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# *Geluit-Luthinerie*

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## **P**réface

Christine Ballman  
Présidente

Dans notre yearbook 2022, vous trouverez de nouvelles recherches de Nieuwlaat sur Dowland et entre autres Van den Hove. Plus on cherche, plus on trouve de liens avec des manuscrits ! Vous pourrez aussi prendre connaissance de la nouvelle édition critique des œuvres pour luth que Phalèse a publiées, avec en bonus cinq pièces que vous pourrez jouer. Enfin, je vous livre ici l'article fait à partir de ma conférence de l'an dernier sur Narvaez.

Bonne lecture

## **V**oorwoord

Greet Schamp  
redactie

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De zoektocht naar sporen van Dowland in Europa wordt almaar spannender, vooral nu er mogelijke connecties zijn met Joachim Van den Hove en nog veel meer. Verder krijgt u wat meer uitleg over de nieuwe geannoteerde uitgave van alle luitwerken die Phalèse uitgaf en u krijgt er nog gratis vijf bladzijden muziek bij om zelf te spelen. Tenslotte komt de schriftelijke neerslag van de lezing die Christine Ballman gaf op de luitdag van 2021.

Veel leesplezier

## **V**erdelot's *Ultimi miei sospiri* - A case study on the interpretation of concordances (1) André Nieuwlaat

In my first contributions to *Geluit /Luthinerie*, I described the initial stages of my ongoing research into lute sources, and how they are connected to one another. It was initially prompted by the fact that I started having doubts about the authenticity of two pieces, usually attributed to Francesco da Milano and known as Nos. 82 and 83 in the Ness edition of Francesco's works. Subsequent research had revealed that my doubts were justified, and that both pieces were in fact reworkings in the style of Francesco of previously existing material, found in a number of late 16th century English lute sources. In addition to this, both pieces had turned out to contain more or less hidden references to two very famous fantasias: the Forlone Hope Fancy (in the case of 82) and the Farewell Fancy (83). They were undoubtedly meant as hints, enabling the discerning listener to identify the true composer of both pieces: John Dowland.

Once I had found out about the origins of Francesco 82 and 83, I naturally also became interested in the manuscript lute sources containing the source material that had been used for both pieces: the Marsh, Hirsch and Thistlethwaite lute books. It seemed only logical to assume that a hitherto unknown direct connection between these sources and the person of John Dowland existed. It also struck me that some of the source material for both 82 and 83 was to be found in a printed compilation of lute music, published by Elias Mertel in Strasbourg in 1615, and I immediately started wondering about the nature of the source material that Mertel had at his disposal when he put together his compilation.

I can safely say that I have made considerable progress in my research since it first got underway. The Hirsch and Thistlethwaite lute books in particular have proved to be invaluable for the research that followed. An enormous amount of information can be retrieved from the study of the concordances to them. I believe that, when properly conducted, such study may even enable us to fill in some of the blanks in Dowland's biography. But for now I intend to focus on one piece only, in order to demonstrate how, by trying to make sense of the contents of a single source, one thing can lead to another.

The piece in question is found in the Hirsch lute book.(2) It is a wonderfully imaginative intabulation of Philippe Verdelot's *Ultimi miei sospiri*, and the quality of it (like that of most pieces in the Hirsch lute book) is quite extraordinary; so extraordinary in fact that, in my opinion, it could only have been written by a first class composer such as John Dowland. And so, for the time being and as a working hypothesis only, let us assume that Dowland really *is* the composer, and see where that leads us.

A very interesting question then arises. For although many of the high-quality pieces in Hirsch are not found anywhere else, this is not the case for this particular setting of *Ultimi miei sospiri*. One other source is known for it: a Continental lute manuscript that is kept at the University Library of Hamburg, and that is known as the Schele lute book (D-Hs ND VI 3238). When I first learnt the concordant version, I started wondering about what might possibly explain its presence in this Continental source. And so I consulted Ralf Jarchow's modern facsimile edition of the Schele lute book (3), hoping that it would provide me with clues to finding the explanation that I was looking for.

I must admit that, after reading Jarchow's introduction to his edition, things did not look very promising. According to Jarchow, the lute book is for the most part in the hand of Ernst Schele, a student who was probably from the Hamburg area, and possibly of Dutch descent. His name, or rather that of a 'Iulius Ernestus Schelius', is frequently found in combination with that of a Daniel Schele. It is not known what their family relationship was, but we do know that Daniel Schele was a student at the university of Leiden in the second decade of the 17th century. This is relevant because a direct link clearly exists between the Schele lute book and the city of Leiden: the manuscript contains several pieces that were written by the composer and lute teacher Joachim van den Hove, who was originally from Antwerp, but who was active in Leiden at the time. No evidence had been found however of a stay by anyone by the name of Ernst Schele in Leiden, and so Jarchow concluded that the Schele lute book probably had originated in the Hamburg area, that it was written almost entirely by an Ernst Schele living there, and that the Leiden connection in the Schele lute book was in some way related to the fact that a Daniel Schele, from the same family as Ernst, had studied there.

It is also worth noting that Jarchow makes mention of the testament (dated 1620) of one Ernst Schele, living in

Zelle (a town in Lower Saxony, some 100 kms. south of Hamburg). The signature under it somewhat resembles that of the name 'Ernst Schele' as it appears on the title page of the lute book; the capital letter E in particular seems to be identical in both cases. But apart from this, there was no evidence to show that this Ernst Schele and the person by the same name, living in the Hamburg area and believed to be the scribe of the lute book, were one and the same.

All of this made very little sense to me. I could think of no possible way in which a student, living in the Hamburg area, could ever have gotten access to a manuscript (perhaps even the Hirsch lute book itself!) with Dowland's setting of *Ultimi miei sospiri* in it.

But then, as I re-read Jarchow's introduction, several things in it struck me that didn't seem quite right. Firstly, there is the family name of Schele. It is suggested by Jarchow that Ernst Schele may have been of Dutch descent. But the Dutch word 'scheel' or 'schele' means 'crosseyed', and although 'schele' may occasionally be used as a less than flattering nickname or even simply as a direct insult, I cannot remember ever having come across it as a Dutch family name. According to Jarchow however, the family name Schele is not uncommon in Germany. It therefore seemed far more likely to me that, if Ernst Schele was indeed the person who compiled the lute book, he would have been German rather than Dutch. But if that is the case, then other problems present themselves.

