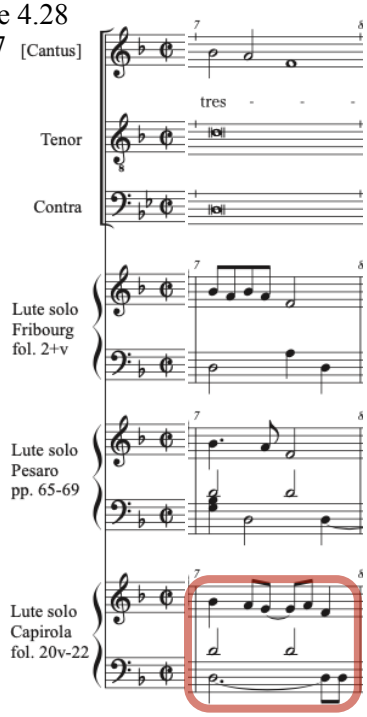


Figure 4.29
bar. 15–16

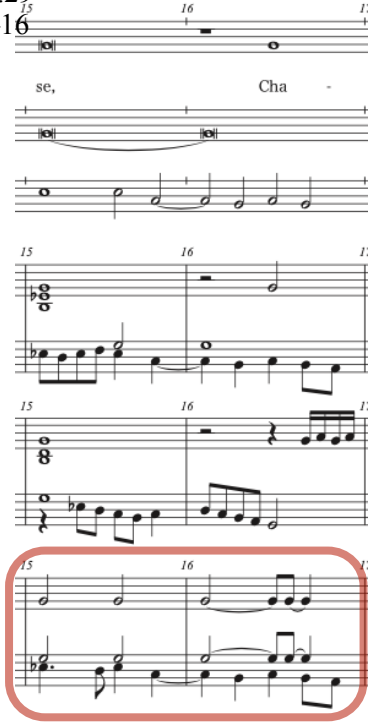


Figure 4.30
bar. 3

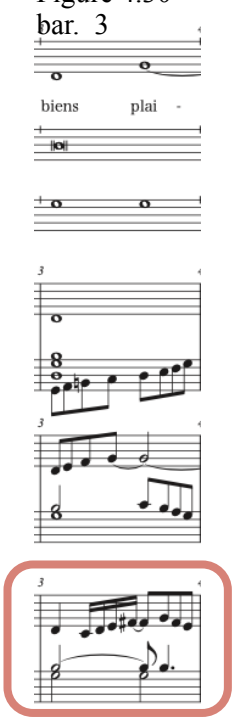


Figure 4.31
bar. 37

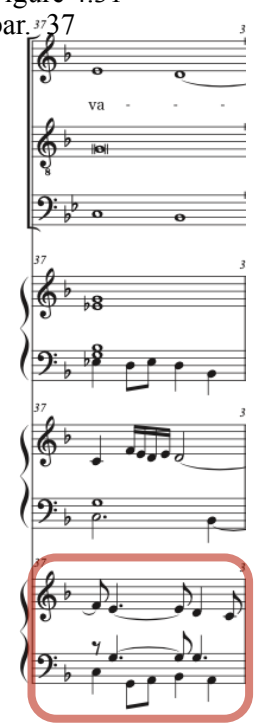


Figure 4.32
bar. 45–46

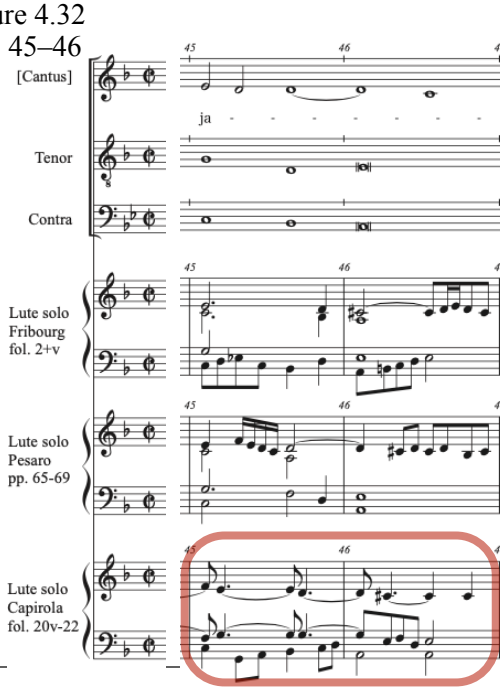


Figure 4.33
bar. 49

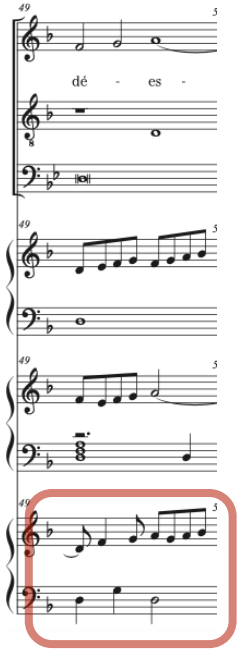
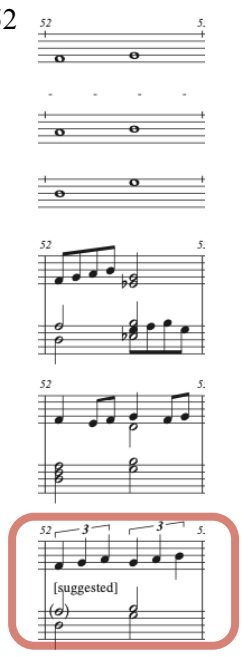


Figure 4.34
bar. 52



[115] see “Chapter 2.2 Pietrobono, Henricus and Orbo”

3.2.7 Harmonic arrangement and accidentals

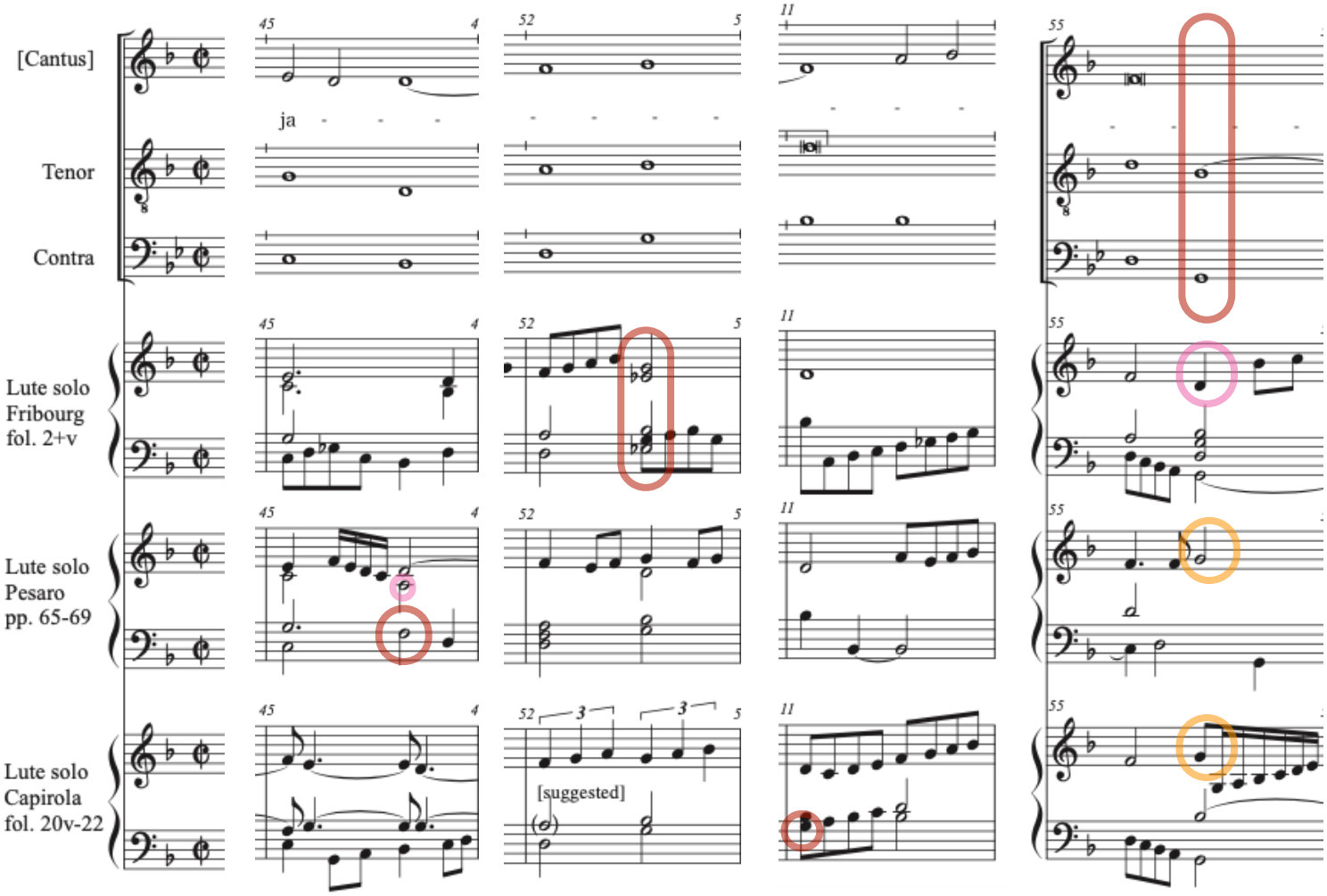
Most of the time, all three voices are present in the lute settings, but if there is a change, it is in the contratenor part. This matches the hierarchy of the original setting (with the tenor being the most important, then the cantus and finally the contratenor). Bar 45 (figure 4.35) is a good example for this, **Pes** did not take the B-flat for the contra but chose F instead. This changes the harmony, because an A is added. Another example in **Fri** is bar 52 (figure 4.36), an E-flat is added in the bottom and the middle, so the harmony is different from **Pes** which has a D. Another example is bar 11 (figure 4.37), **Pes** placed a G above the contra. This kind of harmonic change also appeared in later lute intabulations like Crema or Bianchini in the 1540's. Another conscious harmonic change happens in bar 55 (figure 4.38). In the second half of the bar, the cantus's F and contra's G would have created a dissonance in the original setting, but **Pes** and **Cap** avoid this by having the cantus also play a G. **Fri**'s top note is D but the G is also played in the middle.

Figure 4.35
bar. 45

Figure 4.36
bar. 52

Figure 4.37
bar. 11

Figure 4.38
bar. 55



Unlike the mensural notation, lute tablature notates the exact note, meaning the player does not have to decide on the placement of *musica ficta*.[116] There are some differences in these three lute sources in bar 10, bar 30, bar 34 (figure 4.34, 4.35 and 4.36). Howard Mayor Brown pointed out that we can learn the actual practice of the *musica ficta* from lute intabulations in his study:

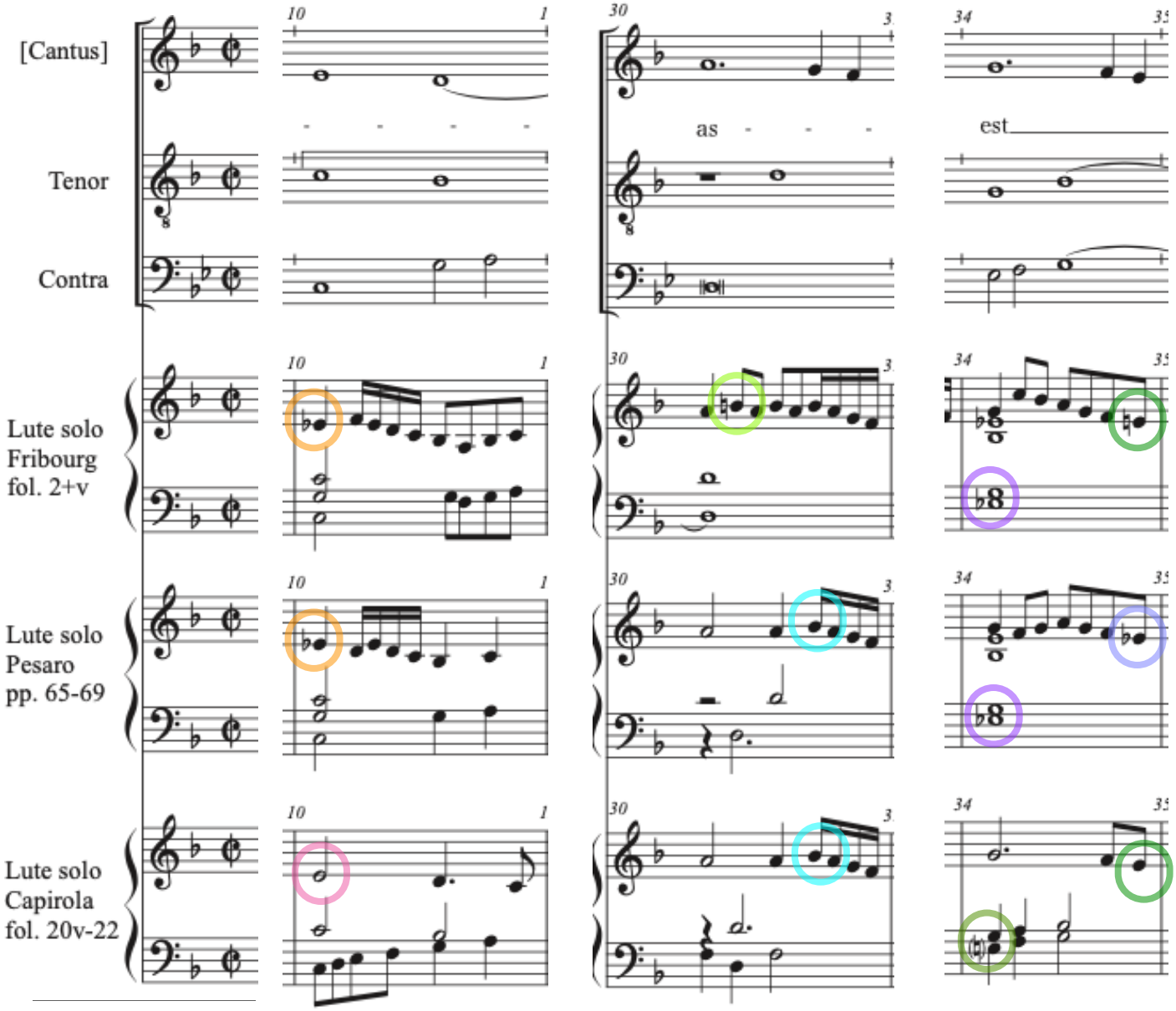
> Thus intabulations constitute by far the largest body of evidence about the way sixteenth-century musicians applied the few relatively simple precepts of musica ficta in actual practice. We can assume, too, that the lessons learned from intabulations can be applied to vocal performances, for there is no evidence that instrumentalists followed a practice different from singers. [117]

The variety of the *musica ficta* or choice of the *hexachord*[118] in "De tous biens plaine" convinced me of Brown's point, but I also would like to add that *musica ficta* is not something that has a definite answer but might depend on the player's mood.

Figure 4.39 bar. 10

Figure 4.40 bar. 30

Figure 4.41 bar. 34



[116] See Glossary.

[117] Brown, Howard Mayer. "Embellishment in Early Sixteenth-Century Italian Intabulations." Proceedings of the Royal Musical Association 100 (1973): 49-83. Accessed November 19, 2020. http://www.jstor.org/stable/766176.

[118] see Glossary

3.2.8 Summary

I would like to draw attention to two observations. One is the hypothesis that they were played with a plectrum, and the second is about the manner in which the arrangements were transmitted and the practice behind this transmission.

Whether **Fri** and **Pes** were played with a plectrum or not is a big discussion on which the jury is still out. However, setting this issue aside, the style or idiomatic musical language influenced by plectrum technique is still present. The texture of the arrangement shows that some aspects of the plectrum tradition still remain. Diminutions are often on one voice – they do not cross voices often. This can also be seen in the organ tablatures of the Paumann school and in **WolfT**.

All three version of "De tous biens plaine", **Fri**, **Pes**, and **Cap**, are from manuscripts. In general, the purpose of manuscripts is not to transmit pieces accurately. Printing was a brand-new technology; only a limited number of people who had financial help from their patrons had the opportunity to get their music printed and published. Manuscripts on the other hand could have just been used as a personal copy or memory aid. However, depending on the manuscript, there might have occasionally been underlying reasons for why they were written and preserved. For example, **Cap** is a codex that has a clear purpose to record Capirola's work. This is apparent from the fact that Capirola's student decorated the manuscript elaborately with paintings and ornaments. The purpose of the recording of **Fri**, which is just a short fragment of music, is still unclear, while **Pes** was written by at least four different scribes on heart-shaped parchment, so its purpose also was to preserve the works, but in a very different fashion than **Cap**. The difference in the purpose of each version is also seen in the musical texture. **Fri** and **Pes** seem to be less elaborately thought out in comparison to **Cap**. **Cap** has more virtuosic diminutions, and they are more evenly distributed across the different voices, as my empirical analysis has shown. However, as discussed above, if the playing technique indeed changed from a plectrum-style to a finger-style, this would have provided more freedom for the performance of the **Cap** version. In short, I believe the scribe of each manuscript wrote with a different purpose in mind, and this purpose can be inferred on the basis of how detailed each manuscript is. More details make for a more balanced arrangement, while fewer details create a sense of "improvisation".

Before I discuss how these pieces were likely transmitted, I would like to briefly consider what a "version" is. It is still unclear whether the **Fri**, **Pes**, and **Cap** versions go back to one original lute intabulation, which then diversified through oral practice, or whether these three versions go back to unique intabulations of the same piece. It is clear however that the three versions influenced each other, be it unconsciously or consciously. I suspect there were more versions in circulation than just these three. I also imagine players would not have been aware of which intabulation was arranged by which lutenist, except in the case of compositional *res facta* pieces. However, in some cases, a lutenist might have had

their own unique interpretation of a piece, for example in Capirola's version. I suggest that there are various "layers" on which music was transmitted:

(1) Original setting by Hayne.

(2) Unwritten layer: The original version of many intabulations.

(2.5) Unwritten layer: different versions of (2), transmitted aurally, imitated by various players without direct knowledge of the original intabulation.

(3) Written layer: The preservation of (2.5) with any of the various aforementioned purposes.

(4) Published layer: Stronger intention than (3).

