The Lute Music of Melchiore de Barberiis  
(1546–1549)  
with Specific Reference to Books V, IX and X  

Volume 1 of 2  

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Abstract

This thesis is a study of the three books of lute music by the Italian composer Melchiore de Barberis (fl 1546, 1549). The content of the music in the books is mostly based on intabulations of vocal songs but also includes a number of dances and fantasias. In this study I have provided transcriptions of the complete contents of the three books. Intabulations of vocal pieces are examined, as well as Fantasias and dances, in order to understand the composer’s intabulation and compositional techniques. Intabulations are compared to different versions of the same pieces, where possible, and focus on the structure and the implications for musica ficta. The styles of fantasias and dances – two contrasting styles in terms of structure and harmony – are studied, with further reference to parallel pieces by other composers. In addition, the study illustrates the frequency of – what are normally regarded as harmonic – solecisms in each genre. Further comments on stylistic and idiomatic lute playing are included, as well as historiographical information in order to place Barberis in the compositional context of his time. Moreover, excerpts from intabulations and dances are quoted and analysed, based on the theory of hexachords. The purpose of this approach associates with the idea of using musica ficta evidence found in intabulations, as a guide for performance.
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Preface

Barberiis’s compositions are rarely used today due to the apparent errors in his music which are of two types: misprints and solecisms. Transcriptions of his music are provided in order to explore the repertoire and its contribution to the musical knowledge we have today, focusing particularly on *musica ficta* aspects. The study of pieces from Barberiis’s books, presents diverse compositional styles which in some cases were approached differently by the composer. This is also an attempt to make the discussed music (containing very well-known pieces and dances of the Renaissance) more accessible to lutenists, as well as to researchers of this era. The first chapter is an introduction to the research, providing basic historiographical information on lute music in Italy. In addition, reference to the intabulation technique, lute notation and editorial issues are made. The following chapter is a description of the contents of the books, with reference to the composer’s life and the printing procedure of the time. In the third chapter, intabulations of vocal pieces are presented, followed by *fantasias* and dances in chapters 4 and 5. The sixth chapter focuses on Barberiis’s idiomatic style in relation to the lute technique of his time. Finally, chapter 7 explores the composer’s approach of *musica ficta* implications in dances and intabulations, with comments on their use in performance.

The thesis introduces a hardly known composer who, however, followed the musical trends of sixteenth-century Italy and, in comparing Barberiis’s intabulations with vocal models, it demonstrates some possible implications for *musica ficta*, useful in general performance practice. The *fantasias* and dances are explored in order to examine the different compositional styles and the composer’s approach, as an assessment of his general output.

No other study has concentrated exclusively on Barberiis’s music, other than the Master’s thesis by Jane Agnew Echols written in 1973, which discusses the sacred pieces of the collection. Therefore, the current research does not contain any transcriptions of *Libro IV* and *VI*.

The research is divided into two volumes: the first includes the thesis and the second, the appendix with the transcriptions. The two lute duets found in *Libro IX*, are included in the second volume, in Appendix II. The Helmholtz pitch notation system is used (i.e. $c'$ = middle $c$, $c =$ the octave lower, $C =$ two octaves lower,
and $c''$ = an octave higher). For the description of chords Roman numerals are used: lowercase numerals represent minor triads and capital numerals represent major triads.

The numbering of pieces is based on the listing of Howard Mayer Brown’s *Instrumental Music Printed Before 1600*. There numbering of *Libro IX* is corrected: pieces numbered in Brown as 2, 3 and 4, form a dance suite and therefore are numbered as 2a), 2b) and 2c). On the contrary, *Il formigoto* in Brown is paired with [Saltarello del Formigoto:] *Madonna Tenerina*. The penultimate piece and the one preceding it are reversed: number 30 *Fantasia* (fol. f3) is actually on folios f4 and 31 and *Vray dieu damors* (fol. f4) is on folio f3 and therefore these are numbered 30 *Vray dieu damors* and 31 *Fantasia* in the transcriptions (which correspond to numbers 29 and 30 with the new numbering resulting from the pairing of dance suites).
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Author’s declaration

I declare that the work of this thesis is my own and has not been published elsewhere. Where other sources of information have been used, they have been acknowledged.
1. CHAPTER – Introduction

1.1. Italian lute music in the sixteenth century

By way of introduction, and in order to put the music of Melchiore de Barberiis in context, it is necessary to briefly outline lute music in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries.

The *cinquecento* in Italy is considered probably the most important period for the music of the Renaissance and especially for lute music. At the beginning of the sixteenth century the lute gradually gained popularity in Italy, a fact that is indicated by the numerous printed and manuscript lute sources as well as by many paintings from the same century. Lute iconography constitutes an important chapter in the history of the lute, appearing in paintings from the fifteenth century and continuing through the centuries. Paintings of lute testify to the development of the instrument and provide historical evidence on technical issues (e.g. holding the lute and the position of the right hand), as well as of its wide use equally by men and women from all social classes. More specifically, iconographical studies have explored the transition from the plectrum technique of the fourteenth century when the first lutes developed from the Arabic oud, to the finger technique of the right hand which was adopted around the second half of the fifteenth century. The right-hand technique has always been an important matter for the lutenists, involving the placement of the little finger on the soundboard, the parallel or vertical position towards the strings and the thumb position (in or out of the palm). Robert Spencer presents a study on holding the different lute types through paintings from the fifteenth to the late seventeenth century. Pictorial evidence is also used for the construction of the lute, the different body sizes and the number of strings which was increased during time. Furthermore, paintings illustrate the role of the lute in consort music and its popularity to both men and women from all social classes, as well as allegorical implications.

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Nevertheless, the first known Italian source of lute music dates from the fifteenth century, was perhaps written in Venice, and is today found in the Oliveriana Library in Pesaro (I-PESo 1144). According to David Fallows\textsuperscript{3} the book is written in three different hands, probably at different times. It includes song arrangements and dances in lute tablature as well as a section with music for lira da braccio and poems. Fallows suggests that the section for the lira was copied by Tempesta Blondi who as the author of the poems/texts wrote in the preface of the book: ‘[…] de diversi autori racolte per me Tempesta Blondi da Sanlorenzo in Canpo’.\textsuperscript{4} Although the manuscript was written in Italy the tablature notation is French (including letters and not numbers). Another important manuscript of the first decades of the sixteenth century is the Thibault Manuscript (TI.1), owned by Madame Geneviève Thibault, which includes 24 solos and 86 accompaniments for vocal works. The manuscript dates from around 1502–1512 and is written in Italian tablature notation but lacks of rhythmic signs and therefore the performer has to improvise on rhythm.\textsuperscript{5}

With printed sources the date and place of origination are more obvious. The earliest surviving Italian printed source for lute music dates from 1507 and contains music mainly by Francesco Spinacino and by unknown composers (libro primo and libro secondo; two books in Italian tablature including arrangements of vocal compositions and ricercars, published by Ottaviano Petrucci). Joan Maria Allemani (1508) with the *Intavolatura di Lauto/Libro Tertio* which is now lost, Joan Ambrosio Dalza (1508) with the *Intavolatura di Lauto/Libro Quarto* and Francesco Bossinensis (1509, 1511) with the *Tenori e contrabassi intabulati col sopran in canto figurato per cantar e sonar col lauto Libro Primo* and *Libro Secundo*, constitute a series among the earliest samples of musical tradition in lute music at the beginning of the sixteenth century, all published by Ottaviano

\textsuperscript{4} Ibid.
Petrucci in Venice. The above books contain music of similar style and compositions; *recercare* was the most common genre in these books and around ten *ricercars* were included in each book. In his book, Dalza includes 42 pieces for solo lute with a large number of dances and only four pieces of intabulated frottola and three pieces for two lutes (on Intabulation, see p. 5). Dances including *ricercar*, *pavana*, *saltarello*, *piva*, *calata* and *tastar de corde* predominate in his book and more specifically, he arranges the music according to ‘suites’ and modes. The last form of music was used by Dalza exclusively for the lute. *Tastar de corde* literally means ‘taste/touch the strings’ and was a sequence of chords with frequent use of fermatas, usually leading to *ricercars*. As the name reveals, *tastar de corde* are described as being rather like ‘halting toccatas’ and were actually used to check the tuning of the lute through chords played in a freer tempo. As mentioned above, another dance form, the *piva*, was used by Dalza in his book to set up a suite. The *piva* uses triple time (usually 3/2) and it was a peasant dance which was originally accompanied by bagpipes. It was danced by couples (woman/man) and usually the male dancer was improvising. Dalza tried to imitate the bagpipe by leaving the same notes in the lower voices ringing from the beginning to the end of the piece. *Saltarello* which in Italian means ‘little hop’, was the dance that preceded *piva* and was also in a triple rhythm, but slightly slower. This dance ‘had regular four-bar phrases and a clear sense of harmonic direction. An important characteristic of the sixteenth-century *saltarello* was an ambiguity of metre such that a piece often seems in transcription to alternate between 6/8 and 3/4.’ In Dalza’s books another dance is mentioned which is also found in three other sources for guitar (c. 1505, 1606 and c. 1700). *Calata* was usually in duple metre but there are a few examples in triple metre and also compound metre.

Bartolomeo Tromboncino (c. 1470–1534) and Marchetto Cara (c. 1465–1525), two of the most significant composers of the *frottola*, mainly focused on

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8 First source: *F-Pn* Rés. Vm 27 (c. 1505); second source: Girolamo Montesardo, *Nuova inventione d’intavolatura per sonare li balletti sopra la Chitarra Spagnuola* (Florence: Christofano Farescotti, 1606); third source: *D-HR* III 4½ 20 1046 (c. 1700).
this genre, ‘the most important stylistic development leading to the madrigal’.

Michele Pesenti, Antonio Caprioli, Francesco d’Ana and Filippo de Lurano are included among others who composed frottola.\(^9\)

At the same time Spinacino and Bossinensis made arrangements for lute and voice of already existing frottola. The frottola was a poem in any form (most known are sonnets, odes, stambotti) which was set as a polyphonic secular song by various composers. The lute arrangements of frottola constitute a primary form of lute songs as they represent early samples of lute accompaniment of the voice. The frottola could have three or four voices as well as a lute part which would include usually the two or three lower voices and it could be performed by a solo voice with instrumental accompaniment, by various combinations of voices and instruments or by unaccompanied voices. The fact that the top voice in the frottola is in many instances the only one to carry a full text, plus the fact that the lower voices cannot always be fitted to it, lead one to infer that frottolas were published to accommodate a variety of optional performing media, depending perhaps on what performers were available’.\(^11\) The classic structure of the poems in frottola, which consequently also shape the musical structure, consisted of: ‘a) a ripresa of four lines, b) several strophes, usually of six lines each, c) a refrain which generally repeated the first two lines of the ripresa’.\(^12\)

The main lute compositions found in sources throughout the Renaissance are ricercars and fantasias. These terms were often used interchangeably by the composers and a piece could be found with both names in different sources. Melchior de Barberiis seems not to distinguish the two similar genres and includes some ricercars which he later on describes as fantasias. Originally, the term fantasia was used freely to describe a piece based on imagination and improvisation on a musical idea, without having a specific form. However, this was developed into a more explicit genre, and was used to describe compositions

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with an imitative and fugal idiom. ‘By the late 16th century in Italy the fantasia had become a touchstone of contrapuntal skill; free from words, a series of fugal sections might be given unity by recurrence of a subject, or an entire movement be fashioned from a single subject or theme-complex; themes were modified by inversion, augmentation and rhythmic transformation’. Francesco Canova da Milano was one of the most important contributors to this genre, having composed at least 40 fantasias, and he also seemed to use both terms (ricercar and fantasia) for the same compositional style, or even the same piece.

It is noticeable, at least in the printed sources, that the term ricercar was used more before 1535 and then fantasia almost replaced this genre. The early ricercar was a piece for solo instruments with a less contrapuntal style and more improvisation, usually having the character of a prelude. The early ricercars were characterized by rapid passages with high embellishment and usually emphasizing a single line. This type of composition was helpful in developing the technique for students and was used both by teachers and performers for practicing. Joan Ambrosio Dalza’s Intabulatura de Lauto, Libro Quarto (1508) is a characteristic example of the use of ricercar (or recercar, as titled in that source). Some of Dalza’s ricercars are short and seem to serve the role of preludes, and others are longer. The majority of his ricercars consists of moderate tempo scalar passages, being occasionally interrupted by chordal passages. Later on (around 1540), the form of the ricercar developed towards a more imitative character. The free compositional style of the fantasia and the ricercar, next to with their improvisational style and the imitation occurred in fantasias and later adapted in ricercars, seem to explain the confusion between the two genres.

1.2. Intabulation

Towards the end of the fifteenth century, a common practice developed among lute composers/players which finally came to fruition around the beginning of the sixteenth century. The term intabulation was used to describe music written for

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lute (and keyboard) in tablature notation which was originally taken from pieces
of vocal music. In fact, the tablature technique was developed by keyboard
players around the mid fourteenth century in their effort to accompany vocal
music which was written in part-books (separate books for each voice). The
Robertsbridge Codex held at the British Library (Add. Ms. 28850) which is dated
around 1360, constitutes the earliest surviving source of intabulation and
combines staff notation and letters.\(^\text{15}\) In lute music, these vocal arrangements
started coming into practice when the plectrum technique of lute playing was
abandoned and was replaced by the finger technique. Thus the repertoire had to
transfer from being monophonic to polyphonic and so lutenists started exploring
and adjusting vocal music on the instrument (including sacred and secular music).
The system of complex music editions which used part-books for each voice was
not easy to read all in one, and as a result, lute players would write the music in
tablature with all voices together. The intabulations mostly followed the vocal
model literally but in some cases where the number of voices increased to five or
six, the intabulator could leave some voices out to make it playable on the lute.
The procedure of intabulating, and the sources (e.g. primary sources,
arrangements, or other intabulations) which the intabulators used for the
enciphering process, are not always obvious from the lute sources that include
intabulations, although there are a few treatises giving instructions on
intabulating.\(^\text{16}\) According to Hiroyuki Minamino, ‘providing a vocal score was not
a normal part of the method of intabulation recommended for novice
intabulators’.\(^\text{17}\) Indeed, the transfer from part-books to a vocal score and then to a
tablature would require more effort and trouble. In addition, it is hard to believe
that the lutenist would take all four (or more) part-books and start writing each
note in a vertical way (chord by chord) into the tablature notation. It is more likely
that the composer would copy a complete line throughout, for example the bass

\(^{15}\) Howard Mayer Brown, ‘Intabulation’, in Grove Music Online, Oxford Music Online,
http://www.oxfordmusiconline.com/subscriber/article/grove/music/13823 (accessed September 10,
2012).

\(^{16}\) The treatises on the intabulation technique are listed here: Adrian Le Roy, A briefe and plaine
Instruction (London: J. Kyngston for James Rowbotham, 1574); Vincenzo Galilei, Fronimo: 1584.
Tr. and ed. by Carol McClinton (Neuhausen-Stuttgart: American Institute of Musicology, 1985);
Bartolomeo Lieto Panhormitano, Dialogo quarto di musica (Napoli: per Matthio Cancer, 1559);
Michele Carrara, Regola ferma e vera per intavolare nel liuto (Rome, 1585).

\(^{17}\) Hiroyuki Minamino, Sixteenth-Century Lute Treatises with Emphasis on Process and
line first, then continue with the cantus and thereafter filling in the inner parts.

Sources from the sixteenth century provide enough evidence to support the above discussion. Minamino in his thesis refers to a number of cases in which the intabulator enciphered voice by voice into the tablature. For example, the fact that notes are not aligned in intabulation sketches in the manuscripts of Uppsala 76b and 76c\(^\text{18}\) may lead to the conclusion that each vocal piece was copied voice by voice into the tablature. Another indication which directs us to the same conclusion on the enciphering process (the horizontal way of intabulating) is the existence of sketches in the same manuscript that present unfinished intabulations in which only two voices are enciphered in the tablature. This is found in the intabulation of the chanson *Qui ben se mire* by Orlando de Lassus which includes only two: the superius and the alto which is incomplete. Further examples are found in Adrian Le Roy’s treatise *A briefe and plaine Instruction* (London: J. Kyngston for James Rowbotham, 1574), where intabulations of chansons are presented in order to guide the intabulator to encipher a voice at a time into the tablature, beginning from high to low.\(^\text{19}\)

Lute players would improvise on these pieces and ‘interfere’ with the original music, adding their own ‘touch’ to the intabulations. Since the construction of the lute does not allow the sound to last more than a semibreve, lutenists would fill in the long notes of the vocal parts with ornamentation and long passages, to sustain the duration of the note. Taking into account the embellishment and the introduction of new themes or other material in intabulations, Douglas Alton Smith categorised the genre into seven basic forms of intabulation:

1. the *literal* intabulation (with little or no ornamentation)
2. the *glossa*, which features a high degree of embellishment upon one or more voices of the model
3. the *quotation*, in which relatively faithful quotations of sections of the model alternate with new material

\(^{18}\) Manuscript Uppsala 76b and 76c (Uppsala, Universitetsbiblioteket, vokalmusic I handskrift 76b, 76c). The manuscripts were probably written by the French lutenist Guillaume Morlaye around 1560s or 70s. For further details see Jean-Michel Vaccaro; Nathalie Vaccaro, *Œuvres pour le luth: Manuscrits d’Uppsala by Guillaume Morlaye* (Paris: Editions du CNRS, 1989).

\(^{19}\) For further details on intabulation treatises and process see H. Minamino, *Sixteenth-Century Lute treatises*, pp. 40–89.
4. the *paraphrase*, where themes and voice-structure of the model are employed as the basis for new music

5. the *contrapunto*, a duo consisting of figural (single-line) variations on the harmonies of a chanson or madrigal; the original (intabulated) piece is normally played simultaneously by a second lutenist

6. the *contrapuntal* variation, as in the duos of Matelart in which one lutenist plays a contrapuntal variation upon a fantasia of Francesco played by a second lutenist

7. the *fantasia* with random borrowing, a new composition in which the full extent of borrowing and transformation are virtually impossible to determine.\(^{20}\)

Intabulating a piece required skill in order to avoid an excessive departure from the original and to ensure that it remained identifiable. Both high embellished intabulations are found in sources of the sixteenth century, as well as intabulations with little ornamentation. Lutenists of the era believed that a piece should not contain many alterations, as they could ‘destroy polyphonic equality’.\(^{21}\) A good example of the first rather complicated, yet successful, intabulations of songs and other instrumental music is that of the Italian lutenist Francesco Canova da Milano (1497–1543); his *Intavolatura de viola o vero lauto...Libro primo e Secondo della Fortuna* (Naples: Sultzbach, 1536), included recercatas and intabulations of works by Sermisy, Josquin, Janequin and others. Milano ‘seems to have used the original music as a vehicle for comment and elaboration, for a virtuoso display of variation technique, sometimes transforming the originals into idiomatic and virtuoso instrumental pieces by means of profusion of ever-varying runs, turns and trills’.\(^{22}\) On the other hand, we can find examples of intabulated music where the lutenist misinterpreted the harmony of the music when ornamenting, or changed the music unsuccessfully (as we shall see, this is the case with some of Barberiis’s intabulations). Additionally, if the music itself was distinguished as a good composition, some lutenists believed that it did not need any ornaments to make it sound better. Furthermore, Howard Mayer Brown quotes the German lutenist’s Hans Newsidler writing about his literal embellishment-free intabulation of Josquin’s psalm *Memor esto verbi tui*: ‘I have

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\(^{22}\) Howard M. Brown, ‘Intabulation’ in *Grove Music Online, Oxford Music Online*. 
not decorated the Psalm, for it is in itself very good, and so that a beginner can also have something to play in this book'.

The reference above to Francesco da Milano raises another question regarding the value of intabulations: should this repertory be considered as a ‘lapse of taste on the part of Renaissance musicians’? A possible answer to this question comes in the fact that many virtuoso lutenists included in their works a few intabulations of vocal or instrumental music. Among them is Francesco da Milano who is considered the ‘master’ of Italian lute music of the early sixteenth century, although this genre occupied a small part of his large output of other compositions. Jean-Michael Vaccaro also poses the question in a more intensive way: ‘This genre is really the basis of the repertoire of lutenists in the Renaissance. Why would they have devoted themselves to an activity that was so unsatisfactory? Would it be possible to admit that they would have contented themselves in transcription, with a compromise of bastardizations and gross approximations?’ Vaccaro’s question is probably based on the fact that the intabulations in Italy occupied more than half of the lute music repertory in the sixteenth century, 1200 lute intabulations already having been published there.

According to Suzanne Court, ‘in the sixteenth century this form of music-making was one of the few ways that amateurs could enjoy their favourite madrigals, motets, and frottole without necessarily performing them with others. But as well as providing the amateur lutenist with a means to enjoy well-known polyphonic music in private, intabulations were considered, in part at least, to be good didactic material from which to learn the art of fantasia…Spanish and Italian authors of music such as Bermudo, Ortiz, Ganassi, Galilei and Sebastiani wrote that the invention of fantasia should come after study based on the performance of the best pieces of vocal music’. In fact, Bermudo in his Declaratiòn points out the need of the organist or vihuelist to play many pieces by masters, to get know them very well, to memorise them and then improvise some fantasias.

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24 Ibid.
27 S. Court, Giovanni Antonio Terzi, p. 31.
The beginner should take the advice not to play fantasia until he has set much and good music on the vihuela. Since, having set this music and played it liberally, he can draw out an excellent fantasia from it. The fantasia drawn out in this manner will be very good, as it will be made out of the music he has already set on the vihuela. The beginners err not a little who, in commencing to play, wish to sally forth with their vihuela.28

In addition to the above, intabulations could be considered as the commencement of a big chapter in early music which consists of fantasias and ricercares. These genres of music which were based on improvisations and used the element of imitation seem to have been developed through the fantasia technique of intabulation. From the categorisation of the intabulations on page 7 we can see that the most developed intabulation (no 7) is actually a fantasia and, as Douglas A. Smith suggests, this genre could be ‘evolved from lutenists’ transcriptions and imitations of motets, chansons, and ensemble ricercars’.29

The printed collections indicate that the sixteenth-century Italian performance tradition involved a large number of French chansons, motets by famous composers such as Josquin des Prez, Sermisy, Le Roy and others, as well as Italian madrigals and dances. Mainly the lutenists chose songs to intabulate that were very well known and often intabulations exist of the same song by different lutenist/composers. Such a case is the madrigal O s’io potessi donna by Berchem which was arranged nine times for lute (Barberiis includes one intabulation of this piece in his Libro Quinto) and another two arrangements were made for guitar and keyboard. In other cases of vocal intabulations the source did not give much information or details about the piece since it was considered that it was popular and everyone would be familiar with it. Examples of the absence of titles are found in the Marsh Lute Book, dated around 1600,30 in which only a few of the pieces bear a title or the composer’s name. Similarly the Thibault MS, a book with lute solos and intabulations in Italian tablature does not include any text or rhythmic signs. It is plausible that the writers of the above sources took it for

29 D. Smith, A History of the Lute, p. 98.
30 The Marsh Lute Book (Dublin, St. Patrick’s Cathedral, Marsh’s Library Manuscript Z3.2.13)
granted that the music in their book was known to everyone and its interpretation would not need to include the rhythmic values or other related information.

In the Italian and Spanish lute books the compilers would categorise music in their volumes. An example of this is the Siena Manuscript, a collection of lute music by various composers which is structured according to the mode and style of composition. The first group of pieces is written in Primo Tono, then Secondo Tono and so on. The compositions in these categories that occupy the first 47 folios are mainly fantasias and ricercars, written for a 6-course lute. The next section in this book includes intabulations of French chansons and the final section consists of music of 7-course lute. The majority of the lute books published at that time would include both secular and sacred music. There is only one exception: Barberiis’s Libro Quarto (1546) which is entitled Missa Ave Maria of Antonio Fevin, and includes exclusively the intabulation of the whole mass.

So what is the significance of intabulation to scholars and performers today? The significance of the intabulations is not restricted only to the development of music and techniques on the lute of the period, or a study of the intabulations in comparison to the original pieces. Intabulations may be important to any scholar and performer of early music, especially in vocal studies, since they could be used as a guide to performance practice in the Renaissance. For lute scholars, it is known that the tablature is a precise guide for the placement of the left-hand fingers on the fingerboard. Therefore, the puzzle about musica ficta that is usually faced by singers or instrumentalists in performance is actually solved in the tablature. The way lutenists used musica ficta in their music could provide information on how sixteenth-century performers understood it and perhaps help modern editors define some common rules.

Moreover, as well as performing as soloists, lutenists performed in ensembles or accompanied singers, using their intabulations (literal) or other settings for voice and lute. Therefore, they had to follow the same harmony and for this, a good knowledge of music theory and counterpoint was required from

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the lutenist (as well as from the singer). Any failure of doing so, would result clashing notes, and especially in cases of *musica ficta* implications. The fact that the tablature is a precise guide for the left hand and provides the information needed with regards to *musica ficta*, indicates that this is a legitimate sixteenth-century performance version of the vocal pieces. On the other hand, lutenists intabulated songs using embellishment in order to present more elaborated versions and perform them as lute solos or added/deleted notes to adjust to the technical limitations of the instrument. They also chromatically altered notes or sometimes changed the sonority of a chord. Thus, each piece of music should be studied separately and in relation to the composer’s or intabulator’s ability and knowledge of composition. This is a subject that I will explore in depth and analyse further, since it will give important performance information about the vocal pieces Barberiis included in his books.

Here Barberiis’s reputation as a composer needs to be addressed. The facts that Barberiis is not included in the list of prominent musicians of Padua, he is not referred to anywhere else, and almost nothing is known about his life, have led to his classification as a second-rate or lower-class musician by modern scholars. Also, his compositions in the books include many mistakes, and this led Brown (referring to a comparison of *O s’io potessi donna* between Abodante, Bianchini, and Vindella) to decide that ‘Barberiis is the exception, whose bad example helps us to understand better the achievements of the others. He misunderstood the harmony of the piece in a number of places; other lutenists rearrange the polyphony from time to time, but Barberiis changes the composer’s music wilfully and (unsuccessfully)’. Brown believes that the different placement of notes that change the harmony cannot be typographical errors. Then again, Echols brings out that Barberiis is ‘one of the most prolific composers of lute intabulations in the sixteenth century’, for producing a large body of work and using innovative elements such as the four fantasias in guitar tablature, the volume dedicated to a whole mass.

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33 See p.13 on Notation.
34 For further details on intabulation techniques, see H. Minamino, *Sixteenth-Century Lute Treatises*, pp. 82–109.
36 H. M. Brown, ‘Embellishment in Early Sixteenth-Century Italian Intabulations’, p. 68.
In any case, we cannot disregard Barberiis as an incompetent lutenist: as we shall see, his intabulations and compositions were published in Venice in five volumes and, regardless of what we conclude in terms of the quality or worth of Barberiis’s output today and the influence of his readership, there was obviously a market need for such lute music then. The repertoire is therefore worthy of study.

1.3. Notation

The five books by Melchiore de Barberiis are all written in Italian tablature notation. In the late fifteenth century, three different tablature styles were developed in lute notation: the German, the Italian and the French tablature. I would like to explain briefly the way a tablature, and in this case an Italian one, functions. The tablature serves as a guide for the lutenist’s left hand on the fingerboard. It gives precise instructions to the fingers of the left hand, and is formed by frets and courses, as on the lute.

The German tablature, which the oldest, is rarely used probably due to its difficulty; it uses both numbers and letters. Each note has its own symbol: the open courses (with each ‘course’ consisting of a pair of strings) are numbered from 1–5, with the top course being 5 and the lower, number 1. The first fret of each course has a symbol (a, b, c, d, e) with the letter ‘a’ on the lower course and letter ‘e’ on the top. The second fret of each course has the letters f, g, h, i, k, with the f being on the lower course and the k on the top, and so on. This tablature notation was designed for a five-course lute and it becomes more complicated when a sixth course is added.

The French tablature includes only letters and it seems that it was the most widely used one, since English lutenists and composers also employed its system. Like the German tablature, the early French tablature was used for a five-course lute and had only five lines. Later on it increased to a six-line staff to suit the six-course lute. Each course is represented by a line, beginning from the top to the bottom. Then each fret is represented by a letter, beginning with the letter ‘a’ for the open string, the letter ‘b’ for the first fret a semitone above the open string, letter ‘c’ for the second fret, a tone above the open string, and so on. The letters were usually placed above each line and sometimes on the line. The rhythmic signs, which varied in style, using using flags, note-heads or beamed flags, were placed above the staff.
The Italian tablature on the other hand, uses numbers and in contrast to the French tablature it is read from the bottom to the top: the top line represents the lowest course, and the bottom line the first course. Each number represents a fret and therefore, beginning from number 0, the open course is ‘0’, the first fret is number ‘1’, the second ‘2’ and so on. This tablature style works as a mirror image to the lute (the bottom course is the same as the bottom line on the tablature), making things easier for the player. However, where transcribing is concerned, it becomes more confusing since most musicians are used to a staff notation which moves in contrary motion to the Italian tablature, having the highest notes starting from the top and going downwards (as in the French tablature).

1.4. Editorial issues
The initial goal of this thesis involves the transcription of books five, nine and ten of Barberiis’s publications, since book four and six have already been studied by Jane A. Echols in her Master’s dissertation concerning Barberiis’s sacred music. In addition, the last four *fantasias* for guitar from *Libro X* were published by Adolph Koczirz in a modern edition and therefore are not included in the current thesis.\(^{37}\)

Transcribing lute music into modern notation, and then into staff notation, involves many aspects, but the main reason here is to find problematic parts and errors (both editorial and compositional) which are located in the original source. This requires locating errors and suggesting corrections for them, which makes the source more accessible to lutenists who in many cases avoid the facsimile source if it has many errors and seek for modern editions. As mentioned earlier, the transcriptions include a staff notation, thereby making lute music accessible to those who would like to study and write about it, without having the knowledge of how a tablature works. Staff notation reveals the contrapuntal techniques and the harmony of a lute piece in convenient modern notation. In any case, these transcriptions are destined for the purposes of research, to assist a better understanding of the harmony and for lute performance; other instruments such as guitar and keyboard would not be ideal if used for performance as they would need special arrangements to fit to their requirements.

One of the decisions an editor has to take when transcribing lute music relates to time-values. In modern editions usually time-values change and more specifically, are decreased (usually halved). For example, in a few editions a semiquaver in the tablature is represented in staff notation by a quaver or sometimes by a crotchet. In order to be consistent and avoid confusion, this edition keeps the original time-values, for Barberiis’s music varies in tempo (especially in the dances). Changing these values could risk misrepresenting the actual tempo and it is suggested that a moderate tempo should be applied, for a better interpretation of this music.

Another crucial point in transcribing lute music concerns the polyphonic representation in the staff notation. Despite the fact that tablature is a precise guide for the lutenist’s left hand, it is inferior to demonstrate the voice-leading, and therefore the editor needs to take important decisions on how to interpret the voice-leading as accurately as possible. In other words, the lute being a polyphonic instrument, in its music there may be places where the number of notes/voices in a chord differ from the vocal model. Mostly in lute music, up to four voices are used and there are a few instances where some chords may include more than five, or change from four to three, two or one voice with the rest of the voices ‘disappearing’. Since the extra notes do not continue in the other voices, puzzlement may be caused for the editor who has to figure out how the voice-leading should be represented (which notes are continuations of each voice). The same problem occurs when chords are formed by fewer notes and in such cases, transcriptions become very subjective.

Time-values are also in a sense vague on a tablature. A value is placed on each note, but it does not indicate the time for which it should be held and this also occurs with voice-leading. For example, when an open course is strung, the sound resonates and will only stop when another note on the same course is played. At many points Barberiis places a sign (see Illustration 1) requiring the performer to hold the note, which is however only a ‘vague indicator of length’. It is seen in Illustration 1 that the double-cross sign is placed next to stopped notes (not open strings) since they do not resonate as much as the open strings. Here the composer instructs the performer to keep holding number 2 on the fourth line through the whole bar as note g in the tenor should be prolonged to the next bar; note c’ in the alto is treated similarly. Since the time-values do not represent the
prolongation of the sound in the tablature, the editor should try to represent it in the staff notation, either by ties or longer values of the note; in this edition rests are avoided.

As stated earlier, transcriptions are subjective and there are no perfect or absolute solutions to these kinds of problems. Depending on the aesthetics or understanding of the individual editor, opinions might vary. With regard to voice-leading, my decisions regarding awkward passages were informed by trying them on the lute, which results in a better understanding of the voice-leading.

In this research there will be an attempt to make transcriptions as comprehensible as possible to readers and present them with few editorial interventions changing as few notes as possible in order to preserve any possible compositional choices of the composer. Any editorial changes are the result of musical decisions based on my understanding of acceptable harmonic and melodic procedures.
2. CHAPTER – The sources

2.1. Description of the layout and notation of the sources

The five books that survive by Barberiis are described below, and as will be explained further in this chapter, there is a peculiarity in the numbering: Barberiis’s first book is named *Libro Quarto*, the second *Libro Quinto*, the third *Libro Sesto*, the fourth *Libro Nonno* and the last *Libro Decimo*.

The first book of the series, *Libro Quarto*, is entitled:

INTAVOLATURA / DI LAUTO / LIBRO QUARTO / DE LA MESSA DI ANTONIO FEVINO. SOPRA AVE MARIA / Intabulata & accomodata per sonare sopra il Lautto dal Reverendo messer pre / MARCHIORE de barberiis da Padova sonatore eccellentissimo de Lautto, da / lui proprio nuovamente à utilità di virtuosi posta in luce, / con acluni altri suoi recercari accommodati so/pra il tuono di ditta messa. / Agiotovi il nuovo modo di accordare il Lautto posto in fine. / Con gratia & privilegio. VENETIA M D XLVI. (Copy in British Library, London, United Kingdom – Catalogue number: K1 c 14a; RISM 154622).

The book contains 24 folios of Italian tablature for a six-course lute. It uses letters and full note heads above for note values, and on folio 1v there is a dedication to ‘AL REVERENDISSIMO MONSIGNOR M. FRANCESCO / Pisani Cardinale di san Marco pre Marhiore Padoano’. At the end of the dedication is written ‘di Padova alli di Giugno, 1546’. The book consists of 28 pieces, 19 of which constitute the mass *Ave Maria* by Antonio Fevino (Antoine de Févin, c. 1470–1512). Barberiis also includes five movements from masses by different composers, three fantasias and a duo. On the second folio at the centre of the top of the page, the title of the mass is written: ‘La messa di Antonio Fevino intitulata Ave Maria’. After that, the first mass movement ‘Chirie’ follows, with the title on the right side before the tablature (which is the case in every piece of each book in this series). On the last folio, the table of contents is presented (‘TAVOLA’) with
On folio 23v there is an instruction manual for playing the lute, and in particular, information about the notation. The instruction is entitled: ‘Per dechiarare a quelli che non hanno musicha, & etiam hano pocca practica nel sonar de Liuto io li mostrerò qui disotto per ragione, et per pratica’ [translation: ‘To those who do not have any music (education/training) and those who have a little practise playing the lute, I will demonstrate to them below, theory and practise’]. Beneath the instructions there is a nomenclature of the note values (breve–semibreve–minima–semiminima–croma–semicroma) and of the names of the strings (Basso–Bordon–Tenor–Mezzana–Sottana–Canto) on the lute (see Illustration 2). Starting from the bass string (Basso), the diagram shows the intervallic relation between the strings (4–4–3–4–4). The names under the note values (tanto, valeno, la nota, quanto, la zifara per mezzo ditta, Nota), though not of any significance in literal translation, describe the relation between the notes: that ‘each note receives half of the value of the preceding one’. At the end of folio 24, an example of music is included in order to practice: ‘Modo di acordar il Lauto per li unisoni & per practicha’. The foliation includes numbers on the top right-hand side of each folio (e.g. 2, 3, 4) as well as the printer's foliation numbering on the bottom right-hand side of the folios with capital letters and Latin numerals (e.g. A ii, A, iii, Aiii).