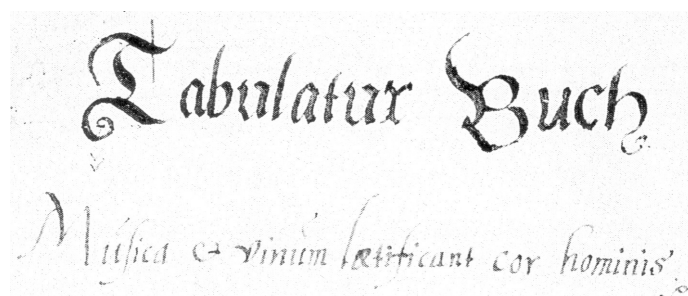
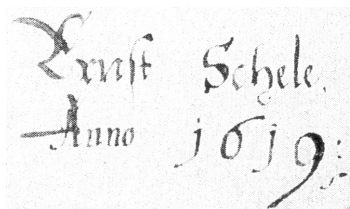
As I wrote earlier, the Schele lute book contains a substantial number of pieces that were composed by Joachim van den Hove, who was active in Leiden. Some of those pieces were written for special occasions, often as a musical way of saying farewell when one of Van den Hove's lute students left Leiden. The particular occasions for which the pieces were written are invariably mentioned in the margins - but always in Dutch, never in German. If the lute book was really compiled in the Hamburg area as Jarchow suggests, then what were the sources that Ernst Schele was copying the music from? And furthermore: if he was German, as I believe he was for the reasons I just mentioned, then why did he write down the texts in the margins in Dutch, when there was no evidence that he had ever studied in Leiden? Or even that he knew Dutch at all?

In addition to all of this: it is extremely unlikely, not to say impossible that a German, when writing a text in a Germanic language such as Dutch, would have used a non-gothic script for that, but a script that is much closer to italic script. And yet, none of the Dutch titles in the lute book are in a gothic script: throughout the manuscript only an italic script is used. What is more: the paper that was used for the Schele lute book, supposedly written in or near Hamburg, was manufactured in the Netherlands, and not in Germany as one would expect.

Things finally began to fall into place as I re-read Jarchow's description of the manuscript, and especially his identification of the scribes on p. 12:

*"The name Ernst Schele on folio 1 indicates that he was the owner of the manuscript. The handwriting there is identical with the following pages."*

'The handwriting is identical': this is presented as an established fact, something that is not even worth debating about. But as a trained archivist, with many years of experience of working on 16th and 17th century sources behind me, all I can say to this (and I am sure that any trained archivist will agree with me) is: this is simply incorrect. Even a superficial comparison of the title page with the rest of the manuscript shows unequivocally and beyond any doubt that they were *not* written by the same person.



First of all, let us deal with the words 'Tabulatur Buch' and the name 'Ernst Schele'. They are written in a gothic script that, as Jarchow rightly observes, is best described as Kanzleischrift. But this particular script is used only here, and nowhere else in the manuscript. And so Jarchow's assertion that the script on the title page is identical with the script in the pages that follow it is completely unfounded, at least for these words: there is simply nothing in

the lute book to compare them with. Besides, if the Ernst Schele on the title page was of Dutch descent, he surely would have written 'Tabulatuur Boek' (Dutch) instead of 'Tabulatur Buch'. After all: all titles in the lute book itself are in Dutch as well. The fact alone that the language used on the title page is not consistent with the language in the lute book itself is a clear indication that we are almost certainly dealing with two different scribes.

Next, there is the dating of the manuscript to consider: 1619. The numeral 6 is especially worthy of attention. When compared to the 9 that follows it, the shaft of the 6 is relatively short, and leans heavily to the right. This 6 is radically different from the 6 as we find it throughout the manuscript, in the page numbers. They invariably show a 6 with a much longer, upright, and often almost vertical shaft - certainly nothing like the 6 in '1619' on the title page.

Finally, there is the Latin motto: *Musica et Vinum laetificant cor hominis* (translated: Music and wine give joy to the heart of man). Unlike the words 'Tabulatur Buch' and the name 'Ernst Schele', these words *do* provide us with the possibility of a direct comparison with the writing in the manuscript. In both cases, the italic script that is used is very similar - but there is a world of difference in the way in which it is executed. The titles to the pieces in the manuscript show the hand of a trained scribe: it is confident, regular, fluid, and at times even bold. By comparison, the letters of the Latin motto on the title page almost seem to be squeezed together, and the writing itself is far from regular or fluid. It is for instance quite striking how the words 'cor hominis' do not align horizontally with the words that precede them. Unlike the script used in the titles on the music pages, the Latin motto is most definitely not the work of a skilled scribe.

I believe that there can be no doubt that, yes: Ernst Schele is responsible for what we see on the title page. But he most certainly is not the scribe of the musical contents of the lute book. But if he is not, then who is?

The correct answer to that question was given long before Jarchow published his edition, and firmly - but no doubt unjustly - rejected by him, and by John Robinson before him. After comparing the script of the musical contents of Schele with the script used in another manuscript, one that is kept in Berlin and that is without any doubt a Van den Hove autograph, Jarchow came to this conclusion:

*"Many authors, of whom Boetticher (1957, p. 789) was the first, incorrectly attribute this manuscript to Joachim van den Hove. A comparison with the manuscript considered to be by Hove (Mus. ms. autogr. Hove 1) reveals significantly different handwriting. I was able to examine both manuscripts in the original and came to the same conclusion as Robinson (2001), who says that Schele was not written by Hove."*

I am convinced that Boetticher got it right, and that Jarchow and Robinson were wrong to 'correct' him. I am the first to admit that there are differences in the scripts that we encounter in the Schele and Van den Hove manuscripts, but there is a very good reason why Boetticher attributed the Schele manuscript to Van den Hove in the first place: it is because the similarities in both scripts far outweigh any differences between them. This is especially clear when you compare the titles in both sources. They both show the same confident penmanship of a trained scribe that I mentioned earlier. (4)

Another striking feature that the Schele and Van den Hove manuscripts have in common is the way in which the rhythm flags are formed. In most lute sources, the top flag of quavers and notes of smaller value is usually attached to the very top of the stem. But not so in Schele, nor in the Van den Hove autograph in Berlin. In both sources, the flags are consistently attached at a considerable distance from the top, quite often even halfway down.

There is yet another reason why Jarchow's interpretation makes very little sense. It is to be found on pages 69 and 71. The music on those pages was written by Van den Hove, and the attributions there are quite remarkable, especially the one on p. 69. It reads: 'Joachimus vanden Hove Fec[it]'. First of all, the name itself appears to be a signature, and the writing is very similar to the name as we find it in the Van den Hove autograph manuscript (on for instance fol. 20v, as shown in Jarchow's edition on p. 14). But if Schele, who was working in the Hamburg area, is responsible for writing the contents of the lute book, then how did he manage to copy not only the music, but Van den Hove's signature as well? Either he was working directly from Van den Hove manuscripts with Van den Hove's signature on them (but in that case of course the question arises: how did he get those?), and he copied them faithfully down to the smallest detail, including imitating any signatures, or - he never did any of this, and nothing was copied: it was Van den Hove himself who wrote it all. The added word *fecit* (has made this) lends additional support to this interpretation: it was traditionally used by artists as a way of authenticating a work of art once they had finished working on it. Used by artists, that is to say: by the person who had created the work of art, but certainly *not* by someone copying the works of others.