"De tous biens plaine" does not exist on layer (4), but transmission between (3) and (4) probably occurred by copying it from a written exemplar. Furthermore, in **Cap**'s case, the scribe (a student of Capirola) surely copied a version that was already written down by his teacher, Capirola. It is likely that the scribe did not copy from an oral version straight to this beautiful manuscript, but had already been written down before, meaning this is similar to the transmission from (3) to (4). My assumption about transmission between (2) and (2.5) is that **Fri** and **Pes** were not copied from a written exemplar. However, they might have been transmitted by through an oral tradition. My arguments are as follows: (1) There are many correspondences in **Fri**, **Pes**, and **Cap**. The three versions look similar but they are not identical. Sometimes they have very similar diminutions in the same place, and ornamentations tend to be similar. (2) They occasionally have the same diminution but one beat earlier or later. If musicians learned pieces by listening to other musicians playing, this would be more likely to happen that when copying from written music. (3) There are several bars missing in **Fri**, and there is a big change of harmony in **Pes** (bar 13).

The way in which music is transmitted between layer (1) and (2) is also unclear, but in the case of "De tous biens plaine" it might have been transmitted aurally. There is a lot of variety between the different surviving versions, and notes are frequently changed. In later periods, when Virdung, Martin Agricola and Hans Gerle explained how to intabulate on the lute in their books, they advised to intabulate each part one by one.[119] This implies that the player was supposed to copy from written source of polyphony. This started in a time when the publication of music became a common way of transmitting music, but this was not yet the case in the time of **Fri**, **Pes**, and **Cap**.

Young said **Pes** is "amateurish" in his edition:

> This Fribourg-setting of "De tous biens plaine" has in many places much to do with the version in the Capirola Lutebook, yet the ornamentation is also somewhat sparser, occupying a position between Capirola and the rather more amateurish Pesaro setting.[120]

[119] see "chapter 0.3 intabulation and diminution"

[120] Ibid., p. 163.

I would like to add that these sources were merely personal records of what certain lutenists played. They did not “compose” or “arrange”, but simply played intabulations with ornaments as they saw fit. If the players were satisfied with their arrangement, it was preserved for educational purposes or as a record of their work. The **Cap** version seems to be the most detailed and the arrangement technique more varied, probably because Capirola might have adjusted it in order to record and teach his work, which is the process from layer (2.5) to (3) or (4). But also of course because his work was outstanding, he had an enthusiastic student and it was preserved beautifully.

3.3 Analysis of "Adieu mes amours"

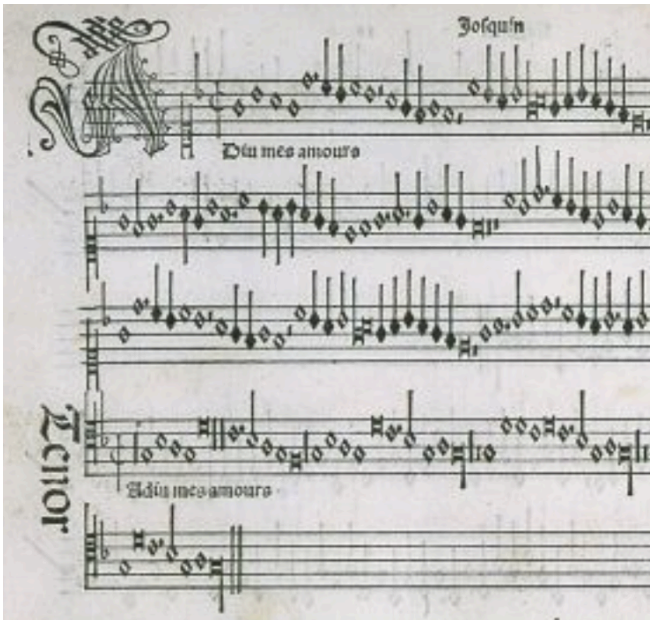


Figure 5.1 One of the original setting, "Adieu mes amours" in "Harmonice Musices Odhecaton A" Fol. Lii v

Before beginning to analyse "Adieu mes amours", it is important to note that the original setting of the intabulation, by Josquin des Prez, was in 4 voices. The two lower voices were based on monophonic chanson, thereby they were placed in a quasi-canonical relationship, while the upper two voices were freely composed.

There are 7 surviving solo lute intabulations based on "Adieu mes amours". They are as follows (please refer to the list of abbreviations in **chapter 1**): **Bli** (manuscript); **Spinacino 1** (Venice, 1507); **Gerle** (Nuremberg, 1533) and its identical version in manuscript D-Mbs Mus. ms. 272; **Neusidler 1** (Nuremberg, 1536); **Neusidler 2** (Nuremberg, 1536)[121]; and Benedictus de Drusina (1556).[122] In the following analysis I exclude the version by Drusina because it is beyond the scope of this study to analyse sufficiently.

For the purpose of this analysis, I transcribed these intabulations assuming that there was a nominal G tuning for **Bli**, and assuming a nominal A tuning for the other sources. This was done in order to transpose each intabulation to the same pitch level (in my transcription). **Bli** was investigated and transcribed by Frederico Faria in 2012, but for my edition I made my own transcription because the writing of the tablature-letters on the Bli manuscript are often unclear and require substantial personal interpretation.[123]

---

[121] Edition and transcription into French tablature of ***Neusidler 2***: John H Robinson. And Dempster, Miles (ed.), *Der ander theil des lautenbuchs Hans Neusidler (1536),* Montreal: Score Conversions, 1995.
Edition and transcription of ***Gerle***: Charnassé Hélène, Meylan, Ramond and Henri Ducasse, *Tablature pour les luths: Nuremberg, Formschneider, 1533 réalisation informatique par transcription automatique par le groupe* E. R. A. T. T. O. du C. N. R. S. Paris: Société de musicologie, 1975.

[122] Paul Kieffer listed up some *cantus firmus* lute solo intabulations on same song including "Adieu mes amours"; Paul Kieffer, *The Cantus Firmus Works for Lute: A Study of Cantus Firmus Improvisation and Intabulation Circa 1500 with a Detailed Performance Edition,* Masterarbeit, Hauptfach Laute 2014.

[123] Federico Faria, *Die Verbreitung der deutschen Lautentabulatur und die Bezeichnungspraktiken für die Niederschrift des sechsten Chores als Indikatoren für regionale Schreibschulen und Repertoirezentren,* 2012.

3.3.1 Texture and structure

The original setting is written in 4 parts but since the tenor and contrabassus are written quasi-canonically, it is often composed in 3 voices. Neusidler published his books in a didactic way; with the pieces becoming more difficult towards the end of the book. Neusidler's book starts from 1 to 2 voices, then progresses to 3 voices, and then 3 voices which are embellished with diminutions and eventually 4 voices being present at the end of his book. Furthermore, he often publishes several arrangements based on the same piece, this includes one with a simple arrangement and another that is more florid. "Adieu mes amours" is also a case in point of this approach, as his version in **Neusidler 1** has much simpler diminutions than **Neusidler 2**, and maintains the texture in 3 voices—even when the original setting has 4 independent voices. Due to this, Neusidler had to choose only 3 voices from the original chanson. However, the way he selected the voices was not entirely systematic, resulting in voice-leading that is not always ideal. For example, this is evident in bar 15 (figure 5.2), with Neusidler's idea looking almost like an identical copy from the intabulation of Gerle. Furthermore, **Neusidler 2** often focused on diminutions so other voices were abandoned.

Anecdotally, the intabulation by Spinacino is the only version of "Adieu mes amours" that, at the beginning of the piece, has "introductory grace-notes" to bar 1. This was common practice before and through the 15th century as we saw in "De tous biens plaine"; however, by looking at these seven intabulations of "Adieu mes amours"—and other pieces by Neusidler—we can already see that this tradition is in the process of disappearing (figure 5.3).[124]

[124] see "Chapter 2.3 Internalising and extemporising for freedom: cadence, pausa, and introductory grace-notes"

Figure 5.2 comparative edition
“Adieu mes amours”
bar. 15

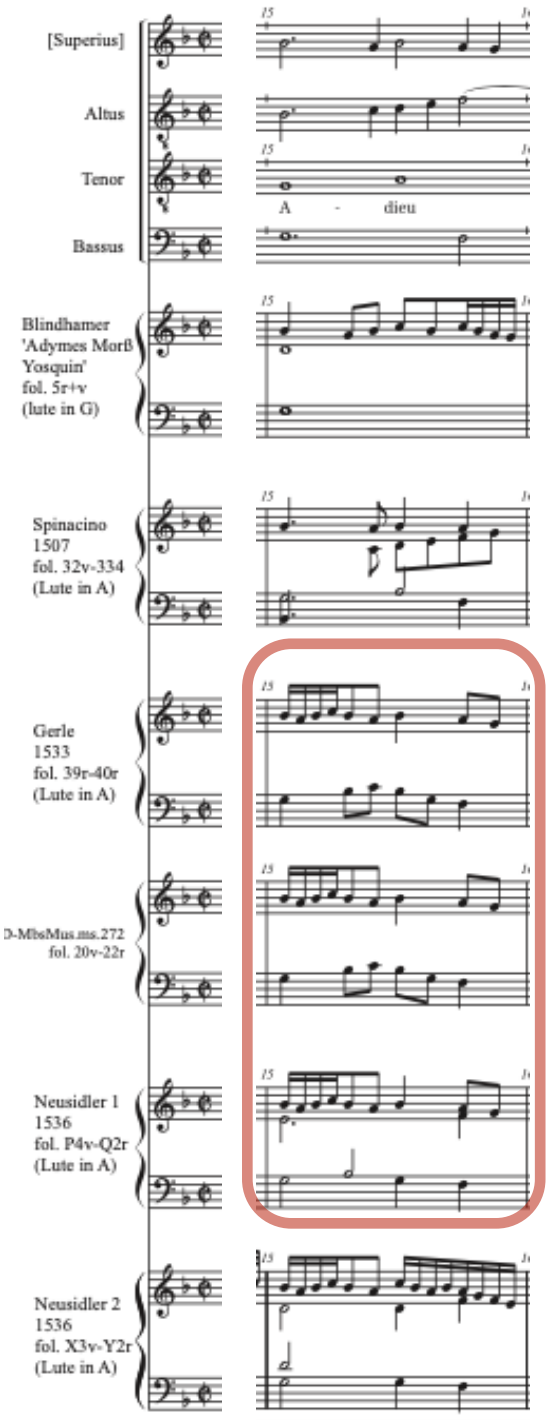
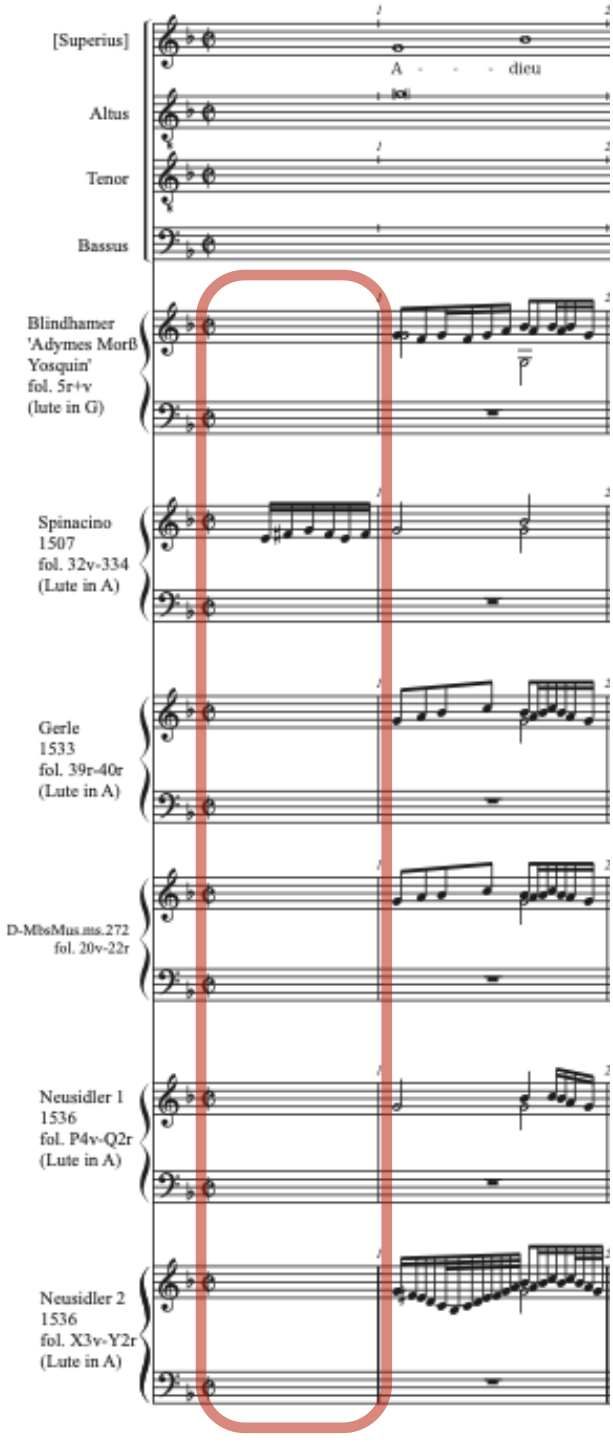


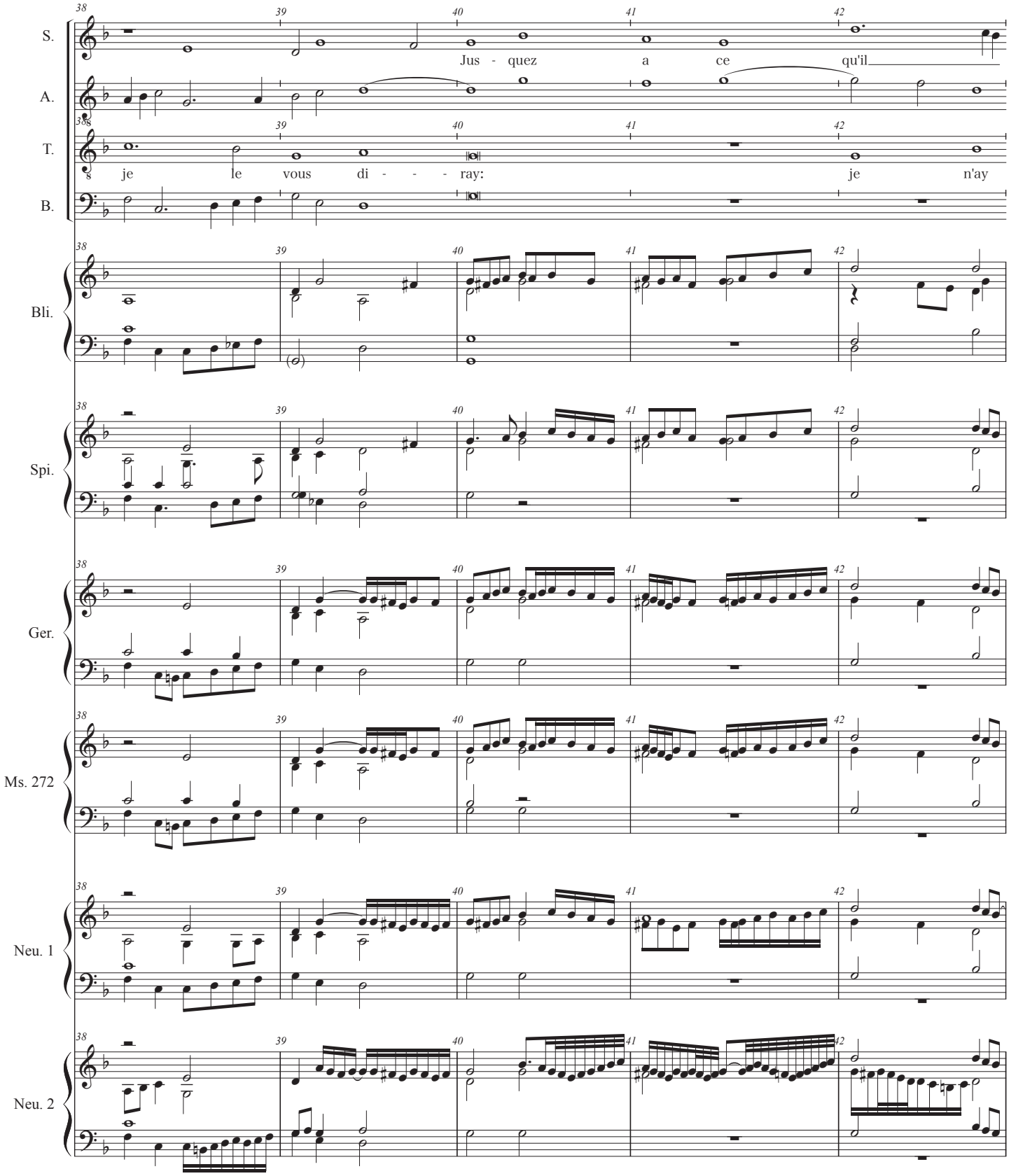
Figure 5.3 bar. 0–1



In figure 5.4, bar 40 resembles a recapitulation. At this point in the intabulation all of the versions are similar or the same as the beginning—which the listener would most likely recognize and would then understand (rhetorically) that the music was returning to the beginning. Whereas the variations (recapitulation) in **Bli** are more simple than the beginning of the intabulation. This goes against the modern thinking that the second repetition of a theme should be more ornamented. Perhaps this is because Blindhamer himself played intabulations in way where there were more ornaments in the recapitualtion, and the tablature he used is likely to have been a memory aid for his playing. However, in

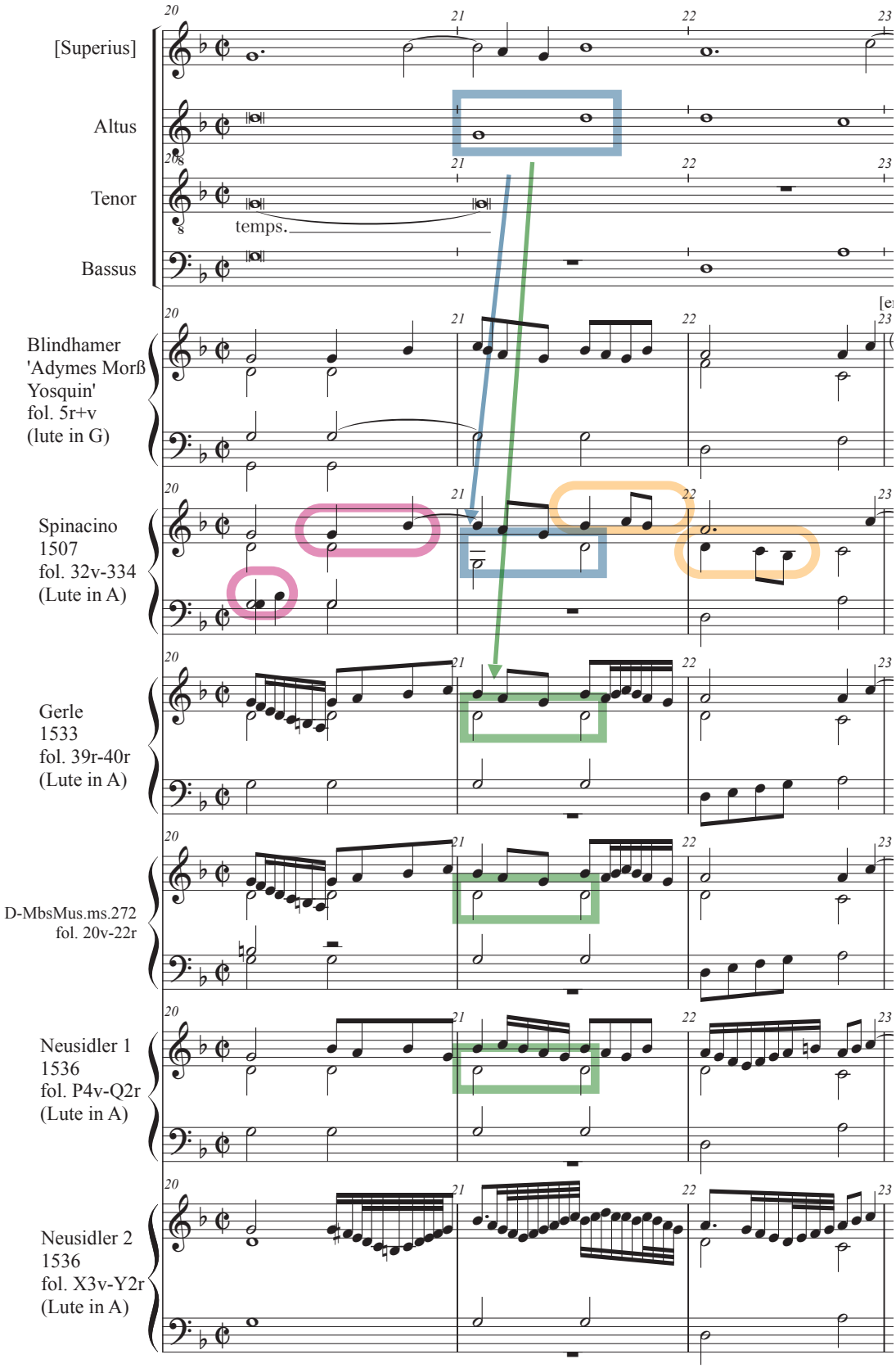
Bli, from bar 27 until bar 36 the music is not intabulated. Furthermore, the note on the bassus is changed from G to D in bar 42. It should be noted that with an F in the middle voice, this makes sense harmonically. However, he probably misunderstood it as the entrance of the bassus (which would be D), but in reality it is the entrance of the tenor line (which starts on G).