Illustration 2: Nomenclature of notes and strings

Libro Quinto, the sole surviving exemplar of which can be found in Leipzig Stadtische Bibliotheken, Germany is entitled:

INTABULATURA / DI LAUTTO / LIBRO QUINTO. / DE MADRIGALI, ET CANZON FRANCESE INTABULATI / & accomodati per sonare sopra il Lautto dal Reverendo messer pre MELCHIORE / de barberiis da Padova sonatore eccellentissimo di Lautto da lui proprio / nuovamente à utilità di virtuosi posta in luce. / Agiontovi il nuovo modo di accordare il Lautto posto in fine. / Con gratia & privilegio. / VENETIA M D XLVI.

[Sole surviving copy in Leipzig Stadtische Bibliotheken; not listed in RISM]

The edition consists of 28 folios and it is notated in Italian tablature. On folio 1v there is a dedication to (translation in edition volumes) ‘ALL’ ECCELLENTISSIMO DOTTORE M. MARCANTONIO da genova Philosopho Padoano’ followed by his name, ‘Di V. E Pre Melchiore Padoano’. On folio 27, instructions for playing the lute are included in this book and these are identical to those the previous book, Libro Quarto. On the last folio (28) the table of contents is given. All the pieces are titled at the side, at the beginning of each piece. The folio numbering in this edition is the same as in Libro IV, having numbers on the top right-hand side of the page and on the bottom right-hand side, there is the printer’s foliation numbering.

The third book of the 1546 series, Libro Sesto bears the title:

INTABOLATURA / DI LAUTTO / LIBRO SESTO / DI DIVERSI MOTETTI A QUATTRO VOCE, INTABULATI, / & accomodati per sonare sopra il Lautto dal Reverendo messer pre MERCHIORE / de barberiis da Padova sonatore eccellentissimo di Lautto da lui proprio / nuovamente à utilità di virtuosi posta in luce. / Agiontovi il nuovo modo di accordare il Lautto posto in fine. / Con gratia & privilegio. / VENETIA M D XLVI.

[Sole surviving copy in Herzog-August-Bibliothek, Wolfenbüttel, Germany – Catalogue number: 2.50 Mus (4); RISM 1546].

Thirty-two folios of Italian tablature are included in this volume which is dedicated to sacred music – all 11 pieces are motets by French composers and are
intabulated for solo lute playing.\(^3\) The volume has a dedication on folio Aa1v to “All' ECCELLENTISSFIMO DOTTORE MARCO MANTOA JURISCONSULATO PADOANO.”. On folio 30v the instructions of Libro IV and V are repeated in the same way as in the aforementioned volumes. The table of contents (‘TAVOLA’) is on folio 31v.\(^4\)

On the first page of Libro Nono the title of the book appears:

INTABOLATURA DI LAUTO / LIBRO NONO INTITOLATO IL BEMBO, / DI FANTASIE, BALLI, PASSI E MEZI, E PADOANE GAGLIARDE, / Composte per il Reverendo M. pre Melchioro de Barberiis Padoano, Musico & sonator di Lauto eccellentißimo. Dedicato al Signor Torquato Bembo. / LIBRO [Scotto’s mark in the middle which is an anchor with an olive branch on the left and a palm branch on the right, the motto ‘IN TENEBRIS FULGET’ (= shines in the dark) and the initials S.O.S (= Signum Octaviani Scoti) at the bottom] NONO / Venetiis apud Hieronymum Scotum. / M. D. XLIX.

[Sole surviving copy in Vienna, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, Austria – Catalogue number: SA.76.F.17,9; not listed in RISM].

This edition contains 22 folios of Italian tablature and is written for a six-course lute. On folio a1v there is a dedication headed ‘AL REVERENDISSFIMO SIGNOR MIO IL SIGNOR TORQUATO BEMBO’. Libro Nono includes 34 dances, two intabulations of songs and four fantasias.\(^5\) The setting of the dances seems to be in order at the beginning of the book, as regard the key/mode they are written in and in some cases, dances are in pairs having the same motif / theme (e.g. Pass’e mezo and Saltarello in folio b1 and b2, as well as in folio b2v and b3, both sets of dances written in Gm). The first set of 10 dances is written in the same key (G minor) and the following dances are written in various keys, not always in mode order (alternations between Fm, F, Cm, C, Gm and G).

\(^3\) For the full list of the contents see pp. 22–26.
\(^4\) Libro Sesto which is exclusively dedicated to motets has been studied by J. Echols, Melchiore de Barberiis’s lute intabulations of sacred music, Vol. 1.
\(^5\) For the full list of the contents see pp. 22–26.
Libro Decimo is the last book of the series. The full title of the book is:

OPERA INTITOLATA CONTINA, / INTABOLATURA DI LAUTO
DI FANTASIE, MOTETTI, / CANZONI, DISCORDATE A VARII
MODI, FANTASIE PER SONAR / uno solo con uno Lauto, & farsi
tenore & soprano: Madrigali per sonar a dui Lauti: Fantasie per / sonar a
dui Lauti: Fantasie per sonar sopra la Chitara da sette corde. / COMPOSTA PER IL REVERENDO M. PRE MELCHIORO / de
Barberis Padoano, Musico, & sonator di Lauoto eccellentissimo. / LIBRO [Scotto’s mark as in Libro Nono] DECIMO. / Venetiis apud
Hieronymum Scotum / M. D. XLIX. [Copies in British Library,
London, United Kingdom; Vienna, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek,
Austria; Lausanne, Bibliothèque Alfred Cortot, Switzerland;
Wolfenbüttel, Herzog-August-Bibliothek, Germany; Paris, Bibliothèque
G. Thibault, France. Copy used: British Library – Catalogue number:
K.7.c.20; RISM 1549].

The book contains 30 folios, two of which are occupied by the title and dedication
and the rest includes ricercars, fantasias, and intabulations of chansons in Italian
tablature as well as guitar tablature (the last two folios which are four short
fantasias). The dedication in this book refers to ‘IMPERATORIAE
MAJESTATIS COMITI FIDEISSIMIO / AC CANONICO PATAVINO
RELIQUISSIMMO HERCULI A SANCTO / Bonifacio patrono suo observadiß.
Melchior Berberius Sacerdos Patavinus, / & humillimus servus S. P. D.” The
dedication is signed at the end ‘VI. Kal. Januarii. M D XLIX’. In the last folio
there is a table of contents (TAVOLA) and below the table is written ‘NUMERO
XXXIII’ (= number 34), which is the total of the pieces in the book (including
parts 1 and 2 of some pieces e.g. fantasia prima pars, fantasia seconda pars and
Soprano – Tenor di Madonna qual certezza).

As in the case with all of the books in this series, the title of the piece is written on
the left side before each piece and the music follows, using the same notation
(numbers on the tablature and note-heads above for values).

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6 For full list of the contents see pp. 22–26.
2.2. List of works in the books\(^7\)

**Libro IV (1546)**

1. a) *La messa di Antonio fevino intitulata Ave Maria*
   - b) *Chirie*
   - c) *Christe*
   - d) *Chirie*
   - e) *Domine deus in duo*
   - f) *Et in terra pax*
   - g) *Qui tollis peccata mundi*
   - h) *patrem omnipotentem*
   - i) *Et incarnatus est*
   - j) *Crucifixus*
   - k) *Et resurexit*
   - l) *Et iterum venturus est*
   - m) *Et in spiritum sanctum*
   - n) *Sanctus*
   - o) *pleni sunt celi in duo*
   - p) *Osana*
   - q) *Benedictus qui venit*
   - r) *Agnus dei*
   - s) *Agnus dei*

2. *Qui tollis peccata* [Richafort, Jean]

3. *Benedictus qui venit*

4. *Agnus dei* lupus [Lupus]

5. *Agnus deiu* lehortur [Le Heurteur, Guillaume]

6. *Duo*

7. *Fantasia*

8. *Fantasia*

9. *Crucifixus in duo* Carpentias [Carpentras, Genet Elzéar]

10. *Fantasia*

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\(^7\) The identification of names of composers are taken from Howard M. Brown, *Instrumental Music Printed before 1600: A Bibliography* [Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1965 (2000 repr.)]. Exceptions are noted with an asterisk (*).
Libro V (1546)
1. *Si Roi Regret mi complans*
2. *De vos sechur* [Sermisy, Claudin de]
3. *Canzun francese*
4. *A bien grant tort* [Gombert, Nicolas*]
5. *Contra rasun* [Sermisy, Claudin de]
6. *O sio potesse donna* [Berchem, Jacquet de]
7. *Amor non vede* [Maître Jan]
8. *Canzun latens secors* [Sermisy, Claudin de]
9. *Canzon francese*
10. *Fantasia* [Adieu mes amours – Josquin des Prez*]
11. *Fantasia*
12. *Fantasia*
13. *Fantasia*
14. *Con lacrime & sospiri* [Verdelot, Philippe]
15. *Madonna io sol vorei* [Silva, Andreas de]
16. *Vitta de la mia vitta* [Verdelot, Philippe]
17. *Madonna qual certezza* [Verdelot, Philippe]
18. *Si suave*
19. *Madonna mi consumo* [Festa, Costanzo*]
20. *Altro non è il mio amore* [Festa, Constanzo]
21. *Veramente madonna*
22. *Quando vostri belli occhi*
23. *Perche bramo morire*
24. *A l'umbra al caldo al gello*
25. *La dolce umbra*
26. *Celis asamplus* [Pope Leo X]

Libro VI (1546)
1. *Beates omnes qui timet* [Gombert, Nicolas]
2. a) *Ave Ancilla trinitatis* [Silva, Andreas de]
    b) 2a pars
3. Ave virgo singularis Fage [La Fage, Jean de]
4. Postquam consumati sunt [Lupus]
5. Salve regina Jusquino [Prez, Josquin des]
6. Domine quis habitabit in tabernaculo tuo [Courtois, Jean]
7. a) Michael arcangelle Jacotin [Jacotin]
   b) 2a pars
8. a) Inter natos mulierum [Layolle, Francesco de]
    b) 2a pars
9. a) Dignare me laudare te [Gombert, Nicolas]
    b) 2a pars
10. a) Elisabet Zacharie [La Fage, Jean de]
     b) 2a pars
11. Super flumina babilonis [Gombert, Nicolas]

Libro IX (1549)
1. Passo e mezo
2. a) Passo e mezo
   b) Gagliarda
   c) Saltarello
3. Saltarello
4. a) La pavana del Duca
   b) Saltarello
5. a) Pass’ e mezo [antico]
   b) Saltarello
6. a) Pass’ e mezo
   b) Saltarello
7. Saltarello
8. Piva
9. Pass’ e mezo [antico]
10. La Bertonzina
11. Brando Franzese
12. Vesentino
13. Saltarello gagliardo
14. a) Pavana
   b) Saltarello
15. a) Pavana
   b) Saltarello
16. a) Pass’ e mezo della Battaia
   b) Saltarello del Pass’ e mezo della Battaia
17. Saltarello
18. a) Pavana gagliarda
   b) Seconda parte
   c) Saltarello
19. La cara cosa
20. Il vecchio da Conegian
21. Saltarello La vilanelia
22. Il Formigoto
23. [Saltarello del Formigoto:] Madonna Tenerina
24. Il traditore
25. Mia mare e anda al merco per comprarme un pignolo [Azzaio, Filippo]
26. Fantasia
27. Fantasia
28. Piangete occhi miei lassi
29. Vray dieu damors Josquin [Prez, Josquin des]
30. Fantasia
31. Fantasia

**Libro X (1549)**
1. a) Recercada Prima parte
   b) Fantasia Seconta parte
2. Deul double deul [Hesdin, Nicolle des Celliers de *]
3. Il est bel & bon [Passereau, Pierre]
4. a) Queramus cum pastoribus [Mouton, Jean]
   b) Seconda parte
5. Christi Corpus Ave
6. Fantasia
7. Fantasia
8. Fantasia
9. La volonte Canzon [Sandrin, Pierre Regnault]
10. Fantasia
11. Fantasia Discorda
12. Canzon Francese
13. Canzon [Le content est riche – Sermisy, Claudin de]
14. Madrigal Se mai provasti donna [Verdelot, Philippe]
15. Fantasia sopra Se mai provasti donna
16. a) Madonna qual certezza Soprano per sonare a due Lauti [Verdelot, Philippe]
   b) Tenor di Madonna qual certezza
17. Pas de mi compagni [King Henry VIII of England]
18. a) Fantasia per sonar con due Lauti in ottava. Soprano
   b) Fantasia ante scritta per sonare con due Lauti in ottava. Tenor
19. Fantasia
20. Fantasia per sonar un Lauto, & farsi Tenor et Soprano
21. Fantasia discordata per sonare solo uno
22. Fantasia discordata
23. a) Fantasia. Prima parte
   b) Fantasia. Seconda parte
   c) Fantasia. Terza parte
24. Canzon
25. Fantasia prima per sonar sopra la Chitara da sette corde.
26. Fantasia seconda per sonar sopra la Chitara da sette corde
27. Fantasia terza per sonar sopra la Chitara da sette corde
28. Fantasia quarta per sonar sopra la Chitara da sette corde
2.3. Barberiis and his compositions

Very little is known about Barberiis’s life. He was born around 1500s and died probably around 1550, after his last publication in 1549. The title-pages of books IV, V and VI are ascribed to Melchiore de Barberiis da Padova, and books IX and X to Melchiore de Barberiis Padoano, indicating his place of origin, Padua. He was, also according to the title-pages of his publications, a priest in Padua Cathedral and ‘like many educated men of the time, he was a composer, lutenist and guitarist’.

According to Arthur Ness, his name does not appear on the lists of the musicians of Padua. However, he composed and published five books of lute music which were published by Girolamo Scotto in Venice, one of the most popular music publishers of the sixteenth century. Despite extensive research in Paduan libraries in March 2010 and Biblioteca Nazionale Marciana in Venice, I was unable to find any reference to Barberiis either as a musician or as a priest. Fr. Joseph Pigoni, who was cataloguing all the books (with the title ‘Diversorum’) related to the Church in Padua (ordinations, licenses, examinations) in Biblioteca Padova Capitolare, had never came across anyone with this name. Fr. Joseph had catalogued all the manuscript books until 1518 by that time (March 2010) and there was no reference to Barberiis. It is noteworthy though that the books in the archive stop at the book of 1524–1526 and then continue again in the book of 1557–1559. The volumes in between were missing, and according to Fr. Joseph have been missing for a considerable time. According to Gary Towne, the ordination of a priest took place after the age of 25, which means that if Barberiis was born around 1500, the book with his ordination could possibly be among the missing volumes. Thus, the verification of Barberiis’s ordination in Padua, which could help in finding information about his life, could not be confirmed because of the lack of evidence.

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8 J. Echols, *Melchiore de Barberiis*, p. 3.
10 Special thanks to Monsignor Claudio Bellinati and Fr. Joseph Pigoni of the Biblioteca Capitolare Padova, who helped with searching the archives.
2.4. Publications

The first of Barberiis’s books *Intabulatura di lauto/libro quarto/de la messa di Antonio Fevino. Sopra Ave Maria*, was published in 1546 (24 fols. – the numbering will be explained below) and consists of an intabulation of the *Missa ‘Ave Maria’* by Antoine de Fevin (c. 1470–1512). At the end of the book there are three fantasias which served as interludes between the parts of the mass. It is rare to find an entire mass in tablature and, according to Brown’s bibliography on instrumental music before 1600, it is the first one printed. Barberiis’s extensive intabulations of sacred works could be justified by the fact that he was a priest and was thus influenced by church music. The book mentioned above bears the dedication ‘Al reverendissimo (= most reverend) monsignor M. Francesco Pisani Cardinale di san Marco…’ which also could explain the stress that he placed on sacred music in the book.

The second book, *Intabulatura di lauto/Libro quinto. De madrigali, et canzon francese intabulati*, (28 fols), published in the same year (1546), includes primarily intabulations of madrigals (18) by Verdelot, Sermisy, de Silva, Festa, Berchem, Maitre Jan, Pope Leo X, as well as some by other composers who have yet not been identified. Three intabulations of French chansons are also included in this book as well as four fantasias which were composed by Barberiis. *Intabulatura di lauto/libro sesto di diversi motetti a Quattro voce, intabulati* is the title of his third book also published in 1546. It contains 32 folios of intabulated motets by Gombert, Josquin, de Silva, Lupus, Lafage, Jacotin, Courtois and Layolle. His fourth and fifth books, *Intabulatura di lauto/libro nono intitolato in bembo di fantasie, balli, passi e mezi, e padoane gagliarde* (22 fols) and *Opera intitolata contina/intabolatura di lauto di fantasie, motetti, canzoni, discordeate a vari modi, fantasie per sonar, Libro decimo* (30 fols), were both published in 1549. In *Libro nono*, most of the compositions is dance music, and in *libro decimo* more than half of the compositions are *fantasias* and the others include intabulations of French chansons, madrigals and motets.

It appears that in these books Barberiis was aiming to write his own compositions and to experiment more with different dances. It is remarkable that

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the four fantasias at the end of his last book were written for a 4-string guitar (7 courses); these are the only guitar intabulations printed in the sixteenth century in Italy.

Presenting the five books above, it is noticeable that the numbering is peculiar and does not follow a numeric sequence. Beginning with book IV (quarto), V (quinto), VI (sesto) and then continuing with the books IX (nonno) and X (decimo), implies that there was originally a series of ten books. There are two basic theories about remaining books: the first theory is that Barberiis wrote a series of ten volumes and that five of them are lost or not yet found. The second theory, which was first proposed by Daniel Moe\textsuperscript{13} and later on supported by Jane Agnew Echols,\textsuperscript{14} suggests that Scotto published a ten-book series of lute music by different composers such as Rotta, Milano/Borrono, Crema, Abodante and Barberiis. The only matching point between the two theories is that we are definitely talking about a ten-volume series.

At first sight the hypothesis of the five lost books seems to be a very plausible case since the numbering of the books begins with the early 4, 5, 6 and then continues to the final numbers 9 and 10. Thus, it could easily be assumed that the rest of the books were written by Barberiis. On the other hand, however, it is unlikely that a single composer could complete a ten-volume series in that period, especially given – as we shall see – that Barberiis was not a particularly distinguished composer.

On the contrary, the fact that ‘Scotto favoured music editions devoted to individual composers rather than the anthologies so popular in northern European centres’\textsuperscript{15} reinforces the second hypothesis. This is supported by Brown in his book concerning instrumental music until 1600, and also by Jane Agnew Echols in her ‘Intabulations of Sacred Music by Barberiis’. More specifically, Jane Echols, based on Moe’s thesis on Italian dance music in lute tablatures, presents a table of composers whose books were published by Scotto which chronologically overlaps with the ‘missing’ volumes. Brown’s catalogue of printed instrumental

\textsuperscript{14} J. Echols, Melchior de Barberis, pp. 14–20.
music lists books by the composers mentioned that would complete the ten-volume series by Scotto (e.g. *libro primo, secondo* etc.).

See Table 1 based on H. M. Brown, *Instrumental Music Printed Before 1600*, p. 76, footnote 1.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Publications by Scotto</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>
| 1546 | • Rotta, Antonio: *Intabolatura de lauto di lo eccellentissimo musichio messer Antonio Rotta de recerceri, motetti, balli, madrigali, Canzon francese da lui composti & Intabulati & novamente posti in luce. LIBRO PRIMO. Con Gratia e privilegio. VENETIIS MDXLVI.* (Brown, 1546₁)  
  • Giovanni Maria da Crema: *Intabolatura de lauto di recerchari, canzon Francese, motetti, madrigali, padoane, e saltarelli composti per lo Eccellente musichio, & sonator di Lautto messer JO. MARIA da Crema. LIBRO TERZO. Con gratia & Privilegio. VENETIIS MDXLVI.* (Brown, 1546₁₁)  
  • Melchiore de Barberiis: *Intabulatura de lautto LIBRO QUARTO de la Messa di Antonio Fevino. Sopra Ave Maria […]. VENETIA MDXLVI.* (Brown, 1546₂)  
  • Melchiore de Barberiis: *Intabulatura di Lautto LIBRO QUINTO. De madrigali, et canzon Francese intabulati & accomodati per sonare sopra il lautt […] VENETIA MDXLVI.* (Brown, 1546₃).  
  • Melchiore de Barberiis: *Intabulatura di lautto LIBRO SESTO di diversi motetti a Quattro voce intabulati & accomodati per sonare sopra il lautt […] VENETIA MDXLVI.* (Brown, 1546₄) |
### 1548

- **Francesco da Milano:** *Intabulatura de lautto LIBRO SETTIMO. Recercari novi del Divino M. Francesco da Milano. [...] Apresso di Hieronimo Schotto. M.D.XLVIII.* (Brown, 1548)

- **Pietro Paolo Borrono:** *Intavolatura di lauto dell’eccellente Pietro Paolo Borrono da Milano, Nuovamente posta in luce, et con ogni [...] LIBRO OTTAVO, VENETIIS apud Hieronymum Scotum. M.D.XLVIII.* (Brown, 1548)

### 1549

- **Melchior de Barberiis:** *Intabulatura di lauto LIBRO NONO intitolato il bembo, di fantasies, balli, passi e mezi, e padoane gagliarde [...] Venetiis apud Hieronymum Scotum. M.D.XLIX.* (Brown, 1549)

- **Melchior de Barberiis:** *Opera intitolata contina, intabulatura di lauto di fantasies, motetti, canzoni, discordate a vari modi, fantasies per sonar [...] LIBRO DECIMO. Venetiis apud Hieronymum Scotum M.D.XLIX.* (Brown, 1549)

Nevertheless, the first six volumes of the series which were published in 1546 do not bear any publisher’s mark or name. Although Moe argues in his thesis that there is a publisher’s mark (Scotto) in volume IV by Barberiis, I have not been able to verify this in the copy of the book held at the British Library (*S.O.S = signum Ottaviani Scotti, In tenebris fulget = in darkness he shines*). However, Jane Bernstein refers to a printer’s mark that Scotto used in his publication, which is an anchor with a circle (see Illustration 3).
Jane Bernstein observes that ‘a curious gap occurred in Girolamo’s [Scotto, director of the Scotto press after 1539] production of music in 1545–7, when only one music theory book, Pietro Aaron’s *Lucidario*, was signed by him […]. Typographical and archival evidence suggests that a consortium of bookmen delegated 18 of the editions to the house of Scotto. But Girolamo, busy with at least 56 non-music items, probably sub-contracted the music to other printers, in particular his cousin Ottaviano di Amadio’. These books have a very similar title page which means that if one of them was printed under Scotto’s publishing company, we can assume that the rest of them were published also by Scotto.

Due to the printing procedure of the time, misprints were very common, especially in lute notation in which a different technique was used from mensural notation. According to Jane Bernstein, the technique differed ‘in that a single piece of type contained both one character and a single segment representing only one line of the six-line staff. Rhythmic symbols, mensuration signs text, and other miscellaneous type then completed the forme, which was then run through the press once’. Therefore, the possibility of placing a number on the wrong line or a different number on a line was frequently presented. A characteristic example of a clear printing error can be seen in Barberis’s *Libro X*, in the chanson ‘Queramus cum pastoribus’, where in bar 63 the number 4 on the fourth line is reversed (†).

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17 T. Bridge, J. Bernstein, ‘Scotto’, *Grove Music Online, Oxford Music Online*.  
Printing books of lute music was a costly and time-consuming activity (which explains the rather small number of lute books issued by Girolamo Scotto – 22 out of 409 music editions – as well as by Antonio Gardano who printed 22 lute books out of 439 music editions).\(^{19}\) It was more expensive than producing a staff notation edition and it seems that the Scotto Press, busy with another 56 non-music items, did not pay any particular attention to making minor corrections to its publications, since this took even more time and consequently cost money.\(^{20}\) In addition, the fact that the title pages in Barberiis’s are not signed by G. Scotto since his cousin Ottaviano di Amadio took over between 1545–1547\(^{21}\) which coincides with Barberiis’s publication dates, might explain the existence of many errors in the five books by Barberiis. As mentioned in the Introduction of this study, a key issue is the debate relating to the quality of Barberiis’s compositions. As mentioned previously,\(^{22}\) some researchers believe that Barberiis was a weak composer, and on the other hand, some believe that, as a prolific composer, he was a significant provider of lute music for the amateur market. Starting with the last statement, none can deny the productivity of Barberiis who, although an amateur musician, wrote five books, one of which is an intabulation of a whole mass, an activity that no other composer undertook before him.

The question that arises here is why Scotto Press would publish five books of the works of an amateur composer, facing the risk of losing money (and prestige). As mentioned previously, publishing in Cinquecento Venice was a costly business, but would produce a profit if a book had the specification to sell copies to a wide range of people. Publishing companies would aim to produce editions which would both attract a specialist market or player, but also a broader public. In order to achieve that, it was sensible to undertake pieces of work that were either familiar to the public or not very complicated and difficult to sing or play. Agee states in his article that ‘Girolamo Scotto, in the preface to Gero’s two-voice collection of madrigals and chansons from 1541, intimated that this music

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\(^{19}\) Ibid. p. 105.
\(^{20}\) For more details on correcting errors procedure, see J. Bernstein, Music Printing, pp 59–60.
\(^{21}\) See p. 32, first paragraph.
\(^{22}\) See Chapter 1, pp. 12–13.
was extremely accessible: “I am convinced that this collection will be welcome to Your Excellency by reason of the convenient nature of music for two voices”.  

At the beginning of the sixteenth century polyphonic music was flourishing. Specifically, the ‘Parisian chanson’ that was popularised by Pierre Attaingnant was famous in Italy. This, according to David Fallows ‘is one of the most controlled, economical and balanced forms in the history of music’. Jane Bernstein mentions that ‘the international repertory contained in these lute editions made them the most catholic of all sixteenth-century music publications. Scotto certainly had the Paduan market in mind in 1546 when he requested a privilege to print two volumes of lute intabulations by the Paduan lutenist Antonio Rotta […]’. Cultural exchanges between countries were very common and Venice, being a trading centre, received many influences through travellers from around Europe. An examination of the repertoire of Italian instrumental music editions in the Cinquecento reveals that Italians favoured Franco-Flemish vocal music, and reproduced their own arrangements for instruments.

Frottole and stambotti did not appear as frequently in printed books (Petrucci is an exception who published three books of this repertoire in 1505, 1506/7 and 1517) and were gradually replaced by motets and madrigals. More specifically, composers started experimenting with faster rhythms in the madrigal and made more obvious changes between contrapuntal writing and chordal passages. This music was transferred into tablature (for organ or lute) as well as into arrangements for viols, recorders and cornetts or combinations of voices and instruments. Lute transcriptions of this polyphonic music were used for performance practise, especially among university students. In addition, as Keith Polk writes, ‘the technique of the lute is demanding, but a large number of amateurs took up the instrument, some of whom became very skilled. The marketing for the relatively large number of lute publications was of course aimed

at this audience, for they were the ones with the means to purchase the volumes’.  

Thus, it was reasonable for Scotto to publish lute books that contained popular music in order to follow the market trends and attract customers. Rotta’s lute book was published as *Libro Primo*, the first book of a ten-volume lute series and was the only book by Rotta in Scotto’s series, although he was granted the privilege for two lute books by the composer. The fact that Barberiis’s compositions occupy the majority of the volumes, might lead to the hypothesis that he has not only been the main composer contributing to these lute series, but also the main financial contributor. Although little is known about his life, it may be assumed that as a priest, he was able to afford the expenses for publication. In addition to that, Barberiis appears to have been involved within circles of educated men of letters which could suggest that his standing in society was perhaps more than the average musician or clergyman. As seen in the dedications of his books, he chose the dedicatees carefully, commencing with that in the first book (*Libro quarto*) to Francesco Pisani (1494–1570), Bishop of Padua and later, Cardinal of St Marco. The fact that Barberiis’s *Libro Quarto* consists of exclusively sacred works, could justify his choice to dedicate his book to a Cardinal. Barberiis chose to dedicate *Libro Quinto* to Marcantonio Passero (1491–1563), a famous scholar and professor of Philosophy at the University of Padua. *Libro Sesto* is dedicated to another scholar at the University of Padua, Marco da Mantova (1489–1582), who was also a patron of arts. The dedicatee of *Libro Non* is Torquato Bembo (1525–1595), son of the Venetian Cardinal Pietro Bembo (1470–1547), the renowned scholar, literary theorist and poet with whom Barberiis seems to have had previous dealings, as Barberiis refers in the dedication to the countless benefits he received from Pietro and kindly asks Torquato to accept his work as a token of gratitude to his father. The last book, *Libro Decimo*, is dedicated to another member of the clergy, Canon Ercole da San Bonifazio of Padua.

Dedications worked in various ways on each occasion. Composers would choose dedicatees who could finance their work and make the name of the patron known, or alternatively, they could ‘use’ the name of a distinguished dedicatee to

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promote their works and make them known to the public. In other cases they would ‘dedicate to their patron for gratitude in procuring a position or for an extra renumeration’. They would also dedicate works to distinguished personalities who could give them the opportunity of promoting their work and entering the circles of Venetian academies, as in the cases of the singer and composer Perissone Cambio, and the poet and singer Gaspara Stampa. ‘Doubtless many of these patrons financially supported the project, as was the case with Paolo Ferrarese’s unprivileged music book. In such instances, the printer would have had less need to request a privilege to protect himself from economic losses, since the patron would have taken upon himself a large share of the financial obligations involved in printing the edition. Yet an overwhelming majority of prints with privileges carry dedications, even though the dedications usually imply that the print was partially or entirely subsised by the patron’. 

In the case of Barberiis, it is not clear what purpose his dedications would have served since there is no evidence in any letter or financial proof of this. However, one could assume from the content of his writings that, in his case, it is more likely that he asked for recognition through his dedicatees. In Libro Quarto, Barberiis explains to his patron that, with the splendour of his name, he will light his own name as well. Further on he requests that he kindly should accept this small gift as an indication of gratitude from a devoted servant, and use it as he wishes. Considering the above, it is obvious that Barberiis already had funding for this book and only required the reputation through his patron. Libro Sesto contains another kind gesture to a man of high prestige, through whom Barberiis indirectly seeks, perhaps, recognition. In this dedication Barberiis praises his dedicatee throughout and expresses his love and admiration for him. More specifically, he writes that anyone who talks to the dedicatee becomes his slave and so Barberiis feels the same, therefore he feels the need to demonstrate this, through this book. The same occurs in Libro Decimo, in which Barberiis praises and pleads his dedicatee to receive this book as a present, and accept him as the most devoted servant among his acquaintances. Presumably Barberiis had

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28 Ibid. p. 148.
29 Ibid. p. 150.
31 For the translations of dedications in books V, IX and X, see Volume 2, pp. v–ix.
already covered the expenses of the publications and dedicated them to people he
considered of great importance.

Consequently Barberis’s lute books fulfilled all the specifications of the
publishing industry that were necessary to sell his editions and make a profit. His
books included intabulations of popular chansons, suites of dances, forms of
music for solo lute like the *fantasias*, and even music for guitar. The music written
in his books did not require any particular skill to perform, and the instructions at
the end of each book on how to interpret specific signs or the general notes on the
lute, show that his music was mostly addressed to amateurs. This is apparent in
any case, in his own words in the instructions: ‘To those who do not have any
music [education/training] and those who have a little practice playing the lute, I
will demonstrate to them below, theory and practice’.

The Paduan composer was well aware of the musical trend of his time and
composed music accordingly for his books. As mentioned previously, the books
consist of dance music as well as intabulations of madrigals, motets and chansons.
A large number of the pieces which Barberis intabulated appear in other sources
of vocal or lute music, and beginning with the full mass of Antoine de Févin in his
first book, this probably reflects the importance of the composer. Févin was
characterised by his contemporaries as ‘happy emulator of Josquin’ and Ottaviano
Petrucci published a volume of his masses (1515), which places him among the
highly valued composers of the Renaissance. In addition, Pierre
Attaingnant included a part (*Benedictus*) of his *Missa Ave Maria* in a publication
for solo keyboard (1531) and a few other composers like Francesco da Milano
(1536, 1547), Hans Newsidler (1536, 1540, 1549), Alonso Mudarra (1546), Albert
de Rippe (1554, 1562), Sebastian Ochsenkun (1558) and the publishers
Hieronymus Formschneider (1538) and Pierre Phalèse (1546, 1574), intabulated
Févin’s chansons and motets. In particular, the chanson *Fors Seulement*, which
could be by either Févin or Josquin, was intabulated by most of the
aforementioned composers and editors and in many cases, was intabulated by the
same composer in different editions (e.g. Milano, Newsidler). Barberiis also

Music Online*, http://www.oxfordmusiconline.com.ezproxy.york.ac.uk/subscriber/article/grove/music/09569
33 The listed printed sources are detailed in Howard Mayer Brown, *Instrumental Music Printed
included in the same volume fantasies upon the Missa Ave Maria and parts of masses by different composers such as Jean Richafort, Guillaume Le Heurteur (or maybe Johannes L’Hertier) and Carpentras.\textsuperscript{34}

Barberiis’s second book, Libro V, is a collection of chansons found in various sources of instrumental music, as well as chansons that appear exclusively in Barberiis’s book. French composers such as Claudin de Sermisy and Philippe Verdelot wrote the majority of the chansons intabulated in this book, showing the popularity of certain composers. Sermisy played an essential role in the music of the Renaissance, especially with respect to the chanson, while his name appeared on a large number of transcriptions or arrangements for various instruments and voices, rendering him one of the most important composers of his era in terms of popularity. He was also well appreciated by his contemporaries and was described by Certon as a ‘grand maistre, expert et magnifique compositeur’ and ‘le theresor de musique’.\textsuperscript{35} In Brown’s catalogue of printed instrumental music, Sermisy’s name appears in more than 60 sources dating from 1529 until 1589, while some of his works appear in editions published by Attaingnant (1529, 1530, 1531, 1533, 1547) and Phalèse (1545, 1546, 1547, 1549, 1552, 1568, 1570, 1571, 1574, 1582).\textsuperscript{36} Compositions by Sermisy were intabulated by many celebrated lutenists and vihuelists throughout Europe including Francesco da Milano, Hans Gerle, Hans Newidler, Adrian Le Roy, Albert de Rippe and Miguel de Fuenllana, and they were also arranged for organ and cittern. All the chansons by Sermisy in Barberiis’s Libro V are found intabulated in other sources by the famous printers Attaingnant and Phalèse, and by lutenists like Giovanni Maria da Crema. Verdelot’s music is to be found in 27 other sources for instrumental music, dated from 1536 to 1589 and arranged by various composers such as Hans Newidler, Giovanni Maria da Crema, Valentin Bakfark, Miguel de Fuenllana, Vincenzo Galilei (in the Fronimo Dialogo), as well as being included in publications by Phalèse (1547) and in books for organ. Verdelot influenced a number of composers who wrote music based upon his compositions using the parody technique, including Lassus, Gombert, Arcadelt and Palestrina, and he played an

\textsuperscript{34} For further study on the intabulation by Barberiis, see J. Echols, Melchiore de Barberiis, Vol. 1.
\textsuperscript{36} The sources are listed in H. Brown, Instrumental Music Printed before 1600.
important role in the development of the madrigal. Verdelot’s intabulated
madrigals found in Barberiis’s \textit{Libro V} were also intabulated by Hans Newsidler
and Giovanni Maria da Crema for solo lute, and by Enriquez de Valderrábano for
vihuela. In the same book, Barberiis also intabulated chansons by composers like
Maistre Jan, Costanzo Festa, Andreas de Silva [?], Pope Leo X and Giachet
(Jacquet de) Berchem. Some of them were more popular (e.g. \textit{O sio potesse donna}
by Berchem, which is found in 18 different sources, arranged for solo lute, voices
and lute, six-course cittern and organ) while others have not yet been found in
other sources or have not yet been identified, like \textit{Perche bramo morire} and
several named as \textit{Canzun/Canzon francese}. Furthermore, the aforementioned
composers associated with \textit{Libro V} all had connections with Italy, which probably
explains Barberiis’s selection of pieces. The Netherlandish composer Berchem
lived in Venice around 1530 and then moved to Verona and Monopoli. The
French composer Maistre Jan was active in Ferrara from 1512 until his death in
1538. Verdelot moved from France to Venice and then to Rome, Bologna and
finally Florence around 1500. Andreas de Silva, whose nationality is
controversial, lived in Rome, Florence and Mantua, and despite the fact that
Sermisy lived in France, he seems to have had acquaintances in Italy and ti have
travelled there, accompanying King François I. Festa and Pope Leo X were both
born in Italy (in Rome and Florence respectively) and were active mostly in
Rome. Most of the composers mentioned earlier worked at the papal chapel
during the papacy of Pope Leo X. A very important find in \textit{Libro V}, which will be
analysed further below, is the intabulation of the chanson \textit{Adieu mes amours} by
Josquin des Prez, which in the book is called \textit{Fantasia} by Barberiis. The piece in
fact, is not based on the fantasia technique but on the \textit{literal} intabulation
technique.\footnote{Special thanks to the lutenist Jacob Heringman who identified the chanson.} This chanson is found in six other sources of instrumental music, one
dated as early as 1507 by the lutenist Francesco Spinacino. Hans Gerle, Enriquez
de Valderrábano, Benedikt de Drusina and Hans Newsidler intabulated \textit{Adieu mes
amours} in their editions; more specifically, Newsidler intabulated the chanson
twice in his two books from 1536.