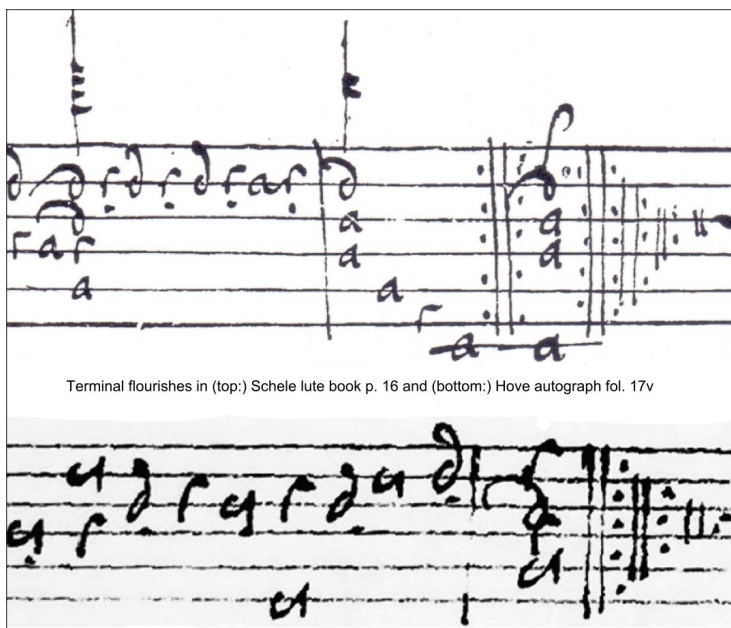
All these considerations led me to conclude that Joachim van den Hove is almost certainly the main scribe of the Schele lute book, and that Ernst Schele is in no way responsible for any of its musical contents. His name on the title page, in combination with the year 1619, simply indicates that he became the manuscript's owner in that year.

Identifying scribes is always a hazardous business. Problems can present themselves especially when we are dealing with lute sources that were in use over a longer period of time, and under varying circumstances. Even though such a source may have been written by a single scribe, the writing in it may vary considerably for any number of reasons (changing fashions; increasing skill and experience; jotting down something quickly because of time pressure vs. writing down music with more care; copying from other sources vs. the act of composing; varying quality of the writing material that is used, etc.). Just as a scribe's writing may vary within a single source, so too may it vary between any two sources that were both compiled by him, especially when there is a considerable period of time between the compilation of the sources involved, and even more so when they were compiled for very different purposes (for instance, to mention one extreme: a source that was intended as a sketchbook for private use only vs. another source that was commissioned by someone paying for it, and expecting good value for money). I believe that, when it comes to their interpretations of the Schele lute book, both Ralf Jarchow and John Robinson did not sufficiently take into account the fact that one should allow for considerable variation within the writing of any single scribe. A failure to do so led them to distinguish two scribes when in fact there is only one.

Once I had come to the conclusion that Joachim van den Hove was almost certainly the principal scribe of the Schele lute book, I realized that I needed more solid evidence if I were to present my findings in a convincing way. True: the writing in the Schele and Van den Hove lute books did look very similar, and the contents of the Schele lute book also only seemed to make any sense if Van den Hove was assumed to be the main scribe, but there was no denying that there were scribal differences as well, and therefore some room for doubt remained. What I needed was to find something that could take away any remaining doubt once and for all.

And then of course I also needed a plausible explanation for the presence of Ernst Schele's name on the title page. If, as I suspected, the Schele lute book originated in Leiden and was written for the most part by Joachim van den Hove, then how did it end up in the possession of Ernst Schele, who by all accounts had never studied in Leiden?

In her thesis on English lute sources Julia Craig McFeely has written extensively and with great authority on scribal characteristics, and about their relevance when it comes to identifying scribes and to establishing connections between lute manuscripts. There is one subject in particular that she writes about which is directly relevant here. It involves the use of scribal flourishes to mark the end of a piece. (5) In many sources, such flourishes are absent, or they are so simple that it would be irresponsible to draw any conclusions from them: they could have been added to the music by any number of scribes.



But it is not always like that. In some cases, the scribe adds a highly personal terminal flourish that is so unusual and distinctive that, as a means of identification, it is just as good as or possibly even better than a signature. And as luck would have it, the Schele lute book belongs to this category. The highly distinctive flourish that is used throughout the manuscript consists (with some minor variations) of a pattern of vertical lines that gradually become shorter, and that together resemble a triangle. Moreover, there are dots placed in between the lines. It is an altogether striking and highly unusual pattern.

I almost wrote 'unique pattern' just now. But if I had done that, I would not have been telling the truth. For there is one (and to the best of my knowledge: only one) other lute source in which exactly the same pattern marking the end of each piece is found. It is the Van den Hove autograph manuscript in Berlin.

I would say that finding the same, highly unusual terminal flourish in both sources, combined with all the other scribal peculiarities that I described earlier, constitutes compelling evidence that the Schele and Van den Hove lute books were indeed written by the same person: Joachim van den Hove. To continue to believe that the Schele lute book was compiled in or near Hamburg by Ernst Schele, and that he just happened to use a script that was very similar to that of Van den Hove in Leiden; and that moreover Schele also happened to use unusually shaped rhythm flags, identical to the ones used by Van den Hove, while writing on paper that was manufactured in the Netherlands - this would be to ignore the available facts, and to persist in what I believe is a logical absurdity.

Which leads me to the final piece of the puzzle: the name of Ernst Schele on the title page, along with the date: 1619.

I knew, from the information that was available to me at the time, that by 1619 Joachim van den Hove was no longer active in Leiden. Financial misfortune had forced him to move to The Hague some time before that. The fact that Ernst Schele added the date 1619 to the title page seemed to suggest that he had acquired it directly from Van den Hove. We can only guess as to how the manuscript came into the possession of Ernst Schele, but given the financial difficulties that Van den Hove was going through at the time it seems likely that Van den Hove decided to sell it, simply because he needed the money.

Given the fact that Ernst Schele in 1619 became the owner of a lute book, compiled by Joachim van den Hove, I found it increasingly likely that - contrary to the claims of Jarchow and all other scholars who had written about the matter - Ernst Schele did study in Leiden after all at some time. Only then did my findings seem to make any sense. I couldn't help wondering whether perhaps he had been registered as a student in Leiden, but that his name had for some reason been simply overlooked by earlier scholars. And so I decided to check the registration of foreign students in Leiden myself, just to make sure.