Figure 5.4 bar. 38–42



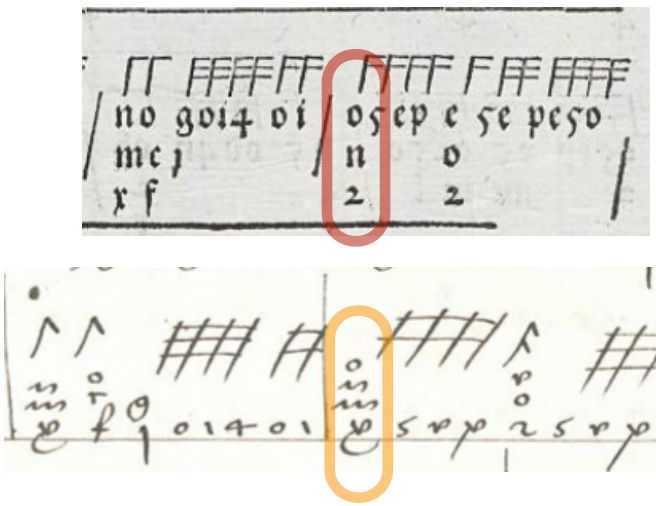
Spinacino has a voice-and-answer type diminution between the low voice and high voice in bar 20, as well as in bar 21 and 22 (figure 5.5). It is a good place to do have such phrases, because the original setting has a relatively simple texture. This spot also shows the transition of the style of lute intabulation. While Spinacino still keeps the polyphonic texture by playing the Altus part (G-D) in bar 21, Gerle and Neusidler are repeating both G and D in bar 20 and 21, and as a result, that would sound more like later music (chordal accompaniment with diminution on top).

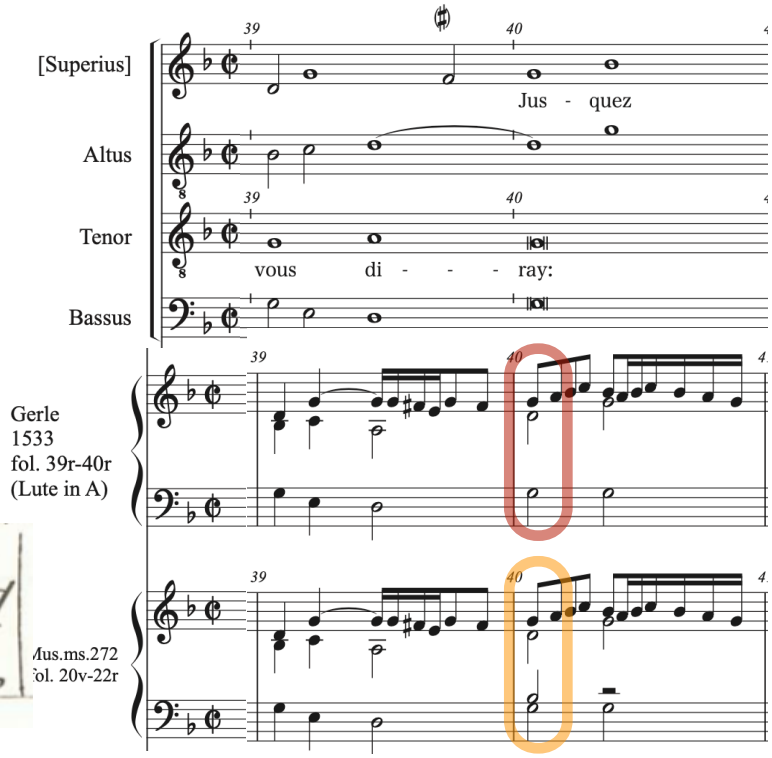
Figure 5.5 bar. 20–22



The version in manuscript D-MbsMus.ms.272 (1540-1560)[125] is an identical version of the **Gerle** version (figure 5.6).[126] The diminutions there are exactly the same (except for one mistake in Gerle in bar 4 which is corrected in the manuscript), but in the manuscript D-MbsMus.ms.272, there are more middle voices which do not exist in the original setting (this change happens 31 times in total in this piece). Not only the extra tablature letters are added, the scriber of the manuscript even chose to use other strings in order to play more notes, creating more physical limitation to lutenists. Furthermore, these additional notes does not make polyphony, they just appears suddenly and then disappear. This texture looks more "chordal" than "polyphonic". Neusidler's versions are also not polyphonic in texture as I mentioned above. I can only assume from this that they were actually thinking in a "chordal" way which is against the main concept of Renaissance thinking, "polyphony". **Pes** and **Fri** had also chordal texture like in the **WolfT,** but these case might be explained by saying it was/came from plectrum playing as we discussed in the analysis of "de tous biens plaine" in this present thesis.

Figure 5.6 bar. 39–40
Top left: **Gerle**
Bottom left: ms, 272
Top right: comparative edition original setting
Bottom right: comparative edition Gerle and ms. 272





[125] RISM 456054775
[126] Fallows, David. *A Catalogue of Polyphonic Songs, I415-1480*, New York. OxfordUniversity Press 1999.

3.3.2 Idiomatic lute writing

Similarly to the first note of bar 15 (figure 5.7), Spinacino often has low notes which should have been the middle voice. Also, in bar 49 (figure 5.8), The note B is on the lowest string so we get an octave leap which is unusual. Even more unusually, it was notated on the third string in bar 10 (figure 5.9) which is the first time of the repetition. This requires much more effort for both the left hand and the right hand of the lutenists to play than playing an open string on third course. The B in bar 49 note on the 6th course has a dot sign " . " which indicates that one should play with one of the player's fingers.[127] There are several possibilities of interpretation: (1) The octave leap in bar 49 was Francesco Spinacino's idiom, this is not "strange" for him. (2) He might have played a low B with only the diapason string of the 6th course. There is a place in the **Cap** Lute Book where the tablature shows two strings on one course. This is a special exception in whole lute repertoire, but still it could be the evidence that the lutenists in this time did not play two strings at same time all the time, but occasionally they had an idea of playing separately. (2-a) This is my assumption; the quality of the gut string in this time was not good as later time. The lute was strung with bare gut strings, "loaded gut string" which is being investigated developed by Mimmo Peruffo (who owns a historically-informed string company, "Aquila Corde Armoniche") and wound strings were not invented yet. The 6th course was new for the lute as Sebastian Virdung testified.[128] Virdung also explained that the diapason strings are needed to make the thick string sound well;

> To all three basses (Prummer) are added strings of medium thickness . . . .one octave higher. Why that? Because the thick strings cannot be heard so loud in the distance as the thinner ones.
> Therefore, octaves are added, so that they be heard like the others.[129]

I could imagine that through the 16th century, the technology of making gut string advanced. Thus, Spinacino might have heard and treated the 6th course differently than later lute composers. (3) It was just a mistake of publisher because it was also a challenge for them to print lute tablature with brand-new technology.[130] The advantage of choosing (2) or (2-a) is that one can create a better legato by playing *campanella*, a practice which was common in much later times on the theorbo and other instruments.

---

[127] This dot sign does not necessarily indicates the index finger. Also, the chord one before B can be played with thumb, middle finger and ring finger so it reduced the distance of jumping the index finger. Paul O'dette argued about it in his study; Paul O'dette, *Quelques remarques sur l'execution de la musique de danse de dalza'Le Luth et sa musique,* vol. 2, *(*Paris: CNRS Editions, 1984).
Also see Paul Beier, "Arcana of Right-Hand Fingering in the Early 16th Century*", Lute Society of America Quarterly*, Volume LIII, no. 1, 2018.

[128] Kieffer, *The Cantus Firmus Works for Lute: A Study of Cantus Firmus Improvisation and Intabulation Circa 1500 with a Detailed Performance Edition.*

[129] English translation cited from Mimmo Peruffo, "Why the loading of gut for lute bass strings is the only hypothesis that fulfils the requirements of seven criteria arising from a consideration of historical evidence"*, Lute News,* No. 126*,* 2018, p. 5.

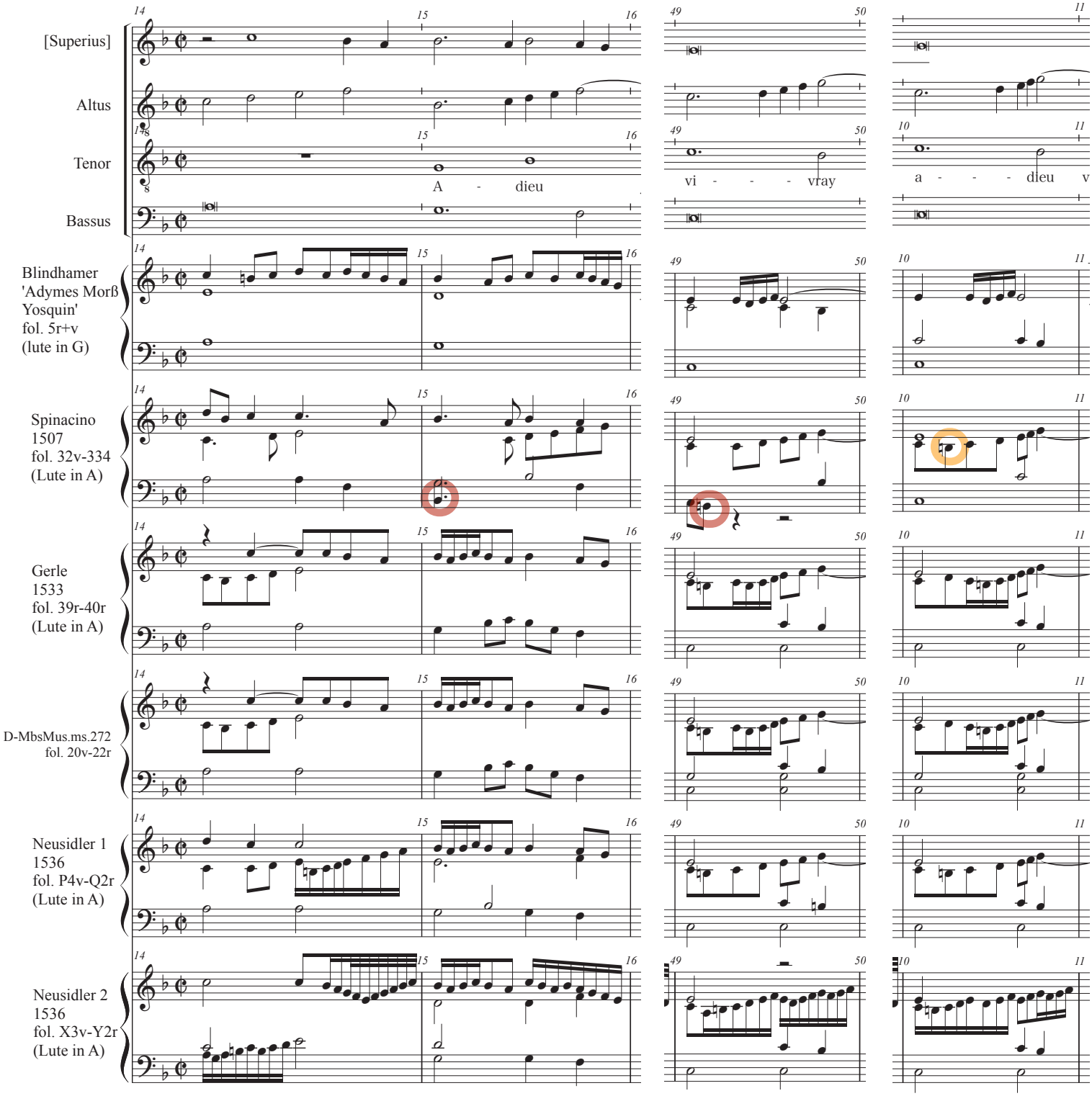
[130] This assumption is supported by Martin Kirnbauer's study "*On the other hand, it should not be forgotten that the form of notation in lute tablature was a brand-new technology in 1507. The translation of musical sound into a special fingering script as well as the 'rasone de metter ogni canto in lauto' (as Marco dall'Aquila puts it in his supplication for a Venise printing privilege in 1505).* Cited from Martin Kirnbauer, "Petrucci in the Fifteenth century: The Lute Duos"*'* in: *Cattin, Giulio and Patrizia Dalla Vecchia (eds.): Venezia 1501. Petrucci e la stampa musicale. Atti del convegno internazionale Venezia ...* 2001, Venice 2005 (Edizioni Fondazione Levi 3, 6), p. 603.

Then we will also get a subtle difference of nuance in the repetition. I personally like the idea of (2) or (2-a), however I might change the first repetition (bar 10) to play the same as in bar 49 (so both times B note on the 6th course) because as far as I have seen, there are many variations in musical repetition by changing diminutions, but it is unlikely that they had such a change in order to "express" nuance or subtle variation of the sound in this time.