\textit{Libro VI} includes intabulations of motets by a different group of
composers, including three motets by Nicolas Gombert, two by Jean de La Fage
and others by Lupus, Jean Courtois, Francesco de Layolle, Andreas de Silva, Jacques Jacotin and Josquin des Prez. The special style of each composer and their creative development might have drawn Barberiis’s attention and prompted him to include them in his third book. Josquin’s pupil, Gombert, was an important figure in Renaissance music, who was considered by his contemporaries to be one of the most outstanding musicians of their time. ‘Ganassi (1542) judged him a “divine” talent, and Juan Bermudo (1555) referred to him as “the profound musician”. […] His style was so consistent and intense that it influenced many contemporaries, among them Morales, Jacquet of Mantua and the younger Payen and Vaet’. Gombert’s compositions are located in 34 sources of instrumental music, and included in collections by the publishers Attaingant, Phalèse and Giacomo Vincenti. Arrangements of music by the Flemish composer were intabulated for lute, vihuela, cittern and keyboard by a number of composers such as Hans Gerle, Francesco da Milano, Giovanni Maria da Crema, Antonio Rotta, Valentin Bakfark, Albert de Rippe, Antonio de Cabezón, Alonso Mudarra, Luys de Narváez, Miguel de Fuenllana and many more. However, the motets of Gombert intabulated by Barberiis in Libro VI are only found in this edition, with the exception of Super flumina babilonis which was intabulated by Miguel de Fuenllana for vihuela, in 1554.

Although La Fage’s works were characteristic, using voice-pairing similarly to Jean Mouton but also displaying more ‘powerful rhythmic pull’ and ‘more continuous rhythmic motion, colourful yet euphonious harmonies’, his works are found in only two other sources of instrumental music, one dated in 1531 by Attaingnant and the other in 1558 by the German lutenist Sebastian Ochsenkun. Also, the motet Ave virgo singularis in Barberiis’s Libro VI, is the only instrumental version of this piece.

Salve regina by Josquin from Libro VI, is only found in one other edition of 1552 by Diego Pisador for vihuela. Josquin’s reputation throughout Europe was undeniable, since his music was published by Italian, French and German publishers and also was copied to be sung in Spanish cathedrals, a few decades

after his death. His compositions are found in more than 60 printed editions of the *cinquecento* of instrumental music (dated from 1504 until 1582), intabulated for lute, vihuela, guitar and organ by various composers, most of them mentioned above, such as Francesco da Milano, Francesco Spinacino, Franciscus Bossinensis, Hans Newsidler, Giovanni Maria da Crema, Melchior Newsidler, Valentin Bakfark, Benedict de Drusina, and Pietro Paolo Borrono for lute, Antonio de Cabezón and Miguel de Fuenllana (for vihuela), Simon Gorlier (for guitar), and Elias Nikolaus Ammerbach for organ, as well as Jakob Paix, Johannes Rühling and many more. Josquin’s music publishers such Ottaviano Petrucci, who for the first time published an exclusive collection of Josquin’s works, and the Croatian Andrea Antico as well as Pierre Phâlese and Pierre Attaingnant, all published Josquin’s music, arranged for various instruments. The remaining nine motets in *Libro VI* are not found in any other sources of instrumental music of the sixteenth century.  

Volume IX, as mentioned previously, mainly consists of dances which occasionally form a suite, e.g. *Passo e mezo–Gagliarda–Saltarello* or *Pavana–Saltarello*. Barberis, in most cases, built his music upon a famous dance or theme, such as *Brando Franzese* (Branle), *La Bertonzina* or the *Pass’e mezzo antico*. The rare dance *piva* which is found only in two other sources (Joan Ambrosio Dalza, 1508 in lute tablature and Vincenzo Ruffo, 1564 in mensural notation) is also included in Barberis’s *Libro nono*, as well as settings of folk songs.  

The last book of the series, *Libro X*, is probably the most distinctive of Barberis’s five-book collection, containing mainly his own independent compositions and a few intabulations of chansons and madrigals. It is remarkable that a piece by Barberis, the *Fantasia per sonar con dui Lauti in Ottava*, appears in the editions of Pierre Phalèse, *Hortus Musarum* (1552) and *Theatrum Musicum* (1563). The last four pieces written for a four course (seven strings) renaissance guitar which seems to be the earliest surviving Italian source for solo guitar are called *Fantasias* but in fact are dances or ricercars. *Fantasia prima* uses the form of *Branle* (also called *Branlse*, or *Brando* in Italy), a French bass dance of the

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40 Jane Agnew Echols discusses the music in *Libro VI* in her thesis *Melchior de Barberiis’s Late Music Intabulations of Sacred Music*, pp. 40–45.  
41 See Chapter 1 and Chapter 5 for further details on dances.
fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, and it is also included in Guillaume Morlaye’s *Le second livre de chansons, gaillardes, Paduanes, Bransles [...]* for guitar (1553). Although no further concordances of his music are found in other sources (and none in Italy), these *fantasias* supply important evidence of Barberis’s reputation outside Italy.

In addition, Barberis experiments in this book with the tuning of the instrument, something that did not attempt in his previous volumes. *Scordatura* was a common practice in the sixteenth century especially in lute and guitar music, in which the use of the tablature notation made it easier to play in unusual keys. The use of *scordatura* gave the opportunity to players/composers to make use of the instrument’s ability to resonate with drones. Early examples of *scordatura* are found in Juan Ambrosio Dalza’s *Intabolatura de lauto* in 1508 as well as in Capirola’s Lutebook (Chicago, Newberry Library; hereafter called US-Cn VM C.25)\(^\text{42}\) which was compiled around 1517–1520 and includes music of earlier years. Barberis’s first example of changing the tuning of the instrument is *Fantasia discorda* (fol. Dd1) in which the 6\(^{th}\) course (bass G) has to be tuned a tone lower. In this case, the term *Corde avallée* (lowered string) better describes this action despite the fact that the term appeared for the first time in 1552, some years after Barberis. The table below represents the tunings and the instructions given at the beginning of each piece.

**Table 2: Scordatura in fantasias, Libro X**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>No.</th>
<th>Title</th>
<th>Instructions for the tuning</th>
<th>Tuning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>20.</td>
<td><em>Fantasia per sonar un Lauto, &amp; farsi Tenor &amp; soprano</em> (fol. Ff2v)</td>
<td>‘tune the Basso one octave lower than Sottana, the Bordon a fourth, the Tenor a fourth, the Mezana, Sottana and Canto a fourth higher between each other’</td>
<td>F–B♭–f–a–d–g'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>21.</td>
<td><em>Fantasia discordata</em> (fol. Ff3)</td>
<td>‘tune the Sottana a fifth, the Canto a fourth, the other strings should be tuned as in common use’</td>
<td>G–c–f–a–e′–a'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

In this volume some intabulations of popular vocal music are also to be found. The chanson *Deul double deul* (*Dueil, double dueil*) is found in six other sources of instrumental music and, more specifically, in 1546 and 1552 editions of Pierre Phalèse for lute under the names *Deul dobble duel* and *Duel double duel* respectively. Benedikt de Drusina included an arrangement for lute of the same chanson with the name *Deul double deul* in his 1556 edition for solo lute music. In two different editions of 1562, one by Wolff Heckel and the other by Albert de Rippe, arrangements of the chanson for solo lute are found, named *Doeul double doeul* and *Dueil double dueil*. Finally, another edition by Pierre Phalèse of 1563 includes the same chanson arranged for lute, *Duel double Duel*. This chanson is ascribed to Lupi in a publication by Tylman Susato in 1544.43 According to Joshua Rifkin, ‘in a publication of a contrafactum from a mass by Lupus under the name “Lupus Hesdin”, the chanson, reliably credited to Hesdin in a number of Parisian prints, appears as a work of Johannes Lupi in the Flemish collection RISM 1544[^10], probably because of a failure to distinguish between this piece and Lupi’s six-part setting of the same text, which share some melodic material’.44 On the other hand, Cuttle Silliman suggests that it is in fact by Nicolle des Celliers de Hesdin. Silliman suggests that ‘in accordance with the practice of the day, many of the chansons in the thirteen books [ref. to Susato] are reprints from publications of other publishers. An example of this is *Dueil double dueil*, printed in the second book (1544) and attributed to Lupi. This is the same as the chanson printed

by Attaignant in 1530 and attributed to Hesdin’.\textsuperscript{45} Taking into account that Attaignant attributed the chanson to Hesdin in a publication 14 years earlier than Susato’s publication it is rather unlikely that the chanson is by Lupi.\textsuperscript{46}

The famous song \textit{Passe tyme with good companye} which is ascribed to King Henry VIII of England is also found in this volume under the name \textit{Pas de mi bon compagni, canzone}. This three-voice tune which is found in the ‘Henry VIII Manuscript’ (British Library, Add. MS 31922) became very popular in England and was disseminated around Europe at the beginning of the sixteenth century. John Ward\textsuperscript{47} remarks that the song is based on Jean Richafort’s chanson \textit{De mon triste [desplaisir]}, included in \textit{Trente et quatre chansons musicales} edited by Pierre Attaingnant in 1529. Francesco da Milano arranged the same song for lute and composed a fantasia upon the song (\textit{Fantasia de mon triste di F. M.}) which was published by Antonio Gardane in 1547. In the same year, Pierre Phalèse reprinted, Francesco’s setting of \textit{De mon triste} as well as the \textit{Fantasia de mon triste} and in 1563 he included the same piece the vocal setting in another edition with chansons and dances for lute. On the other hand, David Greer\textsuperscript{48} suggests that most probably Richafort borrowed the melody from \textit{Pass time with good company}. Despite the fact that the piece is mentioned in a letter in 1521\textsuperscript{49} with the English title before \textit{De mon triste} appeared in Attaingant’s edition of 1529, John Ward argues that its style and the way Richafort dealt with the melody, indicate that it is more related to the French style of popular music. Ward’s argument is based on the fact that a few other compositions by Henry VIII borrowed material from other compositions, and from the general opinion of the king as a composer. Although Henry’s \textit{Passe tyme with good companye} was arranged for various instruments and voices over the years by different composers, it seems that the only arrangement known from printed sources before 1600 which relates directly to the song, is the one belonging to Barberiis.

\textsuperscript{46} Pierre Attaingnant, \textit{Trente et six chanons musicales a quatre parties […]} (Paris: P. Attaingnant, 1530).
There is no doubt that Barberiis was a creative composer who followed the techniques and trends of his time. Most of his intabulations are based on music by composers of the previous generation, who were born around 1470–1490, such as Sermisy, Verdelot, Festa, de Silva, Richafort and Févin. His knowledge of continental music is undeniable as he intabulated music by French, Italian, Franco-Flemish and English composers as well as composing dances of French origin such as the Brando francese. Many of the songs he intabulated are found in other sources arranged by different composers for various instruments, a number of them being very popular, and others not. Barberiis also covered a wide range of dances in his books, some of them with unique names, like the Vesentino. In addition, Barberiis composed the first surviving pieces for seven-string guitar found in Italian sources, a fact that gives him high esteem due to the introduction of new music in Italy. Finally, the fantasias in his last book using scordatura are further evidence of Barberiis’s will to experiment, and to give those who used his books the chance to explore all aspects of the instrument (both repertoire and techniques).
3. CHAPTER – Intabulations

In order to have a better understanding of Barberiis’s compositional, and more specifically, intabulation technique, six pieces from *Libro V, IX* and *X* are presented below to serve the role of case studies. These pieces were selected because of their variety in style, origin, special features and popularity. In the case studies, different versions by other composers, both vocal and lute, if available, are used for comparison and are listed in the Examples, pp. 198–238. Along with the exploration of Barberiis’s intabulation technique, the aim is to study the implications of *musica ficta* in these particular pieces through analysis, and to make suggestions to performers/scholars.

3.1. Madonna qual certezza

*Madonna qual certezza* is a characteristic example of a piece which was published in different versions at the time in question. Here four versions of the piece will be studied, with comparison of the different implications on *musica ficta*. The first version available is the madrigal by an anonymous poet which was set by Verdelot in his *Primo Libro de Madrigali de Verdelotto a quarto voci* in 1533, in Venice (see Examples, pp. 198–200).\(^1\) The second is another version by Verdelot, set for voice and lute, taken from the Scotto edition *Intavolatura de li madrigali de Verdelotto da cantare et sonare nel lauto*, intavolati per Messer Andriano (i.e. Willaert), in 1536 (see Examples, pp. 195–197).\(^2\) The third version is found in Barberiis’s *Libro Quinto* in 1546 and was written for solo lute. There is a fourth version in Barberiis’s *Libro Decimo* in 1549, which was set for two lutes (soprano and tenor). This duet requires lutes with different tuning: a soprano lute in a higher pitch than the tenor, which in this case means a lute in A for the soprano and a lute in G for the tenor (see Volume 2, pp. 59–63, 244–249 and 250–252).

In the 3\(^{rd}\) bar of the vocal piece we can see the first accidental added by the editor. The chord there in both Verdelot’s versions is an A major. In the vocal

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version the editor suggests that the $c'$ in the tenor should be sharpened while in the lute song the $c'$ is already sharpened in the tablature (see Figure 3.1, Figure 3.2).

Figure 3.1: *Madonna qual certezza*, vocal setting – bars 1–3

![Figure 3.1: Madonna qual certezza, vocal setting – bars 1–3](image)

Figure 3.2: *Madonna qual certezza*, lute song – bars 1–3

![Figure 3.2: Madonna qual certezza, lute song – bars 1–3](image)

Barberis (bars 5, 6) in his solo lute piece (see Vol. 2, p. 59 and p. 238 for duo), uses an F major chord instead and the $c'$ is natural. In the transcription here, the F major has been changed to an A minor (note $f'$ to $e'$ – see Figure 3.3).

Figure 3.3: *Madonna quel certezza*, lute solo – bars 1–7

![Figure 3.3: Madonna quel certezza, lute solo – bars 1–7](image)

- Note: 3 on 2nd line in bars 5 and 6 (note $f'$)
Since this chord is repeated and no c#' is included in all 3 repetitions, the decision was made to keep the A minor chord (but this does not have to be applied in the other versions as well, it is just a decision for the lute solo). It could be argued that it was Barberiis’s intention to change the harmony to F major and add his own music interpretation to the piece. However, the fact that in the lute duo in his last book, note c’ appears as a part of A minor chord with note e’ in the alto in both tenor and soprano parts instead of f’ (as it is found in the lute solo), provides evidence that this is rather an editorial error. Besides, note e’ in the first chord of bars 5 and 6 is a prolongation note e’ in the third beat of bar 6 which then concludes in note d’ in bar 7.

In bar 5, Willaert in his lute song arrangement flattened the e’ and the chord becomes a C minor rather than a C major chord, as it is in the vocal piece (see Figure 3.4).

Figure 3.4: Madonna qual certezza, lute song – bar 5

Barberiis, however, did not include any e’ in his chord, only a c’” and a g in bar 10, which does not give any indication for musica ficta. On the other hand, in the soprano voice of Barberiis’s duet the e’ remains natural (bar 11). At the same bar in the soprano voice, Barberiis kept the b♭’ while in all the other versions (including his solo lute version), note b’ is natural (bar 10). In this case, the b’ in the soprano of the solo lute version, is a returning leading note to c’ which according the the rules of musica ficta, it should be sharpened. In the duet the b♭’ in the soprano is a passing note going to c’ that; in this case, b’ was not sharpened.
ad libitum. It is not clear here whether it was Barberiis’s choice to change the natural into a flat or if it was another editorial mistake, or even if Barberiis copied it or memorised it wrongly. However, the $b\flat'$ remains in this edition as it was, since the level of interference in the compositions here has been minimised.

Another case of different accidentals being used by Barberiis in comparison to the other two versions is the $e\flat'$ in bar 7 (vocal piece). Both the consulted sources by Verdelot have an $e\flat'$, and this is indicated in the vocal part as well. Barberiis decided to keep an $e^\#'$ (bar 14) creating though a diminished fifth interval with the $b\flat'$ in the soprano (see Figure 3.5). He also repeated $e^\#'$ in the duet, in the tenor voice.

Figure 3.5: Madonna qual certezza, lute solo – bars 14–15

The next sharp, in bar 8 of the vocal piece (bar 15 in Barberiis), is used in a cadence where the editors in both versions put it in brackets as a suggestion. Barberiis indicated that $f'$ is a sharp and then continued to the next chord keeping the $f'$ sharpened. He used the same sequence of $f^\#'$ in his later edition, in the soprano voice (bar 15). On the other hand, the editors of Verdelot’s versions suggested that the $f'$ is natural. This is a doubtful point, as Verdelot did not give any indication in his tablature of the lute song, when using a chord with fifths ($d'$, $a$, $d$), nor in the vocal score. It is possible that he avoided changing the $f^\#'$ to $f'$ as it might not have been acceptable. Editors suggested that the $f'$ should be natural, probably because there is no accidental in the previous chord (as explained above,

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the sharp on the f' on previous chord is editorial) and also because a new phrase begins there. Barberiis though, kept the same chord for the new phrase, which in performance could be played with more emphasis and give an intense beginning. The lyrics at that point (‘My lady, what greater proof/Can there be of my flame/Than to see me wasting away by slow degrees?’) present the singer raising a question to his lady asking what else he needs to do to prove his love to her. The despair in this verse could possibly be indicated on the tablature in the way Barberiis did: he kept the same chord, although a major one, instead of changing to a minor chord and therefore changing the mood (to sorrow).

Another interesting point occurs in bar 10 (vocal piece) where both Barberiis (bar 19 in solo lute and lute duet in tenor) and Verdelot (bar 8) in their tablatures have an e♭ on the descending passage on the bass line. The editor of the vocal piece did not include any flat in the first passage in bar ten, but included one in the next similar descending passage in bar 11 (both Barberiis and Verdelot also included it in their tablatures). The suggestion here is that the e could be flattened in both passages.

In Barberiis’s versions, he placed an f# in bar 24 (both lute solo and lute duet, in soprano voice) which resolves in g' in the next bar. This is a prolongation of the f# cadential leading note of bar 26 which cadences in bar 27. Raising the f' however, creates a diminished fourth interval with the b♭ of the soprano. In the other versions by Verdelot, the f' is natural (bar 12 in vocal piece and bar 10 in lute song). The next editorial accidental in the lute song and vocal piece is the f#, which is not written in the lute song in the lute part nor in the vocal piece, but is clearly indicated in both Barberiis’s versions (in soprano in lute duet). In bar 16 in the vocal piece, an e♭ has been added by the editor and is also found in the lute song version of Verdelot (bar 14), in the vocal part (not editorial). Barberiis, in his Libro V, included the e♭ in the chord (C minor, in bar 31) but in the duet version, he wrote an e♯ instead. Due to the fact that in all the other versions e' is flattened, including his own earlier version, it could be assumed that he did not write the e♯ deliberately. But in the following bar of the duet, the e' is still natural, creating an A7 major chord while in the other versions it is a C minor chord. Again, at this point the chord in the lute duet has not been changed, to avoid compositional interference. Barberiis’s choice of accidentals in this bar (in the lute duet) seems
to serve the harmonic and melodic sequence, without suggesting that the harmony in the other versions should be altered as well. This discussion has been based primarily on a harmonic perspective but, in Chapter 7, a further analysis of certain passages from Barberiis’s music will be presented based on the hexachordal theory behind the rules of *musica ficta*.

A possible theory regarding Barberiis’s last version is that he composed the duet from memory, without having another score to follow. As indicated above, his two versions have a considerable number of differences and, in the case of his first version, it seems that the *musica ficta* implications resemble more to the versions of Verdelot, while in the later version many chromatic alterations that do not follow the vocal versions. Given the fact that the intabulations of the song are settings by the same composer (i.e. Barberiis) who mostly presented literal intabulations of vocal pieces, it is more likely that the two versions should present similar melodic and harmonic framework.

### 3.2. Deul double deul

The chanson *Dueil double dueil*\(^4\) (see Examples, pp. 204–205 for the vocal score and Volume 2, pp. 195–197 for the transcription) which is attributed to Nicolle des Celliers de Hesdin (*d*. 1538) in Pierre Attaingnant’s edition *Trente et six chansons musicales* (1530),\(^5\) is another case study where some indications on *musica ficta* were given by Barberiis in his last book, *Libro Decimo*, in 1549.\(^6\) However, in some cases, it appears that Barberiis changed the harmony of some parts without any ‘unpleasant’ results.

The first difference between the two versions is in bar 6 of the vocal piece where the note *d’* in alto becomes a *c’* in Barberiis’s intabulation (bar 11). The chord formed is D minor, which Barberiis interpreted as F major, making sense harmonically but on the other hand, creating parallel fifths to the next chord. However, due to features of the instrument, parallels in lute music were used occasionally without sounding as obvious as they would in keyboard or vocal music.\(^7\) In any case, Barberiis seems to have repeated the same chord in bar 14

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\(^6\) The chanson in Attaingnant’s edition appears under the name *Doeul, double doeul*.

\(^7\) For further discussion on parallels on the lute, see Chapter 6.3, p.163.
(bar 7 in vocal piece), where he turned the note $d'$ to $c'$. In bar 13, on the second beat, Barberiis gave an indication on *musica ficta*, flatting the $b^\#$ on the soprano line, while in the edition of Leta Miller there is no editor’s mark for the note $b'$ (bar 7).

The next modification does not occur until bar 31 in Barberiis (bar 16 in vocal) on the third beat, when the note $e'$ in the alto becomes $d'$ and the chord changes from E minor (in vocal) to G major. It appears to be similar to the previous chord alteration, as in both cases the chord changes to its relative major chord.

Note $g'$ on the first beat in the soprano voice, bar 18, becomes a $g^\#$ in Barberiis’s bar 35. Here, Barberiis’s arrangement gives a hint of *musica ficta* which is repeated in the penultimate bar of the piece. In both cases, there is a cadence to the tonic requiring a major dominant chord which the editor marks on the chord before the tonic. On the first chord of the same bar, $g'$ could be a passing note not raised, unlike the case of Barberiis where he sharpened $g'$ in order to complete a cadential line going to an $f^\#$ rather than $e'$ (as in the vocal piece). In bar 22 in Hesdin’s vocal version, the last chord is E minor in first inversion having the tonic in the alto line. Barberiis modified the chord (bar 44) into G major, writing a note $d'$ in alto instead of $e'$.

Generally Barberiis remained faithful to the original piece regarding the bass part. The notes in terms of pitch and values in most of the piece are identical to the original with very few alterations, such as in bars 20 and 28 in Barberiis’s version where the alto and bass parts intersect, and in bars 37 and 63 where the note is transferred up and down an octave (respectively). The soprano part in the lute version also keeps the same melodic line as the vocal version, with some additional ornamentation to enhance the sound when chords of long duration are noted. However, the confusion begins when the inner voices are added, and in the aforementioned cases, the harmony changes, which in particular is determined by the alto voice. In many places, the alto and tenor cross, creating different voice-leading that seems to work for Barberiis (using chord shapes that allow the certain melodic progressions) and in other cases, they change parts or disappear, a feature that occurs in many pieces of lute music, due to the polyphonic nature of the instrument.
It is unlikely that Barberiis had all four parts available when he copied the piece since there are a few differences, especially in the inner parts. Nevertheless, it can be stated with certainty that the bass line, at least in this piece, was copied throughout from the vocal version and, along with the soprano voice, was used as a guide line for the whole piece. On the other hand, at certain points in the soprano voice there are indications that Barberiis may have copied only the bass line and improvised on the soprano and the other voices, according to his memory of the song. More specifically, in bars 23, 24 and 25 in the vocal version (46, 47, 48 and 49 in Barberiis), the soprano voice has a descending and then an ascending scale, which is one of the characteristic features of the piece. Barberiis, may have had in mind this passage which is repeated in the alto line in the vocal version but, since it is a fact that the outer voices are more audible, he recreated the passage only in the soprano. When the soprano reaches the bottom c', while in alto an e' dotted semibreve above c' is to be held, the sound of the note c' joins the sound of the e', which probably prompted Barberiis to write an e' in the soprano instead of c', in bar 47 (lute version).

3.3. Canzun Iatens secors

Another case of a chanson intabulated by Barberiis which exists in different arrangements is the one by Claudin de Sermisy, *Jatens secours* (Libro V). There are two more versions of the chanson that are both found in Pierre Attaingnant’s publications. The first version is included in Attaingnant’s *Tres breve et familiere introduction […]* for voice and lute (1529) and the second version is in *Vingt et cinq chansons musicales reduictes en tabulature des Orgues […]* (1531). In the first edition, the chanson was written for voices and lute, and in the second edition it is written in a tablature for organ (see Examples, pp. 206–210).


It is noticeable that Barberiis in his *Libro V* gave the title *Canzun Iatens Secors* to the piece, (see Volume 2, pp. 25–27) and not simply *Jatens Secours [J’atens Secours]* as it is in the original, specifying that the piece is a *canzona*. He only specifies the genre (as a *canzona*) in this intabulation and in *Libro X* in the piece *Canzon La volunte*. It does not seem, however, that there is any obvious explanation for doing so in these specific songs. The hypothesis one could suggest is that these songs were not very well-known (in Italy) and he felt it necessary to specify in the title which were *canzona*.

The two versions by Attaingnant are very similar harmonically and melodically. The keyboard version is more elaborated and there are embellishments throughout the piece, but this is due to technical issues of the different instruments (e.g. the ability of the keyboard player to use both hands for embellishments). The only major difference between the two versions is located in bar 10 of both versions, and this will be discussed further below along with Barberiis’s arrangement. The chanson consists of short phrases that make up the form ABA with a repetition of the last part. Barberiis kept the same form ABA (although he omitted the repetition of the final A section), but the third part differs from the first part in terms of ornamentation (from bar 49, however, the music is exactly the same as in bar 14 of the beginning). Thus, the form Barberiis followed is ABA' with the A beginning from bar 1–17, B from bar 18–37 and A' from bar 38 to the end.

Section A in Barberiis’s version seems very similar to Attaingnant’s versions in terms of *musica ficta*. Both versions have $e\flat$ in the bass line in bar 10 (in Barberiis, and bar 5 in Attaingnant), which then becomes natural and in the next bar (bar 13 in Barberiis and bar 6 in Attaingnant) is flattened again. In section B, we can observe that the editor of the lute-song, added a $\hat{e}$ in brackets in the vocal line (bar 10). The first time note $b'$ appears in the soprano it is flattened, but the second time where $b'$ is a passing-note going to $c''$, it becomes natural as the editor suggested it should in order to cadence on $c''$ (Figure 3.6) The keyboard arrangement by Attaingnant (bar 10) and Barberiis’s version (bar 21) show the opposite, i.e. that this $b'$ should remain flattened throughout the bar (see Figure 3.7 and Figure 3.8).
In bars 17–18 (Attaingnant) where the texture is homophonic, both lute-song and keyboard version keep the same texture. This homophonic texture is also noticeable in Barberiis (bars 35–37), despite the fact that the soprano is slightly more active. This reveals that Barberiis was following the vocal setting harmonically and structurally. The harmony in all three versions is common in these bars, with the only alteration by Barberiis being the ornamental second beat with an \( e \bar{z} \) as a passing-note. He repeats the same alteration in bar 46 when the aforementioned passage recurs, without affecting the harmony (since it is a passing-note). Chromatic alteration by Barberiis is a feature that appears frequently in his work, mostly without having an impact on the harmony.

Barberiis’s intabulation seems to follow Attaingnant’s version to the end of the piece, without any peculiar passages or missing bars. This is one of the few occasions in Barberiis’s work where the intabulation follows ‘literally’ the pre-
existing version of the piece, although it is hard to tell if he used Attaingnant’s lute-song or the actual vocal setting of the piece by Sermisy.\textsuperscript{11} The bass has the same melodic line as in the lute-song (and in the vocal setting from the keyboard version), as does the soprano in which, albeit more embellished, the basic melodic line can be detected. The harmony in this intabulation does not change at all from the lute-song version and it is probable that Barberis used the lute-song version as a guide. Alternatively he knew the song very well, and because of its short phrases and sections, he was able to represent it in a more accurate version for solo lute.

3.4. \textit{Pas de mi bon compagni}

As explained in the previous chapter, this popular song from the time of the Tudors in England is also found in French sources and is attributed to Jean Richafort with the title \textit{De mon triste}.\textsuperscript{12} The two versions are very similar only in relation to the upper voice which has the same melody; otherwise, the differences between them are substantial. A basic difference is that the French vocal version is written for four voices whilst the English is written for three. \textit{De mon triste} seems to be using a \textit{cantus firmus} which is independent from the other voices that follow different rhythmic patterns. In fact, the bass introduces a two-bar pattern in bars 1–2, then the alto follows in bars 2–3 and last, the tenor in bars 3–4 (see Examples, p. 213). On the contrary, the three voices in the English version progress homophonically, with a few exceptions in the soprano which is slightly more elaborated (see Examples, p. 211). Another difference lies in the character of the two versions: \textit{De mon triste} is a rather slow song in which the poet expresses his sorrow and displeasure to his beloved for a non-returning love. This contrasts with the English version which is a vivid song, praising the benefits of a prince’s life. John Ward suggests that Henry VIII (1491–1547) borrowed the melody of the French tune and composed his different version \textit{Passe tyme with good companye}.\textsuperscript{13} Borrowing material was very common especially in the court culture of Tudor England, when the rulers, and more specifically Henry VIII, wanted to ‘project themselves and their dynasty as a force to be reckoned with,  

\textsuperscript{11}The only sources available today are the ones by Attaingnant which are used in this study.  
culturally, intellectually and, of course, militarily’.\textsuperscript{14} This is also the reason why many continental manuscripts are found in England, as well as continental music being found in English manuscripts.

The earliest occurrences of the English versions of the piece are in the manuscript Add. MS 5665 (Ritson Manuscript) with the name \textit{The Kynges Balade} (also known today under this title) and in the ‘Henry VIII Manuscript’ (Add. 31922) which was compiled around 1518; both manuscripts are now in the British Library. The song is also found in a lute version in the MS Royal Appendix 58 (also in the British Library) which includes pieces for lute, keyboard and partsongs.

As the title indicates, the song refers to the benefits of a prince’s life, having a good time with company, dancing, singing and hunting. The song consists of three verses and is based on a theme of four bars (or eight in double rhythm) which is repeated and then followed by the secondary theme of six bars (or 12), in the form AAB (according to the Add. MS 31922). For the comparative study, along with Barberiis’s arrangement of the piece, the versions of the manuscripts Add. MS 5665 (hereafter named Ritson), Add. 31922 (Henry Manuscript), MS Royal Appendix 58 (named Royal Appendix 58) and ‘De mon triste’ in the Phalèse edition of 1547,\textsuperscript{15} are presented in the Examples, pp. 211–222.

To begin with, Barberiis’s arrangement of the piece (see Volume 2, pp. 253–254) appears to be more embellished and does not always follow the vocal version in terms of different harmony in some cases and different structure (additional bars). The first theme consists of 15 bars in which the upper voice is ornamented, and then the theme is repeated, this time the ornamentation being mainly in the bass, using ascending and descending motion. The second theme consists of 27 bars, while in the ‘Henry VIII Manuscript’ it consists of only 12 bars and in the Royal Appendix 58 of 14 bars. \textit{De mon triste} also has 11 bars in the second theme and eight in the first. Barberiis not only added new material to


\textsuperscript{15} Pierre Phalèse, \textit{Des chansons reduictz en tablature de lut a deux, trois et quatre parties, Livre Premier} (Louvain: par Pierre de Phaleys, 1547); Pierre Phalèse, \textit{Des chansons reduictz en tablature de lut a deux, trois et quatre parties (Phalèse, 1547)}, Facs. (Genève: Minkoff Reprint, 1984).
his version of the song, but also added another inner voice (alto/tenor), transforming the piece into a four-voice song. According to the categorisation of the intabulations’ genre by Douglas A. Smith,\textsuperscript{16} this version could be characterised as a \textit{quotation} of the song, where the composer maintains some faithful parts of the model but also adds new material. More specifically, the first theme could end in bar 13 in Barberiis but he extended the cadence for two more bars. Bar 7 seems to be an additional bar, connecting the first part of the motif (mostly the superius) to the second. The repetition of the theme also consists of 15 bars, having the same basic melodic line in the superius. However, with regard to the rhythmic values, it does not follow any of the other versions or the first introduction of the theme in the same version. In the second part, the melodic line in the superius is more elaborated and more bars are added, for example bars 39–40 which serve a connective role between bars 38 and 41. The cadence in bars 53–54 could be the end of the piece but Barberiis added a coda of four bars, in which the superius repeats the melody of the previous cadence with minor embellishment, as do the base and tenor, while the alto appears in random places.