The *Album Studiosorum* of the university of Leiden is part of the Special Collections section of the university archive, and bears the shelf mark ASF 7. It covers the period 1575-1618. It has not been digitized, but an index to it by Willem Nicolaas Du Rieu was published in 1875 by M. Nijhoff in The Hague. This index is available online at <https://play.google.com/books/reader?id=LntWAAAACAAJ&pg=GBS.PA1735&hl=nl>

I decided to work my way through the chronological list of entries, beginning at the year 1610. And much to my surprise, it didn't take me very long to find the confirmation that I had hoped to find, proving that Ernst Schele did indeed register as a student in Leiden. (6) He was registered on 15 November 1612 as 'Ernestus Schal Sellensis, [aged] 23' - which of course immediately brings to mind the Ernst Schele from Zelle whose testament dated 1620 Jarchow had mentioned in the introduction to his facsimile edition. As there is no facsimile available of the original Album, it is impossible to check whether or not the spelling 'Schal' in the printed index is correct or not, but fortunately there is additional evidence to support the view that we are indeed dealing with the Ernst Schele whose name is found on the lute book's title page. Two more persons were registered at Leiden university on the same day as Ernestus Schal. One of them is listed as 'Martinus Dalenus Gesenus Brunsvicensis, [aged] 29'. I believe that there can be little doubt that he is identical to the Martin Dalem who is mentioned no less than three times in the Schele lute book: on p. 55 ('Pavana de Nicola Vallet por tresdocte Martin Dalem den 8 april 1614'), on p. 69 ('Het Afscheijt van Do. Martino Dalemio en Joachimo vanden Hove, gemaekt door Joachimus vanden Hove In Leijden den 12 Junij Ao. 1613'), and finally on p. 70 ('Het Laeste Leijtsche Afscheit tussen Do. Martino Dalemio ende Joachimus vanden Hoven'). Both men were registered in Leiden on the same day, and so it seems reasonable to assume that they had travelled to Leiden together, and that both went on to become students of the lute teacher, Joachim van den Hove, and possibly even took up residence with him.

It will take additional research to find out - if this is possible at all, that is - when exactly Ernst Schele left Leiden. It is impossible that he would have stayed there for as long as 6 years (end of 1612-19). Besides, as noted earlier, Van den Hove had left Leiden well before 1619, and foreign students usually left Leiden after one or two years to continue their studies elsewhere. For the time being, until new evidence comes to light that sheds light on the matter, the best that we can do is to assume that at some time in 1619 Ernst Schele from Zelle visited the Netherlands again, and that he met with his former lute teacher Joachim van den Hove, who on this occasion sold him the manuscript that he had compiled in the years before that (judging from its contents, starting in the year 1616).

It was the nearly exact concordance between the Hirsch and Schele lute books of *Ultimi miei sospiri* which originally sparked my interest in the Schele lute book, and for which I set out to find a plausible explanation. And once I had established that the Schele lute book was almost certainly compiled by Joachim van den Hove, the presence of *Ultimi miei sospiri* in the Schele lute book is of course no longer very surprising. It is hard to imagine how a young amateur lutenist from Germany such as Ernst Schele would have had access to a late 16th century English manuscript (for this is what Jarchow's interpretation implies), but the presence of *Ultimi miei sospiri* in the Schele lute book is of course perfectly understandable once you assume that it was Van den Hove who compiled it. It would have been only natural for professional lutenists to exchange music between them on the occasions that they met. And it very much looks as if Dowland and Van den Hove did meet. I am at the moment studying the contents of Schele in more detail, as well as the contents of the three publications that Van den Hove published, and as far as I can judge now there appear to be very strong indications that they must have met at least twice: their first encounter may even have taken place as early as during the final years of the 16th century (at which occasion Dowland and Van den Hove exchanged music by copying from each other's manuscripts; it was then that Van den Hove made a copy of *Ultimi miei sospiri*), but their final encounter seems to have taken place much later, in the final years of Van den Hove's life. I will of course keep the reader informed of any progress in my research into Van den Hove and the sources associated with him.

#### Endnotes:

1. I want the reader to know beforehand that, at the time I wrote the present article, I did not yet have a copy of J.W.J. Burgers' essential publication *Joachim van den Hove - Life and Works of a Leiden Lutenist* (2013), and so I was unfortunately unable to compare my findings with his interpretation of the manuscript sources involved.

1. In an earlier article about the Board and Hirsch lute books, published in the Belgian Lute Academy's *Yearbook 2019*, I have proposed that both lute books are John Dowland autograph manuscripts (though in the case of Board, only partly). Since publishing the article, additional evidence has come to light which very strongly supports this hypothesis. I intend to publish further on the Board lute book, and on the sources directly associated with it, in the course of 2023.

3. Glinde, 2009 (2nd, revised edition).

4. For lack of space, it is unfortunately impossible to include any images to illustrate this. However, anyone interested in comparing both sources for himself has the possibility to do so, as facsimiles of them are available on Sarge Gerbode's website <https://www.lutemusic.org>, in the facsimiles folder. The Schele lute book is to be found in the subfolder D-Hs\_Hamburg\_State\_and\_University\_Library; the Hove autograph manuscript in the subfolder D-B\_Berlin\_State\_Library.

5. Julia Craig McFeely, *Lute Manuscripts and Scribes 1530-1630* (Oxford, 2000). The relevance of terminal flourishes as a possible means of distinguishing scribes is described by her in most detail in the case study involving the Board and Hirsch lute books (p. 200 ff.)

6. Shortly after successfully concluding my search for a possible registration of Ernst Schele as a student at the university of Leiden, it was brought to my attention by Jack Scholten that Schele's registration apparently was not the only one to have been overlooked by lute scholars. In 2006, Richard Charteris published an article in *The Lute*, Volume XLVI (pp. 1-42) on a relatively little known manuscript lute source that is kept at the Berlin State Library, and that is known as Wolfgang von Grünbühel's lute book. In it, Charteris described its provenance in considerable detail, including any biographical details that were known to him about its original owner. He mentions that Grünbühel was a student at the university of Padua, but he was unaware of the fact that Grünbühel had studied in Leiden before going to Padua. Nor was this fact mentioned by John Robinson, who in 2007 published a selection of lute solos from the Grünbühel manuscript in the music supplement to *Lute News* 84. A facsimile of Grünbühel's registration in Leiden, which took place on 20 May 1620, can be seen online in the Belgian Lute Academy's *Yearbook 2021*, p. 23.

## **D**e luitmuziek uitgegeven door Pierre Phalèse, 1545 – c.1575 Jan Burgers

In 1545 startte de Leuvense boekhandelaar Pierre Phalèse (Petrus Phalesius, Peter Phaleys, c.1510–c.1575) een muziekuitegeverij. Aanvankelijk was het een kleine onderneming, exclusief gericht op edities van luitmuziek, die hij produceerde met behulp van externe drukkers. Tot 1549 bracht hij zeven boeken uit, alle in het voor muziekboeken gangbare oblong quartoformaat, vaak zowel in een Franse als Latijnse versie. In 1552 maakte de uitgeverij een doorstart, nu met een eigen drukkerij. Phalèse begon nu op grote schaal muziekboeken te produceren, van hoogwaardige kwaliteit. Dit waren voornamelijk drukken van vocale polyfonie, maar de luitmuziek bleef een plaats in zijn fonds houden. Met onregelmatige tussenpozen publiceerde hij luitboeken, nu veelal met Latijnse titels en in het grote folioformaat; hiermee mikte hij blijkbaar op de Leuvense academische kringen en op de internationale markt. Voorts zijn er aanwijzingen dat in de jaren '70 nog enkele luitboeken zijn verschenen die niet zijn overgeleverd. Daarnaast publiceerde Phalèse in deze periode ook nog bundels met muziek voor citer en voor gitaar.