Figure 5.7 bar. 14–15

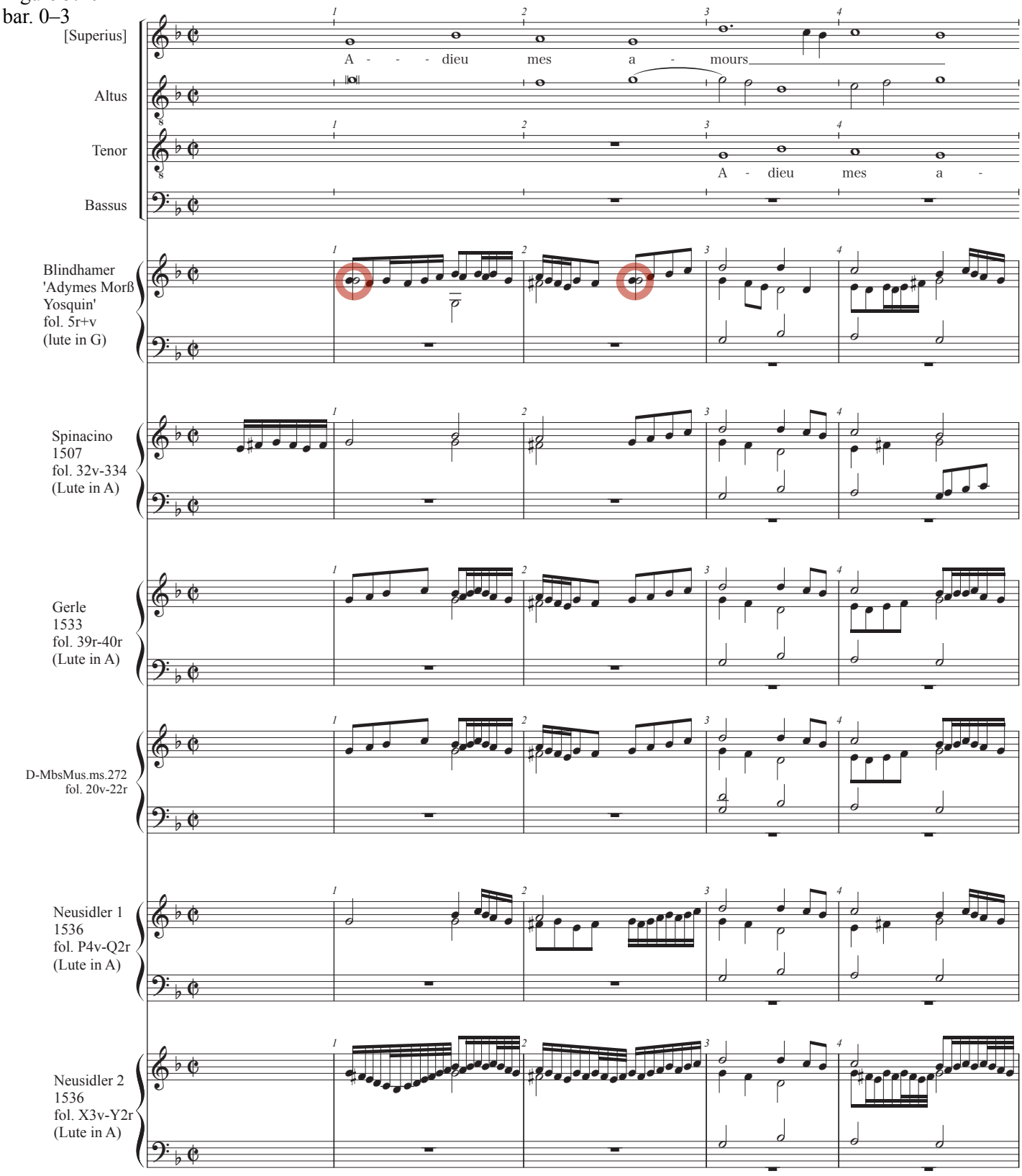
Figure 5.8 bar. 49

Figure 5.9 bar. 10



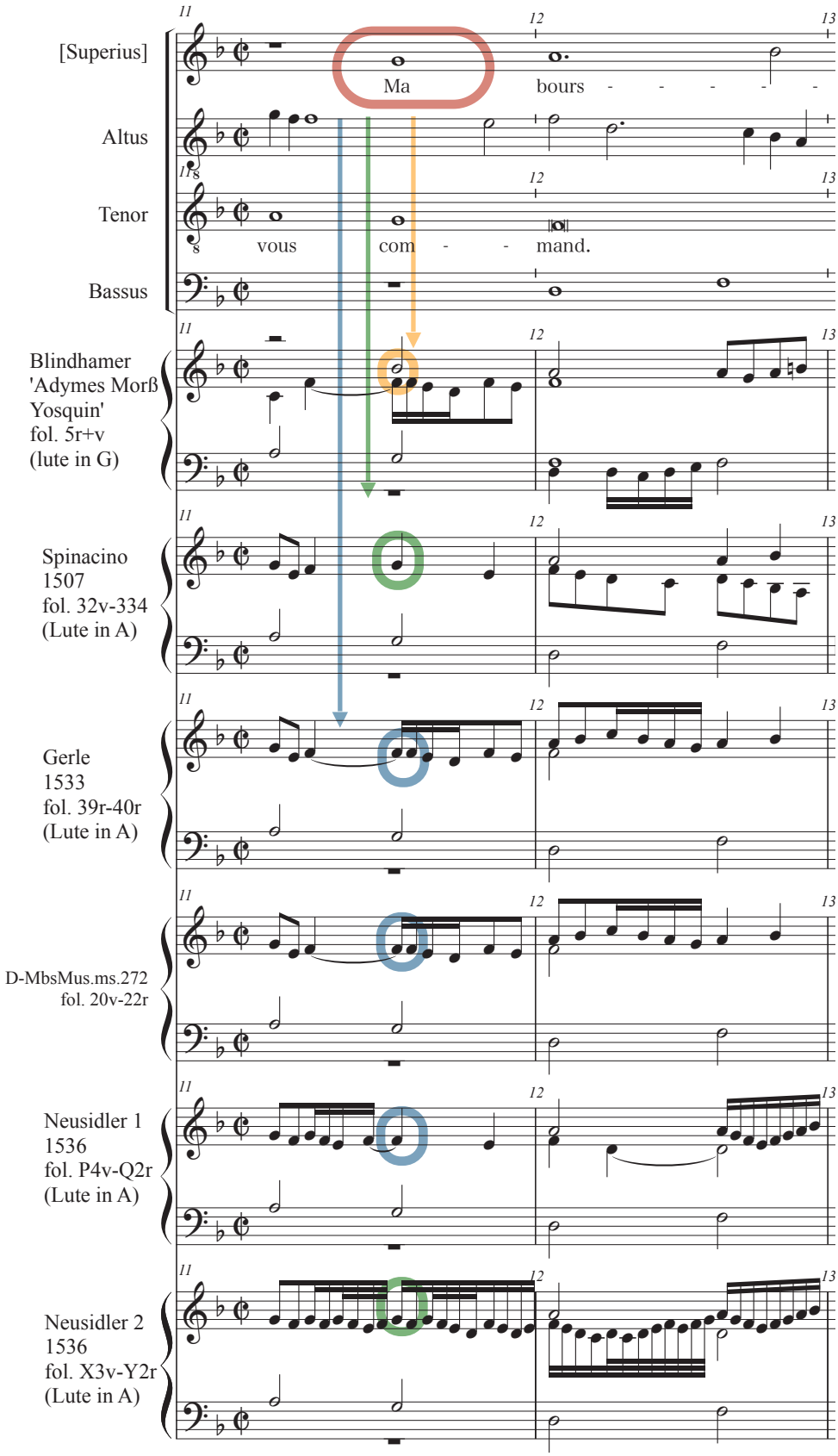
Another point to mention about idiomatic writing for the lute is that the original setting starts with the same note on superius and contra-altus. Blindhamer reproduced this feature by using two different strings but on the same note (And same thing happens in bar 2). It was not possible for the other versions because of the tonality.

Figure 5.10
bar. 0–3



Lastly, in bar 11 (figure 5.11), the new phrase for the superius is very different in each version. In **Bli**, the notes for the superius are changed to B-flat and new counterpoint is made in order to make the voice leading clear. If the note were a G like in he original setting, the superius part would merge with the altus into one diminution. In the other versions, it is difficult to play F and G at same time on a lute tuned in A, so the versions chose either F or G.

Figure 5.11 bar. 11



3.3.3 Correspondence

There are also similarities between the six versions of "Adieu mes amours" discussed in the chapter on "De tous biens plaine". However in this case, because all of the sources but **Bli** (and D-Mbs Mus. ms. 272 which is a concordance of **Gerle**) is published, they might have just copied by seeing or referred. The similarity is not about the diminution but the tension of the music. The place of calmness is the same as in bar 25 and 35 (figure 5.12 and 5.13).

Figure 5.12 bar. 25–26

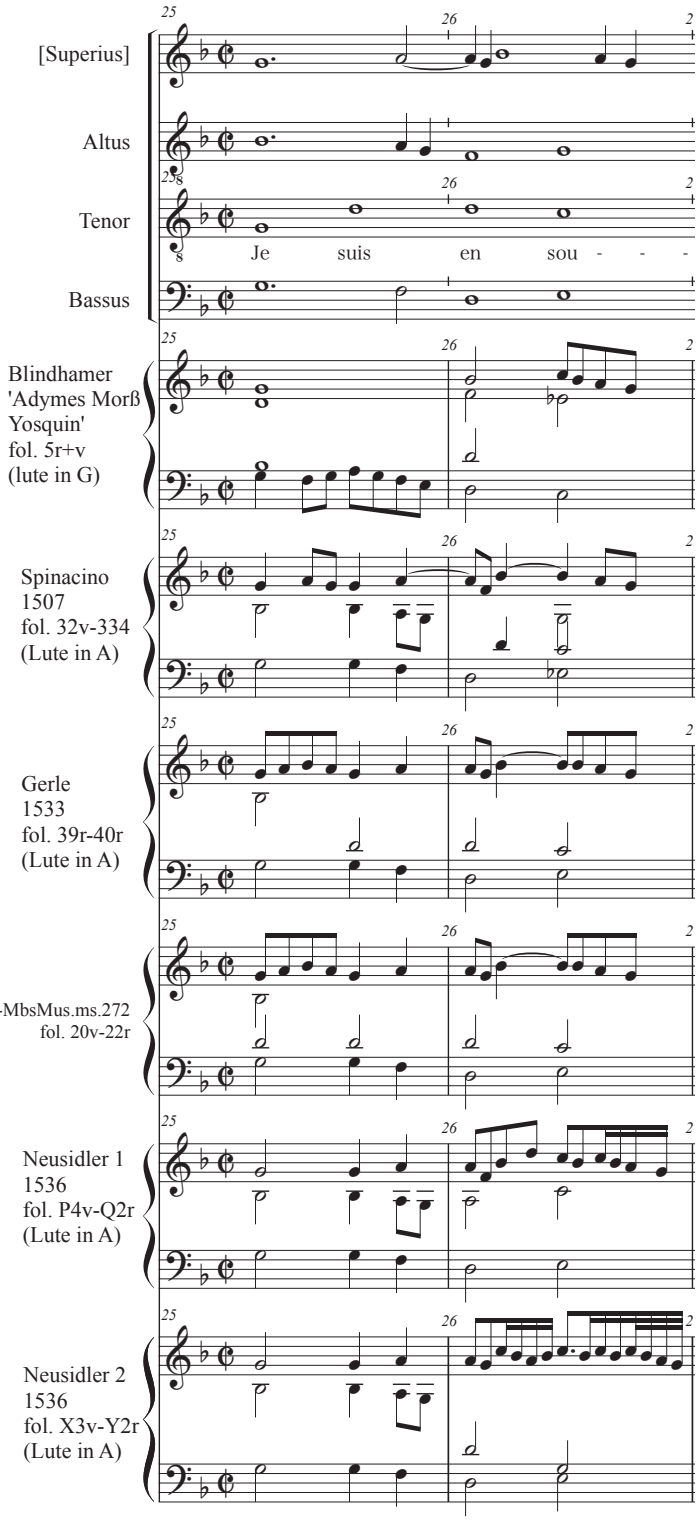
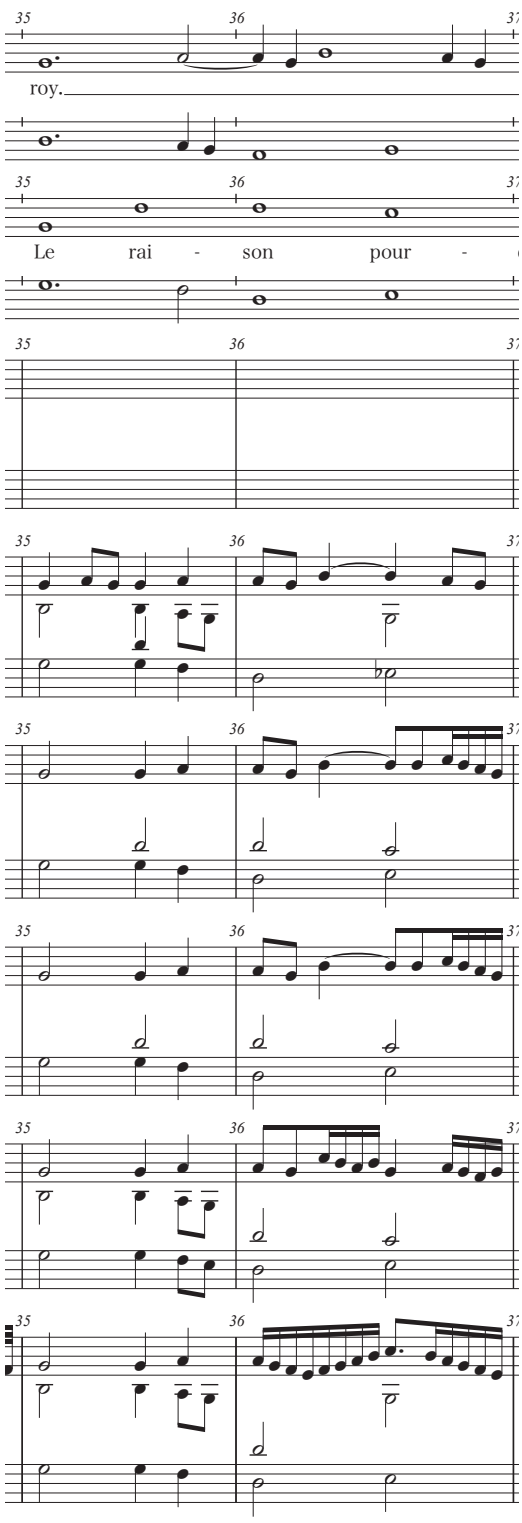
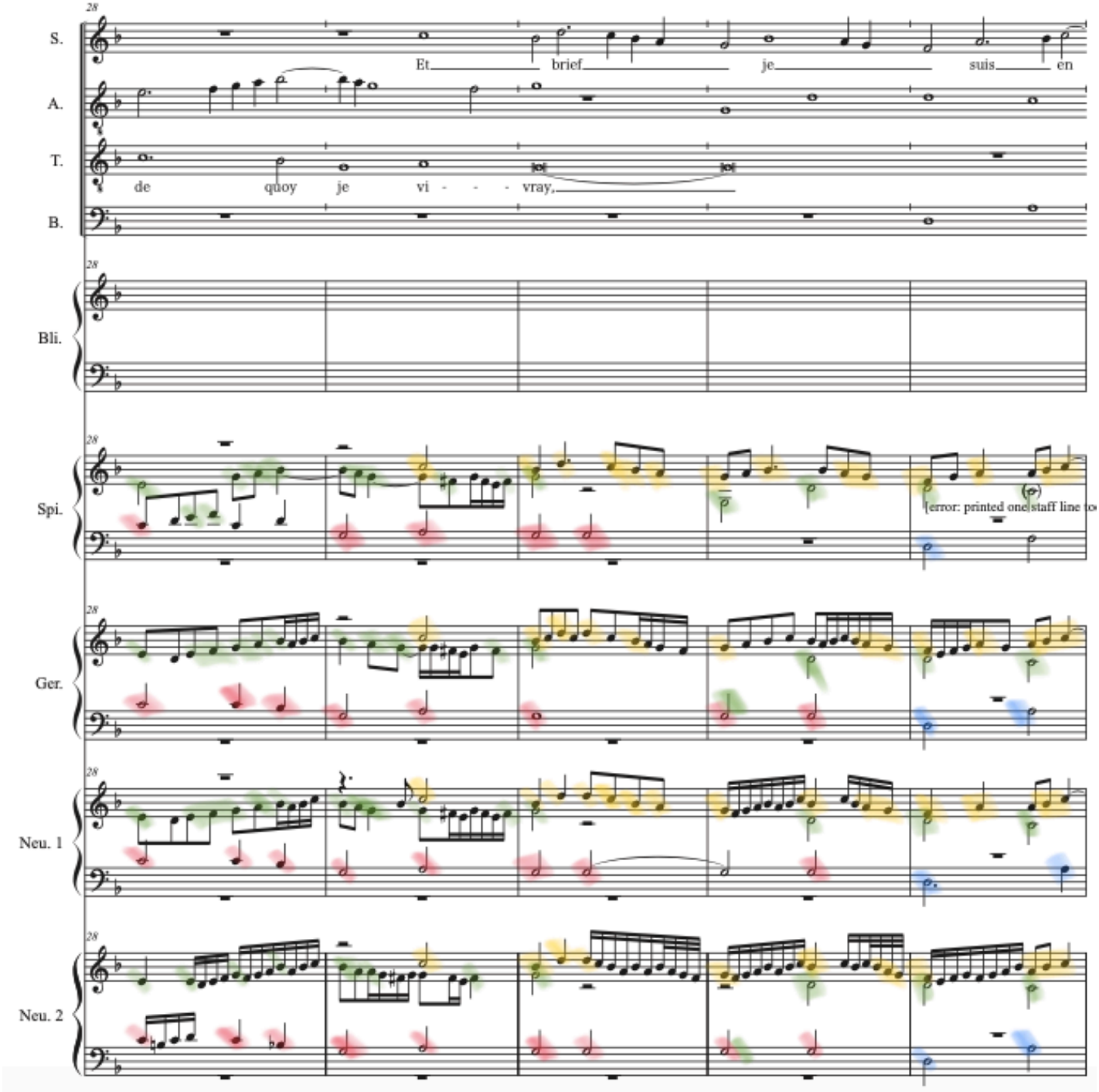


Figure 5.13 bar. 35–36



All of the versions include ornaments which are already in the superius part (the superius part of the original setting already has ornaments). From this observation, I assume it might have been common for people to listen to the superius, so that they would not change too many recognizable features of the piece. Additionally, from bar 28 and the first half of bar 29, the altus is also an ornamented part and highest voice at the moment in the original setting. The altus's ornament is often picked up in intabulations (figure 5.14). So my assumption is that the part people were listening to was the highest part, not necessarily superius part. There might be a small gap between theory and the actual sound.

Figure 5.14 Analysed comparative edition "Adieu mes amours"bar. 28–30
Superius: **yellow**
Contra altus: **green**
Tenor: **red**
Contra bassus: **blue**



3.3.4 Diminution

Bastarda style diminuions are more often used than in earlier sources like **Pes**, **Fri** and **Cap**. Also in **Bli** version it is barely used. It might represent the characteristic difference of diminution style.

In bar 4 in **Neusidler 2**, he put a typical diminution (*gruppo*) for *cantisans* in altus part. But as a result of that, his G is not prepared from before, and even that G is not in original setting which has E (figure 5.15, marked in red). [131]I find it is an interesting and quite artificial changing. The un-prepared 7th happens also in bar 29 on second beat in **Neusidler 1** (figure 5.16), but as a lute player I would hold G in the first half of the bar until the next beat and create new counterpoint, so I transcribed like this. This kind of lutenistic vagueness of polyphony is often seen in the lute intabulation after 1530's. This extra polyphony makes the piece sound richer than just playing the original polyphony, this is the one of the magic of the lute music.