The harmony in Barberiis’s \textit{Pas de mi bon compagni} follows, at most, the models of \textit{Passe with good company} and \textit{De mon triste} but varies in places and does not completely follow either of the versions. The first phrase of the piece, which in Barberiis occupies the first six bars, rhythmically follows the Phalèse 1547 version of \textit{De mon triste}. It is remarkable that the beginning of the piece differs in each version and that more specifically, the vocal model in the Henry VIII manuscript is unique, beginning on note \textit{b'\'} instead of \textit{g'\'}, as in all the other versions of both \textit{Passtime} and \textit{De mon triste}. Presented below, is the beginning of each version:

\begin{figure}[h]
\centering
\includegraphics[width=0.5\textwidth]{image39}
\caption{\textit{Pas de mi bon compagni} (Barberiis, Libro X – lute)}
\end{figure}

\textsuperscript{16} For further details see pp. 7–8 of Introduction.
Figure 3.10: *Passtyme with good companye* (Royal Appendix 58 – lute)

![Sheet music for Passtyme with good companye](image)

Figure 3.11: *Passtime with good company* (Henry VIII Manuscript – vocal)

![Sheet music for Passtime with good company](image)

Figure 3.12: *Passtime with good company* (Ritson Manuscript – vocal)

![Sheet music for Passtime with good company](image)

Figure 3.13: *De mon triste* (Phalèse, 1547 – lute)

![Sheet music for De mon triste](image)

Figure 3.14: *De mon triste* (Phalèse, 1563 – lute)

![Sheet music for De mon triste](image)

Figure 3.15: *De mon triste* (Richafort – vocal)

![Sheet music for De mon triste](image)
Moving on to the short cadence of the phrase, Barberiis sharpened the $f'$ in bar 6, likewise in *De mon triste*, bar 4 (Phalèse 1547). This is confirmed in the Phalèse 1563\(^{17}\) version of *De mon triste*, as well as in the intabulated version by Francesco da Milano and in his *Fantasia De mon triste*.\(^{18}\) However, in bar 5 the harmonization of the second minim is different from all the other versions of the song. Barberiis interpreted the note $g'$ on the top line as the dominant of C major chord, while in all the other versions it is in fact the tonic which is followed by the dominant to form a half cadence. Barberiis wrote the same harmonic shape in the repetition of the theme, in bar 21, suggests it was deliberate. A first hypothesis to explain the different harmony in this chord is related to the procedure of intabulation. Despite the fact that there is no evidence of a specific process being used in intabulating polyphonic music, one suggestion is that the intabulator had the model in part-books (in some cases all the voices, and in others the superius or the bass, or even a combination of voices). In many cases of popular songs such as *Passtime with good company* and *De mon triste*, it could also be possible that the intabulator/composer memorized the tune after having heard it several times – especially a short piece like *Passtime with good company* with its ‘catchy’ melody which helped to popularise it and make it easy to remember. Therefore, it could be assumed that Barberiis had in mind the melody of the piece but not always the full harmony. On the other hand, one could suggest that Barberiis did this consciously and preferred to change the harmony but at least in this instance the harmonic progression does not follow any specific pattern (VII–IV–V, bars 5–6) so this unlikely to be the case.

As mentioned previously, bar 7 is an additional bar in which the shape in Figure 3.16 connects $f\#$ to $b\flat$. The same shape is repeated a fifth lower in the bass in bar 9 and then again in bar 20 in the tenor. This was used frequently by Barberiis in his compositions and it is a common ornamenting passage for lute. Another case of ‘misinterpreted’ harmony occurs in bar 8 where Barberiis harmonizes the top $b\flat$ as the third of a G minor chord and not the tonic of a $B\flat$ major chord. However, in the repetition of the theme which begins in bar 16, he


writes a B♭ major chord (bar 24) and does not follow his first harmonization. This could be either a result of Barberiis’s will to create an elaborated version of the piece, falling into the tricky misuse of counterpoint, or of a non-cautious intabulation procedure by the composer.

Figure 3.16: Connective passage

Further on, another C major chord appears in bar 11 which is not included in bar 27 in the repetition of the phrase, nor in any of the other versions. The first theme finishes in bar 15, and in the same bar the repetition begins with the bass moving in diatonic descending and ascending motion. The rest of the voices remain stable, having long values that create a different effect. Barberiis’s idea of the moving bass in the repetition is innovative for this piece and gives an interesting ‘touch’ to it.

The reprise of theme A ends in bar 31 with a perfect cadence having the f sharpened, and the new theme B begins with the dominant, again with the f' sharpened and then going to VI, an E♭ major chord (bar 32). The same motive is repeated in bars 35–6 and 47–48, but this time Barberiis left the note f natural. In the versions of Passtime with good company, the chord in question is D minor (at least in the lute version of Royal Appendix 58, where the note f' is indicated in the tablature), while in De mon triste in both versions by Phalèse the f' is sharpened. However, all the composers are consistent in their decision related to the specific chord except Barberiis. Barberiis alters the f' according to the harmonic context of the previous chord – in bar 31 where the f' is sharpened, the chord before that is a G major chord with the g' on the top line going to f#. The same occurs in bar 43 with the f# coming from a G minor chord (bar 41) with the g' on the top line. In bars 35 and 47 where the f' is natural, f' comes from a B♭ major chord with the b♭ on the top voice. In order to avoid creating a dissonant diminished 4th interval, Barberiis left the f' natural. In addition, taking a closer look at the second theme which begins in bar 31, one can observe that it is divided into three smaller phrases: introduction of theme in bars 31–42, repetition of theme in bars 43–54 and the coda, in bar 55. The use of the f# in these specific places, could also
signify the start of each smaller phrase. Therefore, although Barberiis was not accurate in the use of f# in D chords, he was consistent within the smaller phrases and took into account the rules of counterpoint.

As far as the bass line is concerned, it is obvious that Barberiis mostly followed the English version of the song. He kept the basic line of its melody and improvised in parts, adding embellishment.

Despite the fact that the piece was originally written for three voices, Barberiis added another voice and thus exploited the polyphonic nature of the instrument. In the three other lute versions of the song (English and French), the composers kept the three-voice form, while Francesco da Milano, in his more embellished versions of the song, added a fourth voice in various places. Barberiis’s combination of the inner voices is closer to the French De mon triste than the English Passtime with good company, which created a confusion in Barberiis’s chosen intabulating process. In the figures below, the beginning of the Barberiis’s version as well as the English and French lute versions (Phalèse) is presented.

Figure 3.17: Pas de mi bon compagni (Barberiis)

![Figure 3.17: Pas de mi bon compagni (Barberiis)](image)

Figure 3.18: De mon triste (Phalèse, 1547)

![Figure 3.18: De mon triste (Phalèse, 1547)](image)
Figure 3.19: *Passtyme with good companye* (Ms Royal Appendix 58)

It may be seen from above, that the opening bar in Barberiis has a full G minor chord with notes $d'$ in the alto and $b^\flat$ in the tenor. In the Royal Appendix 58 the alto has $d'$, the same as in Barberiis while in the Phalèse version, the alto has $g$, which is not included in Barberiis. In the bars following, Barberiis has full harmonies including $c$ in the tenor (bar 5) and the lute version in the Royal Appendix 58 has rests. Similarly to Barberiis's version, the Phalèse version has also note $c$ in bar 3; it is noticed that note $c$ in the inner voices, is completely absent from the Royal Appendix 58 but included in the other lute versions (i.e. Barberiis and Phalèse).

Given this particular song had become very popular in both the English and French versions around Europe, and Italy seems to have accepted and assimilated both versions, Barberiis probably had both in mind and transferred in tablature what he had in his memory.

Another important element in this version is the title given to it by Barberiis, which is a phonetic revoicing of the English version in French. It is worthy of attention that he gave a French title to an English song while a very similar song appeared in its French version with a French title (i.e. Phalèse versions) his reveals the cultural trade between the aforementioned countries in Europe, and the complexity of transmission through the years. It is possible that other sources bearing a similar title to Barberiis’s version circulated around that period and were lost or have yet to been found.

The preceding discussion reveals Barberiis’s cognizance of the musical developments of his era, and as the topic is studied further, this is confirmed every time. This case of intabulation seems to be different in terms of literal transfer of the vocal piece into the tablature. Barberiis presented an embellished version of the song with some addition of bars that in most cases serve as connective
passages between bars. Harmonically Barberiis’s version differs in a few places from the English version and in some cases it follows the French version of the chanson. As seen above, this intabulation appears to be a case of writing music out of memory, without having a score as a guide. However, it is still not clear if Barberiis had in mind the French version of the song and the reason why he gave a French title given to the English version.

3.5. Il est bel et bon

Another popular song intabulated by Barberiis is the chanson *Il est bel et bon* by the French composer Pierre Passerau (1509–47). The chanson was edited in the collection by Pierre Attaingnant, *Vingt et huyt chansons musicalles a quatre parties* (Paris: 1534), today archived at the Bayerische Staatsbibliothek in Munich, Germany. It appears that the song was very popular in Italy and more specifically in Venice; this we know from a report by Andrea Calmo, an actor and writer, who attested that he heard the aforementioned song in the streets of Venice. However, instrumental sources that testify to its popularity during the sixteenth century are found in only three printed books. The first version of the song was arranged by Girolamo Cavazzoni in 1543 in *Intavolatura cioe recercari, canzoni, himni magnificati, composti per Hieronimo de Marcantonio da Bologna, Detto D’ Urbino. Libro Primo*. The edition, which was given the privilege to be published by the Venetian Senate, comprises 28 folios of music for solo keyboard and the arrangement bears the title *Canzon sopra I le bel e bon*. The second version of *Il est bel et bon* was arranged by Marc’ Antonio Pifaro (b? c.1500) in his edition *Intabolatura de lauto di Marcantonio del Pifaro, Bolognese de ogni sorte de balli novamente, stampati et posti in luce. Libro Primo*. The book was published by Antonio Gardane in 1546 in Venice and includes 20 folios with music for solo lute. The title of the song in this edition is *Chiarenzana il est bel & bon*, which is in fact, a dance based on the song. *Chiarenzana* or *chiarentana* was an Italian dance in duple metre, combining the English contredance with some steps of the pavan. The last source with reference to *Il est bel et bon* is Barberiis’s intabulation of the chanson in his last book of the series, *Libro X*. Also

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published in Venice, it verifies that the song was more widespread in Venice than other areas of Italy.

The song describes two women gossiping about their husbands, and one says that her husband is handsome and nice, does not scold or beat her, does the household chores and feeds the chickens, and she has time for herself. Its context, along with the imitative passages that mimic the hens, and generally its rustic character, gave the song a popularity, which probably explains Calmo’s report of the chanson being sung in the streets of Venice.

In the Examples (pp. 223–230), the two versions of the chanson are presented (the vocal version and the lute version by Pifaro), and in this case study the *Canzon sopra I le bel e bon* by Cavazzoni will be omitted as it is an arrangement that includes new elements and only the introduction is similar to the vocal model. Although Cavazzoni repeated the characteristic motif of the introduction (Figure 3.20) in various places within the song, the structure and harmony of his arrangement are different. He is ‘altering pitches of the points of imitation and the times of their entries, radically shortening Passereau’s chanson, and introducing passaggi, especially at cadences’. In other words, he is producing a new work *sopra* (= upon) the chanson and therefore, any detailed comparison would be immaterial.

![Figure 3.20: Introduction theme](image)

The basic theme is introduced in the first seven bars and then is followed by a short phrase of three bars, first appearing in soprano, then alto, tenor and bass. The theme is repeated in bar 14 in the same way as in the introduction and again, a new theme (bar 21) is introduced after that by the soprano, alto, tenor and bass in sequence. Another new phrase is begun in bar 36 by the soprano (starting on d') which is imitated by alto (starting on a), tenor (in d) and bass (in A). The

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mimetic verbal and rhythmic passages in this phrase echo the clucking of the chickens and the lyrics vary in soprano/tenor and alto/bass. The last phrase of the chanson is another repetition of the introductory theme, presented in the same way as above. Barberiis, in general, faithfully followed the same structure, producing a literal intabulation of the chanson. The fast passages and the way the voices interlock do not leave a lot of scope to improvise.

The song is written in the Dorian mode and begins with the passage in Figure 3.20 by the soprano (beginning on $d'$), which is repeated in the third beat by the tenor ($d$) and after a minim by the alto ($a$) and then by the bass ($A$). Barberiis wrote an identical introduction to the imitative passage in all the voices, but in the continuation he omitted the repeat of the passage and went directly to the cadence (bar 6 in Barberiis). Although a literal intabulation, another bar is omitted before the first cadence (before bar 6) but, excepting that point, all the voices follow the vocal model, both rhythmically and melodically. In bar 8 of the cadence (I–V–I), Barberiis sharpened the note $c'$ and repeated the same in similar cadences (bars 34, 62, 89, 105). Cadential sharps were not notated in the original model by Passereau and the intabulations (including Barberiis’s) are able to confirm the rules of the musica ficta, at these cadences. In the second theme beginning in bar 10, the soprano, alto and bass parts are identical to the vocal model and only in the tenor line is there a bar of embellishment (bar 16).

The soprano and bass follow the vocal model in the repetition of the first theme in bar 21, in rhythm and melodic line, and only a few notes differ in the inner voices (bar 32: first beat, $e'$ in alto instead of $b$, and $b$ in tenor instead of $g$), which do not change the harmony in any case. This could be an editorial mistake – placing the number 2 in the second and third lines instead of third and fourth lines which would indicate the correct notes. Although the harmony is not affected by the modification of the notes, the decision taken here to change them editorially according to the vocal version was taken based on the fact that this particular intabulation is obviously a literal transcription of the vocal version so, in this case, the ‘correct’ notes should be presented. Instances of typographical ‘confusion’ such as this one (placing the numbers in the wrong lines, being influenced by the previous or following chord), occur frequently and it is more likely that in the specific chord there is an editorial misprint.
The next phrase beginning in bar 36 with the soprano and ending in bar 50 with the bass (bar 21–28 in Passereau) is also identical to the vocal, with only one alteration: in bar 41 of the Barberis (bar 24 Passereau), the note b’ is flattened, whilst in the vocal edition it is natural. As already mentioned, accidentals in early music were not always added by the composer and it was up to the performers, relying on their knowledge of music theory, to add them in their interpretation. Margaret Bent writes that ‘where flats are indicated at the beginning of the staves, the number often differs between voice parts of the same piece, the lower part or parts having, usually, one flat more than the upper (partial signatures, sometimes called conflicting or contrasting)’.22 Accidentals did not always occur at the same note/place but in the case of imitative passages it is likely that the intervallic relation should be the same in all the voices.23 This is most certainly what Barberis followed in bar 41, in which he wrote a b♭ to create a tone from the previous note (c’′) and a semitone to the next note (a’), as is the case in the alto in bars 41–43 (see Figure 3.21 below). In addition, he changed the first note of bar 41, from b (which is in the vocal) to note c’′, probably to avoid the clash between b♭ and c’′. However, it gets more complicated in bar 47 (in Barberis), where the tenor imitates the soprano, but this time as it is in the vocal model. More specifically, the tenor repeats the melody of the soprano in the same key, though with a b♭ on the first beat (instead of c’′ as in the soprano in bar 41) and another b♭ (instead of a b♭ as in the soprano, bar 41). In this case, the tenor does not imitate the alto with regard to intervals, although it is identical to the vocal model.

Figure 3.21: Intervals in imitative passage

A new phrase begins in bar 48 (in Barberiis), in which the soprano, as well as the other voices, follows the vocal model, with a minor embellishment in bar 57, adding a $b\flat'$. In bar 60, it can be seen that note $d'$ is missing from the alto, but this causes no problem if the use of octave stringing in the two lower strings of the lute is taken into account (and this explains the addition of brackets around the note in this edition). Another issue occurs in bar 61 in Barberiis (bar 34 Passereau) where the alto line is missing, but again, the octave in the bass covers the alto line, with the difference on the second minim, which should be a $g$. In addition, the $B$ in the bass line in Barberiis is written as natural but in the edition of the vocal song, the editor added a flat on the note (bar 34, vocal). According to the previous alteration of a similar ornament in bar 57, this $B$ should be flattened, as it is in the edition. As demonstrated below (Figure 3.22 and Figure 3.23), the notes of these passages are the same, the difference lying in the harmony and rhythm.

Figure 3.22: Bar 57, *Il est bel et bon* (Barberiis)

Figure 3.23: Bar 61, *Il est bel et bon* (Barberiis)

Nevertheless, in the edition by Clifford Bartlett$^{24}$ (in which the piece is written in E minor mode), the $B$ is flattened (in that case, it is a $c\flat$). It is apparent that this note causes confusion and is questioned by different editors. Thus, it is essential to use the lutenists’ versions of the song for comparison, in order to make an informed decision about the accidental. As already mentioned, Barberiis chose to leave the $B$ natural, and although the *Chiarenzana Il est bel et bon* by Pifaro (Figure 3.24) is a variant version of the chanson, it is noticeable in certain parts that in similar passages, he also wrote a $B\flat$ (the piece is in F minor mode and in that case, is a $d\flat$). Consequently, the suggested accidental in this case would be a $\sharp$, as it is in both lute versions of the chanson.

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Further on, the new phrase in bar 62 of Barberiis begins with an ascending passage following the original with some embellishment, which is then imitated by the bass in the next bar. Barberiis also added notes to the alto in bar 68, and later to the tenor in bar 69, in the same way as in the soprano and bass (bar 62 and 63 respectively), filling in the long last notes. It is also noticeable that in parts where a voice holds the note for long (e.g. a semibreve or a minim in the vocal), Barberiis re-struck the note in order to prolong the sound, since the lute cannot resonate as much. The phrase in bar 38–43 in Passereau (70–80 in Barberiis) becomes more complicated when each voice enters with a fifth (soprano/tenor: d'/a'/d, alto/bass: a–e'/A–e) and polyrhythms (syncopations) are created. Barberiis wrote the soprano and bass parts as in the vocal model but the inner voices are somehow entangled, and in a few places, e.g. bar 74 (bar 40 Passereau), the alto is ornamented by adding a bº, since the bº of the tenor is on the same string as the c’ of the alto and, therefore, the c’ cannot be held. Also in bars 79–80 the tenor has an a on the first beat of bar 79 instead of an f, and a g on the third beat of bar 80 instead of an e. These changes do not affect the harmony and are not considered as misprints, despite the fact that this intabulation is otherwise almost an exact transcription of the chanson.

The penultimate phrase of the chanson, imitating the clucking of chickens and which is therefore the most rapid part and active section, also causes some confusion in the tenor and the bass. From the second bar of the phrase (bar 82 in Barberiis, bar 44 in Passereau) the bass and the tenor conjoin on the fourth beat on the note e while in the vocal model, the bass sings c. This also occurs in the next bar (and also in bars 85, 86), and this is probably due to the stringing structure of the lute, in which note c and note e are on the same string (which is the 5th string) and they cannot be played at the same time. In bar 84 the notes of the bass follow the vocal version rhythmically but not harmonically. The harmony on the first two
beats in Barberiis is a repeated D minor chord (with the \( d \) on the bass) while in the vocal version it is an F major chord. Barberiis only added the \( d \) in the bass, which changes the harmony; in this case it does not seem to be an error or a decision based on the lute stringing and therefore no editorial action is needed here. The harmony also changes in bar 87 in the same way (D minor chord instead of F major, with the \( d \) in the bass) and the note \( f \) of the tenor is placed an octave higher, in the position of the alto, while the alto here should have a \( c' \). At the bar preceding the re-entrance of the theme (bar 90), the tenor has a descending movement towards \( d \) added by Barberiis to fill the long values of notes and connect the two bars. Another bar is ‘missing’ in the intabulation between bars 87 and 88, and this could be either an error or the intabulator’s deliberate omission; in both cases this could be justified by the fact that this phrase is full of repetitive notes, making it more difficult to keep track. The last phrase starting from bar 91 in Barberiis, as mentioned earlier, is the repetition of the starting theme with no bars missing (as at the beginning) and is harmonically and rhythmically the same as in the vocal model.

My edition of the intabulation of Passereau’s *Il est bel et bon* by Barberiis is treated in a different way. Firstly, there were a few instances where the transcription has followed the vocal model in order to distinguish the voice-leading. In this way, it benefited from the vocal version and vice versa (e.g. the cases of *musica ficta* in the piece, as in bar 61 of Barberiis). The intabulation of Barberiis was treated as a *literal* transcription of the vocal piece and the analysis was based on that fact. Each bar was studied separately and it seems that Barberiis, in contrast to the previous case studies, had all the voices of the chanson and used them as guides to transfer them into a tablature. His judgement of *musica ficta* concurs with the other lute arrangement of the chanson by Pifaro, although not consistent in one case. In addition, the bars missing from the piece could possibly be due to a setting or printing error, or Barberiis’s unintentional omission, both justified by the piece being densely written, with mimetic passages and repetitive rhythms.

### 3.6. No. 10, Fantasia, [Adieu mes amours]

In *Libro V*, among the intabulations of chansons, four ‘fantasias’ are included, presumably composed by Barberiis (as no attribution is made to another
composer). However, none of them follows the fantasia technique of imitation and, more specifically, No. 10, Fantasia (fol 9v) is based on the chanson Adieu mes amours by Josquin des Prez (see Volume 2, pp. 32–35). Howard Mayer Brown does not refer to it in the table of contents of Libro V in his book Instrumental Music Printed Before 1600, nor is it mentioned in any other sources of lute or vocal music as a concordance. Thus, it could be considered a significant addition to this repertoire and the acknowledgement is due to Jacob Heringman who identified the piece during discussions in March 2012.

Adieu mes amours was a popular song that was the basis for many arrangements, one of which is by Josquin, written around 1480 and later published by Petrucci in the edition Harmonice Musices Ondhecaton in 1501.²⁵ It became popular not only in France but also in Italy and Germany, as is indicated by the number of intabulations found in other sources. Francesco Spinacino in 1507, Hans Gerle in 1533, Enriquez de Valderrábano in 1547, Benedikt de Drusina in 1556 and Hans Newsidler in 1536 (two versions in different editions of 1536) all arranged Josquin’s chanson for lute.²⁶ The setting by Josquin inspired even more composers to create new compositions based on his arrangement. Francesco de Layolle composed a mass, Missa Adieu mes amours as did Jacob Obrecht, despite the fact that the model is secular. Costanzo Festa used Adieu mes amours along with four other chansons in his Missa carminum. Furthermore, the chanson Vous seulement by Simon Moreau uses the opening phrase of Adieu mes amours by Josquin as an ostinato. For this case study, the lute versions by Francesco


Spinacino and Hans Newsidler will be examined when necessary, along with Josquin’s setting of the piece (see Examples, pp. 231–234).

The song has an ABA’ form, which is maintained by Josquin. His approach to setting this piece transcends the formes fixes and goes further, combining the rondeau, which appears in the soprano, with the tenor and bass shaping a free ‘canon’. Researchers have discussed the instrumental role in this kind of chanson ‘with the cantus firmus presented vocally and the instruments performing the freely composed lines. But […] there is not shred of evidence, at least in any French or Italian source to suggest that a setting of a popular melody was ever performed in this fashion’. 27

Looking first at Barberiis’s version of the chanson (see Volume 2, pp. 32–35), it is noticeable that the ABA’ form of Josquin’s setting becomes AB with a coda after part B. This could be considered as a compositional choice by Barberiis since after bar 39 (in the vocal version) the theme is repeated, and Barberiis perhaps wanted to shorten the piece. But it is rather unlikely that this is the case as no corresponding theme appears after the cadence in bar 72. More specifically, after bar 72 (37 in vocal model) there are eight bars, five of which create a cadence, and the bars 73–75 cannot be identified within the context of the piece. It could be suggested that the bars following the short cadence are the bars 38–39 of the vocal piece, though the only similar line is in the bass which still has a few differences. It is more plausible that the 20 bars of the vocal model are missing from this version (from bar 38 to bar 57) as the result of an error during the copying process or editing process. One could also suggest that it could even be a result of Barberiis’s poor memory, but bearing in mind that after bar 40 (in vocal model) the theme re-enters, it should not have been very hard to remember. Or it could simply have been Barberiis’s choice of reducing the last section. We shall never know which of these two scenarios the case was.

From an overall point of view, Barberiis’s arrangement is closer to the glosa technique of intabulation, 28 in which, in this case, the soprano is more embellished. As is apparent in the first eight bars of Barberiis (first three bars of

28 For further details see pp. 7–8 of Introduction.
the vocal model), the soprano moves in passing-notes filling out the intervals between the longer notes in the vocal model (see Figure 3.25 and Figure 3.26).

**Figure 3.25: Vocal model, Adieu mes amours**

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\begin{music}
\n\end{music}
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**Figure 3.26: Barberiis's arrangement, Fantasia**

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\begin{music}
\n\end{music}
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The alto here does not follow the vocal model note by note and in some cases it appears randomly and without consistency. In bar 3 in Barberiis, the alto has an \textit{f}$\#'$ which is not included in the edition by Hewitt (bar 2). Spinacino also places an \textit{f}$\#'$ in the alto (which is in fact an \textit{e}$\natural$' in the original intabulation), and the same is repeated in bar 7 (Barberiis). In bar 6 of the vocal model the \textit{c}' in the alto differs from Barberiis’s arrangement (bar 11) in which the composer writes a \textit{c}$\#$'. In general, it seems that the editor of the vocal piece avoids raising \textit{f}' and \textit{c}' whilst Barberiis tends to sharpen the \textit{f}' and \textit{c}' even when they create a short cadence. On the other hand, in the vocal model (bars 8 and 9) the alto has an \textit{e}$\flat$' and \textit{b}$\natural$' respectively which concurs with Barberiis’s arrangement (bar 16 and bar 18).

Other examples of ‘notated musica ficta’ taking place in the piece are: the \textit{f}$\#'$ in alto in bar 58 in Barberiis (bar 29, vocal), the \textit{e}$\flat$' in bass in bar 76 Barberiis (bar 59, vocal) and finally the \textit{f}$\#'$ in soprano in bar 77 Barberiis (bar 58, vocal). Where the editorial suggestions in the edition of the model do not match the use of accidentals in Barberiis, another lute arrangement/intabulation of the same piece can be used as an example for further comparison. The intabulations by the lutenists Francesco Spinacino dated in 1507, and Hans Newsidler in 1536 may help with decisions regarding accidentals; both versions are written for a lute in A.

In bar 48 in Barberiis, the passage in the soprano introduced by him creates a short cadence and the \textit{f}' is sharpened, while in the vocal version (bar 24), the \textit{f}' remains natural despite the fact that it could resolve to the tonic (in the same way as Barberiis’s version). Spinacino kept the \textit{f}' natural in this bar (bar 25 in

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Spinacino) but Newsidler wrote an \( f\# \) (bar 24 in Newsidler) since he was creating a cadence in a very characteristic lute passage (Figure 3.27 and Figure 3.28).

![Figure 3.27: Spinacino’s version, Adieu mes amours](image1)

![Figure 3.28: Newsidler’s version, Adieu mes amours](image2)

Bar 52 in Barberiis also differs from the vocal model, this time in the bass: the \( e \) is natural as opposed to the vocal (bar 26) in which the \( e \) was flattened by the editor. This motif (Figure 3.29) is met in a few places in the piece and Barberiis was consistent in his decision to keep the \( e \) natural, without changing the basic harmony in relation to the vocal.

![Figure 3.29: Repeated motif](image3)

The first time this motif appears is in bars 31–33 in Barberiis, (16–17, vocal) with an \( e\natural \) in Barberiis which is the same as Newsidler’s arrangement (bars 16–17). In the vocal version though, the editor suggests to flatten the \( e \). Spinacino also wrote an \( e\natural \) (bars 17–18) but as will be examined later, he seems to have flattened all the \( e’s \) in the bass (on the other hand, Newsidler kept the \( e \) natural). The motif is then repeated in bars 51–53 (in Barberiis) in the same way as in bars 31–33, being different to the vocal version (bars 26–27, always referring to the bass line). The editor probably flattened the \( e \) in order to avoid a diminished 5\(^{th} \) created on the particular chord, but Barberiis did not face the same ‘problem’. Newsidler also placed an \( e \) natural (bars 26–27) and Spinacino an \( e\natural \). The different versions of the
motif are demonstrated below (Figure 3.30, Figure 3.31, Figure 3.32 and Figure 3.33).

**Figure 3.30: Vocal version, *Adieu mes amours***

26

[Diagram]

- Note: The sign $\lessgtr$ is used to show the crossing between voices (alto/tenor)

**Figure 3.31: Spinacino, *Adieu mes amours***

27

[Diagram]

**Figure 3.32: Newsidler, *Adieu mes amours***

26

[Diagram]

**Figure 3.33: Barberiis, *Fantasia***

51

[Diagram]

It is noticeable from the above examples that Barberiis’s arrangement differs from all the versions displayed on the final chord of the soprano. In all three versions the $f'$ is natural, being the 3rd of a D minor chord, whilst in Barberiis it is sharpened, creating a D major chord. However, it does not signify that this is an error or a ‘creative’ compositional choice by Barberiis. The placement of the
f#' at this point, applying the Tierce de Picardie, shapes a half-cadence and gives space for a short pause around the middle of the piece, which is also emphasized by the fermata sign. The above phrase is repeated in the same way in bars 67–72 in Barberiis and bars 34–37 in the vocal version, each with the identical accidentals, on all the discussed occasions. Another variation in the accidentals is located in bar 60 in Barberiis, where the chord G is major which is defined by note b♭ in the tenor; in the vocal version (bar 30) the chord is G minor with the soprano remaining in the key signature having a b♭. It could be considered as a compositional choice, but this is probably an editorial error as it clashes with the b♭ of the bass.

If the last bars of Barberiis’s arrangement are considered to be the last bars of the vocal piece as well, then a couple more differences can be located. But first, it should be mentioned that bars 76–77 have the same accidentals in both sources (f#' in soprano and e♭ in bass), confirming the editorial suggestions in the vocal model (bar 58). Nevertheless, in bar 78 in Barberiis, the e' of the soprano is natural, although it could be flattened as it is in a descending passage, and like in the editorial suggestion in the vocal (in alto, bar 59). In this descending motion though, the e' is only a passing note and does not require an accidental. The passage leads to the cadence in which there is a G major chord in the penultimate bar, whereas in the vocal version and in Spinacino’s arrangement there is no third to characterise the chord; in contrast, Newsidler placed a b♭ on the tenor. However, it is pointless to enter a discussion of which of the different aspects of the last chord should be preferred since both b♭ and z were used on the final chord, depending on the composer’s choice.

Adieu mes amours is a characteristic example of Barberiis’s approach to intabulating vocal music. Although this piece is more ornamented (and more specifically, the soprano is heavily ornamented) than the other case studies discussed in this chapter, the same technique of intabulating has been followed, using the bass and perhaps the soprano part-books. The name Fantasia was probably given to the piece to describe its elaborated character and distinguish it from a literal intabulation of the vocal piece. It could also be named Fantasia (sopra) Adieu mes amours, but the name of the chanson does not appear at all in Barberiis’s book. Even then, the title fantasia would not be ideal for this piece as
it is not related to the imitative form of *fantasia* in any way, although the initial use of the term *fantasia*, according to Luis de Milán, described a piece with imagination (*fantasia* = imagination in Greek) and not necessarily a piece with an imitative character.\(^{30}\) Barberiis’s arrangement, while containing a few editorial errors, is not inferior to the other intabulations of the piece and with regard to the use of *musica ficta*, his decisions have been taken consciously in most cases. This version could be useful to give performers clearer guidance on certain points of *musica ficta*. It is noticeable that parallels occur in his arrangement, which are created by his efforts to elaborate the voices; but as mentioned previously, the use of parallels especially in the lute were more acceptable than in the other instruments. In addition, the bars missing from the last part of the piece (the repetition of theme A), although important, do not affect to a great extent the performance of the piece – it is completed with a coda that brings the piece to a satisfactory end. If any performer or researcher would like to play/study a more integrated version, it is possible to repeat bars 1–20 after bar 72, and avoid the coda, or repeat the same bars (1–20) after bar 77.

To conclude: Barberiis’s intabulations of vocal music are not distant from their original versions and, in many cases, they can be used as a guide for performance, particularly in terms of *musica ficta*. *Musica ficta* has always been a complicated subject since the Renaissance (especially before 1550), with performers having the main responsibility for adding accidentals according to their training in counterpoint. Vincenzo Galilei in his *Fronimo*, a treatise on intabulating vocal music which was issued in 1584, advises his ostensible pupil/interlocutor that he should ‘Be warned, then, that the use of the diesis or b molle where they are not needed is just as bad as to leave them out where they are necessary’.\(^{31}\) Yet scholars are trying to solve problems within pieces and no certain guide-line for the interpretation of musical pieces is supported. There is no attempt here to propose a new method for *musica ficta* but the case studies suggest a few different aspects of the discussed pieces. Barberiis’s decisions when adding accidentals were not usually random and were influenced by the harmony moving


around them. In a few instances, when trying to ornament a part, he created alternative harmonic progressions and therefore changed *musica ficta* according to his ‘new’ composition (e.g. the case study of *Pas de mi bon compagni* with the elaborated bass line). Most of Barberiis’s accidentals are maintained in this edition as they are in Barberiis’s lute books, and they have only been changed in cases where it was apparent that an editorial error occurred.

It should also be kept in mind that with the development of polyphony and music in general, *musica ficta* rules evolved and, thus, a piece that was written before 1500 would be treated in a different way around 1550. An example of this is the last case study of Josquin’s chanson *Adieu mes amours* that was written *circa* 1480, then intabulated by Spinacino in 1507, in 1536 by Newsidler and by Barberiis in 1546. Transmission through the years, but also among countries, would cause alterations in many ways and especially in verbal/acoustic traditions. It seems that many pieces had some of their parts intabulated by ear and in a few cases, all the voices were intabulated by ear, and especially in the cases of ‘catchy’ pieces that were repeated and sung in the streets or in courts. The intabulations could be used for future reference by vocalists or researchers of this specific genre, giving different perspectives in a few cases.

Finally, the *Fantasia (fol. 9v)*, which is identified as an intabulation of the chanson *Adieu mes amours* by Josquin des Prez, can be added to the corpus of different arrangements of the piece for comparative study and performance.
4. CHAPTER – Fantasias

The *fantasia* constituted one of the most significant forms of instrumental music, particularly for the lute and organ. The genre flourished during the sixteenth century in Italy and it is notable that the majority of lute composers included *fantasias* in their compositions. As noted in the Introduction,¹ the name *fantasia* was frequently used for pieces that were, technically, not really *fantasias* but mostly *ricercars*. These terms were interchangeable, especially at the beginning of the first half of the sixteenth century when they begun to appear in lute sources.

Barberiis wrote 24 pieces entitled ‘fantasia’ for lute (and four for guitar) and, as will be discussed further below, they do not appear to be *fantasias* in the usual sense since they do not adopt the imitative style that characterizes the form in the mid sixteenth century. Some of them are distinctive and include an element of imagination and improvisation, yet they barely have imitative motifs which is the main feature of the *fantasia*.

*Libro V* includes four *fantasias* which seem to serve the role of *ricercars*. The first *fantasia* of this book (no. 10) on fol. 9v is based on the chanson *Adieu mes amours* by Josquin (see p. 70 above).

4.1. No. 11, Fantasia, Libro V

No. 11, *Fantasia* (fol. 11, see Volume 2, pp. 36–40) varies from No. 10, *Fantasia, Libro V* (see above, pp. 70–76) not only in terms of structure but also in ornamentation and improvisation.