In totaal hebben we zestien door Pierre Phalèse gepubliceerde boeken met luitmuziek, en een fragment van een verder verloren boek. In deze edities publiceerde Phalèse een indrukwekkend aantal composities. In totaal gaat het om 1150 stukken – of, wanneer we in de twee- of meerdelige werken alle delen afzonderlijk tellen, een totaal van 1273 stuks. Maar in feite gaat het om minder werken, want veel stukken zijn door Phalèse na verloop van tijd opnieuw gedrukt, al dan niet in (licht of meer ingrijpend) gewijzigde vorm. Wanneer we de dubbels niet meetellen, komen we op het nog steeds aanzienlijke aantal van 946 afzonderlijke luitwerken. Behalve twee speciale bundels, één voor luit en zang en één voor luittrio, is de meeste muziek voor luitsolo, maar in enkele boeken staan ook luitduetten, 46 stuks in totaal. Bij deze staat de tweede partij veelal op kop gedrukt, zodat de twee luitisten tegenover elkaar aan tafel gezeten uit hetzelfde boek konden spelen.

Phalèses luitboeken zijn steeds gebouwd op hetzelfde stramien: na preludes en fantasia's volgen intavolaties van vocale polyfonie (eerst wereldlijke composities zoals chansons en madrigalen, daarna de geestelijke motetten), waarna wordt afgesloten met een reeks dansen. Op dit concept wordt vaak gevarieerd, door een of meer onderdelen weg te laten, maar de interne volgorde blijft gelijk. Wanneer een reeks luitduetten wordt opgenomen, staat die tussen de motetten en de dansen. Ruim de helft van de gepubliceerde composities bestaat uit intavolaties van vocale polyfonie, en dan met name Franse chansons. Werken op Italiaanse, Spaanse, Nederlandse en Latijnse teksten komen veel minder vaak voor. Goede tweede zijn de dansen (pavanes, galliades, passamezzo's, rondes, almandes, branles etc.), maar ook fantasia's en preludes zijn ruim vertegenwoordigd. De componisten van de vocale modellen zijn aanvankelijk vooral Frans en zoals Claudin de Sermisy, Pierre Sandrin en Clément Janequin, later komen daar internationale sterren bij van Zuid-Nederlandse bodem, zoals Orlande de Lassus, Jacobus Clemens non Papa en Thomas Crequillon. Bij de geïntavoleerde motetten blijft Josquin des Prez gedurende de hele periode een favoriet. Overigens ontbreekt in de luitboeken in het merendeel van de gevallen de naam van de componist van het vocale model.

Nog minder vermeldingen zijn er van namen van luitisten, maar via concordanties is duidelijk dat Phalèse heel wat muziek heeft overgenomen uit buitenlandse publicaties. Zo kon uiteindelijk van 301 werken de herkomst, en daarmee de componist, worden vastgesteld. Phalèse ontleende zijn stukken aanvankelijk vooral aan Venetiaanse en Parijse luitboeken met werken van Pierre Attaingnant, Francesco da Milano, Joan Maria da Crema, Pietro Paulo Borrono en Antonio Rotta, en aan het in Valladolid gepubliceerd boek van Luys de Narváez, alsmede aan Duitse edities van Hans Gerle en Hans Neusidler. Vanaf de jaren '50 wordt het bronassortiment aanzienlijk uitgebreid, en drukt hij muziek van o.a. Simon Gintzler, Melchior Neusidler, Giulio Cesare Barbetta, Enríquez de Valderrábano, Jean-Paul Paladin, Albert de Rippe, Valentin Bakfark en Adrian Le Roy. Kortom, Phalèses edities bieden een ruime staalkaart van het beste dat de Europese luitmuziek toendertijd te bieden had.

Van zo'n twee derde deel van Phalèses luitstukken kennen we dus de componist niet. Van deze anonieme composities is een aantal mogelijk ontleend aan nu verloren luitboeken, maar een flink deel zal zijn gecomponeerd door lokale luitisten uit de Zuidelijke Nederlanden. Dat is te meer aannemelijk

omdat de anonieme intavolaties in veel gevallen gebaseerd zijn op werken gedrukt in Antwerpen en Leuven, en trouwens ook van de hand zijn van Nederlandse componisten. Incidenteel worden in de luitboeken namen van lokale luitisten genoemd: van de Brusselaar Nicolaas Rans, Fredericus Viaera 'uit Friesland' en de mysterieuze C.G. (mogelijk de Antwerpenaar Carel Gabri), en van hier woonachtige buitenlanders zoals Raphael Viola en natuurlijk Pietro Teghi en Johannes Pacolono; van elk van hen beiden bracht Phalèse een heel boek met luitmuziek uit. Deze en nog meer ons onbekende luitisten zullen hebben bijgedragen aan Phalèses edities, als componisten van de muziek maar vermoedelijk ook als redacteurs in zijn dienst. Het lijkt overigens wel zeker dat Phalèse zelf een groot aandeel had in het verzamelen en redigeren van de muziek; mogelijk heeft hij de luitboeken, of sommige ervan, zelf gezet. Waarschijnlijk is hij ook de auteur van de inleidingen, inclusief de daarin opgenomen luitmethode.

De luitboeken gepubliceerd door Pierre Phalèse vertegenwoordigen ontegenzegglijk een zowel kwantitatief als kwalitatief belangrijke bron, de enige die ons een blik gunt op de Zuid-Nederlandse luitmuziek van de zestiende eeuw. Het repertoire was duidelijk internationaal georiënteerd, hoewel bewijzen van een lokale luitcultuur niet ontbreken. Dit belangrijke corpus van luitmuziek wordt nu voor spelers en onderzoekers ontsloten in een kritische editie, met daarin een 'schone' tekst waarin de drukfouten en andere vergissingen zijn gecorrigeerd, een commentaar waarin die ingrepen worden verantwoord en ook de tekst wordt vergeleken met het externe voorbeeld, indien dat bekend is; er is ook een uitvoerige inleiding. Het boek zal verschijnen in augustus 2023, tijdens het Antwerpse Laus Polyphoniae muziekfestival. Voorintekening tegen gereduceerde prijs (en met een bijkomende aantrekkelijke aanbieding) is tot eind dit jaar mogelijk bij de uitgever; zie [kvn.nl/phalese](https://kvn.nl/phalese). (n.v.d.r. de volledige flyer staat ook op <https://lute-academy.be/complete-lute-works-pierre-phalese-3> )

In de bijgaande muziekbijlage staan enkele werken uit Phalèses luitboeken, zoals ze in de editie zullen verschijnen. Bij deze kleine selectie is geput uit de anonieme stukken, in alle genres. Uitgangspunt bij de keuze was dat de muziek van een gemakkelijk tot middelmatig niveau moest zijn; alleen het laatste stuk, een intavolatie van het chanson *Le content est riche* van Claudin de Sermisy, is er een om flink de tanden in te zetten.