Figure 5.15
bar. 3–5

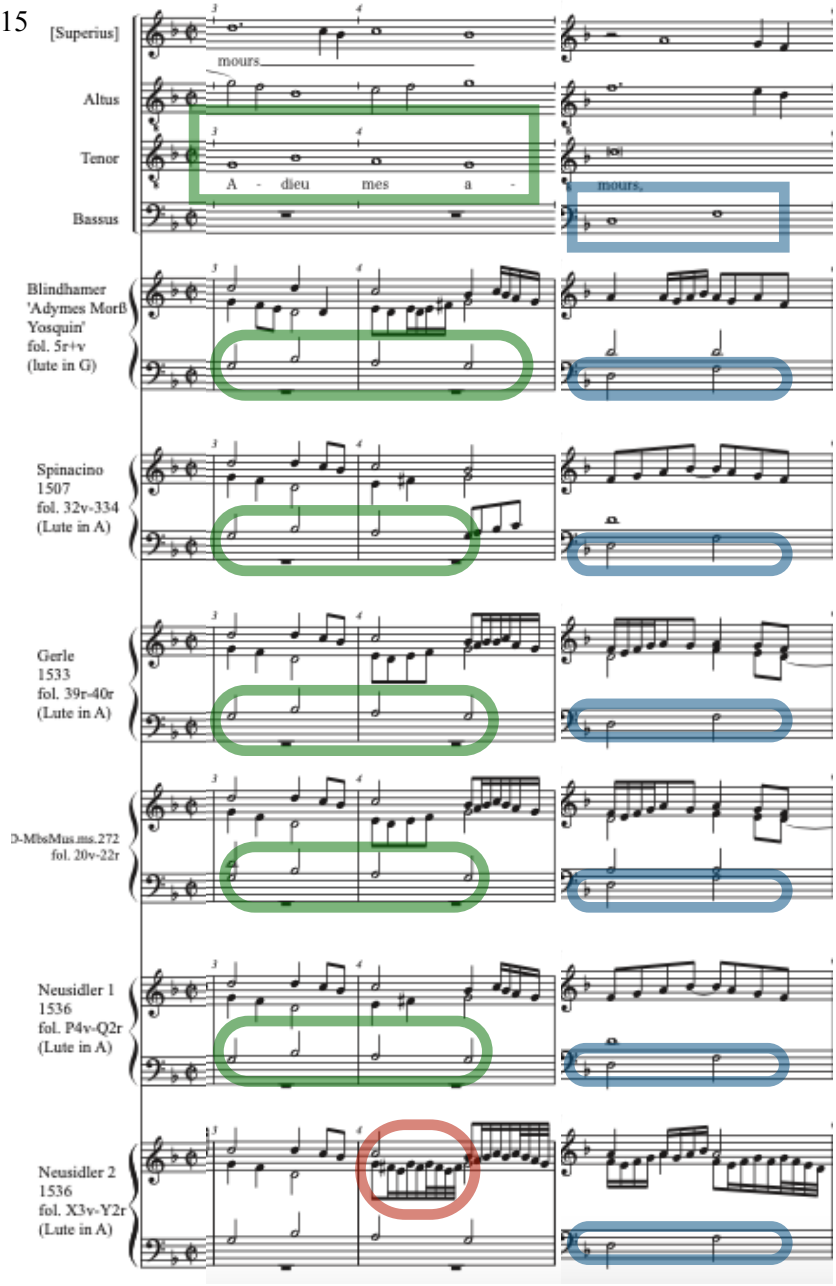
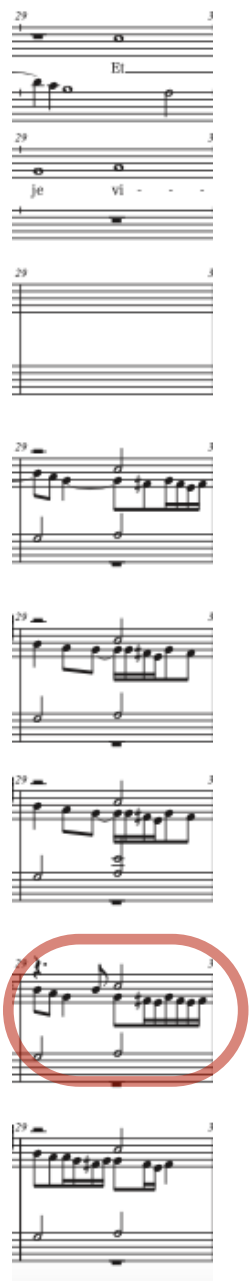


Figure 5.16
bar. 29



[131] "Gruppo" and "Cantisans": see Glossary

None of these versions put diminutions on entrances of the tenor part in bar 3 and bassus in bar 5 (marked in green and blue). I assume that they were well aware that if they put the diminutions on an important motif, it would not be recognized. This might be similar to mind in the 17th century diminution masters as they considered not only where to put diminutions but also where not to put diminutions.

Neusidler 2 has an extraordinary florid diminutions through the intabulation, but the diminutions seemed to be placed carefully and "well-planned" to me; The down beat is always the notes from the original except for some exemptions (ex. bar 15, figure 5.17). And the way of bastarda diminution is skillful. In bar 18 (figure 5.18), bastarda diminution goes down from upper voice until D in middle voice but then immediately new diminution stars from superius part, so that we would not loose the sense of polyphony even though they have many over-crossed runs. He also uses a small sequences in one diminution like in bar 28 (figure 5.19).

Figure 5.18
bar. 18–19

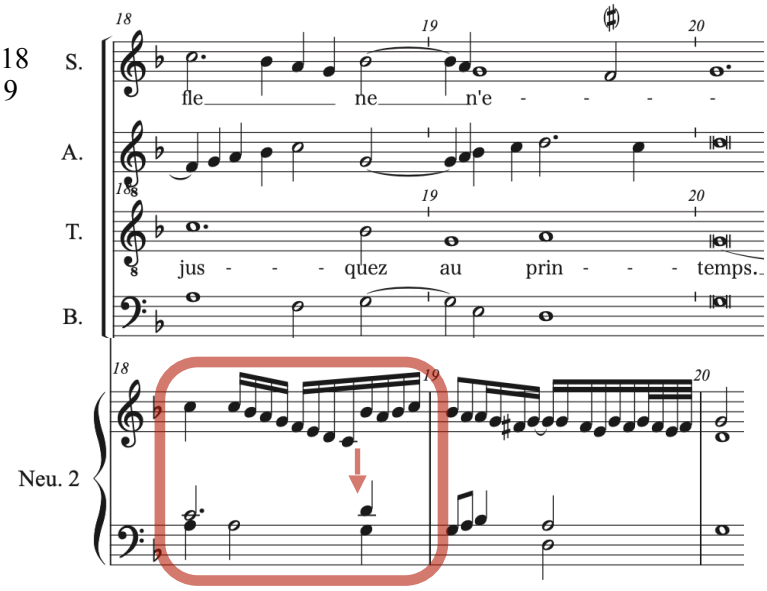


Figure 5.17
bar. 14–15

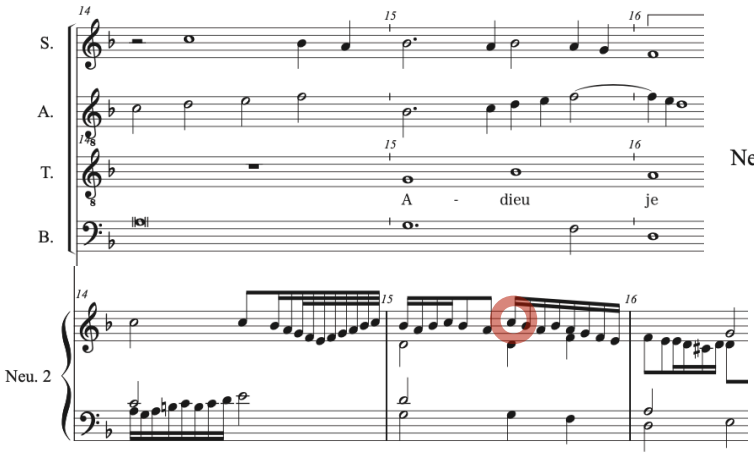
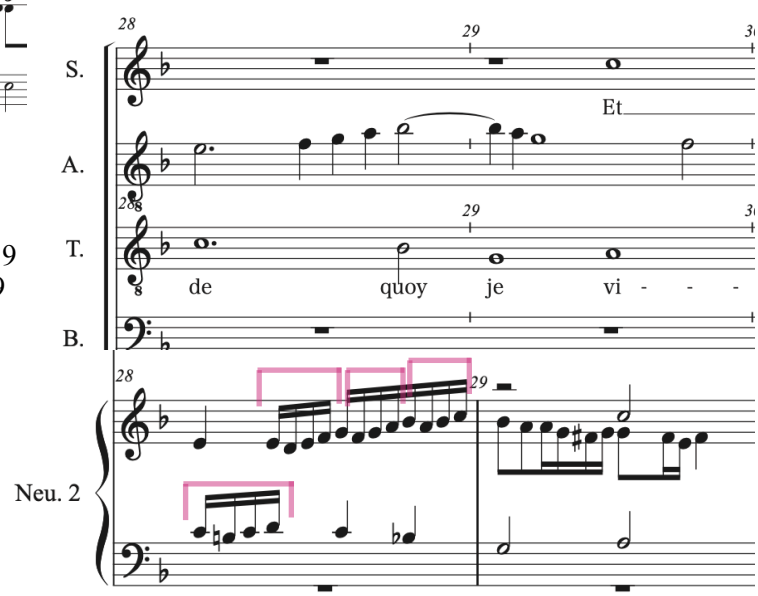


Figure 5.19
bar. 28–29



We might be able to say the diminution when the superius is quite low, jump with more than 3rd but within the "chord" or the 2nd to the notes in the "chord" is a style for early intabulation. For example in **Spi** bar 24 (figure 5.20). We also saw in "De tous biens plaine" often (Ex. **Cap** bar 2, **Pes** bar 18, **Fri** bar 22, **Fri** bar 34, figure 5.21).

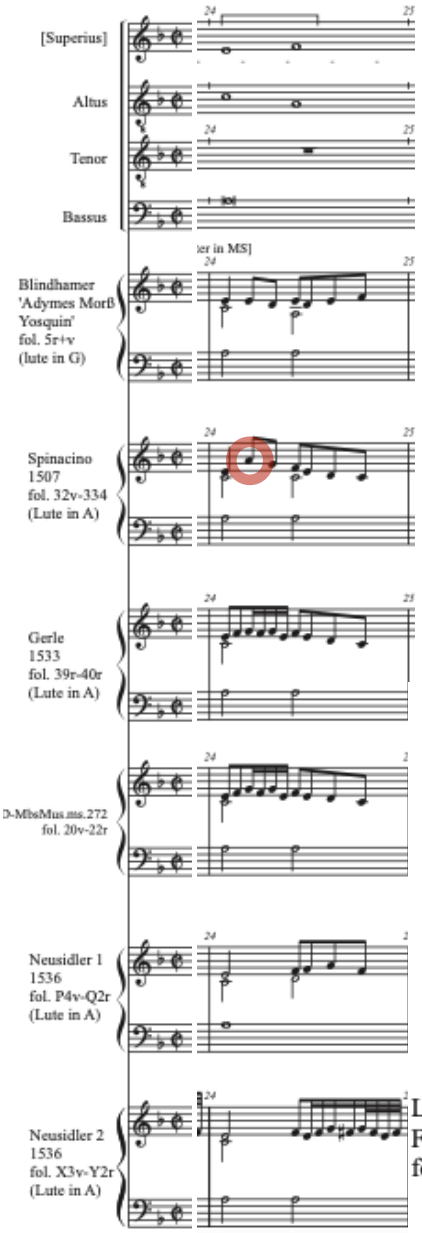
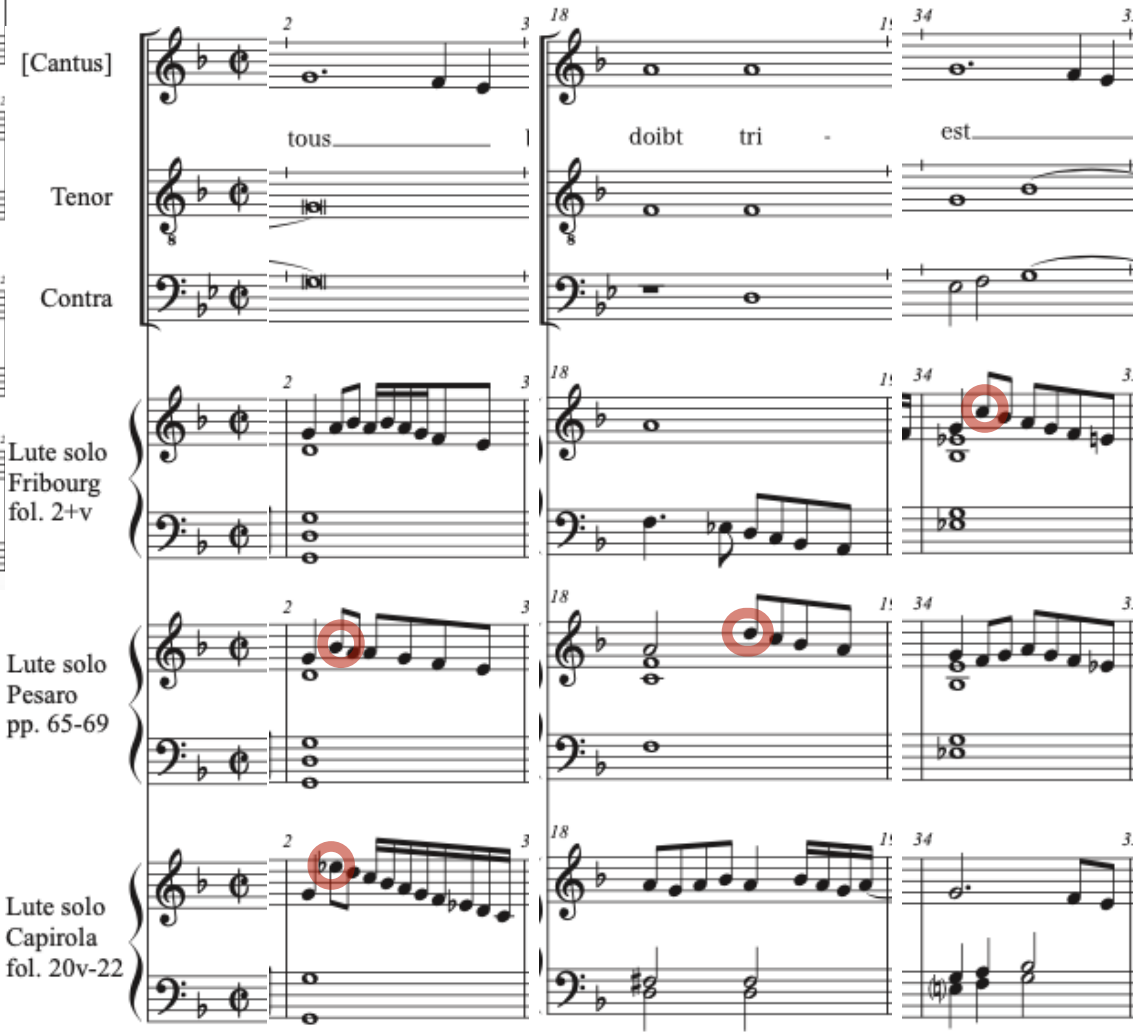


Figure 5.20 "Adieu mes amours" bar. 24

Figure 5.21 "De tous biens plaine" bar. 2, 18 and 34



3.3.5 Rhythmic arrangement

Contrary, the rhythmic arrangement like we saw on “De tous biens plaine” has disappeared from later sources (**Gerle**, **Neusidler 1**, **Neusidler 2**). The rhythm of the diminutions are basically same all the time. Proportion of 3 which appeared in earlier sources (ex. **Cap** and **Spinacino 1**) and also seen in Tinctoris’s composition or talked by Ganassi is disappearing.[132] The rhythm often there typically increases the divisions so the tension or flow of the music is going towards next beat.

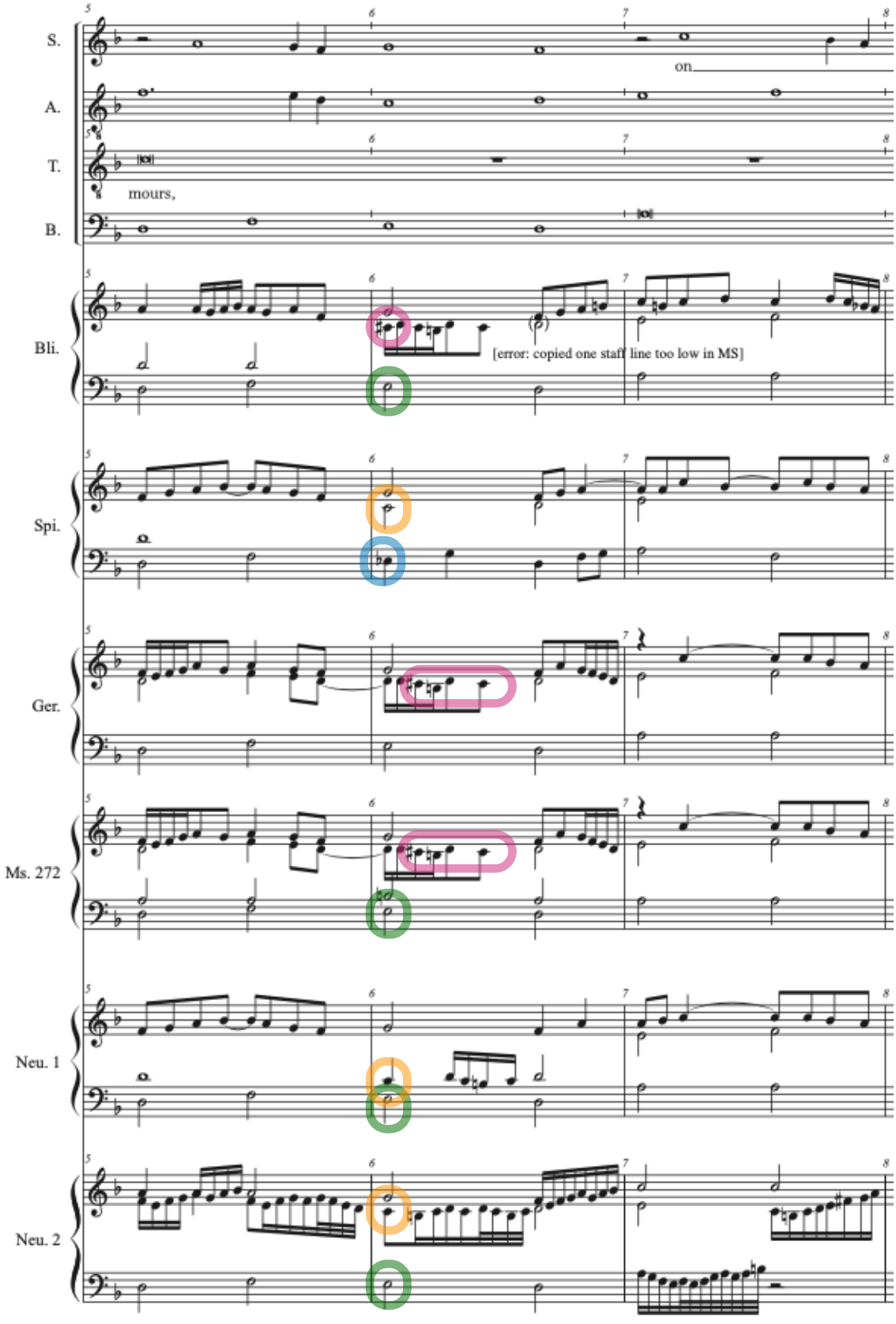
[132] Suganuma, *Intabulation and Diminution*.

3.3.7 Harmonic arrangement and accidentals

Variety of the harmonic or accidental changes are also seen in intabulations of "Adieu mes amours" as well as in "De tous biens plaine". In bar 6 (figure 5.21), accidentals are varied. The combination of the accidentals make the spot cadence or not, which means the intabulator had choice of making cadence here or not.

Figure 5.22 bar. 5–7

C sharp: pink
C natural: orange
E natural: green
E flat: blue



3.3.8 Summary

Gerle and **Neusidler 1&2** showed some features which did not appear in earlier intabulations of "De tous biens plaine"; (1)The priority of the parts are different; the tenor is not always there, even though this is still the most important part in the original setting. (1a) The superius is prioritised for it is more recognizable to the listener, and if other parts have some interesting movements or in higher range than the superius, they are included in the arrangement. (2) The notes are chosen to suit the idiomatic lute playing rather than to keep the original polyphonic texture. (3) Diminutions are not on one voice all the time but often run as a *bastarda* style.