To begin with, this *fantasia* is one of Barberiis’s fully ornamented pieces in which almost each bar is embellished. The ornaments added here are mostly scale passages preceded by chords. An interesting passage appears here in the form of the arpeggio: this is only met with once in the five books by Barberiis (Figure 4.1). This passage occurs in two places in the *Fantasia*, a few bars after the beginning and again at the end of the piece, surpassing the usual ornamental passages and giving a different sound to the piece. It is worth mentioning that the technique of spread chords is also used here in a few places, contrasting with the

¹ See Introduction, p. 5.
more predominant texture (Figure 4.2). These two small exceptions give the *Fantasia* a different style which distinguishes it from the rest of the pieces included in the three books. These techniques are idiomatic for the lute and, although rarely found in Barberiis, they appear frequently in compositions by lute composers throughout the history of the instrument.

A closer examination of the piece reveals that it is a non-thematic piece of free improvisation in G major with no imitative passages or repetitive motifs which would be found in a *fantasia*. Although in this piece Barberiis is revealing his imagination with experiments on different rhythmic patterns, its form and character are closer to a *ricercar*. The improvisatory style of the piece and its chordal progressions distinguish it as the prelude type of *ricercar*. According to Caldwell ‘originally the term “ricercare” was used for a piece of preludial character for lute or keyboard instrument (as in the expression “ricercare le
“corde”, “to try out the strings”). Barberiis’s No. 11, Fantasia seems to serve this role, starting with chords and then filling in with scale passages (see Figure 4.3).

Barberiis tried out techniques to make his own compositions more interesting and this is obvious from this particular fantasia.

4.2. No. 12, Fantasia, Libro V

The following fantasia (No. 12, fol. 12) is based on a different form to No. 11, Fantasia. No. 12, Fantasia seems to be more structured presenting small sections of phrases, some of which include imitative motifs. This fantasia is an example which represents Barberiis’s compositional procedure and lute technique and could apply for most of his original compositions.

No. 12, Fantasia starts in a similar way to the previous fantasia in this book, having the tonic ornamented on the first bar and then remaining on the same chord (tonic) in the next bar (see Figure 4.3 and Figure 4.4).

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Figure 4.4: No. 12, Fantasia – opening

Such opening figures were very common in lute and organ music from the mid fifteenth century and were frequently used for establishing the mode. Spinacino favoured these kind of introductory passages and this is obvious through his two volumes of lute music in which a large number of pieces begin in a similar way. An example of Spinacino’s opening passages is found in the intabulation of the chanson *Le desproveu infortune* (probably by Firminus Caron) from *Libro Primo*, which is presented below in Figure 4.5.³

Figure 4.5: Opening bars – *La desprova infortune*, Spinacino (*Libro Primo*)

The beginning of the fantasia progresses evenly having the soprano voice introducing the piece and then followed by the bass. In bar 5 the soprano re-enters with passages moving around the tonic and going a third up in each bar (bars 4, 5, 6). It is remarkable that the first nine bars of the piece remain on the same chord which is the tonic and only sometimes is inverted. This is the only place in his

³ Francesco Spinacino, *Intabolatura de Lauto, Libro Primo* (Venetiis: Petrucci, 1507);
fantasias where the same chord is repeated for nine bars, something not frequently applied in this repertoire. Another interesting element at the beginning of the Fantasia, and which is repeated a few times later in the piece, is the passage in the first bar (see Figure 4.4 above). This characteristic passage is repeated in various places in the piece and especially at the beginning, where it is used with a few alterations (see Figure 4.6 and Figure 4.7).

After the 12 first bars of the piece where almost every bar is elaborated, Barberis changes the texture by introducing a more contrapuntal style created by a sequence of suspensions (bars 13–19). Bar 19 is similar to the opening bar but this time instead of creating a cadence on the tonic (F minor), it concludes with an interrupted cadence to chord VI. Then, he continues with chord iii and vii of the scale for three bars to go back to the tonic (V–VI–iv–vii–iii–vii–i). Barberis changes chord progressions, moving around the third of the scale (Ab major chord) and more specifically, in bars 34–37 he places the first significant cadence in Ab major.
In bar 32, while it remains in A♭ major and a perfect cadence is created, a pattern appears in the bass which consists of a minor third interval, going down to a perfect fifth, then up a major second and ending on a perfect fifth. This cadential pattern appears in a similar way in bar 12 of the previous fantasia (No. 11, Fantasia) and it is used in various forms throughout Barberis’s compositions (see Figure 4.8 and Figure 4.9). It even appears in his intabulations of songs, like in Canzone (fol. Dd2) in Libro X, in bars 2–5 and 42–45 where the bass follows the a similar melodic line (see Vol. II, pp. 230, 232).

Figure 4.8: No. 12, Fantasia, bar 32 – cadential pattern

Figure 4.9: No. 11, Fantasia, bar 12 – cadential pattern

In bars 46–49, an unexpected harmonic progression takes place in which the key transfers to C minor and in bars 47–48 a cadence is created with a diminished fifth chord resolving to C major. The chromatic alterations (d♭, b♭, a♯, and e♯) that occur in the above bars, are characteristic of Barberis’s style but they also serve to
complete the cadential phrase. This may be an error but observing the melodic line of the tenor (which then transfers to the alto) – which moves around and finally resolves, on c and which actually makes sense, this may have been intentional. These bars reveal Barberiis’s compositional technique (at least in the fantasias) in which he seems to develop his compositions in an improvisatory horizontal manner, sometimes without much success.

Another common lute practice appears in bars 49–51 where the melody is moving in thirds (between soprano and alto). Thirds are used on the lute for practising and exercising techniques and were therefore widely applied in compositions for the instrument. Numerous examples can be given by sixteenth and seventeenth-century European composers such as Joan Ambrosio Dalza’s Saltarello con doi lauti (fol. 37) from Libro Quarto, Francesco da Milano’s Ricercar 39, Fantasia 40, Vincezo Capirola’s Balletto from Vincenzo Capirola Lutebook (fol. 19v), John Dowland’s Farewell (In Nomine), A Fancy No. 5 and many more.4

The bars that follow (59–70), present an elaborated melodic line moving gradually from the tenor to the soprano voice while bass and soprano keep ascending stepwise. This is a remarkable moment in the piece, adding some more interest to it. There is a constant occurrence of the same pattern which appears at the beginning of the piece (see Figure 4.9 above), representing a piece that is well-structured by the composer. After these bars with a high degree of ornamentation, Barberiis continues with more chordal passages and then ends the piece with a few more ornamented bars in which another pattern is repeated in the bass (see bars 84, 85 and 86 in Figure 4.10).

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The above fantasia is a fine demonstration of Barberiis’s compositional skills: the piece, which in fact is a ricercar (like all his pieces called fantasia), contains many aspects of lute music and technique. This ricercar develops gradually from the beginning to the end, starting with ornamented bars and then relaxing with chordal passages, returning to some more intense elaborated bars with a few repetitions of patterns. The piece includes both melodic lines and contrapuntal passages, suspensions and dissonances which resolve in the traditional manner.

In order to understand and evaluate Barberiis’s compositions, it is necessary to place his work within the music context of his era and therefore compare it with similar lute compositions. Since the compositions that bear the name fantasia are in fact ricercars, the piece analyzed below is another ricercar by Francesco da Milano. Recercario no 15 (fol. 5v, Ness 47)⁵ is included in the Siena Manuscript which was compiled around 1560–1570 but consists of pieces composed a few decades earlier (c. 1530) as well as some from the second half of the sixteenth century.⁶ The same piece is included in a different version and under the name Recercar de Francesdo da Milan in Scotto’s edition Intabolatura de lautto Libro Settimo. Ricarcari novi del divino M. Francesco da Milano. Estratti da il soi proprii esamplari li quali non sono mai pio stati visti ne stampati. Aggiontovi alcuni altri recercari di Julio da Modena intabulati...da M. Jo. Maria da Crema […] (Venice: Scotto, 1548). According to Ness, the above edition has

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various misprints while the Siena Manuscript comprises a better version of the piece.\textsuperscript{7}

The \textit{Recercario}\textsuperscript{8} is a short piece which however retains a structure well-balanced. It is divided into three small sections and a coda: A (bars 1 – 1\textsuperscript{st} beat of bar 12), B (bars 12 – 1\textsuperscript{st} beat of bar 19), C (bars 19–34) and Coda (bars 35–41). The piece starts with a basic idea that develops gradually within section A (Figure 4.11).

\begin{figure}[h]
\centering
\includegraphics[width=0.5\textwidth]{figure4.11}
\caption{basic idea on first bar}
\end{figure}

This phrase is a simple ascending scale from $G$ to $d$ that appears in the bass line and then continues in other voices in a descending motion in various rhythmical shapes. The first section starts in a contrapuntal way and it develops in the second section in a more melodic and horizontal approach. Each bar on section B begins with a chord of a crotchet value and continues with quavers in faster scale passages, a technique that is similarly met in Barberiis’s compositions and of course in numerous places of the aforementioned \textit{No. 12, Fantasia}. Bars 15 and 17 of \textit{Recercario no 15} have another pattern which is also frequently used by Barberiis (bars 30, 66, and 76 in \textit{No. 12, Fantasia}, also see Figure 6.14 i), p. 158). In section B, the same basic idea can be detected between the fast passages i.e. the soprano in bar 13 starts the descending scale from $d'$, then $c'$ in the next bar and so on. In bar 19 where the new section begins, the texture of the piece becomes more contrapuntal (polyphonic) but still maintaining similar melodic elements. An alternative pattern is presented in this section and is repeated constantly in the soprano and bass lines and once in the alto (Figure 4.12).

\begin{itemize}
\item \textsuperscript{7} A. Ness, \textit{The Late Music of Francesco Canova da Milano}, p. 9.
\item \textsuperscript{8} See Vol. 1 – Examples, pp. 235–236.
\end{itemize}
In bar 29 there is an interesting alteration between melodic lines and contrapuntal passages i.e. bar 29 has ascending scale and then bar 30 has more tranquil texture given by the counterpoint with bigger note values. This ‘game’ of fast and slow continues until the end of the piece and at the same time, the pattern in Figure 4.12 is still distinct. In this same section, the ascending scales that start from bar 29 are repeated rhythmically and melodically in stepwise motion, in various voices (Figure 4.13).

Lastly, the penultimate bar is a typical idiomatic lute ending of the piece, having a descending scale in one voice, and in this case the soprano, to then conclude to a major chord. As far as the harmonic analysis is concerned, the composer uses characteristic shapes which are met in lute music. The piece is written in a minor key and starts in section A in G minor which then changes mode in section B (in bar 12), going to G major for a couple of bars and returns back to G minor. In bar
24 the key changes again and transfers occasionally to C major. It is notable that Francesco da Milano uses chromatic alterations in this piece, and more specifically, in the three accidentals of the G minor scale (b♭, e♭ and f♯). Based on *musica ficta*, the composer sharpens notes b and e when ascending and flattens them when in descending motion. For example, in bars 36–37 the alto voice has an ascending scale with a b♭ and in the next bar the soprano has a b♭' in the descending scale. However, in bar 34 the B in the bass line is natural and becomes B♭ on the next bar despite the fact that is part of an ascending scale, perhaps not to clash with the b♭ in the alto in the same bar. The f# is also manipulated carefully by the composer in various places where it resolves to g with a few exceptions: in bar 4 in the bass line, the f is natural and that is for not creating a diminished fifth interval with the note c' in the tenor. The same occurs in bar 25 between the bass and alto, while in bar 33 the f in the bass line which is a passing note, is natural to avoid clashing with g' in soprano and f' in alto. In bar 9, there is a cadential shape that was widely used by composers in the Renaissance which is also referred earlier (see p. 83). In these cases, there is a cadence resolving to the sixth chord: in bar 9 there is a chromatic alteration to the c# and in the last beat of the bar the chord is A major which resolves to the sixth, B♭ major.

This *ricercar* by Francesco da Milano demonstrates that Barberiis’s musical style was not distant from the lute stereotypes. Both composers are using a balanced formal structure, chromatic alterations, rhythmical and harmonic patterns. As demonstrated previously, Barberiis alters sections of fast melodic lines with chordal passages, changing the texture of his composition, a practice also used in the *Recercario* by Francasco da Milano and in obviously in other lute compositions of *Cinquecento*. Another common element between the two compositions is the chromatic alterations which are used repeatedly, mostly by Barberiis although they are not always placed effectively (e.g. bars 48–50). Some rhythmical and melodic shapes in Francesco da Milano’s *Recercario* are met in Barberiis’s compositions as well and are very common to the lute idiom (e.g. Figure 4.13). Additionally, the scale passage in the penultimate bar of *Ricercario* by Milano which leads to the cadence is frequently used by Barberiis not only in his *fantasias* but in some of the dances in *Libro IX* as well as in a few intabulations of vocal music (For example, see No. 11, *Fantasia*, No. 13, *Fantasia*...
in Libro V, 2. Pass’e mezzo, 5a. Pass’e mezzo in Libro IX and A bien grant tort, O sio potesse donna in Libro V). Harmonically, both pieces transfer to different keys in places and change between minor and major keys, although Barberiis occasionally loses harmonic control. In the instance of Barberiis’s No. 12, Fantasia the key changes mostly to the third and fifth of the scale (F minor) which remain for long (e.g. bars 58–62), while in Recercario the key changes to C major for a couple of bars. Clearly the extent of the two pieces is different, with Barberiis’s Fantasia twice the length of Milano’s Recercario, which gave Barberiis the liberty of transferring to diverse keys. As seen above, Barberiis also uses another technique very typical to the lute which in the certain Recercario is not found: that is, passages of consecutive chords in thirds – a practice widely used by lute composers and which Francesco da Milano applies in a few of his other compositions (Ricercar 39, Ricercar 80, Ricercar 87a⁹ etc). The interrupted (deceptive) cadence which is used by both composers in their compositions presented here, as well as the final chord which uses the Tierce de Picardie, are some more elements which verify Barberiis’s assimilation of the sixteenth-century compositional lute style.

4.3. No. 30, Fantasia, Libro IX

In Libro IX another notable piece is found which is also called Fantasia (fol. f4). The case of No. 30, Fantasia, appears to be different in many ways: it is probably a free intabulation of a composition which has not been identified, but as it will be demonstrated below (from its structure and the repetitive melodic themes) it seems unlikely that it is an original composition by Barberiis.

This Fantasia consists of four sections which are not clearly distinguished apart from the first section: A (bars 1–19), B (bars 20–52), C (bars 53–71) and D (bars 72–95). At the beginning of the Fantasia a theme is heard in the soprano (Figure 4.14) which is duplicated by the bass in thirds (tenths). The theme is repeated mostly in the soprano and bass throughout the first section (bars 1–19). This section consists of two long phrases (bars 1–11 and 12–19) which are divided in four small phrases (bars 1–4, 6–9, 12–15 and 16–19), created by the theme in Figure 4.14.

⁹ The numbering is according to A. Ness, The Lute Music of Francesco Canova da Milano.
It is remarkable that the beginning section is very well-structured and gives a positive initial impression of the piece. The first long phrase (bars 1–11) includes the theme in the soprano starting from $g'$ and then is repeated in the next phrase a third higher. The same is applied in the bass line in which the voice moves in thirds from the soprano. The theme re-enters in bar 12 in a more embellished form but this time it moves a fifth higher than its initial form and then continues (bars 16–19) in the same way as the first phrase. This compositional style of the introductory section with the repetitive motives and the voices unfolding nicely is usually met in Barberiis’s intabulations of vocal pieces rather than in his original pieces. Thus, it is assumed that this could have been a tune of the time which Barberiis ‘borrowed’ only for this section of his composition.

The next bars following the introductory section are more in the style of a preludial ricercar, where scale passages go from one voice to another, including some imitative passages but not necessarily based on a specific theme. For example, the motif in the soprano in bar 33 appears later on in the same voice in bar 36 and then in the alto in bar 40, without playing any significant role for the piece (Figure 4.15).

The whole section consists of ascending and descending scale passages which were common to the lute music with the exception of bars 43–46 (Figure 4.16).
Almost each bar starts with a chord and then continues with the scale passages which were used by Barberiis repeatedly in his compositions (see both fantasies discussed above). Once more, it is observed that the second section has a different texture to the first one: the beginning has a contrapuntal style with chordal passages and the second section is characterized by a more horizontal movement with scale passages, presenting a balanced form. This style of composition with scalic passage-work is similar to various compositions by composers from the first half of the sixteenth century, such as Francesco Spinacino, Vicenzo Capirola and others. A great number of Spinacino’s compositions include scalic passages that occupy ten or more bars. An example may be seen in Recercare (fol. 39v) in his Libro Primo in which the first 19 bars, unto the cadenza, consist of scale passages; these are followed then by contrapuntal passages with some intervention of scale passages.\textsuperscript{10}

In bar 52 when section C starts, another interesting passage makes its entry only in the soprano this time. Starting with note $c''$ it goes to a third lower, then back to $c''$, followed by descending scales (see Figure 4.17). Each time the theme appears, its first note is in descending motion ($c''$, $b'$, $a'$, $g'$, $f$). The theme is encountered five consecutive times in this section and it is noticed that in bars 60–64 and 64–68 it is slightly variant.

This theme resembles the beginning motif of Francesco da Milano’s *Fantasia no 41* (Figure 4.18), although such musical clichés abound in surviving lute music. The *fantasia* appears first in fol. E2 in *Intabolatura de lauto di M. Francesco Milanese et M. Perino Fiorentino, suo discipulo* [...], *Libro Terzo* (Venice: Gardane, 1547) but was written earlier, given that Milano died in 1543. A parody of the same *fantasia* occurs in the Siena Manuscript in fol. 22v as a *ricercar* by an anonymous composer. This suggests that *Fantasia 41* became known in Italy and composers used the characteristic theme in their own compositions. Borrowing in the Renaissance was very common and was suggested by teachers to their students in order to practise their compositional and performance skills. Besides, ‘the lines between parody, misattribution, and plagiarism appear to have been thin in the Renaissance’.\(^{12}\) John Ward gives some examples of compositions by Narváez and Fuenllana which use motifs by other composers, to prove that ‘it is impossible to determine whether the composers borrowed consciously or unconsciously’.\(^{13}\)

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\(^{11}\) The numbering is according to A. Ness, *The Lute Music of Francesco Canova da Milano*.


It is apparent that the theme in No. 30, Fantasia by Barberiis uses the motif that appears in Milano’s Fantasia 41, although in slightly different variation. Both motifs start in the same way and in the same chord (F major), and follow the same harmonic progression for the first three entrances of the subject: the re-entrance of the theme in bar 56 of No. 30, Fantasia and bar 3 of Fantasia 41 starts from a G minor chord and then in bar 60 of No. 30, Fantasia and bar 5 of Fantasia 41 it goes back to F major. Although Barberiis’s No. 30, Fantasia is written in G minor mode, in this section of the piece he transfers the tonality to F major, confirming the idea that he borrowed the theme, probably from Francesco da Milano. Furthermore, No. 30, Fantasia resembles to Fantasia 41 in terms of the descending motion of each first note of the theme, only Fantasia 41 descends three notes of the scale (c″, b′, a′). Francesco da Milano keeps the first six bars of his Fantasia with just the soprano and the bass lines and then adds only one inner voice, a technique used frequently in his compositions. Arthur Ness remarks that Milano had the ‘skill in manipulating and developing one or two musical ideas, “seeking out”, one might say, every permutation of a given theme or motive, yet, at the same time maintaining a balance formal structure’. Barberiis not only continues the motif, repeating it for longer than the ‘original’, he also adds extra voices. Clearly using material from other compositions did not signify the initial maintenance of its form and composers were free to experiment and develop it in their own preference. Such a treatment towards borrowed music is found, for example, in Antonio de Cabezón’s music in which he added more material in the borrowed themes and therefore expanded the size of the piece as well. Cabezón

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also included additional motives and this is apparent in *Tiento sobre cum sancto spiritu* (fol. 68) from *Obras de música para tecla, arpa y vihuela* (Madrid: Francisco Sanchez, 1578), where the opening motive ‘appears eight times in a double exposition in a polyphonic texture’.\(^{15}\)

After the presentation of the aforementioned theme, the last section of the piece starts to develop with a notable passage of dotted rhythms (in the soprano), a pattern not found frequently in Barberiis’s compositions. The dotted rhythms syncopate with the tied notes in the bass line and create an interesting effect in the piece, despite the fact that in places the harmony does not respond well; in bar 74 the $e^\flat$ which has the double X sign (see Illustration 1) in the bass line clashes with the $f'$ in the soprano and the same happens in bar 77, where the $b^\flat$ in the bass clashes with the $a'$ in the soprano. This passage appears in the soprano in descending motion, with the first note in each bar moving down a second ($b'$, $a'$, $g'$, $f'$, $e'$, $d'$) and without any addition of other voices (Figure 4.19).

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**Figure 4.19: Monophonic descending passage**

\[\text{Figure 4.19: Monophonic descending passage}\]

Once more, similar patterns like the above are found in other lute compositions of the time and an example is presented in Figure 4.20 below. This is the first few bars (bars 6–9) of Capirola’s *Recercar quinto* (29v).\(^{16}\) Although it is in ascending motion, the pattern resembles to the one used by Barberiis in *No. 30, Fantasia.*

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\(^{15}\) J. Ward, ‘The Use of Borrowed Material’, pp. 94–95.

Figure 4.20: Ascending pattern – bars 6–9, Capirola Lutebook (US-Cn VM C.25)

The descending motion in No. 30, Fantasia is interrupted by a five-bar polyphonic passage and then continues with another descending pattern (bars 89–92). The piece finally ends with a G minor chord which is one of the three final cadences using the minor mode, out of his whole collection (see Table 3, p. 169). The reason why Barberiis did not use the Tierce de Picardie in this piece, as he did in almost all of his pieces, is unknown and it could be considered a simple misprint.

No. 30, Fantasia is a representative example of compositional style in mid-sixteenth century and is interesting how Barberiis includes different ideas. As mentioned previously, the beginning of the piece must have been a well-known tune of the time which Barberiis handled carefully. After the exposition of the first subject he added some of his stereotypical passages keeping a balance in the piece between polyphonic and monophonic texture, as well as structure. Short intervals of chordal passages between the themes were added to change the texture. Following that, the appearance of Milano’s opening theme of Fantasia 41 alters the style of the composition in terms of the unexpected – a known theme which appears in the middle of the piece is a rather satisfying moment for the player. The combination of original and borrowed music was ordinary and cases like the above are found in many compositions by various composers, both respected and amateurs. Since the piece includes music from two different compositions, one which is Fantasia 41 by Milano and another from a non-identified piece, it cannot be said for certain here what form of intabulation this is or if it is a ricercar, but it is assumed that it is a paraphrase parody.  

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4.4. **No. 18, Fantasia per sonar con dui Lauti in ottava, Libro X**

In the last book of Barberiis’s collection (*Libro X*, 1549), the ten pieces towards the end are mostly *fantasias* with an exception of a *canzon*. In these *fantasias*, Barberiis experiments the most with the tuning and ‘pairing’ of the instrument with other lutes. *No. 18, Fantasia* is an example of the above, which is a piece for two lutes: a soprano and a tenor lute, both tuned in G (see Vol. 2, pp. 255–258 and 289–291). The same piece appears in two later editions, both by the publisher Pierre Phalèse. The duo *fantasia* appeared in Phalèse’s edition for the first time in 1552, in *Hortus Musarum in quo tanquam flosculi […],* (Lovani: Apud Patrum Phalesium, 1552) and later on in *Theatrum Musicum in quo selectissima optimorum […],* (Lovani: Ex Typographia Petri Phalesii, 1563). Both editions include lute music by composers from around the Continent. Each book is a corpus of lute music, containing intabulations of vocal music, dances, *fantasias*, music for two lutes and solo lute music, and both outreach a number of 100 pieces. In *Hortus Musarum*, 21 pieces are written for two lutes and in *Theatrum Musicum*, only seven lute duos are included. Among these, three duos are repeated in both editions: *No. 18, Fantasia* (Barberiis), a set for two lutes of Thomas Crecquillon’s chanson *Pis ne me peult venir* and Roquelay’s chanson *Grace et vertu (Ta bonne grace)*. Although the two editions have almost a 10-year gap between them, the above pieces (and a few more for solo lute) are repeated in the later edition, a fact that illustrates the importance and popularity of the pieces.

All three editions do not present any significant amendments and more specifically, the two editions by Phalèse are identical with only one difference in bar 2 of the soprano part, where the tenor voice in the earlier edition of *Hortus Musarum* (1552) has a letter *d* on the third line (note *c’*) which in fact is a typographical error. Phalèse’s editions have a few more variations to the original which some of them are helpful in identifying: some are printing errors and others are omissions by the publisher. As far as the soprano part is concerned, the first bar in Phalèse is different from Barberiis’s *Libro X*: letters *a,b,d* (numbers in Italian tablature 0, 1, 3) are placed in the third line while in Barberiis are placed in the second line. Here, it is clearly a printing error in Barberiis’s edition. In bar 4 in Phalèse’s *Hortus Musarum* (Barberiis bar 8) there is a note missing on the third beat which is also omitted in *Theatrum Musicum* (1563). The melodic line of the
soprano is ornamented at this point and note $a'$ (letter $c$ in French tablature on first line and number 2 in Italian tablature) is required to conclude. In bar 10 of the soprano (in both Phalèse’s editions) there is a note missing from the second line, note $d'$ which would be letter $a$ on the second line (bar 19, Barberiis). Note $d'$ in this case, is the 7th of an $E_\flat$ major chord resolving to $B_\flat$ major. This omission seems to be selective by Phalèse who chose not to repeat note $d'$ from the previous beat in bar 9. Note $d'$ is an open course and the resonance is more durable which in the aforementioned passage it is still heard until the next beat in bar 10 where the note is missing from Phalèse’s editions.

In the tenor part of the duo, there are only a couple of differences between Barberiis’s and Phalèse’s editions. Both editions by Phalèse are the same and they only differ from Barberiis’s in bars 7 and 19 (bars 14 and 37 in Barberiis). In bar 14, Barberiis wrote a full C minor chord in first inversion, including note $g'$ in the soprano voice. In this way, the melodic line in the soprano develops regularly with the $f#'$ concluding to $g'$. In Phalèse’s editions in bar 7, $g'$ is missing from the soprano voice, leaving the $f#'$ hanging until the next bar to resolve to $g'$. This could be an editorial error but on the other hand, in the soprano part of the duet the $g'$ is included in the same chord which could suggest that Phalèse did not add note $g'$ in the tenor part to avoid doubling voices. As mentioned previously, one of Barberiis’s compositional idioms is the use of complete chords and his favour on adding extra voices. There is no right or wrong for this practice and in the certain occasion, both versions work similarly. Finally, in bar 37 (Barberiis) on the second beat, number 3 is on the third line (note $c'$) while in Phalèse’s editions letter $d$ which is equivalent of number 3 in French tablature (bar 19) is on the second line (note $f'$). Both notes are included in the F major chord so there is no dissonant result. However, in bars 36 and 37 (Barberiis) a small pattern is shaped in both soprano and alto voices (Figure 4.21) and it is more likely that in this case Phalèse interpreted the chord incorrectly.
The actual composition is another well-structured piece by Barberiis in three sections: A (bars 1–16), B (bars 17–31) and Coda (bars 31–42). Although the piece is rather short there is a lot of movement and many characteristic lute patterns appear. Each section consists of independent phrases which are developed and conclude on the tonic (G minor). Section A includes two basic phrases formed by the soprano voice which has a leading role here with all the melodic lines. The first phrase ends in bar 5 and the second phrase which is rather a response to the first one, ends actually in bar 13. The three remaining bars are a cadence of the first section. The simplified versions of the phrases are demonstrated below, in Figure 4.22 and Figure 4.23.

Characteristic of the first section is the pattern/ornamentation that appears in many of Barberiis’s compositions, which in this piece is repeated mostly in the soprano voice, a couple of times in the tenor and once in the alto (see Figure 6.14).

18 Bar numbering refers to Barberiis’s edition of Libro X (1549).
The second section starts in bar 17 but the first two bars (17–18) which are initiated by the bass and tenor are in fact additional or introductory to the actual phrase. Bars 18–24 present a smaller phrase which its beginning reminds of the first phrase in section A, a fourth lower (Figure 4.24). In bar 25 where the second small phrase begins (Figure 4.25), the melody moves around note $a'$ with ascending and descending scales as embellishments.

Figure 4.24: beginning phrase of Section B, bars 18–24

![Figure 4.24]

Figure 4.25: second phrase of section B, bars 25–31

![Figure 4.25]

The third and last section of the piece (bars 31–42) begins in a similar way as the second phrase of section A (bar 5) and continues likewise for a couple of bars. The last three bars of the piece move around the tonic and the fifth, and serve as a cadence. The ornamented shape in Figure 6.14 vi, also appears in this section in extent and that is the only figure that dominates here.

The description above refers to the soprano voice which is the only voice being in continuous motion. The alto and tenor appear in places without being consistent, a fact occurs in many lute compositions not only by Barberis, as will be explained in Chapter 6. The outer voices in most of the lute compositions are those who have the attention of the composer as well as of the listener. Here, the bass seems to have a second role in the piece and if judging from its movement in the piece, it is apparent that Barberis focused on the top voice filling in the rest of the voices in order to complete the harmony. Yet, there are a few cases in which the bass line repeats a certain shape which is characteristic for that voice. Bars 11–
14, 14–16 and 28–31 are similar and each shape creates a cadential pattern that is met in many of Barberis’s compositions (see Figure 4.26).

**Figure 4.26: Cadential pattern in bass**

The part of the tenor lute, is a more simplified version of the soprano part. It consists of the basic chords without much embellishment, only in a few cases which again, are simpler than the soprano. The soprano voice of the tenor part mainly follows the basic beats (1\textsuperscript{st} and 3\textsuperscript{rd}) of the soprano voice in the soprano part. In bars 9 and 13 where the soprano voice has fast passages of ornaments, the composer simplifies them by keeping the first note of each pair of quavers. This occurs in bars 24–28 as well, where the soprano has the busiest passages in the piece. However, the first note of each pair is not always kept in the simple version of the tenor part and in occasions it clashes with the soprano part. In the editions presented here, there are no changes in these passages as this would interfere to the original composition, and because of the fast passages include many passing notes, the dissonances are not very audible.

Barberis’s duo was well known and was still heard ten years later, as confirmed through Phalèse’s editions. This piece requires two lutes tuned alike, one for the soprano part and the other for the tenor part. As seen above, the soprano part has the melodic movement and all the ornamentation. The tenor is a simplified version of the soprano part and it mostly plays the role of an accompaniment part on a solo lute piece, keeping the basic chords and rhythm. Taken this, the soprano part could also be performed on its own as a piece for one lute. The duo *fantasia* which is another miss-titled piece originated from the confusion of the time caused between the genres *ricercar* and the newly ‘invented’ *fantasia*, is probably another *ricercar*. A very thin line lies between the two genres and it seems their distinction was not clear then. In any case, the certain piece is carefully developed throughout, having a consistency which is not interrupted by any ‘awkward’ passages. The passages included here, are characteristic on the lute, and, of course are typical of Barberis’s idiom. The piece is not very demanding technically although the soprano part has fast
passages throughout the piece and a few tricky ones. Being an enjoyable duet to play with a busy soprano part, a fine structure and short length, probably urged the Flemish publisher Phalèse to include it twice in his editions, each constituting an anthology of the music trends in the sixteenth century.

This leads to the conclusion that publishers tried to include a variety of compositions in their editions, for every musician to enjoy, amateur or professional. Compositions such as *fantasias* were always pieces that revealed the composer’s skill and based on the composer’s imagination, appeared in many forms. Although the term was confused to its similar genre, *ricercar*, Barberiis’s *fantasias* still present various thoughts and motives which are explored in many ways. For example, in *No. 11, Fantasia*, the Figure 4.1 and Figure 4.2 (see p. 80) demonstrate a composer who was exploring different techniques on the instrument. At the same time, the composer was aware of the ‘music hits’ of his time and therefore applied a modified theme of another *fantasia* by Francesco da Milano in his composition (see p. 90, regarding *No. 30, Fantasia, Libro IX*). The compositional technique of paraphrasing was widely used in the Renaissance and, in fact, was even promoted to students as a way of practising and then developing their own ideas. Idiomatic lute passages and patterns were followed in Barberiis’s *fantasias* and each piece was carefully structured. In a few cases, certain motifs were repeated within a piece which negates any suggestions that Barberiis composed his music randomly. It is however undeniable that he wrote his *fantasias* upon his lute, giving emphasis on the melodic lines and then filling in the rest of the voices, which sometimes caused clashing chords or passages that did not ‘fit in’ the harmony (i.e. bars 47–49 in *No. 12, Fantasia, Libro V*, see Volume 2, p. 43). On the other hand, combining both contrapuntal passages and horizontal melodic lines, Barberiis kept a balanced form in his compositions and this is apparent in most of his *fantasias*. Furthermore, the two editions by the Flemish publisher Phalèse which include Barberiis’s duo *No. 18, Fantasia (Libro X)*, present a piece that must have been known at the time and was still heard ten years later from its first edition.

In a general overview, Barberiis’s *fantasias* are non thematic. Although they have small repetitive motifs which mostly have the form of ornamental passages, no extended themes appear these pieces and therefore, the imitation is almost nonexistent. The majority of the *fantasias* start in a similar way: a chord at
the beginning which is filled in with a passage. Throughout the *fantasias*, chordal and melodic passages alter, giving them a good quality balance. These elements can also be observed in other works by different composers of the time, confirming that Barberiis was following a well-trodden path. Stereotypical passages and alternations between chordal and melodic passages are also seen in compositions by other lute composers. An example of the above is found in the *Ricercar Primo, Secondo and Terzo* in *Libro Primo* by Giacomo Gorzanis.19 These *ricercars* which occupy the last few pages of the book (fol. H4v-I3v), and especially *Ricercar Terzo*, are using scale passages in extend as well chordal moments; many of these passages are met in Barberiis’s *fantasias*. A few other earlier examples of this style are found in Francesco Spinacino’s *Recercares* in *Libro Primo*.20 In the majority of these *ricercars*, Spinacino wrote throughout scale passages with many cases of leaving monophonic texture in the piece. Characteristic is the *Recercare* in fol. 39v of which the first page is almost exclusively monophonic, at least until the first corona/cadenza. After that, the texture becomes polyphonic and at the end it turns monophonic again, filled with scale passages. These *ricercars* by the aforementioned composers are non thematic and have a more improvisatory style, providing another resemblance to Barberiis’s *fantasias*. As already stated previously, Barberiis’s pieces called *fantasias* are in fact *ricercars*.21 Although there are many more examples of Barberiis’s contemporaries who composed pieces in a similar way, the examples above are representative.