Het door Phalèse op de titelpagina van de meeste luitboeken gebruikte drukkersmerk, hier op *Carminum* 1, 1547. Het stelt de luitspelende Apollo voor, geflankeerd door de negen Muzen, die ieder een ander instrument bespelen.

**M**uziekbijlage:  
zes stukken uit luitboeken gepubliceerd door Pierre Phalèse  
Jan Burgers

2-2  
Praeludium

*Des chansons/Carminum 2, 1546, sig.b1v*

6

11

16

21

25



3-47  
Quatre branles

Carminum 4, 1546, sig. kk3

Musical score for 'Quatre branles' in Carminum 4, 1546, sig. kk3. The score is written on a single staff with a treble clef and a common time signature (C). It consists of four systems of music, each with a rhythmic notation above the staff and a melodic line below. The notes are labeled with letters 'a', 'r', and 'b'. The first system ends with a repeat sign. The second system begins with a measure number '5'. The third system begins with a measure number '9'. The fourth system ends with a final cadence symbol.

7-58  
Si vous estes belle

Carminum 1, 1549, sig. I4

Musical score for 'Si vous estes belle' in Carminum 1, 1549, sig. I4. The score is written on a single staff with a treble clef and a common time signature (C). It consists of two systems of music, each with a rhythmic notation above the staff and a melodic line below. The notes are labeled with letters 'a' and 'b'. The first system ends with a repeat sign. The second system begins with a measure number '5' and ends with a final cadence symbol.

8-24

Oncques amour me fut

Hortus musarum, 1552, p. 22

Thomas Crequillon

6

10

14

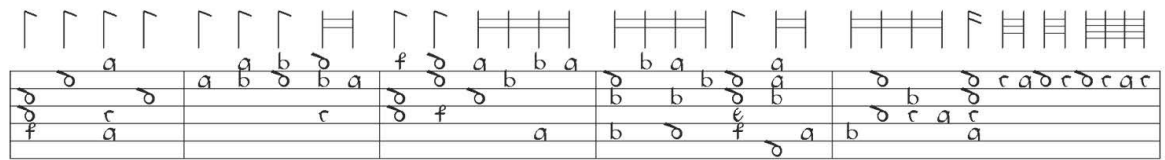
20

10-49

Oncques amour me fut

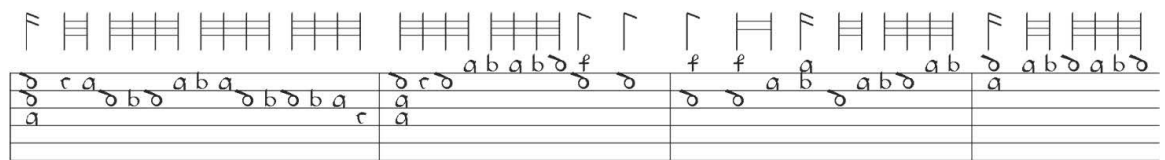
Theatrum musicum, 1563, f. 24v

Claudin de Sermisy



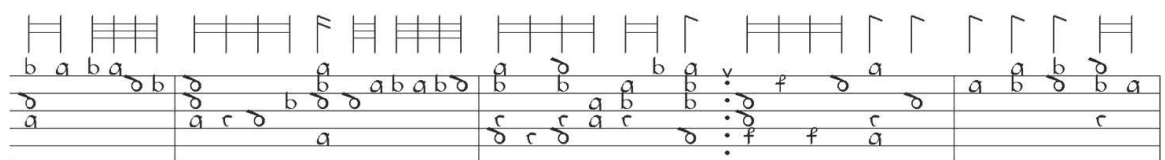
First system of musical notation, measures 1-5. It features a treble clef and a key signature of one flat. The notation includes rhythmic flags above the notes and dynamic markings such as 'f' and 'a'. The notes are primarily eighth and sixteenth notes.

6



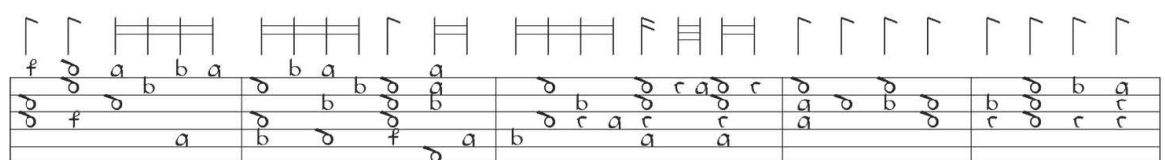
Second system of musical notation, measures 6-10. It continues the melodic line with various rhythmic patterns and dynamic markings.

11



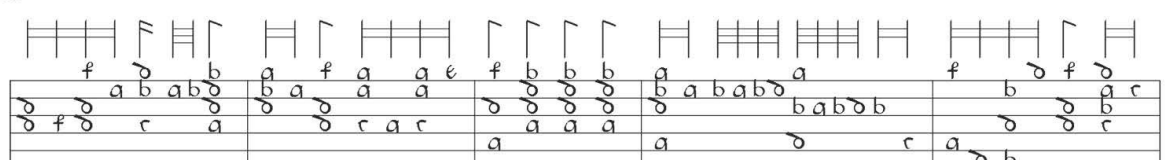
Third system of musical notation, measures 11-13. This system includes a fermata over a note in the final measure and dynamic markings like 'f'.

14



Fourth system of musical notation, measures 14-18. It features a variety of rhythmic figures and dynamic markings.

19



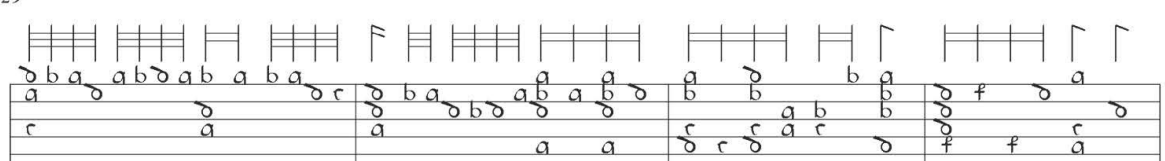
Fifth system of musical notation, measures 19-23. It includes a fermata and dynamic markings such as 'f'.

24



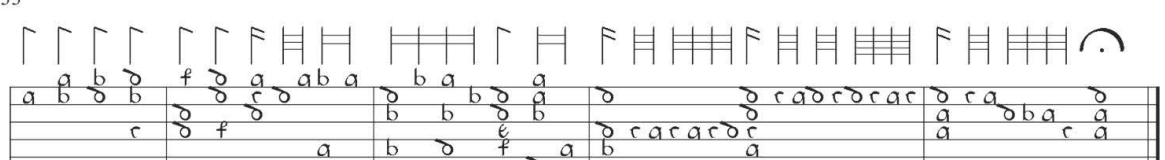
Sixth system of musical notation, measures 24-28. It features a fermata and dynamic markings like 'f'.

29



Seventh system of musical notation, measures 29-32. It includes dynamic markings such as 'f'.