Unlike **Pes**, **Fri**, **Cap** and **Bli**, **Gerle** and **Neusidler 1&2** are printed, so it makes sense that they are more "well-planned" rather than improvisational as discussed in "De tous biens plaine".[133] It should also be added that Neusidler published for didactic purposes. In the **Neusidler 1** version, he only chose 3 voices for the intabulation, even though the original setting has 4 voices. He did it in order to make the intabulation at the technical level he wanted. Publishing in such a didactic way also implies the existence of amateur lute players at that time. They learned from publications instead of going for lessons with lute masters every day. My assumption here is that it could explain why the rhythm is less varied. The texture is more square, less erratic, and more balanced. It might also involved in the development of the vocal polyphony and preference or fashion of the music by people in this time.

[133] See 3.2.8 "summary" in 'Analysis on "De tous biens plaine"'

Part III

Practice

Chapter 4. Practical application
4.0 Issues: “taste” and “style”

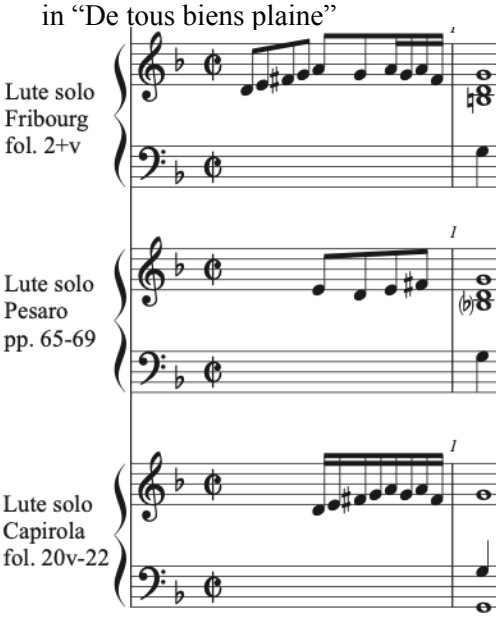
Although the process and practice of lute intabulation in the early 16th century is explained in Part II, some difficult issues still remain; “taste” and “style”. As modern historically informed musicians, we strive to apply the practice of earlier times to our playing. However, we are living in modern times under different circumstances, with different cultures and attitudes towards music. Thus, we have different tastes from musicians back then. Even though we attempt to understand music theory from the viewpoint of historical musicians, our modern influences are unavoidable. The same problem occurs when a new edition of music is published. Notes that sound peculiar to our ears might be “corrected”, regardless of whether they are actually mistakes or not.

The second issue, “style”, is also problematic. The style of a composer can only be reconstructed to a certain level of detail; some matters are up to the interpretation of the modern performer. For some repertoires, treatises describing ornamentation or the treatment of dissonances survive. However, there are often many exceptions to these rules found in the surviving music. A treatise might have simply been written to criticise musicians who did not follow these rules. Musical examples that deviate from these rules often sound the most beautiful to us, because they are different. However, if we imitate such deviations too frequently, they will no longer be special. On the other hand, mindless imitation of only typical idioms cannot truly be considered “art”.

As shown in Part II, each version of the analysed pieces had their own exceptions, but also their own similarities. In this study, I tried to imitate their styles, and subsequently made my versions.

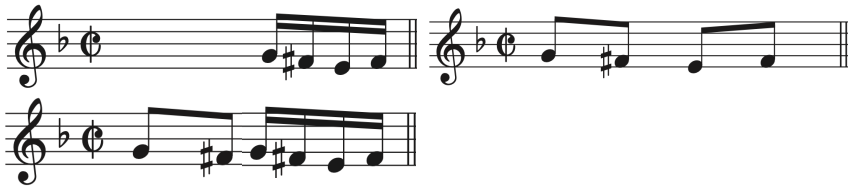
4.1 Introductory grace-notes

Figure 6.1 Introductory grace-notes in "De tous biens plaine"



In the beginning of the 16th century, two ways of playing the introductory grace-notes can be seen. One is an embellishment of the first note of the piece, the other one around the *gegenklang* (counter sonority) of the piece. For example, if the piece is written in G, and the first note of the cantus starts from G (=target note), the first way would be to embellish G or E, and the latter D, F-sharp or A. In their arrangements of "De tous biens plaine", Fribourg and Capirola embellished around the *gegenklang* and Pesaro around the first note (figure 6.1). These two ways of embellishing give a very different impression to the listener, so this is an important first choice for the intabulator. The basic pattern of the introductory grace-notes as often seen in the late 15th century was as follows:

Figure 6.2 Three typical introductory grace-notes



The first is also seen in the 16th century, but the latter embellishment around the *gegenklang* is seen in only a few pieces from after circa 1500.[134]

In 15th century sources, the introductory grace-notes usually consist of one, two or four beats.[135] When it is one beat, it usually has four sixteenth notes. However, in some 15th century sources such as **Loch,** two eighth notes may also be seen. If the introductory grace-notes are two beats long, they consist of either four eighth notes, or two eighth notes and four sixteenth notes, or eight sixteenth notes. Other patterns are potentially possible, but this way, the rhythm and musical direction are clear. I categorised the different possible diminution patterns; first the diminutions starting from E or G within one beat, and then two beats which will be divided in eighth notes, eighth notes and sixteenth notes.

Because there are no treatises about introductory grace-notes surviving from the 15th and 16th centuries, I reconstructed rules for it from surviving works (but of course some exceptions can be seen):

---

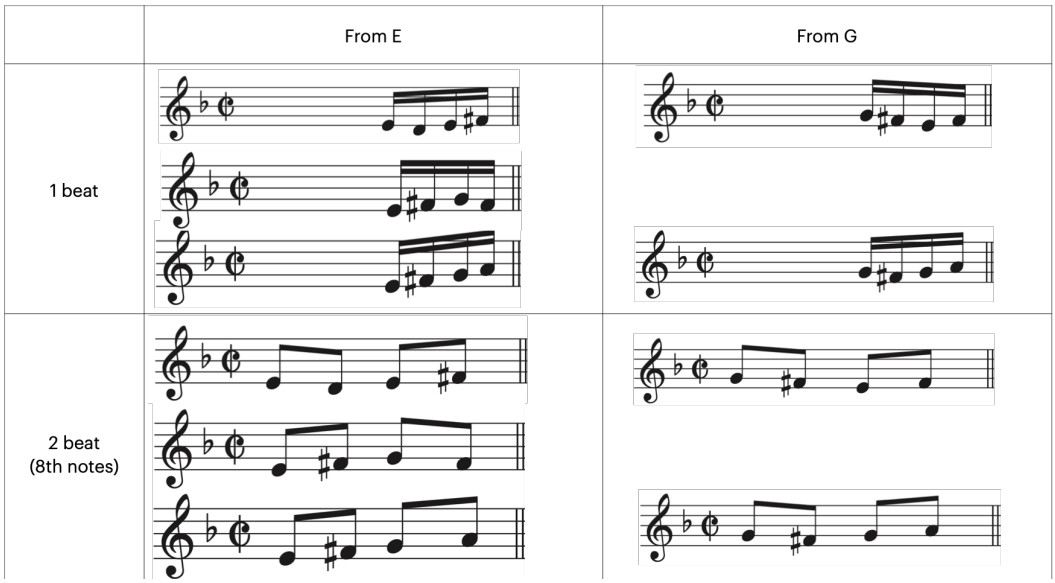
[134] Besides the two versions of "De tous biens plaine", Capirola's "Voi che passate qui" (Bartolomeo Tromboncino).

[135] With several exceptions, for example "Adie mes amour" in **Spi 1** has six sixteenth notes, which is one and a half beats. Also, extreme example: an intabulation for lute duo in the same book "Juli amours" has eight 32th notes, ascending more than an octave up to the eighth fret. In **Spi 2,** "Bergerette savoyene"and "Je ne cuide" have elaborate phrases; "Le souvenir" has six triplets.

- The diminutions should be in stepwise motion.
- The final note of the introductory grace-notes should be a neighbour of the “target note”.
  -An exception is at the end of the introductory grace-notes when it started from the *gegenklang,* If it starts from the *gegenklang*, the second to the final note can jump to the other neighbour note of the “target note”.
- The range of the introductory grace-notes should be from a fourth below the “target note” to the second (or minor third as an exception) above (for example, in G, the diminutions should be from the D below G to A, or possibly B-flat).
- Repeating neighbour notes are only possible when descending (for example. G-F#-G-F# is possible, while E-F#-E-F# is not possible).
- There should be an even number of notes.
- The diminution cannot slow down (they cannot start from sixteenth notes and finish with eighth note)

The rules I reconstructed are actually quite simple and practical; If the player starts from E or G, and the player always plays in stepwise motion, the final note will be automatically the *gegenklang* if the introductory grace-notes are with even numbers and stepwise motion. Thus, unless the player went far away from the “target note”, that final note will always be the neighbour of the “target note”. I also reconstructed a “Fundamental Organisandic-chart” for the introductory grace-notes (**Appendix 3**. Table 3 is a sample from the appendix).

Table 3 Sample of appendix 3, Introductory grace-notes possible list



These are only suggestions of possibilities, so other patterns may work as well. Furthermore, a combination of six eighth notes and four sixteenth notes like the example in the Fribourg arrangement of “De tous biens plaine” works as well, but I did not include it because it should be easily deducted from

the table. The choice of which pattern to use is a matter of personal preference. The purpose of the introductory grace-notes are to give a nice flow towards the beginning of a piece, inviting the audience to listen. So, in my opinion, the introductory grace-notes should clearly introduce the tempo, rhythm, and atmosphere of the piece. Patterns with a lesser gesture would seem to be the most effective for this purpose. For example, the pattern in Capirola's work sounds beautiful because it has a long descending movement followed by a quick ornament (figure 7.3,7.4 and 7.5).

Figure 6.3 Capirola's introductory grace-notes to "De tous biens"

Figure 6.4 Another example of lesser gesture

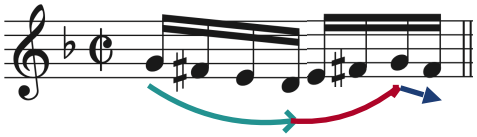
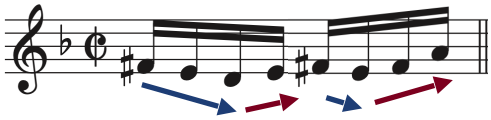
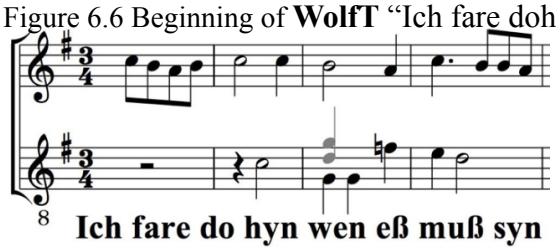


Figure 6.5 Example of many gesture



Aside from the musical considerations, we should also consider the technicalities of the lute. A player might want to avoid too much of a string crossing or fast movement. For example, if the introductory grace-notes are only one beat with four sixteenth notes, and the real beginning of the piece is with a right hand shape opened, it would be awkward to play fast notes from the beginning (the hand having to be held stiff to do so) and then suddenly open the hand to the position it needs to be. For example, **WolfT** "Ich fare dohyn" has the quick motif which is followed by only the discantus note and the tenor is added after (figure 7.6).[136]

Figure 6.6 Beginning of **WolfT** "Ich fare dohyn", edition by Marc Lewon



In summary, the following aspects should be considered in playing introductory grace-notes:

- Is the diminution in the right range?
- Is the diminution in conjunct motion?
- Does the diminution flow well (with regard to rhythm and gesture)?
- Is the diminution easy enough to play (with not too many string crossings or fast movements)?
- Is the rhythm not too confusing for the audience?

[136] Figure 7.6: borrowed from Lewon, *Transformational Practices in Fifteenth-Century German Music,* p. 163.

4.2.1 Application of the written practice

The aim of this study is to investigate the practices and processes of early 16th-century musicians. To accomplish this, I tried to trace the "layers" of transition of vocal pieces to the lute as they took place at the time (see Chapter3.2.8 summery of "Analysis of De tous biens plaine") on A part (first half) of the "De tous biens plaine":

(1) Original setting by Hayne.

(2) Unwritten layer: The original versions of many intabulations.

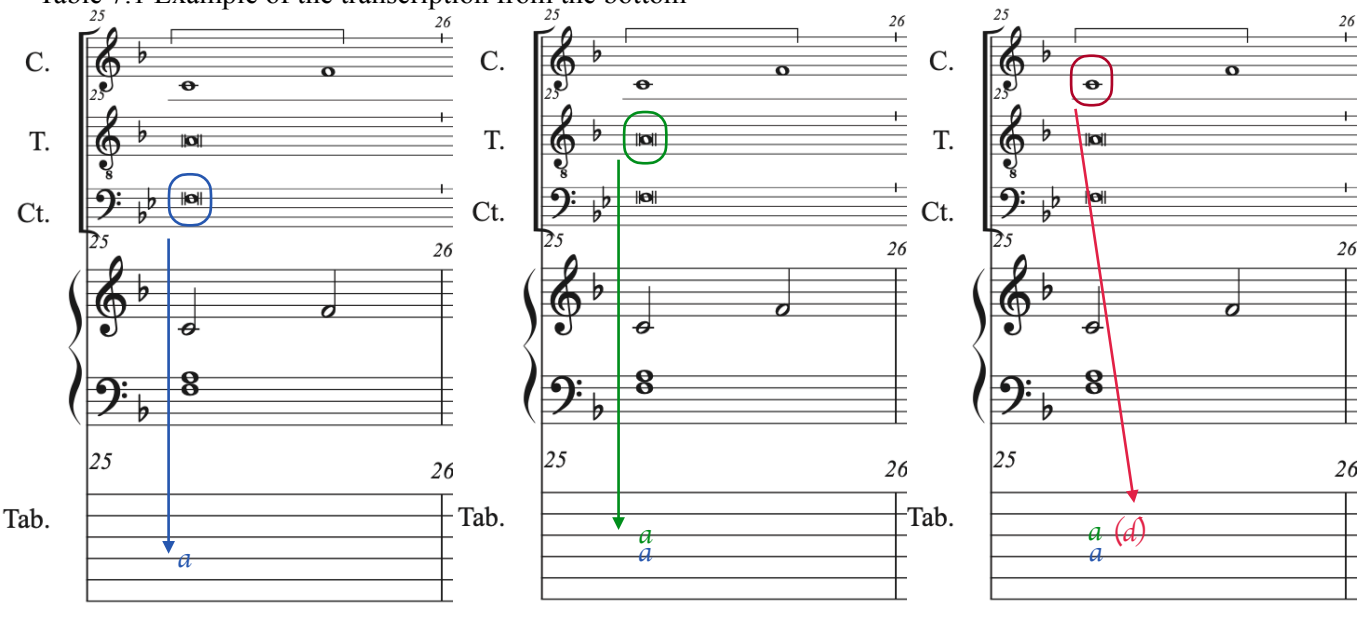
(2.5) Unwritten layer: Different versions of (2), transmitted aurally, imitated by various players without direct knowledge of the original intabulation.

(3) Written layer: The preservation of (2.5) with any of the various aforementioned purposes.

(4) Published layer: Stronger intention than (3).

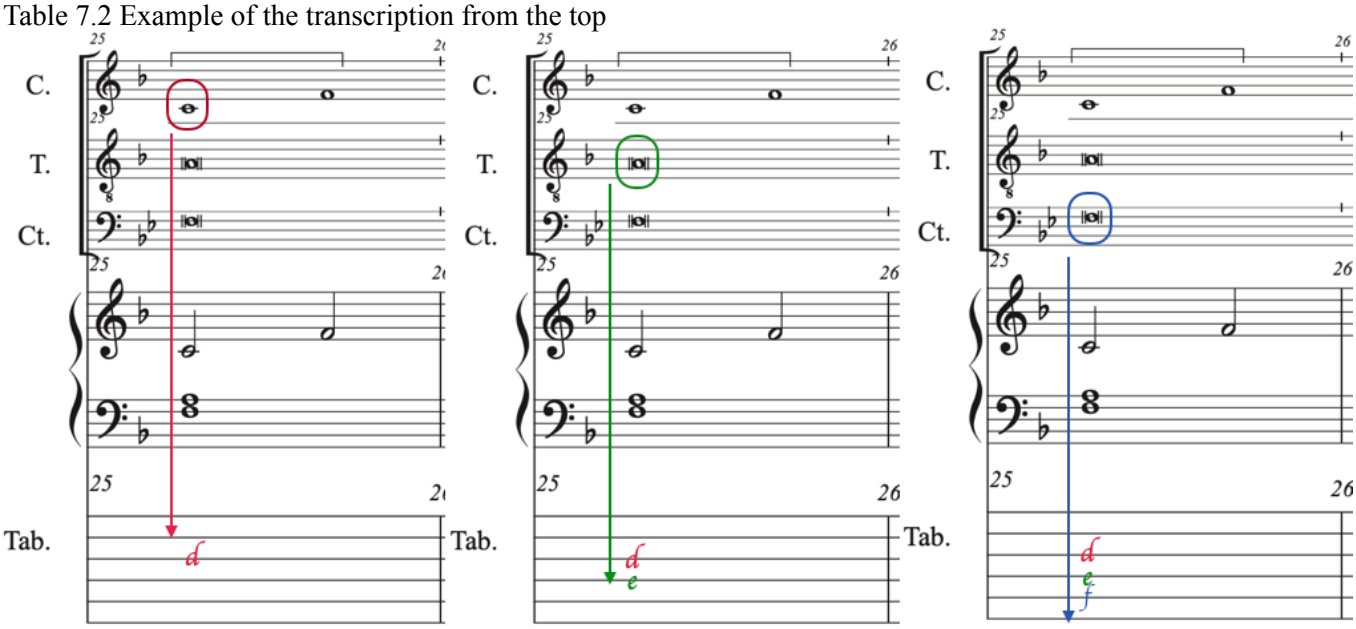
However, when attempting to apply this manner of transmission to our own practice, we find that it is all but impossible to re-experience the transmission from layer (1) to (2) aurally. I filled this void by using samples of music from surviving sources. First, I tried to trace the process from layer (1) to (2) by making my version whilst looking at original arrangements. This resulted in my version in the style of **Fri** and **Pes**, titled "Ueda 1" (**Appendix 1.4**). Subsequently, I tried to reproduce the transmission of (1) to (2.5) by writing out a tablature from the original vocal polyphony. As discussed in "Chapter 0.3: Intabulation and diminution", Hans Gerle advised to intabulate starting with the highest part. This makes sense, since the top part is actually the most essential, so it cannot be compromised by other less important voices. If one intabulates from the bottom or middle part, the top string might already be in use before the essential top part is transcribed. For instance, if intabulator transcribes F-A-C harmony from the bottom, starts from the bottom note F on the fourth course, and middle note A on the third course, and then comes to the top note C which can not be placed because the note C should be on the third course, but A is already on the third course (figure 7.1).