It is notable that *fantasias* are treated in a rather dissimilar way to the intabulations of vocal music. As it is seen in Chapter 3, the intabulations included in Barberiis’s books mostly followed the original melody and remained faithful to the structure of each song. The composer used the literal form of intabulation and therefore he could not ‘escape’ to a great extent from the basic melody and harmony. He had a guideline for these songs and his interference was mostly the addition of ornamentation with various passages to connect voices. Unlike the

21 See pp. 4–5 of Introduction and p. 79 of this Chapter for more details on the misnaming of *ricercars* and *fantasias*. 103
intabulations, his fantasies were free compositions in which the composer was more flexible to experiment with different techniques and textures on the lute. Although each time he followed a basic formal structure which he adjusted accordingly to the piece, in some cases, due to this freedom of composing without a certain harmonic frame, Barberiis produced some ‘unsuccessful’ passages. Regardless of these passages, some fantasies develop interesting original ideas or even, borrow and extend motifs from other pieces. Barberiis clearly was aware of the music traditional techniques and was able to handle the existing themes, or his own. Finally, his fantasies are imaginative and have an improvisatory style, an important factor for this form of composition.
5. CHAPTER – Dances

Throughout time, human have had dances in their lives, either these served ritual purposes, social encounter, entertainment or theatrical purposes. In the Renaissance, dances were developed by noblemen, aristocrats and courtiers but also in bourgeoisie houses or even in the streets and consequently a vast amount of music compositions evolved around this subject. The accompaniment to dances depended on the place they were performed, instruments were also divided into haut and bas. Haut (= high) instruments were used for outdoor performances and therefore loud instruments were played such as shawm, sackbut, cornetts, pipe and percussion and bas (= soft) for indoor, using soft instruments like lute, harp, rebec, vielle, recorders and other plucked and bowed string instruments. Popular dances in Renaissance Italy included saltarello, pavana, galgiarda, passo e mezo, branle (or brando), chiarenzana (or chiarentana), tourdion (or tordiglione), basse danse (or bassadanza), spagnoletta and many more. Although these dances were performed in ensembles, ‘the courts withdrawn from the common world and emphasizing the uncommon individual became centres of accompanied solo song and solo play’.¹ Lute, because of its delicate sound was an instrument used especially in the courts and in aristocrats’ houses. In addition, its polyphonic character contributed to its development as a solo instrument and lutenists adapted songs, dances and other famous tunes to the lute. In this respect, dances became an integral part of the lute repertoire, with lute composers including dances in their work. Each dance was based on a ground or a certain chord progression, with the soprano mainly improvising on the melody. Pietro Paolo Borrono was an important contributor for lute dance music, publishing his work which was mainly devoted to dances. His works first appeared in Giovanni Antonio da Castiglione’s publication of lute music in 1536, Intabolatura de leuto, with other Italian composers such as Francesco da Milano and Marco dall’ Aquila. The next collection including his works, Intabulatura di lauto, Libro Secondo, was dedicated to Francesco da Milano and himself, and was published by Scotto in 1546. Intavolatura di lauto, Libro Ottavo published in 1548 by Scotto, was

another collection attributed to Borrono, at least in the title, but included *fantasias* by Francesco da Milano as well. Borrono’s compositions in these collections include along with *fantasias* and intabulations of vocal music, 18 dance suites. Dance suites in this case comprised of a *pavan* and then *saltarellos*. Some of these dances were included in more than ten editions by various publishers over the years and were existent in collections as late as 1573. Other composers who wrote dance music included Marcantonio del Pifaro, Giovani Maria da Crema, Antonio Rotta, Julio Abondante, Vincenzo Capirola, Giacomo Gorzanis, Antonio di Becchi and a few more. Melchiore de Barberis is also one of the composers who contributed to the genre, providing a whole book devoted to dances. His *Libro IX* published in 1549, consisted of 33 dances, four *fantasias* and three intabulations of vocal music. The dances include six pieces titled *pass’e mezo*, one *gagliarda*, 14 *Saltarello*, four *pavana*, one *piva*, one *Brando Francese* (*branle*), one *La Bertonzina*, one *La cara cosa*, one *Il traditore* and then pieces which were not so common in other lute sources, like *Vesentino, Il formigoto*, and *Il vecchio da Conegian*. Some of the dances form suites which could be used as part of a performance or for their actual purpose: dancing. More specifically, six suites are formed by usually two dances: a *pavan* and then a *saltarello* or a *pass’e mezo* and a *saltarello* (see Chapter 2, p. 22) for the table of contents and their grouping in suites. The sixteenth-century *saltarelli* were often added after a *pavan* or a *pass’e mezo* but they could also stand as individual pieces. *Saltarello* was a fast dance which was written in triple metre and when followed other dances, it was based on the same harmonic and melodic structure of its pre-dance. Barberis added *saltarelli* both as individual pieces as well as part of suites, and although he kept the triple metre and basic structure of the dance, it is remarkable that he wrote *Saltarello del Formigoto: Madona Tenerina*, in duple metre. The particular *saltarello* according to Brown\(^2\) is paired with *Il Formigoto*, its preceding dance on the book, forming a suite. However, it seems that the only common element these two dances have, is the name *Il Formigoto* included in their title. *Il formigoto*, a word used in the dialect of the Veneto which according to Giuseppe Boerio derives from *formicone* or *formica grande* and actually means a big ant,\(^3\) is


\(^3\) Giuseppe Boerio, *Dizionario del dialetto veneziano* (Venezia: A. Santini e figlio, 1829).
written in triple time and is in fact a saltarello/gagliarda. The piece is written on an F mode (Dorian) mode including three flats while it starts from A♭ major, chord III. *Saltarello del Formigoto: Madonna Tenerina* is written in G mode (Dorian) and although it bears the title *Saltarello*, it is written in duple metre. The melodic, harmonic as well as the formal structure of the two dances has no resemblance which would justify their pairing as a suite or explain the use of the name *Formigoto* in the *saltarello*. The melody of the first phrase in *Il Formigoto* (Figure 5.1) is different to the first phrase of *Saltarello del Formigoto* and this is valid for the rest of the phrases (Figure 5.2).

Figure 5.1: *Il formigoto*, first phrase (bars 1–8)

Figure 5.2: *Salt. del Formigoto*: *Madonna Tenerina*, first phrase (bars 1–15)

The *saltarello*, however, seems to be based on *Madonna Tenerina*, another tune of the time found in the manuscript Ms.18827 [c. 1540] copied by anonymous scribe for a 6-course lute in Italian and German tablature (now in Austria – Vienna, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek). There is an assumption that the mark of a letter *f* in a circle found in the corner of a folio is the monogram of Octavianus Fugger of the Augsburg patrician family, which occurs in a number of Italian lute prints also in Vienna. The piece appears in two versions: one version in Italian tablature (ff. 9–9v) and one in German tablature (f. 39v). The two versions are almost alike with some minor alterations which could be either copying errors or simply the latter could be an ‘improved’ version of its preceding Italian tablature version.

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4 This information was kindly provided by John H. Robinson who supplied the two copies of both Italian and German tablatures of the song as well. J.H Robinson also transcribed the German tablature into a French tablature, all these for which I am very grateful.
The aforementioned piece will be examined below as a case study in comparison to the *Madonna Tenerina* found in the Austria manuscript in order to confirm its provenance, as well as exploring Barberis’s approach of the piece.

5.1. [Saltarello del Formigoto:] *Madonna Tenerina*

To begin with, a reference is made to the two versions of the Ms. 18227 and their differences (see Examples, pp. 237–238). As mentioned previously, the two pieces have only a few dissimilarities which do not really affect the harmony or the structure of the piece. Both versions have no barlines although; *Madonna Tenerina* on ff. 9–9v has only three in the second section, placed randomly probably to separate phrases. The ff. 9–9v version lacks the semiquaver stems in the first two bars and instead, notes are connected with slurs. The first actual difference lies in bar18 (of both versions) in which the version on ff. 9–9v does not embellish the second chord with the passage note \(d'\) in the alto. In the same bar, the last chord in the ff. 9–9v version is shaped by a \(c'\) in the soprano and \(c''\) in the alto while in the f. 39 version the chord is shaped by \(c''\) in the soprano and \(a'\) in the bass. Both chords are within the harmonic context of the piece and bearing in mind that the last chord is on the weak beat of the bar, it does not change piece dramatically. On the other hand, note \(c'\) in the alto part of the ff. 9–9v version, creates consecutive octaves with the \(c''\) in the soprano and its previous chord (\(d'\) in the alto and \(d''\) in the soprano). As it will be discussed in Chapter 6 the use of parallels was not necessarily a problem though, where possible, it should be avoided. One could assume that in this case it is an error and this is apparent through the repetition of a similar pattern in bars 10 and 12. However, the same pattern appears in bar 20 in the same way as in bar 18, which leaves the question whether note \(c'\) is an error or not. The next alteration is located in bar 19, on the first chord of the bar in which the alto in f. 39 version has a note \(g'\) whereas in the version of ff.9–9v there is a rest. The same occurs in bar 21 but this time with a note \(d'\) in the alto. On the third beat in bar 21, note \(c'\) is missing from the tenor (number 3 on third line) of f. 39 version, which could be a copying error. The final difference is found in the penultimate bar on the third beat in which the soprano line of the ff. 9–9v version has \(f\#'\) whilst the soprano of the version in f. 39 has a note \(g'\) instead. The cadential pattern of ff.9–9v versions was more commonly used and probably the \(g'\) is an error. Barberis’s version of the piece
(see Volume 2, pp. 162–163) can be mentioned at this point to confirm that, indeed, the $f\#'$ dominates in the soprano in the penultimate bar of the piece which in the case of the version in f. 39, the $f\#'$ appears only once, as a passing note.

In the following discussion regarding the three versions of the piece, the two versions from the Ms. 18227, will be examined as one, unless a specific reference to any of their differences is needed. All available versions of *Madonna Tenerina* have the same formal structure and consist of three sections: A B C, and each section is meted equally with 8 bars (section C has 7 bars). It is notable however, that Barberiis allocation of sections is different to the Ms. 18227 versions. Section A remains in the same position, at the beginning of the composition but then section C follows instead, while section B is placed at the end of the piece. In addition, the last section in Barberiis’s version is shorter than the Ms. 18227 versions which in connection to the previous observation may lead to the conclusion that Barberiis did not copy the piece from any score but instead he had the tune in his memory, a hypothesis is confirmed with the analysis of the piece in the next paragraphs.

In bar one of the piece, one can spot the first alteration between Barberiis’s version and the Ms. 18227 versions. The piece in Ms. 18227 versions starts with a G minor chord and progresses to the chord V (D major) on the next bar. Note $f'$ which is the leading note here, is always sharpened in these two bars of the aforementioned versions. In Barberiis’s version the phrase begins with an $f'$ natural which then goes to the chord VII (F major). This chord intermediates between I and V and is not included in the Ms. 18227 versions, which is not a mistake since it is another version of the piece and not necessarily a replica (see figs. 5.3 a) and b). The fact that Barberiis keeps the $f'$ natural in the beginning of the piece and then sharpens it on the third beat of the second bar, after the F major chord, is characteristic of his idiomatic writing: the use of chromatic alterations, sometimes within the same bar. None of the other voices in this bar is kept for long since they clash with the $f\#'$ of the soprano; the double X sing (see Illustration 1) next to note $c'$ in the tenor should only be held for two beats to avoid creating a tritone with the $f\#'$ in the soprano.
Section A is very similar to the Ms. 18227 versions both with regards to the harmony and melody. The bass line is the same (with the aforementioned alteration in the second bar and in bar 11 which will be discussed below) and the soprano follows the same melody with some more ornaments. This piece is no exceptional in Barberiis’s compositional style in terms of embellishment. Characteristic scale passages which serve a connecting role between the main notes are included and mainly in the soprano voice.

In bars 11–12 in Barberiis’s version, the bass line varies in comparison to the Ms. 18227 versions (bar 6) as far as the harmonic and melodic line is concerned. In *Madonna Tenerina* in the Ms. 18227 versions, the bass line creates a stereotype cadential pattern which however, forms consecutive fifths with the tenor. Barberiis in this occasion adjusts the bass and the tenor in the second chord of bar 11 and then in bar 12 changes the harmony of the first chord, avoiding the consecutive fifths (see Figure 5.4a) and Figure 5.4b).
The chord progression V VII bVI ii (dim.) V is replaced by V VII i V from Barberiis which also adjusts well in this passage. It is not clear whether it was Barberiis’s intention to change the chord progression in order to avoid the parallels between the bass and the tenor or if he missed the bass line there. Having in mind that parallels occur systematically in Barberiis’s compositions it could be said that he probably missed the harmony on the specific point of reference. The same bass pattern re-occurs in section B (bars 14–15) of the Ms. 18227 versions but in Barberiis’s version does not appear again in order to verify whether it was his intention to change the harmony. This is due to the fact that section B is placed in the last section in Barberiis and as it will be discussed further below, it is of shorter length having very few common elements with the other versions.

The second section of the piece in Barberiis’s edition is the section C of Ms. 18227, as referred above. These sections follow a similar harmonic and melodic basis, consisting of a main phrase which is repeated twice (Figure 5.5 and Figure 5.6).
The three bars at the beginning (16–18 in Barberiis, 17–18 2\textsuperscript{nd} beat in Ms. 18227) are introductory to the new phrase and they only differ between the three versions on the harmony of bar 17 in which Barberiis intermediates a IV chord between the sustain of chord VII. The passage in soprano in bar 16 (Barberiis), leads to the note $c'$ which is harmonized to shape a C major chord, in the same way of its occurrence in bars 21 and 25, presenting a consistency of the composer. The soprano on the third beat of section C (Ms. 18227 versions) has an embellished $c'$ which is part of a VII chord, while in the repetition of the $c'$ in the soprano (bars 19, 21) the harmony is changed to chord IV (C major). It is very possible that in this instance the writer of the Ms. 18227 versions wrote a false bass line. Another significant element in Barberiis’s version is the raised third in the cadence at the end of the section. Although the final chord in the Ms. 18227 versions is a full G minor chord sustaining the minor sound throughout the piece, Barberiis places a $b$ natural which is prolonged in the next bar as well. Practically, is not the end of the piece in Barberiis’s version but the cadence leading to the end of the section is characteristic of Barberiis’s writing: the Tierce de Picardie at the cadences. As it is demonstrated in Table 3, p. 169, Barberiis favoured the use of major chords in the cadences and the majority of his compositions conclude likewise, with only a few exceptions where he ends in minor or without the third.

The final section in Barberiis’s version is rather a coda than section C. All sections in Ms. 18227 are symmetrical, having 8 bars in sections A and B, and 7 bars in section C. Similarly Section A and B in Barberiis’s version have 15 and 14 bars respectively, whilst section C consists of only 10 bars. Furthermore, its melody and harmony have little resemblance to section B of Ms. 18227, being rather harmonically simple with alternations between chord I and V. Both sections move around the tonic with emphasis on the third degree of the chord which appears in the soprano. Most likely this is a section added by Barberiis and taken the previous statement that he recorded the piece in his memory, it is even more
plausible to mix sections and alter them. The basic melodic line of the two different versions is displayed below in Figure 5.7 and Figure 5.8 along with the bass line, in order to have a closer comparison.

Figure 5.7: Section C, Barberiis

![Figure 5.7: Section C, Barberiis](image1)

Figure 5.8: Section B, Ms. 18227

![Figure 5.8: Section B, Ms. 18227](image2)

Throughout in the piece, it can be noticed that Barberiis adds a fourth voice which in many cases defines the chord. For example, in section C of the Ms. 18227 versions, the chord on the third beat in bars 18 and 20 consists two notes, $b$ and $d''$ which could refer either to B♭ major or G minor chord. The corresponding bars in Barberiis’s version, bars 19 and 24, include note g on the bass and therefore the chord is defined as G minor. It is the feature of the lute that requires full chords being a polyphonic instrument and the addition of more than three notes was very frequent in lute pieces, either these were solo or accompaniments. As seen through Barberiis’s intabulations of vocal pieces, the composer added a fourth voice in many instances and this was not necessarily continued in every bar, which is also another characteristic of lute compositions. It is noticeable even with other lute versions of a same piece like above in which the three-voice chords predominate or *Pas de mi bon compagni*, (p. 56) written initially for three voices, that Barberiis tends to add a fourth voice. This characteristic of his becomes often enlightening especially in cases like the aforementioned where chords are not described by all three degrees which define them.

The piece which bears the title *Saltarello del Formigoto: Madonna Tenerina*, placed after the dance *Il formigoto*, has a duple rhythm as referred earlier. It has been demonstrated on p. 107 that although the two pieces bear the
name Formigoto in their title, they have no common elements and therefore cannot form a suite. In addition to that, the title Saltarello is also irrelevant to the content of the piece regarding its form and metre, and consequently the title is evidently an error. This could be a printing error in which the editor probably failed to notice another piece called Salterello del Formigoto and merged/put the two titles together, leaving the Saltarello out. Since there is no surviving vocal model, and the lyrics are unknown it is difficult to identify its genre (madrigal, motet, chanson etc). As referred above, the piece survives in two versions for lute which are found in the same manuscript dated around 1540. Many sources of Renaissance music are not available today as they have been lost or have never been found even though there are references to names and titles by bibliographers.\footnote{An interesting article dedicated to Josquin’s lost chansons explains various reasons for disappeared sources and this could apply to for other composers as well. See, Bonnie J. Blackburn, ‘Josquin’s Chansons: Ignored and Lost Sources’, Journal of the American Musicological Society, Vol. 29, No.1 (Spring, 1976), pp. 30–76.}

Barberiis’s version was written around the same time as the Ms. 18227 manuscript and it appears through the sections which are mixed or not complete (i.e. Section C), that he did not copy the music from any source but instead, he memorized the piece. His approach is no different to other of his intabulations of vocal music, in terms of passages and lute patterns, voicing and chromatic alterations.

5.2. Passo e mezzo

The first piece in Barberiis’s Libro IX is a passo e mezo which is then followed by another passo e mezo. This form of dance was developed in Italy around the 1530s and spread across Europe with its name appearing in sources until the late seventeenth century. The passamezzo, also known under this name, was mainly categorized into two forms, based on different chord grounds: the passamezzo antico and the passamezzo moderno. The basic distinction between the two types mentioned above, is the mode they are written in, which in the case of passamezzo antico is minor and major for passamezzo moderno. There are a few exceptions where passamezzo antico is written in minor key, like the Pavana chiamata La Milanesa by Pietro Paolo Borrono in Antonio Casteliono, Intabolatura de leuto de
diversi autori (Milan: Casteliono, 1536). Both types of passamezzo are equally divided into two phrases which conclude in chord V on the first phrase and then on I: i–VII–i–V/III–VII–i–V (passamezzo antico) and I–IV–I–V/I–IV–I–V–I (passamezzo moderno). Other chords were often inserted between the main chords but the dominant harmonic progression for each type is the aforementioned. The passamezzo consisted of small themes that were developed in each phrase and any professional musician would improvise on them, presenting different variations. Characteristic is the example of the lutenist Simone Molinaro who included 11 pass’ e mezzo in his Intavolatura di liuto libro primo (Venice: Appresso Riccardo Amadino, 1599) and each one included from three up to ten parts. As noted earlier, each dance was part of a suite which followed the same chordal progression or could stand alone as an autonomous piece. A passamezzo that was written in duple time was usually followed by triple time dances i.e. a galliard or a saltarello, or both.

In the case of Barberiis, passo e mezo or pass’ e mezo (both titles appear in his book) is included as part of suites as well as individual piece. The second passo e mezo in his Libro Nono, is listed as an autonomous piece in Brown’s catalogue but is in fact the first dance of a suite consisting of a galgiarda and a saltarello. The gagliarda follows the same melody and harmony to the passo e mezzo in triple time and the saltarello has common elements to its preceding dances which constitute it as part of the suite. The fact that the first two bars of this passo e mezzo start with chord III of the scale (B♭ major in a G minor mode), refers to the dance romanescas, very similar to the passamezzo antico in terms of chord progression. Yet, this element is not adequate to define the genre of a piece and in the case of the romanescas, which derived from a vocal form, the bass would characteristically descent in fourths, ‘including metric patterns, reference pitches, characteristic melodic and rhythmic gestures and stylistic conventions tied to performance practice’, not met in Barberiis’s composition.

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6 The title Pavana Milanesa was often confused with passamezzo, according to Francisco de Salinas, De Musica libri septem, 1577.  
The *Passo e mezo* in fol. a2, the first piece, is written on a major F mode key, is a single strain piece divided into three phrases of 16 bars each, and then subdivided into two phrases of 8 bars which constitute another characteristic of the *passamezzo*. Each phrase of 16 bars presents a theme of 8 bars which is repeated twice, the second time in a more elaborated way while the bass line follows at most the harmonic progression of the *passamezzo moderno*, with some chords in-between the basic harmony. In Figure 5.9 the first phrase of 16 bars which consists of two phrases of 8 bars each, is distinguished through the bass line (the Roman numeral in brackets indicates the additional chords not belonging to the *passamezzo* harmonic sequence).

Figure 5.9: Barberiis *Libro IX, Passo e mezo* (fol. a2), first phrase

Various styles of *passamezzo* are found in lute sources, in some cases more complicated in melody and harmony and in others more simplified, in comparison to Barberiis’s composition. Barberiis’s contemporary, Marc’ Antonio di Becchi (1522–c. 1566) in his *Libro primo d’ intabolatura da leuto* [...], (Venice: G. Scotto, 1568), composed amongst other compositions (i.e. fantasias, intabulations, ricercars, dances), six *passamezzos* as part of suites. Four of them bear the title *Pass’ e mezzo alla Millanesa*, one *Pass’ e mezzo dalla Saracena* and one *Pass’ e mezzo della bella donna* (styles/titles being part of *passamezzo moderno*). The four *Pass’ e mezzo alla Millanesa* are similar in structure,
consisting of two reprises (represa) of 32 bars and each pass’ e mezzo is presented in three variations with their saltarello. The end of each phrase of eight bars in Becchi is clear by adding double barlines at the end of each section and each reprise is written below as ‘repsosa’. ‘A ripresa is structurally a repeat or return of the final tonic chord of a main scheme, with this chord varied by the same technique of variation used in the scheme, but applied independently, so that the music is melodically and harmonically different from the main piece. Internal riprese (those between repetitions of the main chordal scheme) usually appear in pairs; concluding riprese (at the end of a dance or a pair of dances) consist of longer chains of as many as 20 or 30 phrases’. In the discussed pass’ e mezzo by Barberiis double barlines with repetition signs are added, indicating the end of each section. An example of Becchi’s Pass’ e mezzo is presented below in the first reprise of Pass’ e mezzo alla Millanesa, folio 22 (Figure 5.10).

Figure 5.10: Becchi, Pass’ e mezzo alla Millanesa (f.22), first reprise

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Each reprise consists of 16 bars of two eight-bar phrases and it is apparent that Becchi reserved the basic harmonic progression of the passamezzo moderno [i.e. I–IV–I–V/I–IV–I–(ii)–V–I] adding only the second degree of the scale, in bar 26. The simple harmony in the bass line allows the melodic line to move incessantly and transmit between the other voices in scale passages, and this continues likewise until the end of the first version of the pass’ e mezzo. This style of passamezzo refers to an improvisatory composition in which the lutenist would create variations upon a bass theme. Besides, repetitions in dances were sometimes necessary in choreographies. In particular, I. Horsley mentions that improvisations were very common for any virtuoso performer and ‘although at times only one statement of the passamezzo theme is given, the choreography of the dance – long series of different patterns, each taking the time of one statement of the theme – required a number of repetitions of the eight-measure period. Undoubtedly any skilled professional musician would provide in performance the variations that were written out in the many tablatures aimed at the amateur musician’.

Becchi’s pass’ e mezzo is a simple example of how lutenists improvised on bass lines, playing scale passages to connect the chords, interchanging the melody from one voice to the other. There is a considerable resemblance in Barberiis’s compositional style to the pass’ e mezzo by Becchi, that is, due to the similar scale passages both composers use. Also, the characteristic pattern of a chord on the first beat at the beginning of a bar followed by passages is a feature found in both compositions. Besides, the above are met in a number of lute compositions of the sixteenth century, confirming that Barberiis was following the development of lute music of his time, adjusting stereotype ideas in his music.

Giacomo de Gorzanis (c. 1520–1579), a prolific composer who published eight collections of lute music between 1561–1579, devoted a large amount of dance music in his lute books, contributing significantly to the dance music of the mid sixteenth century. More specifically, Il Terzo libro de Intabolatura di liuto

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contains 11 pieces titled *Pass’ e mezo*, eight of which are paired with other dances like *pavane* or *Saltarello* or both, and three stand as individual pieces. Both forms of *pass’ e mezo* (*moderno and antico*) are included in the book and titles like *pass’ e mezo del Gorzanis, pass’ e mezo del Imperator, pass’ e mezzo della bataglia* describe some of the *passamezzos*. The *Pass’ e mezo moderno primo* (fol. B3v) from *Il Terzo libro* is quoted below as an example of Gorzanis’s compositional style. This *pass’ e mezo* is paired with a *Padoana del ditto* and then followed by a *Saltarello ditto*, forming a suite, consisting of six parts (the *pass’ e mezo*) and three parts (the *Padoana* and the *saltarello*). Every part of the *pass’ e mezzo* consists of a single strain which is formed by two phrases of eight bar each. There are no signs of repetition or demarcation of the phrases, however, they are apparent through the harmonic progression and the repetition of the melodic line. In the example below (Figure 5.11) the first part of the *Pass’ e mezo moderno* is presented with remarks of phrasing and harmony.

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Gorzanis’s pass’ e mezo is based on the formula of passamezzo moderno and maintains the basic chords that characterize the moderno style, although he adds intermediate chords. As mentioned earlier, composers would improvise on the passamezzo grounds and the chord progression could vary while ‘intermediary harmonies, relating as V or IV–V to I, may precede or follow any framework.
chord’.¹² As observed from the above example, the eight-bar phrase is repeated and the first four bars of each phrase are almost identical, which make the division of the two phrases more detectable.

In contrast to the previous dance by Becchi, the pass’ e mezo by Gorzanis has motion in all voices and the bass is more elaborated than both Barberiis’s and Becchi’s compositions. Rhythmically, Gorzani’s composition varies and it is apparent that all voices have rhythmic and melodic patterns which are repeated. For example, the pattern in Figure 5.12 recurs throughout the piece and mainly in bar 15, where it appears in all voices but the alto. This passage, of course, is met in other lute compositions with no exception of Barberiis’s music (see Figure 6.14 iv, p. 158).

![Figure 5.12: Repeated passage – Pass’ e mezo, Gorzanis](image)

Connective scale passages are used in Gorzanis which serve the same purpose as in the aforementioned compositions. Scale passages were part – and still are – of daily lute practice and were added in any kind of composition, especially in improvisatory style pieces, such as fantasies, ricercars and bass grounds. Lute composers embraced alteration between chordal and scale passages which became a frequent technique and challenging for any performer, while the change of texture was achieved at the same time. Rapid passages were not excluded from dances, and particularly in the slower forms in which there was space to include them. Although Gorzanis’s dances have a virtuoso style and this is noticed throughout his compositions which ‘they often use full six-note chords, and combine extended diminutions in the Italian style with mordents of the German type; the player is frequently required to use the instrument’s highest positions’.¹³ In all of the above pass’ e mezo compositions, similar techniques are used and although Barberiis’s chord progression is kept simple, it may considered an

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equivalent pass’ e mezo, in terms of style, structure and form, to his contemporaries.

Finally, Figure 5.13 presents a different pass’ e mezo by Giulio Abondante who flourished in Italy around the same time as Barberiis (1546–1587). Abondante’s compositions covered the lute repertoire that was popular at the time, including fantasias, intabulations of motets, madrigals, napolitane, chansons and dances. The three lute books surviving today out of seven books, dedicate a vast amount of compositions to dance music, comprising 21 galliards, four passamezzos two pavans in Libro Primo and 12 pavans, three passamezzos and one bergamasca in Libro Quinto.\(^\text{14}\) In the Intabolatura di Julio Abondante [...] Libro Primo (Venice: A. Gardane, 1546),\(^\text{15}\) two passamezzo antico and two moderno styles are included, each one presented as an individual dance. The first pass’ e mezo of the book in fol. A1v, is written on the moderno ground with a few intermediary chords. Abondante’s pass’ e mezo is a single strain piece which consists of two sections of 16-bar phrases, subdivided into four eight-bar phrases. In the figure below, the first section is displayed and it is noticed that although bars are equally allocated, the phrasing does not indicate clearly the division of the two sections. The bass in the two phrases is different, with no sign of repetition in the second phrase; bars 5 and 13 are similar in the bass line but are, in fact, different to each other in alto and soprano voices. The soprano of second phrase, actually beginning from bar 11, follows some of the elements of the first phrase and bars 11–15 have the same basic melody but presented in an alternatively elaborated way. All voices are active, with soprano having most of the fast passages, and mainly scale passages. Stereotypical lute figures are used in this piece with a combination of chordal and melodic passages.


\(^\text{15}\) For facsimile see Julio Abondante, Intabolatura di Lauto: Libro Primo, Secondo et Quinto, Facs. (Genève: Minkoff, 1982).
Introducing a sample of four passamezzos from the mid sixteenth-century Italy by various lute composers, including Barberiis, the style of the dance is demonstrated and it is ascertained that Barberiis produced a standard passamezzo. Barberiis’s passamezzos consist of both single strain forms as well as repeated sections. Following the passamezzo structure and maintaining some key patterns on the lute, his composition represents the established passamezzo form. Even though the passamezzos above may vary in style, the basic idea and structure is the same, in cases more complicated and in others, simpler as far as the harmony, rhythm and embellishment is concerned. Barberiis’s composition lies between the plain style of Becchi and the more complex of Abondante.
5.3. Pavana

Barberis titles four pieces in his book of dances as ‘Pavana’ and all of them form a suite with a saltarello: La Pavana del Duca 4a (fol. a4v), Pavana 14a (fol. c3v), Pavana 15a (fol. d1) and Pavana gagliarda 18a (fol. d3v). The pavan, a dance that flourished in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, was written in duple metre, similarly to the passamezzo but slower in tempo. Like the passamezzo, the formal structure of the pavan could vary from a single strain to multiple strains which comprised phrases of eight bars, compound by four-bar phrases. No certain harmonic ground had to be followed in the pavan but simple progressions around the basic chords I–IV–V. Usually, no complicated harmonic patterns were used in dances in order to make music easy to hear and help the dancers with simple harmonic sequence. Besides, the tempo and rhythmic shape of each dance would contribute in describing its type. The metrical scheme in the case of the pavan was corresponded to a long step and two short steps, represented by \( \cdot \cdot \cdot \).

Joan Ambrosiao Dalza (fl 1508) in his Intabolatura de leuto libro quarto (Venice: Petrucci, 1508) included two types of pavan which constitute the earliest known examples of the dance. Five pieces are titled Pavana alla venetiana and four Pavana alla ferrarese, probably named after their place of origin (Venice and Ferrara). ‘These forms – the single-strain and the multiple-strain variation forms – are found, respectively, in the pavane alla venetiana and the pavane alla ferrarese; with each of them is associated a specific variation principle – the harmonic with the former, the melodico-harmonic with the latter. These two pavane types also show definite and contrasting styles, which hint at different origins and which may perhaps account for their particular technical and formal characteristics’.16 Both types in Dalza’s book appeared in a group of three dances forming suites: the first six consist of pavana–saltarello–piva and the later two of pavana–saltarello–spingardo (a dance in triple metre, similar to piva). These two types of pavan became the foundation for the majority of the dances in the Cinquecento. Although some later composers such as Francesco Bianchini (fl 1547) and Vincenzo Capirola (c. 1474–1548) wrote pavans as individual pieces, pavans were usually part of suites. Other Italian lute composers who wrote pavans

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include Pietro Paolo Borrono, Domenico Bianchini, Antonio Rotta, Bernardino Balletti, Giacomo de Gorzanis, Antonio di Becchi, Giovanni Antonio Terzi, Giulio Cesare Barbetta and a few more.

Barberiis, as mentioned earlier, wrote four pieces under the name pavana, but it seems that the last pavan, Pavana gagliarda 18a (see Vol. 2, pp. 148–149) has a different style than the usual duple metre pavan. It is written in triple metre and although there are some other cases of composers who wrote pavans in triple, like Gorzanis or Luys de Milán (for vihuela), the rhythm of the certain piece by Barberiis, rather refers to piva: \( \begin{array}{c|c|c} \end{array} \). The main harmonic progression of the Pavana gagliarda, however, is based on the passamezzo moderno ground I–IV–I–V/I–IV–I–V–I. The same name (Padouana gaiarda) appears in A. Rotta’s Intabolatura de lauto […] Libro Primo (Venetiis: Scotto, 1546)\(^1\) with the same rhythmical scheme as Barberiis’s Pavana gagliarda but different in all other aspects. Barberiis’s Pavana gagliarda is written in F major mode while Rotta’s Padouana gaiarda is written in C minor mode. They both have chordal texture with a few diminutions towards the end, and they consist of 16-bar phrases which they are subdivided by two eight-bar phrases. Rotta in fact, repeats the eight-bar phrase with some variation to create the longer 16-bar phrase and then repeats the new eight-bar phrase with diminution. In the case of Barberiis, the first 16-bar phrase is repeated which consists of two different eight-bar phrases and so the form A (16)\(^1\) A’ (16) B (16 – coda) while in Rotta the form is A (8) A’ (8) B (8) B’ (8) (see Figure 5.15). In addition, the harmonic progression of the two dances varies with Barberiis using the bass ground of passamezzo moderno and Rotta composing closer to the passamezzo antico: i–VII–i–V/III–VII–iV–I, although there are a few chords that do not follow the ground, i.e. the opening chord III. In the examples below, Barberiis’s and Rotta’s each first phrase of 16 bars is presented.

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\(^1\) Facsimile edition: Antonio Rotta, Intabolatura de Lauto, Libro Primo, Facs. (Genève: Minkoff, 1982).
\(^2\) Parenthesis represents the number of bars
The remaining Barberis’s pavans have the duple metre that dominated this dance. *La Pavana del Duca* (fol. a4v) consists of three sections, each with a repetition: the first and last sections have eight bars and the second section has four bars, which does not present a balanced structure but due to the fact that it is repeated, it could be interpreted in four repetitions, instead of two. Moreover, the harmonic structure of the piece is based on simple progressions such as i–V–i–VII–i–(iv)–V–i (not always in this order) and combines both chordal and melodic texture, with more emphasis on harmonic rhythm. *Pavana 14a* on the other hand, has a well-balanced structure and it seems that it is carefully composed, with repetitive phrases and rhythmic shapes. More specifically, *Pavana 14a* consists
of three strains of 16 bars each, subdivided to two eight-bar phrases, which is in fact a repeated phrase with different cadence in the repetition. Therefore, the form of this pavan is A (8) A’ (8) : | : B (8) B (8)’ : | : C (8) C (8)’ : |. The first three bars of section B in particular, presents an interesting rhythmical theme in the soprano with the bass being ornamented (see Figure 5.16).

Figure 5.16: Pavana 14a (fol. c3v) – rhythmic pattern, Section B

Barberiis introduces the third section of the Pavana with motion in thirds in the upper voices, the soprano and alto, and continues to the end of the piece in the same way with only a connective scale passage in bar 38. As mentioned previously (Chapter 4, p. 86), moving in parallel thirds was a common practice for the lute and it is met in a vast amount of pieces in the Renaissance. This technique gives a new interesting element to the piece, changing the texture to harmonic and melodic at the same time. At the beginning of each bar, Barberiis adds a full chord which gives a clearer sense of rhythm, an indispensable factor for any dance.

Figure 5.17: Pavana 14a (fol. c3v) – thirds, Section C
It is notable that *Pavana 15a*, which follows the suite of *Pavana 14a*, has a few similarities with the latter: it begins in a similar way but in a minor mode. *Pavana 14a* is written in F minor mode and *Pavana 15a* in F major mode and the first two bars resemble and in the end of the first eight-bar phrase it cadences on chord V, but their development defers (see Figure 5.18 and Figure 5.19).