33



Eighth system of musical notation, measures 33-37. It concludes with a fermata and dynamic markings like 'f'.

37

# Diferencias sobre O Gloriosa excelsa Domina supra sidera de Luis de Narváez

Christine Ballman

Publié à Valladolid en 1538, *El Delphin de musica* est composé de six livres pour vihuela ou vihuela et chant. Nous allons analyser les variations sur *O gloriosa* que Narváez a composées. Elles entament le quatrième livre intitulé « El quarto libro... Ay en el diferencias de contrapuntos sobre el igno de nuestra Señora. O gloriosa domina, y de Pange lingua y Sacris soleniis. », f°54r et ss.

## Exemple 1

*Come[n]cia[n] seys difere[n]cias de co[n]tra pu[n]to sobre el igno de n[uest]ra señora q[ue] dize. O gloriosa d[omi]na [...] d[e]l primer tono*

Et l'accord de la vihuela est donné :

*En la q[ui]nta en el tercer traste esta la clave de fefaut*

*En la tercera en el primer traste esta la clave d[e] cesolfaut*

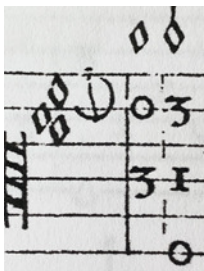
Ainsi la « portée » de la tablature indique à chaque système une clé d'ut sur le troisième chœur et une clé de fa sur le cinquième chœur

La vihuela est donc accordée en la et la pièce sonne en ré, dorien authentique comme signalé *del primer tono*.

Quelles sont les autres informations données ?



## Exemple 2



Le signe de mesure :

Le cercle indique que la mesure est ternaire donc la brève □ est divisée en trois semi-brèves ◇ et chaque tactus vaut une semi-brève ◇. Trois tactus forment donc une mesure complète.

Enfin, comme le cercle est barré il s'agit d'un ternaire diminué soit 3/2

Narváez propose six variations de contrepoint à deux, trois ou quatre voix sur l'hymne *O gloriosa domina excelsa supra sidera*.

## Que savons-nous de cette hymne ?

Il s'agit d'une hymne à la vierge chantée lors de la fête de l'Assomption. C'est une pièce qui est très connue en Espagne et au Portugal à l'époque.

## Exemple 3



Son rythme ternaire rappelle le premier mode rythmique du Moyen-Âge, longue-brève.

Elle comporte une première phrase (mes. 1-8), puis quatre mesures qui aboutissent à nouveau sur la finale ré, suivies de cinq dernières mesures avant le ré final. Ces fins seront des points privilégiés pour les cadences dans la polyphonie.

Il est intéressant de signaler que cette hymne peut encore être entendue aujourd'hui au Japon. Elle y a été importée au 16<sup>e</sup> siècle au sein de l'église catholique cachée, Kakure Kirishitan, où elle est chantée depuis plus de 400 ans. Et on en retrouve même l'essence dans des chants sur l'île Ikitsuki, à Nagasaki, Hirado... où le chant est appelé Gururyioza !

## Les variations de Narváez

Nous allons passer en revue les différentes variations et voir comment notre vihueliste a traité le matériau emprunté. Est-il

complet, est-il transformé, à quelle voix de la polyphonie instrumentale est-il attribué, y a-t-il une progression dans son emploi au sein des six variations... ?

### Première variation

Comme nous l'avons signalé plus haut, chaque tactus comporte une semi-brève et les tactus doivent être regroupés par trois pour obtenir un 3/2 moderne (57 tactus). (Ci-après, nous nous référons à la transcription publiée dans l'anthologie de Apel - *Historical Anthology of Music*, A. Davison et W. Apel, Harvard University Press, Cambridge, Mass., dixième édition 1970).

L'ambitus est de la1 à sol4, cette variation fait 19 mesures et commence par une anacrouse. Le nombre de voix n'est pas constant, variant de deux à quatre. Le chant grégorien n'y est pas complet. Il apparaît à la voix supérieure, mais dès la mesure 7 il se dissout, après une cadence V-I en ré, au moment de la fin de la première phrase. Il réapparaît sous le superius pour la première note de la deuxième phrase avant de repasser à l'aigu. Une nouvelle cadence V-I en ré clôture la deuxième phrase, mes. 12. La densité polyphonique des quatre mesures suivantes voit la dissolution du tenor emprunté à l'hymne, on peut en deviner certains éléments au niveau de la basse, avant une cadence V-VI avec ornement cadentiel précédant « desde aqui es final », cette petite coda déploie une ornémentation principalement à l'aigu avant une cadence plagale IV-I.

La cadence V-I avec retard de la sensible rythme les deux premières cadences, mais la volonté du plagal est claire en fin de variation.

### Exemple 4

122. Luis de Narvaez (fl. 1538)  
Diferencias sobre O Gloriosa Domina Variations for Lute

### Deuxième variation

Dite variation « de dos triples sobre el tenor », soit deux superius caracolant sur le tenor reprenant l'hymne grégorienne. 52 tactus avec un ambitus de ré2 à fa#4.

Il n'y a donc pas de bassus ici, tout se passe avec le tenor comme voix inférieure, ce qui génère trois cadences phrygiennes II-I en ré. Et chacune comporte l'ornémentation cadentielle, d'abord au premier superius, ensuite au second superius et à la fin en valeurs plus courtes et en imitation aux deux superius. Le tenor est complet et bien reconnaissable, le nombre de voix est constant. Le nombre de voix, la place du tenor emprunté au tenor et le type de cadences en font une variation modale.

### Exemple 5

Segunda diferencia de dos triples sobre el tenor

## Troisième variation

« a duo. A se dilevar muy apriesa el compas para que paresca bien » soit à deux voix, à jouer rapidement afin que cela sonne bien.

Seulement deux voix et 47 tactus avec un ambitus de sib1 à ré4. C'est la plus courte variation jusqu'à présent et aussi la moins dense. L'hymne est aux deux voix, un peu modifiée vers la fin.

## Exemple 6

O gloriosa cantus modifié

une mesure en moins

C'est la modification de la fin qui cause l'écourtement de la variation.

Le cantus étant en valeurs longues, dès qu'il apparaît, il donne libre cours à la diminution à l'autre voix. Mais une nouveauté est à mentionner dans cette variation : un passage en ternaire.

## Exemple 7

pro porcion de tres  
s tij.

minimas al compas.  
1 1 1 1

« Proporcion de tres minimas al compas », chaque tactus comporte ainsi maintenant trois minimas. Cela donne une accélération qui est maintenue jusqu'à la fin de la variation.

## Quatrième variation

« Quarta diferencia de proporcion »

« De proporcion » : un cercle non barré suivi d'un 3, cette mesure n'est donc pas diminuée ce qui donne  $\frac{3}{4}$ , il est aussi indiqué d'attendre les deux silences : « aguardense las pausas primeras ».