Table 7.1 Example of the transcription from the bottom



Contrary, if the intabulator transcribe from the top, the top note C on the third course, the middle note F on the fourth course, and then top note F on the fifth course, thus every note can be placed in this way (figure 7.2).

Table 7.2 Example of the transcription from the top



Hans Gerle also mentions that in a four-voice piece, the contra altus comes at the end, because the contra altus is considered to be the least important voice. “De tous biens plaine” has only three voices, so taking his advice, I transcribed the voices one by one, starting with the highest. This gives a skeletal version, i.e. a literal transcription.[137] I would suggest to call this “semi-written” (figure 7.1, the entire piece is in **Appendix 1.3**). I also made a worksheet without using the modern score of the original setting, to be used as the second stage of Martin Agricola’s process (figure 7.2, also in **Appendix 1.3**).[138]

[137] “Literal transcription”: see “Glossary”

[138] see chapter 0.3 Intabulation and diminution

Figure 8.1 Sample of appendix 1.3, Worksheet with open score

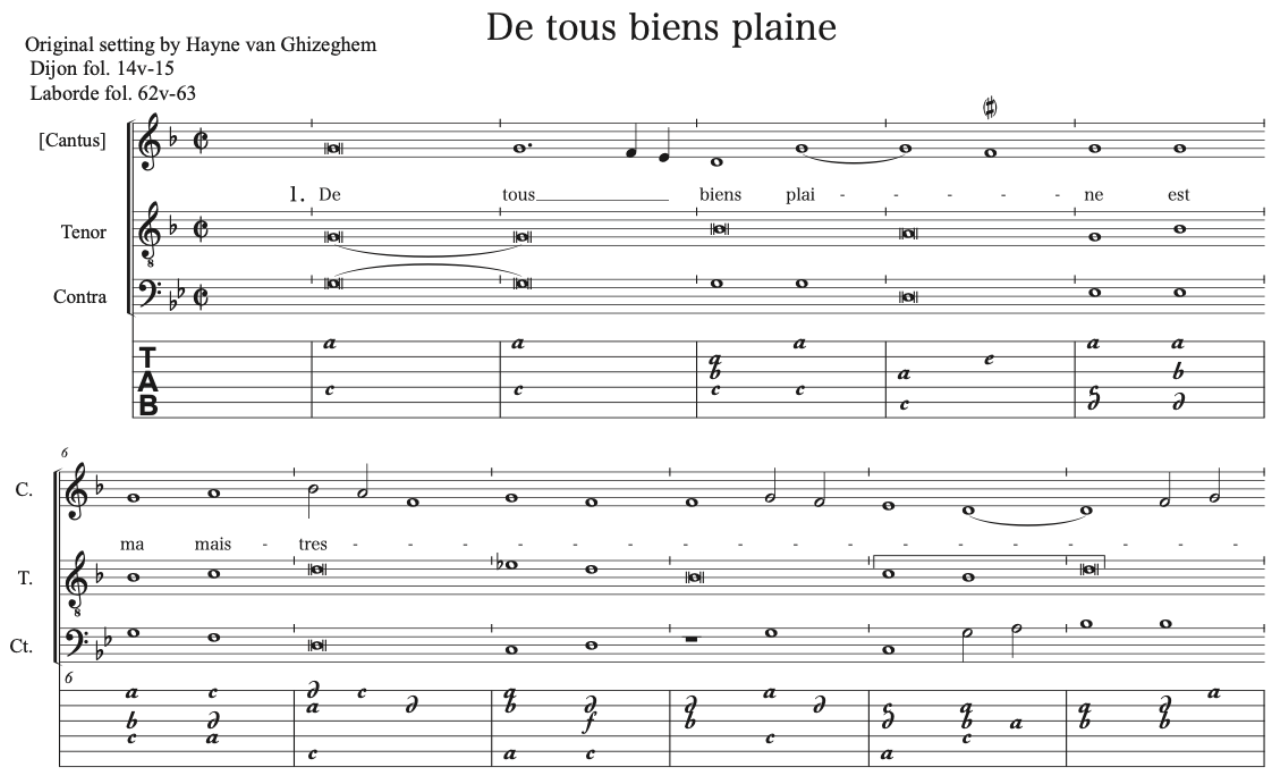
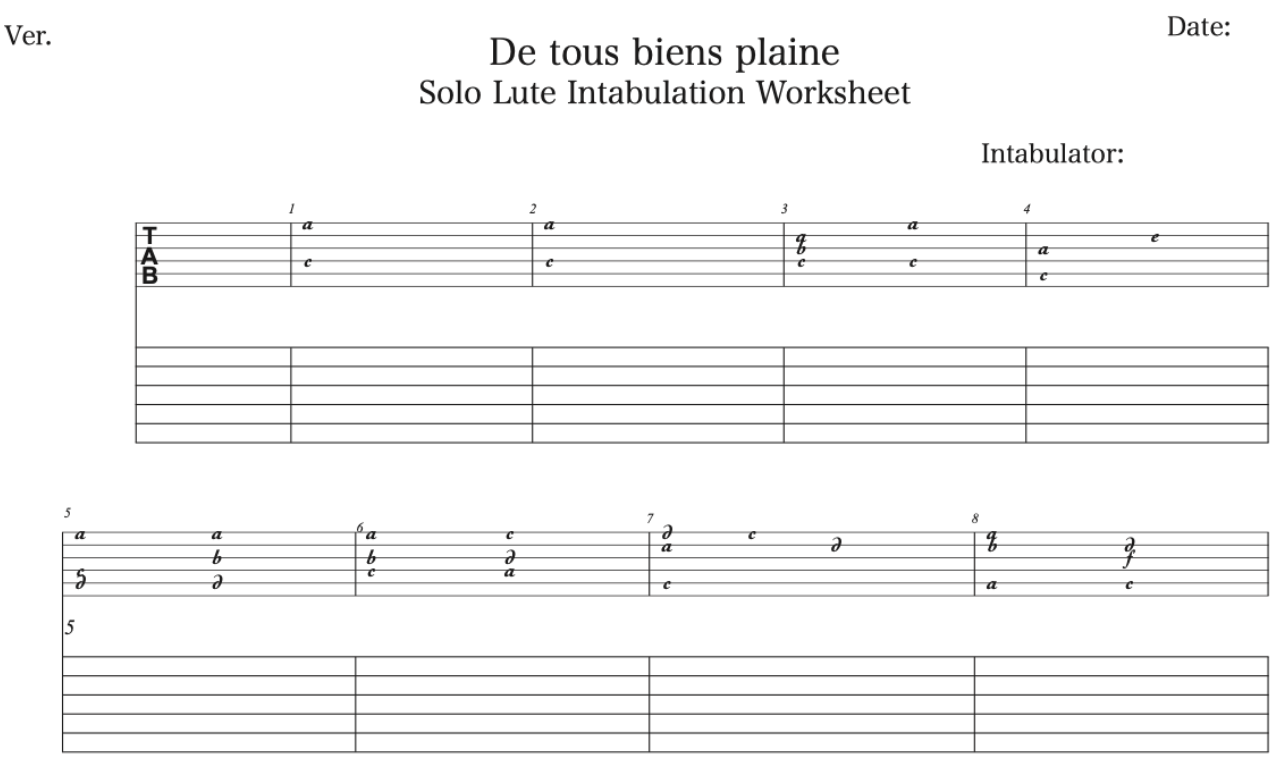


Figure 8.2 Sample of appendix 1.3, Worksheet without open score



I then proceeded to add some diminutions. Unfortunately, none of the lute treatises explains how to do this. This would already correspond to layer (3) or (4). I tried to write in the same style as the **Fri** and **Pes** versions ("Ueda 2"), and in **Cap**'s version ("Ueda 3") (**Appendix 1.4**).

In order to better imitate their styles, I defined the **Fri** and **Pes** style (see "Ueda 1" and "Ueda 2" in **Appendix 1.4**) in the following elements:

(1) Inconsistency in the number of voices; the strings in between the notes that play the notes of original voices are also played (meaning it is playable with a plectrum).

(2) The cantus has more diminutions than other voices, the contra occasionally has diminutions.

(3) Little variation in rhythms; mainly eighth notes in diminutions.

And I defined the **Cap** style (see "Ueda 3" in **Appendix 1.4**):

(1) The number voices corresponds to the original polyphonic piece; strings in between are not filled in (in this case, three voices).

(2) The cantus has more diminutions than the other voices, but it is still more balanced than the **Fri** and **Pes** styles, all *bastarda* style is often used.

(3) Varied rhythms; syncopated rhythms in the cantus and contra are often used.

(4) Strategy in structure (flourished parts and quiet parts are clearly distinguished).

(5) A "conversational" texture is often used (for example if the cantus has a diminution in the first half of the bar, the contra has a similar diminution in the second half, but not necessarily exactly the same diminution).

(6) Usage of sixth parallel motion, especially in cadences (this is also often seen in Capirola's other pieces such as his *Recercare*; perhaps even more often than contrary motion, which would be used later, namely by Francesco da Milano)

Ueda 1 and Ueda 2 already show correspondences, because when writing Ueda 2, I unconsciously remembered some of the diminutions of **Fri** and **Pes** from when I made Ueda 1.

4.2.2 Application of the unwritten practice

An important thing to be noted is that there are improvisations that can be played on the spot when sight-reading counterpoint (for example: *organum*, *faux bourdon*, *gymel*, canon et cetera). However, the kind of improvisation discussed here is not supposed to be played on first sight. Lutenists would have developed these "improvisations" by playing their arrangements over and over.

Using literal transcriptions of vocal pieces to lute tablature, which I explored in the previous section, I attempted to re-experience the "unwritten" layer of arrangement; playing the literal transcription but adding diminutions on the spot. It might be said that this is a re-experience of Hans Gerle's description of Blindhamer's playing (see **Video 1** for the attempt).[139]

However, in attempting to do so, I found that a literal transcription did not allow for the liberties that the lutenists of the three arrangements I analysed took (i.e. *musica ficta* and alterations of notes of the contratenor that allow for extra cadences). I decided to memorise the whole piece in order to more closely re-experience the manner of transmission (from layer (1) to (2)) as it would have occurred originally (see **Video 2**). Finally, after playing this many times I had memorised my favourite embellishments, notated it into tablature and made some final adjustments (see **Video 3** for this version). This corresponds to the transmission from layer (2.5) to (3) or even (4).

Going through this process allowed me to understand how lutenists might have made adjustments to their original interpretations to write down their final versions. After coming up with patterns I liked, I would write them down and already started to make some changes. For example, when diminutions were too similar, I would change them to something else. By looking at my intabulation on paper, I was able to see the wider context of the piece. Of course, skilled musicians would have likely been able to improvise and view the wider context without having to write their arrangements down. For example, my diminutions in bars 8, 9 and 10 were too similar. Furthermore, the alternation of the notes F and D in the lowest voice of bars 18, 20 and 22 sound too repetitive when played on the lute. By referring to Pes, Fri and Cap I came up with three options to solve this last problem (see Figure 8.3 and 8.4; the original F-D alternations are marked in red):

(1) Skipping either the F or the D on the contra (marked in blue).

(2) Adding a diminution on the contra (marked in green).

(3) Changing the note (marked in orange).

(4) Varying the rhythm (marked in pink).

---

[139] see Chapter 1.1 intabulation and diminution

Figure 8.3 Example of possible solutions

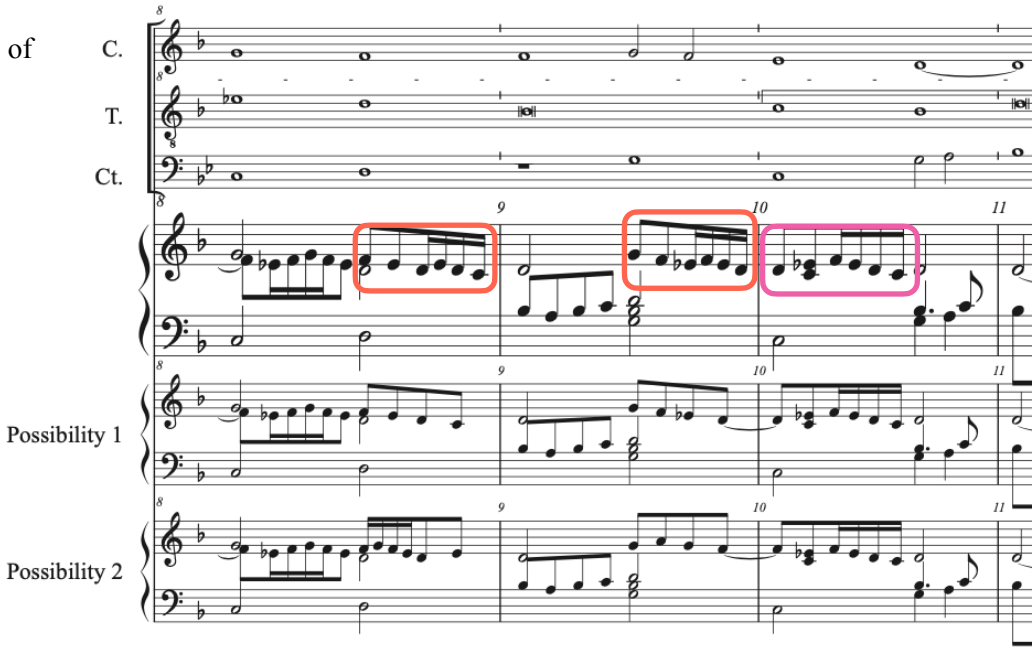


Figure 8.4 Example of possible solutions

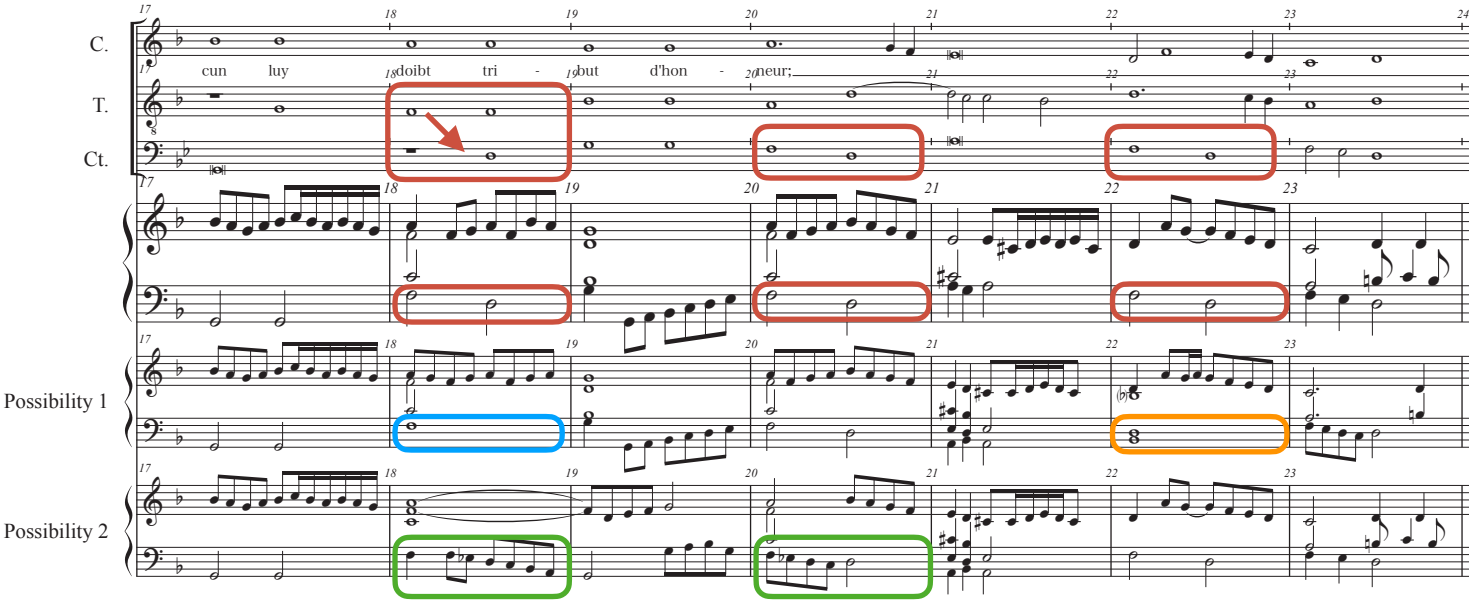
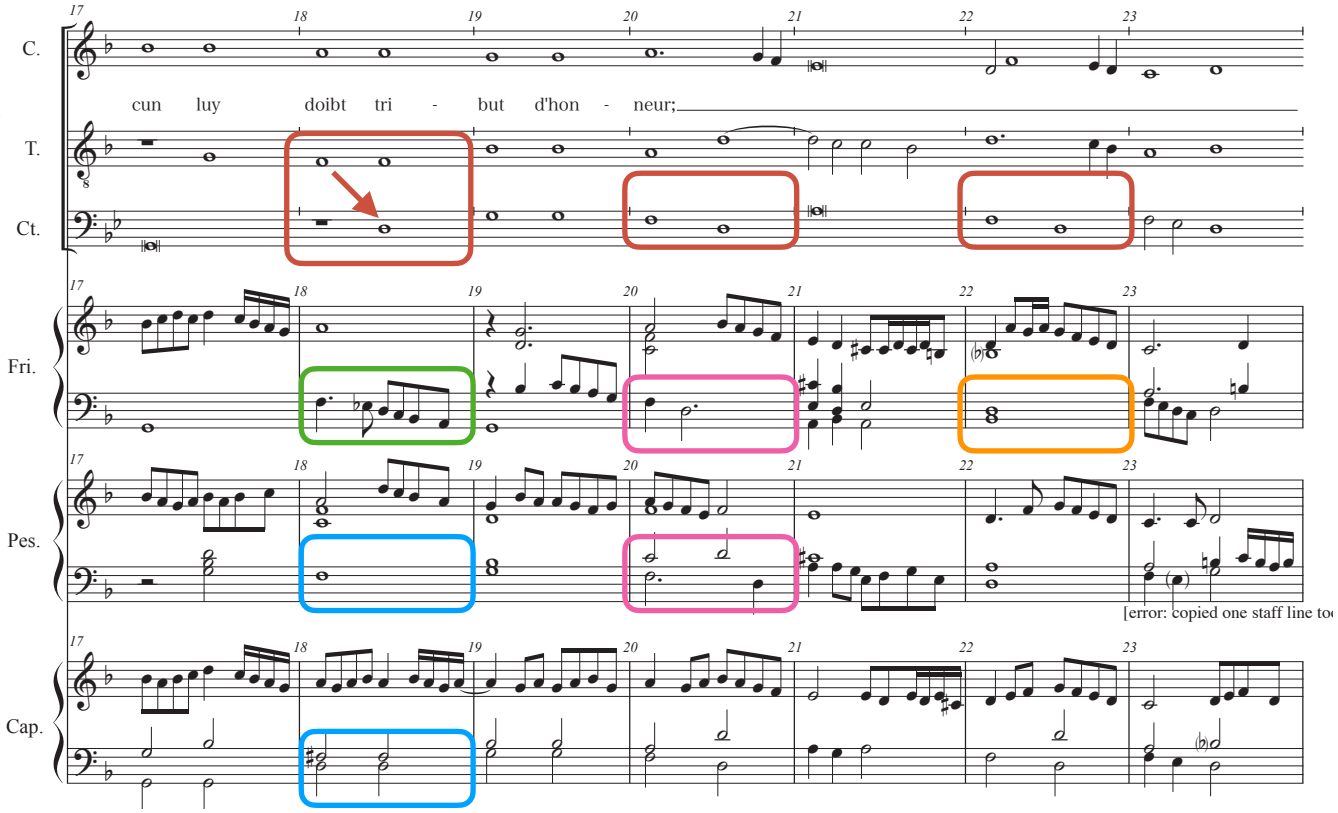
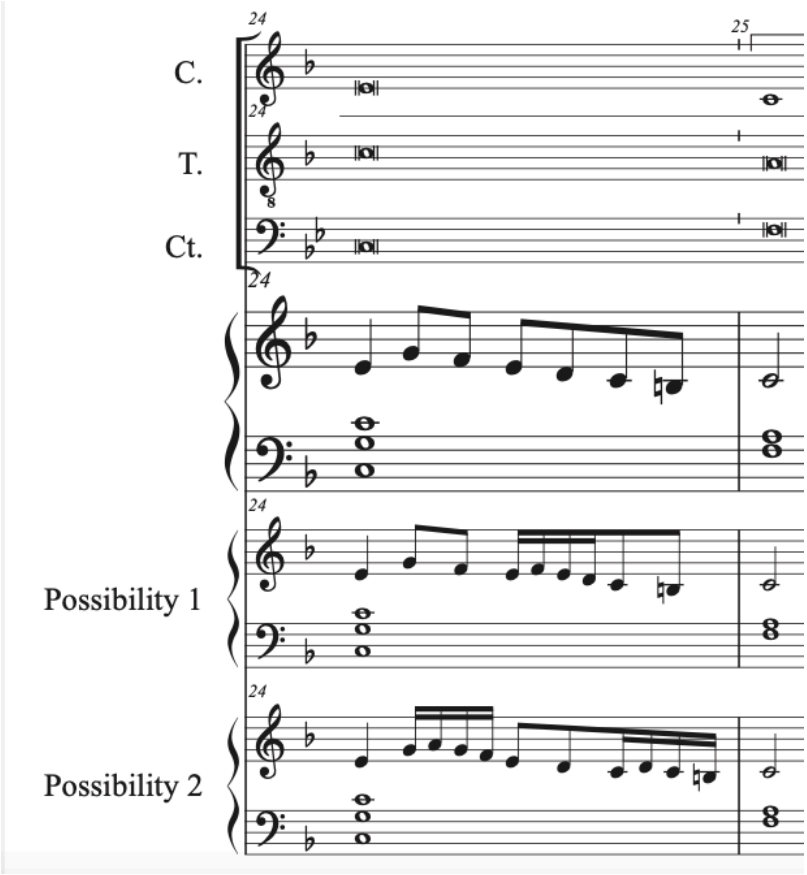