*Pavana 14a* consists of two sections each containing a phrase of eight bars and two smaller of four bars. In the first section, the four-bar phrase is repeated with a variation in the second time, while the second section consists of two different four-bar phrases which build the eight-bar phrase. A remarkable moment is met in the second section (Figure 5.20), where a repetitive motif appears consecutively in all four voices and this is also included in the afterdance, the *Saltarello 15b*.

Once more, it is apparent that Barberiis was experimenting and trying out different techniques to change the texture in his compositions, which seem to work effectively in both instances.
Pavana, like all other dance genres, may differ in each composer according to their compositional style or their decision for the certain piece. For example three diverse versions of *pavan* are found in Capirola’s Lutebook which was compiled around 1517–1520 (*US-Cn* VM C.25). The first *Padoana alla francese* (fol. 17v) is written in E♭ major more, an unusual key for the lute as it involves many chord shapes in barré, as well as high positions on the lute. The *pavan* consists of 96 bars and applies barré routinely, a relatively long piece for the use of the certain technique. It therefore requires a high level of technical skills and this applies for the next *Padoana* (fol. 27v) which although is written in F major mode, a common key for the lute. Although it starts with simple chord shapes, after the middle of the piece, it becomes more difficult. An extra line is added on the third line which corresponds to the third string, requiring from the lutenist to play two different notes on the same course (double string) for 12 bars (see Figure 5.21). After this passage, the melody goes high to the tenth fret and the last few bars of the piece have high position chords requiring barré. *Padoana alla francese* (fol. 47) requires a less demanding technical skill level with no high positions, despite the fact that the division of the third course is also applied here (only for four bars). Capirola’s *pavans* are based on the melodico-harmonic principle, with *Padoana alla francese* (fol. 17v) emphasizing on the harmonic variations.

Figure 5.21: *Padoana* (fol. 27v), The Capirola Lutebook – chord division, fol. 28v

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20 A technique on plucked instruments which requires usually the index to stop all or a number of strings with flat finger and the rest of fingers play with the tip to complete a chord.
A contrasting style of pavan is met in Becchi’s *Intabulatura da leuto, Libro primo* (Venice: G. Scotto, 1568). *Pavana* in fol. 46 is focused on melodic variations with the descant melody improvising on the theme. The piece consists of four 16-bar phrases, each containing a repeated eight-bar phrase with variations. The first theme is given in a harmonic version with the soprano presenting the basic melody and concluding on chord V, and on its repetition the soprano is embellished and finally cadences on the tonic. After the first 16-bar phrase, the melodic texture dominates in the pavan. In the example below, the first 16-bar phrase is displayed (Figure 5.22).

**Figure 5.22: Pavana (fol. 46), Libro Primo, Becchi – first phrase**

From the pavans presented above, it is noticed that similar to every other dance type, they may vary in style. The most common type of pavan consists of eight-bar phrases which are usually repeated with embellishment on the melodic line. In addition, the melodico-harmonic variation is applied in most of the pavans composed in Italy, although there are examples of composers who followed one style. Pavans that involve high technical skills are encountered in Italian sources of the *Cinquecento* requiring virtuoso players, as well as less demanding piece written for the non-professionals, but even then, professionals could improvise with more variations. Barberis’s presents four pavans which have similar structure based on eight-bar phrases. Melodic and chordal passages are included in all four while in *Pavana gagliarda 18a* the rhythmic element dominates until the coda. The *Seconda Parte 18b* of the pavan is an embellished version of the pavan with an intense activity in the soprano and non-frequent chordal shapes.
This style of presenting the theme in harmonic variation and then an elaborate version of it with melodic passages in a second, third or even more parts, it was common among dances. Composers like Gorzanis and Borrono wrote pavans in a similar structure. Furthermore, Barberiis’s pavans were probably intended for amateur musicians as they do not have any technical skills that require a high level of performance. However, Barberiis applied rhythmical variations (i.e. *Pavana 14a* and *Pavana 15a*) to change the texture of the pieces and differentiate them from his other compositions.

### 5.4. Saltarello

A dance that was favoured by many composers was the *saltarello*, a triple meter dance which was usually accompanied by another dance, as part of a suite. *Saltarello*, translated as ‘little hop’ in Italian, was a fast dance which first appeared in manuscript from Tuscan, dated around the late fourteenth century.\(^{21}\)

The *saltarello* in the specific manuscript was part of dancing suites with a *trotto*, a medieval dance similar to *saltarello* but in duple time, or an *estampie*, another medieval dance which is found in French sources in a simple triple metre and in Italian, in a duple metre.\(^{22}\) Through the centuries, the *saltarello* was accompanying different dances, such as the *bassadanza* (or *basse dance*) which was written mainly in duple metre but also appeared in triple metre in the fifteenth century. During the sixteenth century, *saltarello* was an afterdance of dances like *pavan* and *passamezzo*, while in the early sixteenth-century lute source by Joan Ambrosio Dalza, it appears in-between the *pavana* and *piva*. Due to the fact that the *saltarello* was mostly an afterdance, its structure and harmonic progression was based on its predance. ‘An important characteristic of the 16th-century saltarello was an ambiguity of metre such that a piece often seems in transcription to alternate between 6/8 and 3/4’.\(^{23}\)

\(^{21}\) *GB-Lbl* (British Library) Add.29987.
Pietro Paolo Borrono, Giacomo Gorzanis, Antonio Terzi, Simone Molinaro, Giulio Cesare Barbetta, Marcantonio del Pifaro, Maria da Crema and Antonio di Becchi to name a few of the sixteenth-century Italian composers who included saltarellos in their lutebooks. All of the aforementioned composers added saltarellos as afterdances as well as individual pieces, with the exception of Barbetta who included a separate section of eight saltarellos at the end of his last book Intavolatura di liuto [...] (Venice: A. Gardano, 1585). It is noteworthy of attention that the style of the early sixteenth-century saltarello is variant its later form at the end of the century. For example, the saltarellos in the lute collection of the publisher Casteliono, Intabolatura de leuto de diversi autori (Milan: Casteliono, 1536), although not very easy technically, they are less demanding than the saltarellos in Molinaro’s lutebook, published in 1599. In both sources there is a use the high tessitura of the lute, though Molinaro writes chords and processes the melodic lines on the high positions (up to twelfth fret), while in Casteliono’s book, the high notes are ‘reached’ in a couple of bars (up to ninth fret). In the examples below (Figure 5.23 and Figure 5.24) two characteristic pieces of the aforesaid cases are presented: in the first case, taken from the third page of the Saltarello (fol. 20v) from Casteliono’s lutebook, the melody goes to X (tenth fret) once on the top string and the other on the second string (notes f” and e” respectively). In the second case, Saltarello no. 2 (fol. 2) from Molinaro’s lutebook, the melodic line reaches the twelfth fret on the third string (note a’), and throughout the piece high positions are applied both in melodic lines and chordal shapes.

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Figure 5.23: Saltarello (fol. 20v), Casteliono Lutebook (1536) – high tessitura

Figure 5.24: Saltarello 2 (fol.2), Molinaro, Libro Primo (1599) – high tessitura
It is expected that forms of dances and, of course, other genres, would differ in a few aspects over time and in many cases, other dances would substitute them, like the replacement of the *saltarello* by the *galliard* in the seventeenth century.

Barberiis included 13 *saltarellos* in *Libro Nono*, five of which are individual pieces and not part of suites. As discussed above, *saltarellos* varied in formal and harmonic structure due to the fact that they mainly followed another dance, usually either a *passamezzo* or a *pavan*. Barberiis’s suite *saltarellos* are afterdance of four *passamezzos* and four *pavans*, each following the basic structure of its predance. The form varies accordingly and so *saltarellos* of a single strain, two, three and four strains with repetitions are included. In a couple of cases, the *saltarello* does not follow exactly the same length of its predance, i.e. *Saltarello no. 5b*, is half the length of the *pass’ e mezo* (see Vol. 2, Appendix I, pp. 110–114), presenting only the first phrase (bar 32 in 5a *Pass’ e mezo*), or *Saltarello 18c* in which section A is shorter than section A of its *pavan* (see Vol. 2, Appendix I, pp. 148–154). Similar cases are met in other sources of dance music describing the tendency of improvising on each dance and not following precisely the form or harmony of the predance. The basic structure and harmonic progression is kept as a guideline to for each composition of a suite but composers were free to improvise on them and omit or even add, for example, repetitions.

Maria da Crema who flourished in mid sixteenth-century Italy, treated likewise two of the three suite *saltarellos* from *Intabolatura de lauto [...]* (Venice: A. Gardane, 1546). The last section of his book includes *saltarellos* as individual pieces and then three *pass’ e mezi* with their *saltarellos*. The second and last *pass’ e mezi* are longer than the *saltarellos* accompanying each one of them. The *Pass’ e mezo de la sasinata* (fol. K3v) consists of 25 bars while the *Saltarello de la sasinata* (fol. K4) has 16 bars and especially, towards the end of the *pass’ e mezo* it is noticed that there are additional bars of repeated harmony that are not included in the *saltarello*. Although the *saltarello* is in triple metre and the barring of the piece is not the same as in the *pass’ e mezo* which is in duple metre, the basic melody and harmony up to bar 11, coincides with the numbering of bars in both dances. On the contrary, some of the *saltarellos* by Borrono in Casteliono’s *Intabolatura de leuto de diversi autori* (1536) tend to be longer than the *pavans*.

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they are paired with. This is justified by the addition of a concluding riprese at the end of the dance, a common practise of sixteenth-century dance music. For instance, Pavana ditta la Malcontenta (fol. 14) consists of 48 bars while the Saltarello nel fine del ballo [de la ditta] (fol. 14v) consists of 71 bars, 24 of which constitute Le Riprese.

Barberis’s suite saltarellos as referred above, follow at most their predance in both structure and harmony. Saltarello 2c has 3 strains like the Passo e mezo 2a but slightly shorter in length and the harmonic sequence differs in a number of cases. Each strain starts with the same chord degree and while the piece progresses some chords are replaced or not included at all. An obvious difference is spotted at the end of the first strain of the Saltarello 2c where the phrase ends on chord V instead of the dominant in which the Pass’ e mezo 2a and the Gagliarda 2b conclude. On the contrary, Saltarello 4b has three strains and includes exactly the same bars as its Pavana (La Pavana del Duca) and follows almost the same harmonic progression. In the first strain of La Pavana, the cadence is prolonged in the last three bars and there is alteration between the tonic and the dominant while in the Saltarello the subdominant is inserted. The same occurs in the last strain of the piece and it is notable that chord VI in bar 17 of La Pavana is natural while in the Saltarello (bar 18), the e is flattened. The chord that precedes VI in both cases is the dominant, which is also the chord after the VI. In addition, the chord shape of the dominant in the certain passage is the same, though a note c is added as a passing note in the bass line. The reason why Barberis chose change the chord in the Saltarello is unclear and will be discussed further in the following chapter.

Moreover, Saltarello 5b is one section throughout and it is half the length of its Pass’ e mezo. Saltarello follows the Pass’ e mezo at about up to bar 30 (bar 20 of Saltarello) and then the melodic and harmonic sequence is shrunk to the basic i–iv–V–i. Saltarello 6b also is one section and shorter than the Pass’ e mezo which however consists of two strains. Instead of a repeat barline, Barberis writes a repetition of the first eight bars, four of which are identical to the first four bars of the piece and the rest four are a variation to the other four bars of the eight-bar section. Saltarello 14b is matching to the Pavana 14a in terms of formal structure. Chord progression is based on the same principle although varies towards the end of each strain without, however, any important changes. Saltarello 15b also has
the same formal structure of the *Pavana 15a*, consisting of two eight-bar strains with repetitions. The harmonic structure follows at most, the same sequence and it is only different in two points on section A: a chord III is placed in the *Saltarello* in the second bar, instead of chord I (first inversion) in the *Pavana*, and in the third bar, the tonic of the *Pavana* (bar 3) is substituted by a VI chord, with the $d$ on the bass line flattened. The same chord with the $\overline{d}$ is repeated in the penultimate bar of the *Saltarello* whilst in the *Pavana* the $d$ is natural, reminding the case the *Pavana del Duca* and its *Saltarello 4b*, which is discussed in the previous paragraph. *Saltarello 16b* and *Pass’ e mezo 16b* contain four strains of 16 bars each with the last strain having 15 bars on the *Pass’ e mezo* and *Saltarello 14* and they mostly have a common harmonic progression with a few alterations of non important significance in the *Saltarello*. Finally, *Saltarello 18c* has fewer bars in section A of *Pavana 20a* and the *Seconda Parte* (20b) and this is due to the fact that in the *Pavana*, the first phrase of 16 bars is repeated, with a variation towards the last eight bars of the phrase.

With regard to Barberiis’s individual *saltarellos*, it is worth mentioning that all five of them are very brief, without exceeding the number of 24 bars. An example is the *Saltarello gagliardo 13* which consists of three strains of four bar each. One explanation for the addition of these *saltarellos* is that they are placed between dance suites and probably Barberiis preferred to attach pieces of shorter length in order for the performer to rest, and this also reflects on the technical part which uses simple chord shapes, avoiding high positions and stretching of the left hand. The formal structure of each *saltarello* varies but it is always based on four-bar phrases, a characteristic of the sixteenth-century *saltarello*, and some of them comprise longer phrases of eight bars. *Saltarello 3* consists of three strains of eight bars each, based on four-bar repeated phrases; the same is valid for *Saltarello 7*, though the last strain consists of only four bars instead of eight; in *Saltarello 17* two strains are repeated, the first having four bars and the second 12, and finally *Saltarello La vilanelle 21* is presented as a one-section piece throughout and the repetition sign is added only at the end of the piece. It also consists of four-bar phrases and despite the fact that the number of bars in total is 23 possibly because of a bar missing, it is well-structured. The harmonic patterns used for these *saltarellos* in some cases are very simple, i.e. *Saltarello 17* which is based on the chord progression I–IV–V–I for each phrase and there is only an
addition of chord ii in the third and last phrase. Saltarello 3 on the other hand, moves around chords I–V–i–VII–i–V–VII–i–VII–I–V (with addition of chord III and IV in section B and C), reminding the folia formula i–V–i–VII–i–V–I–VII–i–V–I. The beginning of the Saltarello La vilanella 21, gives emphasis on chord ii and the piece although is written in a major F mode, it gives the sense that it is written in G minor. The cadence of the first eight-bar phrase concludes to chord II (Figure 5.25) and it seems that Barberis adapts the third interval according to role of the chord, i.e. when it is cadential, he raises the third, using the Tierce de Picardie to create the sense of the cadence (bars 8 and 15).

Figure 5.25: Saltarello La Vilanella 21, Libro IX – Barberis

An emphasis on the ii chord such as this is not met frequently in saltarellos, mostly due to the fact that the majority of the dance follows the harmonic structure of their duple-metre predance, either this is a passamezzo or a pavan, However, composers made use of the second degree of the scale in saltarellos as passing chords or when moving around chord V. In the example below (Figure 5.26), the first nine bars of Maria da Crema’s Saltarello la bertoncina (fol. I3v)27 are presented, in which chord II is met a few times but only before chord V and hence the natural third interval.

Barberis’s individual saltarellos vary in style, having occasions of pieces with chordal passages which give the piece a more rhythmic pulse, while in different cases the melodic line in the soprano has continuous movement with scale and typical lute passages. Alteration between chordal and horizontal passages is also met in these saltarellos, demonstrating Barberis’s skill of combining contrasting techniques in his compositions. To be more specific, Saltarello gagliardo 13, is focused on chordal passages and rhythmic patterns (Figure 5.27) which set the hopping style of the dance (see Volume 2, Appendix I, p.134).

Figure 5.27: Rhythmic pattern, Saltarello gagliardo 13 – Barberis

On the contrary, Saltarello La vilanella 21 is characterised by fluency deriving from the continuous connective passages in the soprano, yet without losing the sense of rhythm. This is achieved by adding chords on every first beat of the bar, as well as the rhythmic pattern presented above in Figure 5.27. Soprano’s
passages start from the first bar of the piece but become more intensive after bar 10 and continue to end, with the addition of the aforementioned rhythmic pattern (see Figure 5.28). It is noteworthy that the repetition of the same note, in this case note $a'$, is embellished (bars 10–13) each time in a different way.

**Figure 5.28: Saltarello La vilanella 21, Barberis – bars 10–23**

Saltarello 3 is an example of a balanced combination of both chordal and melodic passages. The piece starts rhythmically in the first strain whilst in the second strain the soprano is embellished with passages, almost throughout. In the last and final strain, the contrapuntal texture is re-appeared with no melodic passages at all (see Volume 2, Appendix I, p. 107).

The predominant style of saltarellos found in lute sources during the mid-sixteenth-century is based on both rhythmic and melodic passages, although composers had the tendency to improvise on dances adding embellishment mainly in the soprano, taking advantage of the ability of the instrument to provide both rhythm and melody. Certainly, there are examples of pieces that use routinely
chordal or melodic passages, like the *Saltarello gagliardo* 13 and *Saltarello La vilanella* 21 by Barberiis. Borrono for instance, improvises on the melodic line of his *saltarellos* and in which he introduces a few chords to give the tempo and he unfolds the melody by adding ornaments and scale passages. More specifically, *Saltarello secondo ditto la Laurina* in fol. B3v of *Libro secondo*, is mainly written upon melodic passages with only a few bars of chordal passages. It is even more intense in the *riprese*, and this is observed in all of his *saltarellos*. A more rhythmic example in Borrono’s music is the first part of *Saltarello secondo* fol. A4 of the same book which is constructed on chordal passages.

It is therefore observed that individual *saltarellos* would vary in style not only among composers but also within the same source of a single composer. However, alteration between harmonic and melodic texture was preferred in the *saltarellos* of the *Cinquecento*. Improvising on dances was a skilful practice for any lute player, and especially in fast rhythms such as the triple metre of the *saltarello*. Moreover, the formal structure of single *saltarellos* varied; pieces of single strain are met as well as pieces with *riprese*, more parts, or written in *altro modo* (= another way), while phrasing was usually based on four-bar phrases. As regards the *saltarellos* in dance suites, they follow at most their predance in both structure and harmony although there are a few cases in which the harmony is not precisely the same. There was no strict rule for the *saltarellos* as mentioned previously, to keep the harmony of the predance unchanged and composers intervened new chords, although the basic harmonic progression was followed. As seen from the examples of Maria da Crema and Pietro Paolo Borrono, the formal structure and length of the *saltarellos* was in some cases different to the predance that is either shorter or longer (respectively). In addition, composers were free to omit or add a repetition of a section, or even reduce phrases (for example, repeated chords). Barberiis’s *saltarellos* were written within this framework of the dance and characteristics such as melodico-harmonic texture and hopping rhythm, are met in his compositions, while at the same time they have thematic development which is based on four-bar phrases. The fact that we find contrasting styles in his *Libro IX*, suggests that he was composer who tried different styles and experimented with texture, harmonic progressions and rhythmic diversity.

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5.5. Miscellaneous dances

Lawrence H. Moe presents a list of dances bearing the same name and which are found in other sources, but were not necessarily based on the same melody or theme. More specifically, the piece called Vesentino, which is in fact a bergamasca, is only found in Barberiis under this name. The name Vesentino could originate from the town Vicentino in the Province of Vicenza or could be the name of a person (which is rather unlikely). Bergamasca was a term that characterised music based on the I–IV–V–I sequence and that was used in the late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries. Barberiis’s bergamasca is one of the earliest examples of this form identified. The earliest known form of bergamasca was included in Giovanni Antonio Casteliono’s edition, composed by the lutenist Pietro Paolo Borrono in 1536, and was named Saltarello chiamato el Mazolo. The term bergamasca appeared a few decades later, in sources like Giacomo de Gorzani’s Il Terzo Libro, with the title Saltarello dito il bergamasco (although it does not follow the harmony I–IV–V–I).

La Bertonzina or La Bertoncina, on the other hand, was a popular dance mainly in the fifteenth century and it appears in a few other sources such as the Munich Mus. Ms. 1511b or Giovanni Maria da Crema’s Intabolatura de lauto Libro I (1546) in which it is called Saltarello dito la bertoncina. The lyrics of the popular poem Me mari non vole che bala of the fifteenth century, refer to the bertonzina as a dance (Scio balar ‘La Stradiota’/ Bertonzina passa Po / Trota trota margarota) but according to Lawrence H. Moe, the music of this particular poem does not survive in order to confirm its resemblance. In addition, Moe confirms that the first five bars of La bertonzina by Barberiis are similar to a villota called ‘A la cassa’, found in the lute manuscript Paris Ms Res. Vm7 676, 1502. Although in different key, the two compositions are written in triple metre and are based on the same melody for both bass and soprano voices.

La Traditora is another popular tune which appears in various sources of the fifteenth century and also appears in Barberiis’s Libro IX under the name Il

30 G. A. Casteliono, Intabolatura de leuto, Facs. (c. 1979).
33 L. H. Moe, Dance Music, p. 143.
traditore. Pierre Phalèse included a composition named *La Traditora* in his editions of 1545 and 1549 for lute, and Julio Abodante also included *El Traditor gagliarda* in the edition *Intabolatura di Julio Abodante sopra el lauto* (1546). Phalèse also presented another version of the same piece in a 1571 edition in mensural notation, with the name *Gaillarde Traditore*, which also appeared in another edition by him, in 1583. The German lutenist Matthäus Waissel arranged the aforementioned piece for his editions of 1573 and 1589, with the title *La Traditora. Gagliarda*. In a 1589 edition by the French priest Thoinot Arbeau, the piece is titled *Air de la gaillarde apellee, La traditore my fa morire*. In most cases *La Traditora (my fa morire)* has the form of a gagliarda, the same as Barberiis’s composition of the piece. However, Barberiis’s *Il traditore* seems to be a different piece from the popular *La Traditora*, based on a different harmony and melody.

*La cara cosa* was a famous tune/dance based on a certain structure following a basic ground (usually using the chord sequence I–IV–III–VI–III–IV–I). It is found in sources of lute music by composers such as Dominco Bianchini (1546) and Hans Gerle (1552), and for cittern by Frederic Viaera (1564) and Sebastian Vreedman (1569). The publisher Phalèse included four versions of the same piece, two for lute in 1546 and 1552, and two for cittern in 1570 and 1582. Different designations of the piece appear in the aforementioned editions, e.g. *La cara cossa* in Bianchini, *Lacara Cossa* in Gerle, *La Caracossa* in Viaera, *Caracossa* in Vreedman and Phalèse (1546, 1582), *Caracosa* in Phalèse (1552), in both 1546 and 1552 for two lutes, and *Gagliarde Caracossa* in Phalèse (1570).

It is also remarkable that in this book Barberiis composed a *piva*, which is one of the few compositions of this dance. As mentioned previously (p. 3 of Introduction), *piva* was a fast Italian dance and it first appeared in a lute source by Joan Ambrosio Dalza, published in 1508 by Ottaviano Petrucci. Dalza included eight *pivas*, seven of them being parts of suites (*pavana, saltarello, piva*) and one for two lutes. Barberiis composed only one *piva* which did not belong to any suite of dances. Along with Dalza and Barberiis, Vincenzo Ruffo composed a piece under the name *La Piva*, in a source of instrumental music dated 1564.

Barberiis in his *Libro IX* included a variety of dances some of which, as seen above, are found in only a few sources. The majority of these dances were written upon a structure that was set as a basis for each dance and it is observed that Barberiis presents simplified versions which are intended for lutenists of
intermediate level. Chordal progressions of I–IV–V–I dominate here and the possibility of unusual chord progressions or clashing notes are eliminated. However, an increased number of consecutive fifths and eights appears in the dances and this, as it will be demonstrated further below, it derives through certain chord progressions. Parallels, as mentioned in previously, occur systematically in lute compositions and sometimes cannot be avoided due to certain chord shapes that are applied. It is more frequent in dances, when a certain bass ground had to be followed and especially when successive chords appeared in the bass. In the case of dances by other composers illustrated earlier in this chapter, one can observe parallels in all compositions. For example, in Becchi’s *Pass’ e mezo alla Millanesa* in Figure 5.10 consecutive fifths are created in between the bass and the alto, when the chord progression I–ii appears. Similarly, in bars 2–3 of Gorzanis’s *Pass’ e mezo moderno primo* (Figure 5.11), consecutive fifths are created between the bass and the tenor. In bars 3–4 of Abondante’s *Pass’ e mezo* (Figure 5.13) there are consecutive fifths and octaves between the bass and tenor, and bass and alto. Consecutive fifths reappear in the same piece in bar 7 in the bass and tenor, as well as in bar 15 (consecutive octaves). In the first instance of Abondante, the parallels appear within the chord shape IV–vi–VII, in the second they occur in chords VII–vi–V and finally, in I–ii–I. Evidently, parallels were created in successive chords and due to certain position of chords on the lute, some parallels are unavoidable. Furthermore, bars 10–11 in Rotta’s *Padouana gaiarda* have consecutive fifths in the bass and tenor (Figure 5.15), bar 8 consecutive octaves in the bass and tenor in Becchi’s *Pavana* (Figure 5.22) and lastly, bars 8–9 have consecutive octaves between the bass and tenor in *Saltarello la bertonicina* by da Crema. In Barberiis’s *Libro IX*, consecutive fifths and octaves appear in the majority of his dances and particularly when chord progressions are successive, such as I–VII–I, VII–VI–V or IV–V–I. In most cases of parallels, Barberiis harmonizes the chords in root positions, which many times lead to their formation. A striking example of successive notes leading to parallels is found in *Pass’ e mezo 5a* in bars 57–58, where the bass line has an ascending scale which Barberiis harmonizes in root position each note, creating parallel fifths between the bass and the tenor and octaves between the bass and the alto (see Figure 5.29).
The chords in the phrase above comprise the typical chord shapes used on the lute in their root position.

While parallels are encountered regularly in Barberiis’s dances, chromatic alterations are not as frequent in this genre. It has been seen in other genres, for example in the *fantasias*, that there are cases of altering a note within the same bar creating clash, or chord progressions not very successful. In bar 16 of No. 11, *Fantasia in Libro V*, the $f\#$ in the soprano which has the double X sign thus the note has to be held for longer, clashes with the $f$ natural in the bass (see Figure 5.32). A similar case is found in No. 1b, *Fantasia, Libro X* in bar 20 with the $b$ natural in the tenor and the $b\flat$ in the soprano. In addition, in *Fantasia 7 in Libro X*, there is another passage which is not found in any of his dances and it is characteristic of the frequency of chromatic alteration by Barberiis. The piece is written in G minor mode and in bars 6–7, where the phrase cadences, G becomes major but when elaborated, note $b$ in the tenor is flattened and then returns back to G major to conclude (see Figure 5.31).
Another example of chromatic alteration which causes dissonance such as the one in bars 46–49 of No. 12, Fantasia in Libro V is met in the free compositions but is nonexistent in the dances of Barberiis (see Figure 5.32).

The b♯ and a♭ of bar 47 of the alto become natural in bar 48 which however create a minor seventh interval between the bass and the alto. Here, as explained in Chapter 4 of Fantasias, the certain passage is typical and comes naturally on the lute preparing the cadence in bar 49. This gives information on Barberiis’s compositional procedure in the fantasias which came upon improvising on the lute in horizontal line rather than harmonic. Contrariwise, in the dances it is observed that Barberiis worked mostly with harmonic principles and although there are regular melodic passages, chromatic alterations are placed carefully.
It is then concluded that the dances provide a well-structured volume of Barberiis’s output, with not as many errors found in other genres and with less awkward chord progressions. This derives from the different treatment of the dances given by Barberiis. In particular, dances were written in certain ‘moulds’, like the passamezzo which had two basic ostinato grounds: the antico and the moderno. On these grounds, the chord progression was given and each composer improvised on the certain ground, within guidelines and therefore the chances of errors or non-fitting notes was eliminated. On the other hand, the above had its negative effect with parallels being created, an ordinary phenomenon not only in Barberiis’s compositions. Furthermore, it is noticed that Barberiis worked in vertical compositional procedure having ground bass lines or creating his own with the basic chord progression I–IV–V, and at the same time he created miniature themes in his dances, occasionally presented in more embellished variations. This comes to a contrast with his other compositions in which he probably worked in a horizontal way, giving more emphasis on the melodic structure i.e. fantasias. The style of his writing in terms of embellishment is similar to the other compositions and it is noticed that his dances are less demanding in technique. Although Barberiis tried new passages and rhythmic patterns (see Pavana 14a in Figure 5.16 and Pavana 15a in Figure 5.20), the technical level of the dances can apply to the intermediate or advanced lutenist. Fast passages are included in these dances with the soprano having busy parts although not anything unfamiliar to the lute. High left-hand positions appear only a few times (e.g. Pass’ e mezo antico 5a and Pavana 14a) and they usually reach the seventh fret, with an exception in the Piva 8, where it goes up to the eight fret. Regardless, Barberiis’s dances follow the common framework that dominated in each dance and they mainly use the melodico-harmonic variation, presenting a balanced form/texture. There are cases of either chordal or melodic variations, also frequent in dances by various composers mentioned earlier in this chapter. A variety of popular dances such as the pass’ e mezzo, saltarello, pavan, La cara cosa and less popular such as the piva or Vesentino is included in this volume. Either in suites or individual pieces, Barberiis’s dances contribute to the wider anthology of dance music and some of his pieces, constitute unique samples of this genre.
6. CHAPTER – Performance practice and compositional style of Barberiis

The previous analysis of Barberiis’s vocal intabulations leads to another important discussion concerning performance practice. During the Renaissance, in music there were many changes in vocal and instrumental music. This happened not only in rules of harmony and counterpoint but in technique as well. Consequently the lute, an instrument that developed throughout the Renaissance and later in the Baroque period, was subject to changes in the techniques and compositional style of its music. As already mentioned in the Introduction of this thesis, the lute became a polyphonic instrument alongside the development of vocal polyphony and thus fulfilled its needs as an accompanying instrument. The techniques used by both left and right hand changed gradually, as is testified by paintings as well as treatises and instructions in lute books. Barberiis’s instruction manual contributes to this historiographical research, being one of the few found in Italian sources before 1550. Ottaviano Petrucci was the first to include instructions for lute in his publications between 1507 and 1511.¹ The instruction manual by Barberiis is included in all three editions of 1546 and it is addressed to the amateur lutenist, explaining how to tune the lute and also theory and practice for the lute.² On the first page of instruction, he explains the signs on the tablature:

To those who have no music [education] and those who have [only] a little practice playing the lute, I will demonstrate to them below, theory and practice. First of all, where you will find these signs XX you will have to put your hand or, in other words, your finger as long as you are holding that note with many smaller notes [perhaps crotchet], because those notes are very long in the song [canzona], and therefore you must keep still wherever you see the XX.

Then you will find some dots...that point where the stroke should be done upwards. And in those notes without the dot you have to strum downwards.

¹ For further details see Chapter 4 of Hiroyuki Minamino, Sixteenth-Century Lute Treatises with Emphasis on Process and Techniques of Intabulation. Ph.D., Musicology, (Chicago: University of Chicago, 1988).
with the thumb. And when you will find from the tenor upwards you must play a note with the thumb downwards, and when from the tenor down, you must play upwards with the first finger [index], followed by the thumb, for comfort and promptness of your hand.

In the same way, when you will find some books which are missing the dots, note this rule: if the notes are odd, the first must be strummed upwards. And if the notes are even, the first one must be stroked downwards, keeping the order, once upwards and once downwards, and that one which is going down always with the thumb and that which goes up with the finger [index].

To make it clearer, I tell you this strict rule that the last strum in diminution before the downbeat must always be given upwards, because the hand must be comfortable to then move somewhere else.³

The tuning and pitch of the lute varied according to the use of the instrument and its purpose. Plus, different sizes of lutes were available and lutenists would change the tuning or use different sizes of lutes to suit singers or accompanying other instruments. They would also change tuning for the needs of a piece [e.g. Barberiis’s Fantasia discorda (fol. Dd1) in Libro X, where the G of the bass is tuned to F or according to the mode, or even to experiment].⁴ The most common tuning of the lute around the middle of the sixteenth century, was 4\textsuperscript{th}–4\textsuperscript{th}–3\textsuperscript{rd}–4\textsuperscript{th}–4\textsuperscript{th} (from top to bass), with A and G tunings dominating (a’–e’–b–g–d–A and g’–d’–a–f–c–G, respectively). Barberiis uses tunings like 4–4–3–5–4, 4–4–2–4–5 and 4–5–3–4–4 in the last Fantasias of Libro X. The general tuning of his pieces requires a lute in G, but in the instruction manual, he also wrote an example for a lute in F, by placing the F clef on the second page of instructions. This tuning was rarely used for the lute and according to Jane Echols, it is found in one only source, a few years later than Barberiis: the edition Les Instructions pour le luth (1574) by Adrian le Roy. Two more sources introduced the tuning in F but both are for other instruments of the same family: Delphin de Musica (1538) by Luis de Narváez for vihuela, and Quarto di Musica (1559) for viola a mano.⁵ Barberiis also wrote a duet version of Madonna qual certezza in Libro X, for soprano and tenor lute, which requires a lute in A (soprano) and a lute in G (tenor).

³ Translation from Italian text by Enrico Bertelli.
⁴ For further information on Barberiis’s tunings see Chapter 2, p. 42.
⁵ J. Echols, Melchiore de Barberiis, p. 23.
6.1. Techniques

The study of intabulations has shown that the process and techniques used in intabulations were not as simple as at first appears. Transferring vocal music into lute music required well-trained contrapuntal skills and knowledge of both theory and practice. Vincenzo Galilei’s treatise on intabulating includes important information and rules for this process, giving a better understanding of it and, at the same time, it reveals the difficulty of intabulating. The lute as a polyphonic instrument can create the sound of a full six-voice chord, but this does not occur in all cases and voices can frequently cross or coincide on the same chord. Galilei wrote that ‘in intabulating cantilene you must take care that the parts do not occupy each other's place, as are seen in several passages in this example, in which the minims become semiminims, and these become Cromas as to value’. Therefore issues such as the use of a 5th or 4th fret instead of an open string (see Figure 6.1) or the omission/addition of notes are raised.

![Figure 6.1: Use of 5th and 4th frets](image)

Galilei advised the reader to ‘keep in mind [...] that it is most beautiful whenever the open string can be used logically, never use the 4 or 5 in its place’. Barberis was careful with the use of 4 and 5 towards an open string and we can see from his intabulations that he added 4 or 5 only when needed, where an open string could not be played because it was occupied from another voice, or when the shape of a chord was impractical; an example of this is in bar 6 of Fantasia (fol.

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7 Ibid. p. 71.
8 Ibid. p. 86.
9v) in Libro V, in which the 5 on the 3rd and 4th lines (Figure 6.2) could be a 0 and 1 on the 2nd and 3rd lines, but then the chord would be almost impossible to play, having a distance of 1st and 7th fret (see Figure 6.3).