Pas de nombre de voix constant ici, de deux à quatre et même cinq pour l'accord final et l'ambitus est de la1 à fa4. La variation est de 21 tactus et on y trouve une coda. Le cantus débute à la voix supérieure, avec une petite imitation de l'incipit au tenor, avant sa dilution dans un flot ornemental. Mesure 7 voit son retour mais il va passer de la voix supérieure à l'alto puis au tenor et se dissout dans les voix intérieures. Il se termine mes. 16 par une cadence parfaite avant la coda mes. 17. Celle-ci demande un changement de mesure « final de proporcion de nueve semibreves en un compas » amenant une accélération ternaire avec imitation dans les diminutions. La cadence de cette coda est plagale et aboutit sur un accord de 5 sons et tierce picarde.

## Exemple 8

Quarta diferencia de proporcion.

## Cinquième variation

La cinquième variation est la plus longue, en C barré, ambitus la1 à fa4 et 74 tactus. Dans la transcription de Apel, elle fait 26 mesures, dont quatre de coda, du fait du choix de passage en ternaire à l'entrée effective du cantus, ce qui restitue les appuis naturels de celui-ci.

C'est aussi la variation la plus complexe, la plus élaborée. La polyphonie y est principalement à quatre voix.

Après des entrées en imitation de la tête du sujet, imitations tonales et non réelles puisqu'à la-ré répond ré-la, le cantus annoncé « por tiple » voyage en effet aux voix supérieures. Son entrée effective se situe mes. 7. Signalons que le cantus employé est le modifié rencontré dans la troisième variation. Il se termine par une cadence V-VI introduisant la coda concluant sur une cadence plagale et une tierce majeure à l'instar de la variation précédente.

## Exemple 9

Quinta diferencia. El canto llano por tiple.

Desde aqui es final

## Sixième et dernière variation

Cette ultime variation est à trois voix, plus courte (29 tactus), plus modale, le cantus toujours modifié se présente au tenor. Elle emprunte les entrées en imitation de la variation précédente, mais, étant à trois voix, la première entrée est ré-la, suivie de la-ré, imitation tonale également. La mesure est parfaite, diminuée, soit 3/2, retour à la mesure employée dans la première variation. Les valeurs de notes sont plus longues instaurant une sorte de ralentissement final. Du fait du cantus au tenor, la variation se termine sur une cadence phrygienne avec tierce picarde comme dans la deuxième variation.

## Exemple 10

The image shows a musical score for 'Sesta diferencia. El canto llano por tenor.' It consists of three staves. The top staff is the vocal line (cantus) in tenor clef, with a 3/2 time signature. The middle and bottom staves are piano accompaniment in treble and bass clefs respectively. The music features a mix of quarter and half notes, with some rests and a final cadence.

Ci-dessous un résumé du traitement de ces six variations par paramètre.

	Nb tactus	Nb de voix	mesure	cadences	cantus	ambitus	coda
1	57	2-4	3/2	V-I IV-I coda	pas complet voix supérieures	la1-sol4	<b>Oui</b>
2	52	<b>3</b>	3/2	<b>II-I</b>	complet au <b>tenor</b>	ré2-fa#4	Non
3	47	2	3/2 plus ternaire	6te vers 8ve et 3ce vers unis-son	<b>modifié</b> d'une voix à l'autre	sib1-ré4	Non
4	21	2-4 Accord final 5	3/4 plus 9/8	V-I, V-VI IV-I coda	pas complet trois voix supérieures	la1-fa4	<b>Oui</b>
5	74	3-4	2/2	V-VI IV-I coda	<b>modifié</b> <b>imitations</b> deux voix supérieures	la1-fa4	<b>Oui</b>
6	29	<b>3</b>	3/2	<b>II-I</b>	<b>modifié</b> <b>imitations</b> complet au <b>tenor</b>	ré2-fa4	non

Les codas apparaissent dans les variations plus « tonales » (1, 4 et 5) allant jusqu'à quatre voix et qui présentent des cadences V-I ou V-VI, mais elles ramènent le plagal en fin de variation. Les variations 2, 3 et 6 par contre n'en sont pas pourvues et sont de par leur nature plus modales. On y trouve logiquement des cadences phrygiennes II-I puisque le tenor est à la voix la plus grave (variation 2 et 6, toutes deux à trois voix) et des cadences 6te vers 8ve ou 3ce vers unisson dans la 3<sup>e</sup> variation qui n'est qu'à deux voix.

Comment Narváez a-t-il agencé ses variations ?

Dans le titre il annonce des « contrapuntos ». Il commence ainsi d'emblée par une variation allant jusqu'à quatre voix mais où le cantus n'est pas présenté dans sa forme complète. Il apparaît principalement à la voix de superius. Lorsque le cantus se dissout, c'est le moment de montrer une écriture polyphonique à 4 voix (mes. 13 à 16) avant la coda à nouveau plus fluide.

Narváez enchaîne alors avec une variation qui fait entendre le cantus au tenor, orné de deux voix supérieures volubiles.

Maintenant que l'auditeur a en mémoire *O gloriosa*, la troisième variation à seulement deux voix va exploiter une nouvelle version du cantus et y ajouter un nouveau paramètre : le tempo plus rapide avec l'introduction du ternaire qui accélère encore le mouvement. Malgré que le cantus voyage d'une voix à l'autre, du fait de la texture à seulement deux voix, il reste bien discernable. L'autre voix procède comme dans les variations précédentes surtout par groupes de notes conjointes.

C'est le moment de revenir à une texture plus dense, de deux à quatre voix et un cantus pas tout à fait complet à l'instar de la première variation. Narváez retourne du reste au cantus original. Si le traitement de la quatrième variation nous ramène à celui de la première, celle-ci dite « de proporcion » apporte un changement de mesure : 3/4 au lieu de 3/2 et la coda y ajoute des triolets sur une cadence plagale, changements rythmiques rappelant la variation précédente. Dans l'ornementation de cette coda on décèle une imitation et l'accord final comporte cinq sons et une tierce picarde.

On arrive à la cinquième variation qui est la plus longue et la plus élaborée. La tête du cantus va servir à des imitations dans le plus pur style contrapuntique. Trois entrées en imitation tonale précèdent le début du cantus (à nouveau la version modifiée). La texture à quatre voix y domine ce qui permet des cadences tonales. Après une coda, la variation se conclut sur une cadence plagale.

Pour terminer son cycle de variations, Narváez retourne à plus de sobriété. Dans la sixième variation à la fois plus courte et à trois voix comme la deuxième, le choix du cantus au tenor engendre une texture plus modale avec ses cadences phrygiennes. La variation commence cependant par un rappel de la cinquième variation avec les entrées en imitation. Pas de coda, on y ressent un ralentissement final, comme un retour au matériau de base.

On aura ainsi entendu deux fois le tenor complet à la voix inférieure, d'abord l'original puis le modifié, la moitié des variations emploie le tenor modifié.

Comme on le voit, Narváez a habilement varié le traitement de ses variations pour éviter la monotonie. Du plus simple au plus complexe, du deux au quatre voix, du plus modal au plus tonal, du plus fluide au plus contrapuntique.



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