Figure 8.5 Possible solutions in sources



One more thing that became apparent in the process of arrangement was the fact that after making a simple arrangement (using mainly eighth notes, in the style of Pes), I was easily able to improvise extra diminutions in between (see Figure 8.6 and **Video 3** for the difference between my playing and the "written" version). This process would have been similar for the original lutenists.

Figure 8.6 Example of alteration



Finally, I played several times and tried to remember my favourite patterns, notated it on lute tablature, and made some adjustment (see "Ueda 4" in **Appendix 1.4** and **Video 3** for playing the entire piece). Therefore, this is the re-experience of layer (2.5) to (3) or even (4).

Conclusion

The analysis of lute solo intabulations from different sources has shown that the characteristics are slightly different; the intabulations from printed sources seemed more balanced and calculated than intabulations in manuscript sources.

As we saw in Part II, different musicians had their own style and purpose of arrangement. Furthermore, whether or not it was published is a big matter to be considered. The publication of music implies it will be heard by people time and again; the music does not disappear after its initial performance. Therefore, details of the craftsmanship of published music will be exposed more than music surviving in manuscripts (although we do not know the purpose of some of the manuscripts). Musicians might have played their arrangements without writing them down, but if they wanted to publish them, they would "compose" details or adjust their arrangements for publication. This adjustment is not necessarily an improvement, for playing for listeners without printed music and the publication of music are two different art forms.

Additionally, there are differences even between manuscripts, depending on the purpose of the manuscript. If the manuscript had as its purpose the preservation of musical works, they would have been just as meticulously thought-out as printed works. For example, the beautifully ornamented Capirola Lute Book contains intabulations that seem more elaborate than other versions. It can be said that its works are preserved because they were of sublime quality; they just had to be preserved. However, I consider music as it is written on paper or parchment and music that is intended just for listening to be two different art forms. If musicians wanted to show their work, they would make sure that there are no theoretical (i.e. counter point) mistakes, the diminutions are not too simple (so that the reader would assume the author must be a great player) and that every moment seems special. Therefore, I believe intabulators would have made adjustments to their initial intabulations when they wanted to publish their works or pass them on to students. Moreover, printed music often has education as its main purpose. In Neusidler's book, the intabulations are ordered from easiest to hardest, meaning that they are obviously written to be at a specific level of difficulty. My hypothesis is that the consequence of the spread of prints might have changed the style of intabulation towards the mid-16th century, to a more "well-planned", or in another word, "composed" style.

The beginning of the publication of music might have changed not only the style of intabulation, but also the manner of transmission. Before printing became a common tool to spread music, lute players might have listened to and copied each other's intabulations, be it unconsciously or consciously. This is also my hypothesis, based on the interesting correspondences between the different versions of "De tous biens plaine" (Chapter 6.2).

Before I apply the process of transmission to my own practice, I had merely an approximate idea of how lutenists transmitted music. There is no way to actually know what they did for sure. I would kindly suggest fellow lutenists to make their own versions. It is only my personal artistic feeling, but it makes me understand the piece better; therefore, I feel more convinced of my own playing.

The issue of modern musicians' "taste" and the way it differs from earlier musicians as I mentioned in Chapter 4.1 is also an important thing to consider. I believe that writing in an authentic "style" is an exercise in better understanding and analysing the music. I strongly believe that the employment of this process allows for a mindset that emulates the style of musicians of the period more closely. Performing one's own versions of pieces has great advantages of (1) being able to adjust the piece to the performer's technical level, and (2) the performance will sound more convincing and connected to the performer. I hope this present study will encourage fellow lutenists to expand their repertoire.

Glossary

Cantisans/cantus clausula: One of the *clausule* (movement in cadence) among *altisans*, *tenorisans* and *bassisans*. The *cantisans* is a movement which leading tone goes to the *finalis* by half tone ascending. The *tenorisans* is movement with descending whole tone. Originally *cantisans* was on cantus line and *tenorisans* was on tenor line. However after around 16th century, the *clausule* are labeled based on movement, no matter in which voice they are. If the *cantisans* and *tenorisans* were happening at same time, it is considered to be "cadence".

Cantus firmus: Pre-existing melody used as the basis of a new polyphonic composition.

Course: A lute has strings in pairs. One pair is called a "course". The courses are counted from the highest to the lowest. Therefore, the top string is the first course. A lute with 6 courses is called a "6-course lute".

Discantista and tenorista: In the performance practice of the 15th century, the discantista plays/ improvises the upper part above the tenor (and contra tenor), which is played by tenorista.

Gruppo: A cadential upper-note trill, often rhythmical with a turn at the end.

Bastarda: Diminution which cross more than one voice.

Forme fixus/fixed form: Poetic forms which affected to the musical forms such as Rondeau, Virelai, Ballade et cetra.

Hexachord: Series of six-notes: ut, re, mi, fa, sol, la. The degree between mi and fa is a semi-tone, the rest consists only of whole tones.

Literal transcription: Instrumental arrangement (intabulation) without appropriations (in the sense of adding diminutions or changing notes to be more idiomatic for the instrument).

Musica ficta: Contrast with musica recta or musica vera; notes that do not belong to the hexachord, which consequently occurs chromatic alteration, apart from b-flat which is considered diatonic.

Nominal A tuning/G tuning: A2-D3-G3-H3-E4-A4/G2-C3-F3-A3-D4-G4. On the fourth course, fifth course, and sixth course, one of the string is tuned octave higher (diapason string).

Tablature: A notation system for keyboard instrument or plucked instrument.

Perfect instruments: Johannes Tinctoris's definition which an instrument with no (or very few) limitations regarding range and pitches (such as chromatic alterations) so it can be used to perform all written music of the era, for instance keyboard instruments and lute or shawms.[140]

---

[140] Tinctoris, "DE INVENTIONE ET USU MUSICAE (The invention and practice of music) Book 4":
"According to this, the two middle strings tuned to a major third and the rest in fourths, thereby making the Lyra [lute] completely perfect." English translation:
Anthony Baines. "Fifteenth-Century Instruments in Tinctoris's De Inventione Et Usu Musicae." *The Galpin Society Journal* 3 (1950): 19-26. Accessed March 3, 2021. doi:10.2307/841898. p. 22.

Bibliography

Apel, Willi (ed.). *Keyboard music of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries music* (Corpus of early keyboard music 1) American Institute of Musicology, 1963.

Baines, Anthony. “Fifteenth-Century Instruments in Tinctoris’s De Inventione Et Usu Musicae”, *The Galpin Society Journal 3* (1950): pp. 19–26. Accessed October 18, 2020.

Banks, Jon. *The Instrumental Consort Repertory of the Late Fifteenth Century*, Routledge, 2019, Kindle edition.

Bent, Margaret. “‘Resfacta’ and ‘Cantare Super Librum’”, *Journal of the American Musicological Society* 36, no. 3 (1983): 371-91. Accessed October 18, 2020.

Beier, Paul. “Arcana of Right-Hand Fingering in the Early 16th Century, *Lute Society of America Quarterly*, Volume LIII, no. 1 (2018).

Brown, Howard Mayer (ed.). *Instrumental Music Printed Before 1600: A Bibliography,* Cambridge: Mass, 1965.

Brown, Howard Mayer. “Embellishment in Early Sixteenth-Century Italian Intabulations.” Proceedings of the Royal Musical Association 100 (1973): 49-83. Accessed November 19, 2020.

Brown, Howard Mayer. “Bossinensis, Willaert and Verdelot: Pitch and the Conventions of Transcribing Music for Lute and Voice in Italy in the Early Sixteenth Century." Revue De Musicologie 75, no. 1 (1989): 25-46. Accessed November 19, 2020. doi:10.2307/928967.

Beth Bullard. *Musica getutscht: a treatise on musical instruments (1511) by Sebastian Virdung*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2007.

Carruthers, Mary. *The Book of Memory: A Study of Memory in Medieval Culture*. 2nd ed. Cambridge Studies in Medieval Literature. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2008.

Fabris, Dinko. “The Origin of Italian Lute Tablature: Venice circa 1500 or Naples Before Petrucci?” *Basler Jahrbuch Für Histoprische Musikpraxis* XXV (2001): pp. 143–158, 2001.

Fallows, David. “Fifteenth-Century Tablatures for Plucked Instruments: A Summary, a Revision, and a Suggestion” , in: *Lute Society Journal* 19 (1977), pp. 7–33.

Faria, Federico. “Die Verbreitung der deutschen Lautentabulatur und die Bezeichnungspraktiken für die Niederschrift des sechsten Chores als Indikatoren für regionale Schreibschulen und Repertoirezentren” (2012).

Ferand, Ernest T. “What Is ‘Res Facta’?”, *Journal of the American Musicological Society* 10, no. 3 (1957), pp. 141–50. Accessed October 18, 2020.
Gombosi, Otto Johannes. *Compositione di Meser Vincenzo Capirola. Lute-book (circa 1517), edited by Otto Gombosi*, Published with the assistance of the Newberry Library of Chicago, 1955.

Hildemarie, Peter. *Opera intitulata Fontegara A treatise on the art of playing the recorder and of free ornamentation*, Ed. Hildemarie Peter. <English translation by Dorothy Swainson.>. Berlin: Robert Lienau, 1959.

Ivanoff, Vladimir. "An Invitation to the Fifteenth-Century Plectrum Lute: The Pesaro Manuscript" in: *Performance on Lute, Guitar, and Vihuela. Historical Practice and Modern Interpretation,* ed. Coelho, Victor Anand (Cambridge Studies in Performance Practice 6), Cambridge, 1997, pp. 1–15.

Kieffer, Paul. "The Cantus Firmus Works for Lute: A Study of Cantus Firmus Improvisation and Intabulation Circa 1500 with a Detailed Performance Edition", Masterarbeit, 2014.

Kirnbauer, Martin. "Petrucci in the Fifteenth Century: The Lute Duos" in: *Cattin, Giulio and Patrizia Dalla Vecchia* (eds.): Venezia 1501. Petrucci e la stampa musicale. Atti del convegno internazionale Venezia ... 2001, Venice 2005 (Edizioni Fondazione Levi 3, 6), pp. 591–607.

Kirnbauer, Martin. "'Possi stampar canto figurado ne intaboladure dorgano et de liuto" – Zur Problematik früher Instrumentaltabulaturen', Ottaviano Petrucci. 1501-2001, Winterthur: Amadeus Verlag, 2002 (Basler Jahrbuch für historische Musikpraxis, 25 (2001)), pp. 159–175.

Lewon, Marc (ed.). *Das Lochamer Liederbuch in neuer Übertragung und mit ausführlichem Kommentar, Reichelsheim*: Verlag der Spielleute, 2007 (vol. 1), 2008 (vol. 2) and 2009 (vol. 3).

Lewon, Marc. "Agricola et ung bon joueur de luz – Agricola and the Lute", in: *Quarterly of the Lute Society of America* 43/4 (2008), pp. 7–21.

Lewon, Marc. "Transformational Practices in Fifteenth-Century German Music", 2018.

List, Roman. "Die Lautentabulatur 'A-Wn, Mus. Hs. 41950'", Diplomarbeit, Universität Wien. Philologisch-Kulturwissenschaftliche Fakultät BetreuerIn: Lodes, Birgit. 2013.

Lockwood, Lewis. "Music in Renaissance Ferrara, 1400-1505", Cambridge: Massachusetts, 1984.

Marincola, Federico. "The Instructions from Vincenzo Capirola's Lute Book - A NEW TRANSLATION". *The Lute: The Journal of the Lute Society* 23 part 2 (1983): pp. 23-28.

Minamino, Hiroyuki. "Conrad Paumann and the evolution of solo lute practice in the fifteenth century" ' in: *Journal of Musicological Research* 6 (1986): pp. 291–310.

Minamino, Hiroyuki. "Who was Henricus?", in: *The Lute: The Journal of the Lute Society* 46 (2006): pp. 68–72.

Minamino, Hiroyuki. "The Schlick-Virdung Intabulation Controversy", in: *The Lute: The Journal of the Lute Society* 46 (2006): pp. 54–67.

Nordstrom, Lyle Elmer. "An examination of the first book of lute tablatures by Francesco Spinacino". D.M.A. project - Dept. of Music, Stanford University, 1969.

O'Dette, Paul. "Quelques remarques sur l'execution de la musique de danse de dalza" in: *Le Luth et sa musique*, vol. 2, Paris: CNRS Editions, 1984.

Page, Christopher. “The Fifteenth-Century Lute: New and Neglected Sources” in: *Early Music* 9, (1981): pp. 11–21.

Plamenac, Dragon (ed.). *Keyboard Music of the Late Middle Ages in Codex Faenza 117* (Corpus Mensurabilis Musicae 57), American Institute of Musicology, 1977.

Robinson, John H. And Dempster, Miles (ed.). “Der ander theil des lautenbuchs Hans Neusidler (1536)”, Montreal: Score Conversions, 1995.

Rubsamen, Walter H.. “The Earliest French Lute Tablature” in: *Journal of the American Musicological Society* 21, no. 3 (1968): pp. 286–299. Accessed November 19, 2020.

Suganuma, Kiichi. “Intabulation and Diminution: Its Consistency from the Late Medieval Ages to the Early Baroque Period” Master thesis, Tokyo University of the Arts, 2015.

Staehelin, Martin. “Norddeutsche Fragmente mit Lautenmusik um 1460 in Wolfenbüttel,” in *Kleinüberlieferung mehrstimmiger Musik vor 1550 in deutschem Sprachgebiet: Neue Quellen des Spätmittelalters aus Deutschland und der Schweiz* (Abhandlungen der Akademie der Wissenschaften zu Göttingen, Neue Folge 15), Berlin: Walter de Gruyter, 2011.

Smith, Douglas Alton. *History of the Lute from Antiquity to the Renaissance,* Lexington: Lute Society of America, 2002.

Smith, Anne. *The performance of 16th-century music: learning from the theorists*, Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2011.

Wallner, Bertha Antonia. *Das Buxheimer Orgelbuch*. Kassel: Bärenreiter, 1958.

Ward, John. “The Use of Borrowed Material in 16th-Century Instrumental Music.” *Journal of the American Musicological Society* 5, no. 2 (1952): pp. 88–98. Accessed March 5, 2021.

Wegman, Rob C. “From maker to composer: improvisation and musical authorship in the Low Countries, 1450-1500” in: *Journal of the American Musicological Society,* 49 (1996): pp. 409–479.

Young, Robert Crawford and Martin Kirnbauer. *Frühe Lautentabulaturen im Faksimile / Early lute tablatures in facsimile*, ed. by Thomas Drescher (Pratica Musicale 6), Winterthur: Amadeus, 2003.

Zöbeley, Hans Rudolf. *Die Musik des Buxheimer Orgelbuchs*, vol. 10 Tutzing: Schneider, 1964.