Figure 6.2: Fantasia (9v), Libro V

![Figure 6.2: Fantasia (9v), Libro V](image)

Figure 6.3: Alternative numbering

![Figure 6.3: Alternative numbering](image)

Furthermore, Galilei referred to the omission of notes as an action ‘you ought never to do, particularly in those songs of fewer than five voices’ but with a few exceptions, only when it is necessary. He also advised his interlocutor that in the intabulation of a song of fewer than five voices, it is wise to make all the voices sound and not only the outer parts. Barberis usually achieved that, but in many cases it is noticeable that the inner parts have not been given particular attention, as occasionally the inner voices are omitted or their linear progression has been stopped. As mentioned in Chapter 3, Barberiis’s intabulation procedure

\[9\text{Ibid. p. 90.}\]
was mostly based on a combination of the copying process of the outer parts (mainly the bass) and the rest being composed according to his memory. Outer voices are the most likely to be heard and memorised due to their pitch, range/register and melodic line (as far as the soprano is concerned). As a consequence, Barberis did not always keep a clear line of the inner voices, at some points mixing the alto and the tenor lines. In other places, he did this consciously when the voices on the lute occupy chords and cannot be played. An example is seen in Libro IX, in the Madrigal se mai provasti donna, where the alto is merged with the soprano and in some cases there is no clear alto voice (Figure 6.4). Also, in many cases where he omitted a voice in some chords, usually the note is played in a different octave.

This is also noticeable in the intabulation of the chanson by Claudin de Sermisy De vos sechur of Libro V,\(^\text{10}\) in which the tenor has no clear voice leading (Figure 6.6). At this point, beginning from bar 9 in soprano, each voice in the vocal piece enters with the motif presented in Figure 6.5.

\(^{10}\) The original title of the piece is De vous servir and is found in Pierre Attaingnant, Vingt et sept chansons musicales [...], (Paris: P. Attaingnant, 1533). For further discussion on the piece see below, p. 177.
The motif appears first in the soprano, then in the alto, in the bass and finally in the tenor. Barberiis introduces the motif in all voices but the tenor, which has a rest for eight bars.

Figure 6.6: *De vos sechur (De vous servir), Libro V*

However, this is not something unusual in intabulations and it can be seen in a few pieces by other composers. The intabulation of *Passtyme with good companye* by Henry VIII, as already seen in the case studies, is another example of a non-consistent voice, which in this case is the alto (Figure 6.7).

Figure 6.7: *Passtyme with good companye, Royal App. 58*
Conversely, addition of notes occurs in intabulations, in many instances to fill a chord (especially when it is cadential) and produce a fuller sound. Sometimes a chord of only three voices seems to be incomplete, with no full sound, and the addition of a fourth voice produces a better sound. Figure 6.8 below shows the addition of a fifth voice in a four-voice chanson, just in the last chord of the phrase. Since the lute has six courses, using only three of them seems not to take advantage of its full range, and taking in account that the lute has not less resonance than other instruments, adding notes gives the instrument the opportunity to produce a fuller sound.

In other cases it can be seen that a new voice is added, as in the intabulation of the aforementioned *Pas de mi bon compagni* by Barberiis, where a new inner voice is added (it could be either an alto or a tenor).

![Figure 6.8: Queramus cum pastoribus, Libro X](image)

The repercussion (re-striking) of notes is another technique that was used in lute compositions and therefore in intabulations. Since the lute cannot resonate long enough to maintain the sound of some long notes, for example in cases where there is a note longer than a semibreve, the repercussion of that note is required. Barberiis applied repercussion of single notes when needed and this occurs in most of his intabulations (Figure 6.10 in relation to the vocal, Figure 6.9). Galilei also pointed out that the lute, because of its nature, cannot be heard like the organ which can hold notes for longer. He went further, writing that, ‘[…] when one or more parts have come to the end of the cantilena and the others are still singing, remember to enliven, so to speak, their final chord with a new repercussion, not only on the downbeat of the measure but on the raising and

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11 V. Galilei. *Fronimo*, p. 87.
lowering as well’. This repercussion was used by Barberiis mainly on the downbeat of a bar, sometimes at the end of a phrase and generally when the sound needed to be prolonged. There are only a couple of exceptions when it is used in the upbeat, like in the case of *Madonna qual certeza* in Figure 6.11 (see bar 16 in vocal score, Examples p. 198). Furthermore, in intabulations (and lute compositions in general), the spreading of a chord is another technique used in composing and it is frequently used to prolong the sound but also to give an alternative rhythm in places, especially when there is not much happening in the existing rhythm. The practice is found in most of the pieces in Barberiis’s editions, where a chord is separated to create a different effect and of course to maintain the sound (Figure 6.12).

**Figure 6.9: Adieu mes amours (Josquin des Prez)**

**Figure 6.10: Repercussion of notes – Fantasia [Adieu mes amours (fol. 9v)]**

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6.2. Ornamentation

With regard to the early Renaissance not much is known about ornamentation on the lute, for the earliest lute book source by Vincenzo Capirola (US-Cn VM C.25), dates from around 1517. The manuscript, along with intabulations, dances and ricercares, includes a guide in the preface for lute techniques, stringing and ornamentation. The ornaments here are indicated by two signs noted with red dots on figures, one requiring ‘the finger on the lower fret to be held firm and another finger is used to “tremolize” on or from the fret above. The second sign indicates that the note is “tremolized” with a single finger (mordent)’. Both these signs are intended for the left hand. Another lute book published in 1548 by

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Pietro Paolo Borrono gives more detailed descriptions of ornamentation.\textsuperscript{15} However, many of the ornaments were omitted from the early sixteenth-century tablatures and only became more frequently used in the Baroque period. The reason for this, according to Diana Poulton, is probably because ‘it was a live tradition, as with ornamentation in Oriental music, which was transmitted by ear from one player to another’\textsuperscript{16} She also suggests that another reason could be the restricted availability of signs in the printing equipment/procedure for lute tablatures, or even the difficulty of fitting the signs ‘into the little “gridiron” shapes in which the tablature letters were slotted for printing’\textsuperscript{17}

Barberis’s only signs used in his editions are the dots described in his instruction manual which concern the right-hand technique and are not related to any ornamentation. A dot under a letter requires the index finger to be used and when there are dots on the right-hand side of a chord or a letter, the index finger should strum the chord/note upwards. The other sign that is used here is a double X next to the note which means that the note should be held for longer. Galilei described the use of this sign in \textit{Fronimo} in a rather pleasant way: ‘The sign of that little cross in my tablatures not only signifies that the finger should be held firm in that place and shows that that part should not move, but it is used by me with such art that each skilled contrapuntist and lute player may see, by its use, how the dissonances are accommodated and resolved, and how the parts are joined together’.\textsuperscript{18}

In any case, Barberis’s instructions are not related to ornamentation in terms ‘graces’, as Diana Poulton distinguishes the term for the use of notated signs, that is trills, tremoli and mordents, from the one for decorative passages and divisions.\textsuperscript{19} As far the latter is concerned, Barberis used extensively connective passages from note to note to fill in the gaps of intervals, long-valued notes and, of course, to give the idiomatic lute style to the pieces. These passages are met in many lute sources and are common for the lute in the Renaissance but, as will be

\begin{flushleft}
\textsuperscript{17} Ibid.
\textsuperscript{18} V. Galilei, \textit{Fronimo}, p. 44.
\end{flushleft}
demonstrated below, they lack some imagination. The first factor that leads to this conclusion is related to the values of the notes; the smallest value of a note in all the passages is a quaver (whilst in many other sources, smaller values like demisemiquavers or even semiquavers are found). The only exception to this occurs in Libro IX, in the last Fantasia (fol.g1), where the sign of a flag with four lines is met which normally would be transcribed as a hemidemisemiquaver but in this case, is a semiquaver, as shown in his instruction manual (see Illustration 4).

Illustration 4: Instruction manual

The fast passages in this Fantasia are found in only five bars and in fact, they are descending scales of four notes, beginning from c’ to g or f’ to c’ only in the soprano and alto (Figure 6.13).

Figure 6.13: Fantasia (fol. g1), Libro IX

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Furthermore, the passages in Barberiis are shaped mostly by descending and ascending scales. As mentioned earlier, these passages either work as connective passages between two notes or as ornaments on repetitive notes. Indeed, Brown mentions that ‘in order to understand their [ref. ornamental patterns] technique, it is helpful to keep in mind Robert Donington’s distinction between graces, that is, ornaments like mordents, turns, trills and filled-in intervals that affect single notes or the connection between two notes, and divisions, that is, running passage work applied to a line to form a continuous melodic variation’. Accordingly, the most characteristic passages in Barberiis’s compositions are presented in Figure 6.14 below in three categories: a) filled-in passages that affect repeated notes, b) connective passages between two notes/intervals and c) cadential passages.

Figure 6.14: Ornamenting passages by Barberiis

a) Repeated notes   b) Intervals   c) Cadential

ii.          i.            x.

vii.                                      ii.            xi.

xvi.                                        iii.          xii.

xvii.                                      iv.          xiii.

xviii.                                      v.
The passages above are found in various compositions by Barberis and it is noticeable that in his intabulations, as well as in his own compositions, every piece is ornamented with at least one of the above examples. As it may be observed, some passages can be both connective patterns between two notes or filled-in passages of repeated notes, which is defined by the finishing note (written in parenthesis in the passages above). The most frequent passage which can be characterized as part of his idiosyncratic style, is the first listed here (Figure 6.14 i), located in almost each composition with only a few exceptions found in a few intabulations and dances. Passages iii, iv, vii, viii and x are also found regularly in his compositions. In the literal intabulations, he tried to keep the basic notes (mainly of the soprano) and, in between, he decorated them with
passages. It was necessary for an intabulation of a vocal piece to be ornamented for it to be considered as a different piece of work, thus recognising the effort of the lutenist/composer. Literal intabulations were more restricted in embellishments for, according to Hiroyuki Minamino, they were used to teach the beginner to transfer vocal music into tablature.\(^\text{23}\) As mentioned previously, Barberiis’s intabulations probably served the above purpose, and this is also confirmed by the inclusion of instructions in his first three books. Galilei, on the other hand, referred to the beauty of a piece as something not necessarily achieved by the complexity of its content, in the following words: ‘[…] the majority of modern singers who never want to sing or hear anything except new and difficult things composed in many parts – as if beauty and goodness of a composition had as its chosen habitation number of parts, difficulty and novelty’.\(^\text{24}\) Barberiis’s intabulations have, in a way, the ‘essential’ number of embellishments and are not only vocal pieces transferred into tablature. Although his compositions are not very original in terms of embellishment, with the passages moving around one or two notes in stepping motions and not in any faster rhythms than quavers, his contribution to the genre is significant. Besides, a few lutenists of the time emphasized their avoidance of adding too much embellishment in their intabulations in order not to obscure the counterpoint of the piece. More specifically, Enrique de Valderrábano referred to his intabulations as already being so ‘technically demanding that any additional ornaments would be intolerable’\(^\text{25}\) for the performers, and Miguel Fuenllana notes that adding too much to the intabulation of a vocal piece could alter the actual music/originality of the piece.

Returning to Barberiis’s intabulations, there are some passages that are worthy of our attention, being treated in a rather elaborated way. In the intabulation of the madrigal *Madonna io sol vorrei* (Libro V), in the last 10 bars of the piece there are some repetitive notes and Barberiis embellishes the soprano in order to avoid repetition of the note, and to present a more interesting ending for the lute. The repetitive note on the soprano is a g’, repeated ten times, and of


\(^{24}\) V. Galilei, *Fronimo*, p. 82.

which eight of them are ornamented with passages starting on a different note each time (Figure 6.15).

Figure 6.15: Madonna io sol vorrei, Libro V

Another elaborated piece in which Barberiis used ornamenting passages extensively is the *Canzon Francese* (fol. 9) in *Libro V*. As seen from the first few bars, the piece is embellished in each bar through to the end (Figure 6.16). This intabulation includes most of the aforementioned characteristic passages of Barberiis, with more repetition of the first passage (Figure 6.14 i). This passage as referred above appears in the majority of his compositions and as it may be seen here (Figure 6.15 and Figure 6.16) is often repeated several times within a piece.

Figure 6.16: Canzon Francese, Libro V

A similar case to the above is found in *Fantasia* (fol. 11) of the same book, in which each bar is embellished. An interesting passage appears here in the form of the arpeggio: this is only met in this piece out of all five books by Barberiis
(Figure 6.17). This passage occurs in two places in the *Fantasia*, a few bars after the beginning and again at the end of the piece, surpassing the usual passages and giving a different sound to the piece. It is worth mentioning that the technique of the spread chords is also used here in a few places, altering the continuous use of the same passages (Figure 6.18). These two small exceptions give the *Fantasia* a different style which distinguishes it from the rest of the pieces included in the three books. These formulae, later called ‘style brisé’ (= broken style in French), also occur in other lute composers of the sixteenth century. The most characteristic examples are found in the compositions of Albert de Rippe, Marco Dall’Aquila and later, Adrian Le Roy.

Barberiis’s examples of ‘style brisé’ reveal his intention to try out techniques in order to make his own compositions more interesting and this is obvious from this particular *Fantasia*.

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**Figure 6.17: Fantasia (fol. 11), Libro V**

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**Figure 6.18: Fantasia (fol. 11), Libro V**
As noticed with respect to *Libro IX*, which mainly comprises of dances, the embellishments do not differ to those found in vocal intabulations or in the *Fantasias*. Dances are treated in the same way as most of the vocal intabulations, some of which are more embellished and others less so. It seems that the only dance not embellished in *Libro IX* is the *Gagliarda* in folio a3, probably because of its fast rhythm. In *Libro X* the only piece that has almost no embellishment is the chanson *Il est bel et bon* which was studied in an earlier chapter. As mentioned in Chapter 3, due to the lively character of this song and because there is already a lot happening in it, the addition of further ornamentation would not only add difficulty in the performance but would also create confusion. Thus, Barberiis was aware of the consequences of embellishment in such cases.

6.3. Idiomatic features of compositions for the lute

It has been observed by scholars that many cases of parallel fifths and octaves occur in lute sources, even in music by eminent composers/lutenists. Parallel fifths, which were favoured during the Middle Ages (found in the organum), were restricted later in the Renaissance with Johannes de Garlandia being the first person to forbid them around 1300. During the fourteenth century, consecutive fifths and octaves were still in use (e.g. they were found in some compositions by Guillaume de Machaut), but by the fifteenth century they were not used frequently. Later on in the sixteenth century they were almost eliminated with the imposition of more strict rules by various theorists. Yet lute music is the exception to this since the nature of the instrument, with its chord shapes transferred into various hand positions, makes it more difficult to avoid their creation. Left-hand harmonic progressions involve shapes of parallel fifths and some lute music is based on this technique, interpreting contrariwise polyphony in a chordal motion. It is noticeable even in lute music of the next century: an example being John

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Dowland’s famous *Lachrimae* pavan in which we encounter some parallel fifths and octaves. These parallels are not always clear and appear between the bass and the tenor, occupying two chords in all cases (Figure 6.19).

Likewise, consecutive fifths and octaves are found in Barberiis’s compositions and in a few instances they occupy more than two successive chords and sometimes occur in three ‘voices’. For example, in the No. 10, *Fantasia, [Adieu mes amours]*, in bar 62 the whole bar is a series of parallel fifths between bass and tenor, and octaves between bass and soprano (Figure 6.20). Barberiis, in trying to fill in the gaps between long-valued notes, created consecutive fifths and octaves which could be avoided if the second chord moved in contrary motion, but then the chord shaped would be impossible to play (for example in the alternative voicing in Figure 6.21, the second chord requires a *barré* on the third fret, but the number 2 on the fourth line, comes before the *barré* and, therefore, cannot be achieved). Then again, he could have avoided them by leaving voices out (in fact, the tenor has a rest in that bar in the vocal model).

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‘You will abhor it once, having heard it on the lute in the manner that I said, and you can imagine how much worse it would be with voices’.  

Galilei’s advice (which in the book is addressed by Fronimo to his pupil Eumatio) reveals how important it is that this music should be considered from the point of view of a lutenist rather than from the perspective of singers or keyboard players (since the music is transcribed in staff notation). Parallel fifths or octaves could also be explained from a lutenist’s point of view, for the lute does not make them as audible as voices or keyboard with their sustained sound. This could be a justification of Barberis’s use of parallels, but still it does not justify their frequent occurrence in his compositions. Although we do find parallels in other lute sources, their use within a piece is not so frequent.

False relations and crossing of voices are also found in Barberis’s compositions, many of them created consciously. Crossing of voices is mainly caused by the difficulty the instrument has in trying to represent the exact voicing in some cases, or even the existing voice-leading of the original version. Cross-relations, if used with consistency and following the rules of counterpoint, created a different effect and composers found them challenging. To be acceptable, they should be created and then resolved in the same voice, while the two clashing notes should ideally be in another octave (or part). An example of using false relations with virtuosity is found in Francesco da Milano’s Fantasia no 28 (fol. 11, Siena Manuscript), in which $f\#$ in the soprano clashes with the $f$ natural in the bass (Figure 6.22) and vice-versa in another case in the same piece. In both

29 V. Galilei, Fronimo, p. 142.

cases, the f# is in octave with the f natural and resolves directly to the g in the next chord.

**Figure 6.22: Fantasia no 28, Francesco da Milano**

![Music notation](image)

Although we do not find many cross-relations in Barberiis, the ones used in his music are not always resolved to the next chord, which, in some cases, seems to indicate that he did not hear them or realise they existed. For example, in *Fantasia* (fol. 11) *Libro V*, in bar 16 the f# in the soprano has the double X sign which requires the note to be held (as he explains in his instruction manual in books IV, V and IV).\(^{31}\) The f# however, clashes with the f natural of the bass on the third beat and then it does not resolve to a g’ (Figure 6.23). Barberiis probably did not hear the f# with the f natural because of the short sustainability of the lute or he could have been aware from the written music that it was there, but he did not mind and accepted it.

The next fantasia of the same volume (fol. 12), has another false relation in bar 48, which this time is resolved in the next bar. The bar seems not to make much sense with the alteration of b and a in the alto from flat to natural, and the flat in the d of the bass, and if played on a keyboard, it will sound very strange to our ears (Figure 6.24). However, if played on the lute, the sound is not so unfamiliar after all, due to the soft sound of the lute and its low resonance.

\(^{31}\) For a translation of the manual see Chapter 6, pp. 147–148.
On occasion cross-relations occur in Barberiis’s compositions due to his tendency to change notes chromatically. The changes of major/minor mode appear to be characteristic of his style and this gives his music its own idiom. These changes take place in many of his pieces, occasionally not very successfully, but they give a different approach and add some interest to the music (which the embellishments sometimes fail to do). There are cases where the changes take place in the same bar in different voices or in the same voice, and sometimes the changes happen in the next chord of the following bar. A remarkable example of this alteration is found in the Pass’ e mezo (fol. b1), Libro IX in bar 58 where the notes $f'$ and $b$ are altered consecutively (Figure 6.25).
The chromatic change of chords leads to another element of his music: the addition of the third in the final chord. Barberiis’s preference for filling in the chords with all possible voices is even more noticeable in the cadences. For example, it is seen in the *Fantasia con due Lauti in ottava* [fol. Ee4v (soprano) and Ff1 (tenor)], *Libro X*, in which he ends both parts with a full four-voice G major chord. The third is mainly major, adopting this way the *Tierce de Picardie* and is found in the majority of his compositions. There are only 18 compositions that do not include a major third at the end, three of them ending with a minor third and the rest concluding without a third at all. Table 3 below lists the compositions which do not use the major third at the cadence. The table shows that Barberiis favoured the use of the *Tierce de Picardie* in his compositions, which was according to Routley must have been obligatory in final cadences.  

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As can be seen from the preceding discussion, Barberiis used a few idiomatic features of lute music; in some cases successfully and in others less so. His ornamenting passages, although they vary in places and fill in the gaps between notes, are short (in length and register) showing perhaps a lack of imagination in using this specific technique. However, his experimentation in changing chromatically the melody and harmony in various pieces rehabilitates his creativity. Barberiis used most of the lute range, going from low to high notes and positions; he wrote both in chordal and counterpoint and used lute techniques like repercussion, spreading chords, adding or omitting notes in intabulations and using reasonably the 5\textsuperscript{th} or 4\textsuperscript{th} frets (see Chapter 6, p. 149). In any case, the compositions are written for lute and it is advisable to look at them through a different perspective, from ’outside’ a keyboard point of view. This, of course, does not always justify some awkward moments in his music but his effort in composing such a vast amount of music must be acknowledged.
7. CHAPTER – Musica ficta

During the periods of twelfth century and sixteenth century a system for the theory of music developed. The hexachord system was based on Guido d’Arezzo’s theory on precise pitch notation, illustrated in the famous Guidonian hand. The hexachord system (deriving from the Greek word εξάχορδο = six strings) was based on scales of six notes each (ut–re–mi–fa–sol–la) and each had the structure of tone–tone–semitone–tone–tone. The three basic hexachords started from notes C, G and F and so the hexachord from C is called natural hexachord, from G is the hard hexachord with the b natural (♭) and from F is the soft hexachord with the b flattened (♭♭). The hexachords repeated in ‘an overlapping sequence to cover the range between G and e” was known as the gamut. Through this system, seven interrelated hexachords resulted and if a melody exceeded the range of a hexachord, the musician had to change into another hexachord (mutate). The syllables of the hexachord (ut–re–mi–fa–sol–la) were used to describe the intervals between the notes in every hexachord and this process was called solmization. Thus, the natural hexachord beginning from c was ut–re–mi–fa–sol–la, the hard from G was also ut–re–mi–fa–sol–la and so on (see Figure 7.1).

Figure 7.1: Hexachords of the gamut

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The presence of notated signs included in each hexachord as part of the scale were called *musica recta* (= proper, correct music), while the accidentals that were out of the *musica recta* system and were added when hexachords mutated, were called *musica ficta* (= false music). The rules of *musica ficta* included in brief a) *mi contra fa* (using the solmization system) is prohibited, that is when *mi* is against *fa*, an imperfect interval is created and thus it should be avoided in order to keep fifths and octaves perfect, b) *una nota supra la, semper est canendum fa* (= a note above *la*, is always to be sung *fa*), meaning when the melody goes further than the six degrees of a hexachord and then returns, it is always sung *fa*, using the solmization c) raising of the leading note in cadential formulae, d) approaching a perfect consonance by the nearest imperfect consonance, that is major thirds when they lead to a fifth, minor thirds when leading to a unison and major sixths when leading to an octave, and e) *tierce de Picardie*, raising the third of a chord at the cadence (*tierce de Picardie* in internal cadences was optional).²

Therefore, every professional musician was required to have an excellent knowledge of the hexachord theory in order to achieve the mutation of hexachords as well as applying *musica ficta*. Treatises on the hexachord theory and the application of *musica ficta* were written through the centuries, yet the absence of accidentals in the scores until the sixteenth century has always created debates in researchers and musicians.³

Modern scholars have turned their attention to lute tablatures in order to find solutions for *musica ficta*. In particular, intabulations of vocal music are used in order to cross accidentals, since the lute tablature provides an exact guide to left hand positions on the lute and thus, each note is given in numbers (Italian tablature) or letters (French tablature).⁴ However, it is not possible to make a general rule for *musica ficta* implications using intabulations as in many cases lute composers did not always follow the literal intabulation of a piece. Margaret Bent notes that ‘intabulators may apply eccentric performers’ licence but, above all, chordally conceived instrumental solutions cannot necessarily be carried over into

⁴ See p. 13 of Chapter 1, Introduction.
vocal practice, approached by singers with a linear-hexachordal training accustomed to making contrapuntally-based adjustments. The sometimes necessary sacrifice of line to chord in contrapuntal polyphony is often exaggerated on a chordal instrument. Additionally, due to the primitive stage of printing technology many errors occurred and especially in lute music where a different technique was applied than the one in mensural notation. These caused misplaced numbers on lines and rhythmic symbols or barlines and in many instances bars were omitted during the copying procedure (see Chapter 2). Moreover, comparing various versions of intabulations in Chapter 3, it is also noticed that they may not only vary in style (e.g. literal, quotation) but also in the choice of accidentals. Lute composers of different chronologies, countries and backgrounds present intabulations with diverse inflections, making the decisions on musica ficta even more complicated. An example is given in Chapter 3, in the intabulations of the chanson Adieu mes amours by Josquin des Prez (c. 1480) in which three different intabulations by Francesco Spinacino (1507), Hans Newsidler (1536) and Melchiore de Barberis (1546) are presented. During the discussion of the above piece, it has been pointed out that each composer treated the piece differently in terms of musica ficta, with Spinacino writing an e♭ on the bass, Newsidler e♯ and Barberis both (see pp. 70–77). Thus, any musician willing to perform pieces with the guidance of a lute tablature should be cautious on these decisions and seek any available concordances for reference. The confusion regarding musica ficta in lute tablatures goes further on, with cases of different choice of accidentals within a piece by the same composer. ‘Therefore, contrary to what one might expect, the problems of musica ficta are carried over into the lute tablatures instead of being solved by them’. Such occasions found in Barberis’s music (including intabulations as well as dances) will be examined next.

7.1. Musica Ficta in Dances

It has been suggested in previous chapters that intabulations by Barberis may constitute an important contribution to the knowledge we have today for musica

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ficata. However, it is not always possible to come to conclusions on certain cases due to the inconsistency of the composer and the numerous errors in his tablatures, either editorial or compositional. Throughout Barberiis’s music, this including dances and intabulations of vocal music which followed a specific form (i.e. dances) or another model (i.e. vocal music), one can detected his tendency on altering notes on a regular basis. This practice characterises Barberiis’s musical style and his personal judgement which reflected on his musicality. In some cases though, awkward chromatic notes are misplaced and occasionally within a repetition of the same passage. In the following discussion, examples of Barberiis’s diverse decisions on musica ficta in dances will be presented in addition to intabulations.

As seen in Chapter 5 of dances, the repetition of sections occurred systematically, either this being varieted with embellishment or reduction of notes. The repetition or variation, did not have to follow precisely each note but there was an attempt of retaining the basic harmony. However, repetitive and ‘imitative passages are presumed to be solmized similarly (so that they are intervallically the same). ⁷ There are a few cases in Barberiis’s dances (Libro IX) in which the repetition of a theme is presented with different note alteration and other cases where dances within a suite, are not treated in the same way. The first occasion is found in Pass’ e mezo 5a [antico] in bars 29–30 and 61. The piece is written in the Dorian mode in a G key with $b\tilde{b}$ as a noted sign, belonging to musica recta. $E\flat$ and $f\#$ are cautionary signs which are added accordingly to the rules of musica ficta. In bar 30, a descending passage leading to a cadence appears in the soprano and continues in the bass line. The scale passage moving stepwise from note $g'$ and ending in note $G$, has an $e\tilde{z}'$ in the alto and an $e\flat$ in the bass. Both $e'$s are passing notes in the same scale, deriving from the same notes although in different octaves and ending in chord G (major in the first time and no third in the second – see Figure 7.2).

The same passage is repeated towards the end of the piece, in bars 61–62 and although in a different rhythmic approach, the harmonic and melodic progression is identical, with an exception; note e’ in the soprano is flattened instead of natural as in the previous passage (see Figure 7.3). In addition, the cadence is major in the last bar since is the final cadence and the Tierce de Picardie is applied which does not affect the previous development of the melodic and harmonic progress.

From the theoretical point of view, in the Renaissance polyphony, it was natural to sing an e♭ in other voices instead of e, when the bass had an E♭. Descending scales favoured lowering the sixth degree of the chord, although this did not strictly apply in every case since intervallic relations between other notes where
taken in consideration in order to avoid imperfect intervals. In the specific case, the chord preceding the $e\flat$ in the soprano consists of $G$ in the bass and $g$ in the tenor creating a minor sixth interval, which is a consonant interval. Besides, $e\ (lat)$ in both passages is a passing note, for which rules are not strictly applied. Furthermore, in the hexachord theory sharps and flats involved new hexachords, and when $b\flat$ is in the key signature it refers to the soft hexachord ($F$) being transposed a fifth lower ($B\flat$). The solmization of the intervals $mi–fa$ was applied, meaning that the $e\flat$ is solmized as $fa$ in the hexachord from $b\flat$. Therefore, the discussed phrase in Barberis’s *Pass’ e mezo* is written in the soft hexachord and is mutated as shown in Figure 7.4.

Figure 7.4: *Pass’ e mezo 5a, Libro IX* – hexachord mutation

![Hexachord Mutation](image)

The $e'\flat$ in that case, is solmized as $fa$ and hence flattened, as indicated in the parenthesis (Figure 7.4).

From the lutenist perspective, the certain passage which is based on a G scale is one of the most ordinary passages for the lute. The tuning of the lute for this collection of books is based on the G tuning and thus any piece written in G mode is convenient for lute passages. Chords on G, both major and minor, leave open strings to resonate and in this passage which covers two octaves, the left hand remains on the first position. As far as the $e'$ on the soprano is concerned, the change of the hand position between $e\flat'$ and $e\flat''$ is minimal, since there is only a fret distance and stays within the same position. Therefore, the chance of Barberis’s selection of the $e\flat''$ in the soprano to facilitate hand position, is not valid as an argument in this instance. Similar lute passages beginning from $g'$ and end in $G$ are found in regular basis in various sources of the sixteenth century. For

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example, in the Recercario (fol. 4) of the Siena Manuscript possibly by Francesco da Milano, the above passage appears in a more embellished form (bars 38–40). The piece is written in Dorian mode from G and the e in both cases within the passage is flattened (see Figure 7.5).

**Figure 7.5: Ricercario (fol. 4), Siena Manuscript – F.d. Milano**

![Figure 7.5](image)

The piece following the Ricercario in the same source, which is another Ricercar (fol. 4–4v) by Giulio da Modena, has similar passage. Again, the piece is in G Dorian mode and both times the e appears in the scale is flattened (see Figure 7.6).

**Figure 7.6: Ricercar (fol. 4), Siena Manuscript – Giulio da Modena**

![Figure 7.6](image)

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However, passages such as the first one with an e’ in the upper voice are also met in lute sources. An example is found in the Fantasia (fol. 28v) by Pietro Paolo Borrono in the Intavolatura di lauto del divino Francesco da Milano et dell’ eccellente Petro Paulo Borrono, Libro secondo (Venice: 1548). The piece is in Dorian mode and the first time note e’ appears is natural and then gets flattened in the bass (bars 2–4, see Figure 7.7). Each time e’ appears in the soprano in a descending scale, it remains natural.

Figure 7.7: Fantasia (fol. 28v), Libro secondo – P. P. Borrono

More cases such as the above are found in Barberiis’s dances. In the Saltarello 7 for example (see Volume 2, p. 121), two bars that have a common bass and melodic line, present the bass with different accidental which changes the chord at the same time. More specifically bars 5–8 of the first section are repeated in the last section of the piece in bars 17–20 (see Figure 7.8, Figure 7.9).

Figure 7.8: Saltarello 7, Libro IX – bars 5–8

As it can be seen, the soprano line is identical in the repetition of the phrase and the other voices are very similar with the only difference found in the first chord of bar 7 and bar 19 of the repetition. The piece is written in G Mixolydian mode with no key signature and all the chromatic notes added belong in the *musica ficta*. In the first appearance of the phrase, the harmonic sequence shapes a common chord progression leading to a perfect cadence: I–IV–(V–IV₆)–V–I. Note *e* in the bass is natural and constitutes the third degree of C major chord and the intervals created in this chord, as well as in relation to the preceding and following chords are consonant. The hard hexachord is used in this phrase (Figure 7.10) while the *f#* of the soprano belongs to the *ficta*, meaning somlize as *mi* on a D-based hexachord to create the required intervals (ut: *d*, re: *e*, mi: *f#*, fa: *g*, sol: *a*, la: *b*).

Figure 7.9: *Saltarello 7, Libro IX – bars 17–20*

![Figure 7.9: Saltarello 7, Libro IX – bars 17–20](image)

Figure 7.10: *Saltarello 7, bars 5–8 – hexachord mutation*

![Figure 7.10: Saltarello 7, bars 5–8 – hexachord mutation](image)
In the repetition of the chord, both e (bass, alto) and b’ in the soprano are flattened which refer to the soft hexachord and according to the hexachord principles, the mutation between the hard and soft hexachords was avoided. The Mixolydian mode had no flats in the key signature and the addition of flats worked as inflections, which in this case it does not appear to be essential. In addition, altering the e and b, shape a chord progression where chord VI derives and concludes in chord V (I–IV–V–VI–V–I). The same E♭ major chord creates parallel fifths between the bass and the tenor and in combination with the previous observations it seems that Barberiis’s choice of introducing the chord E♭ major in the repetition of the passage did not ‘work’ effectively.

The beginning of Pavana chiamata la Biancha Margarita (fo. 16) in Pietro Paolo Borrono’s Intavolatura di lauto […] Libro secondo (Venice: 1548) resembles to Barberiis’s theme in its first occurrence, regarding the ficta implications (see Figure 7.11).

Figure 7.11: Pavana la Biancha Margarita, Libro Secondo, P.P. Borrono – opening phrase

- Note: brackets [ ] are used for octave stringing

The piece is in G Mixolydian mode and although it has not precisely the same melodic or harmonic progression, bars 4–5 could correspond to Barberiis’s bars 6–7. The chord progression here is I–V–I–vi–V–I–V–vi–V and even if consecutive fifths are created between the bass and the tenor, the e in the bass remains natural and the chord is not altered to E♭ major (which does not belong in

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the Mixolydian mode). Throughout the piece, note e remains natural in every occasion.

Barberiis’s instance seems to be unusual given the fact that – like the previous case of the Pass’ e mezo – it is a repetitive phrase in a dance and the change of chord or chromatic alteration in the certain passage is not necessary. The lute fingering in the first instance, requires a slightly bigger space between the second and fourth fret while in the second case where e is flattened, the second and third frets are beside. But then again, the certain C major chord requires two fingers on the fretboard for the left hand while the Eb major chord requires three. Exploring both theoretical and practical aspects that endue the passage in Barberiis’s Saltarello 7, there is no actual cause of replacing C major with Eb major chord in the repetition.

From the above examples found in Barberiis’s dances, a sample of the diversity in common lute passages by different composers is displayed. This illustrates the different choices of musica ficta by individuals, depending not only on the rules but also on their style and musicality. In lute music, it seems that various passages were acceptable; yet, in the case of Barberiis the passage which is repeated twice within the same piece – especially a dance¹³ – should present the same cautionary sign.

Likewise, passages in which the composer shows indecision in his choices of musica ficta are found in his intabulations of vocal music, as it will be demonstrated below.

7.2. Musica ficta in Intabulations
In order to have a complete picture of the intabulation in context, and more specifically Barberiis’s intabulations, examples of between vocal pieces and intabulations were compared later on, in Chapter 3. However, some of the cases studied, as well as other intabulations of vocal pieces, present contrasting selections on musica ficta implications. As mentioned earlier in this chapter, this is a result of different musical styles and intabulation techniques by different composers. Consequently, a further analysis of certain passages would be

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¹³ As referred earlier, dances were following a form with repetitions based on the same mold, even if embellished or varied.
appropriate at this point, in order to examine whether an intabulation facilitates understanding of musica ficta.

The second piece in Libro V is an intabulation of the vocal piece De vous servir by Claudin de Sermisy included in Attangnant’s edition of chansons in 1533. Barberiis’s version which is called De vos sechur in his edition (see Volume 2, pp. 5–6), is a literal intabulation of the chanson. Is written in the G Dorian mode with b in the key signature, and E and f# are cautionary signs based on musica ficta rules. Barberiis’s version follows the basic principle but there are cases in which some passages are treated in a different way. Notably, in the first introduction of the theme (bars 1–8) there is a passage in bar 6 in which various chromatic alterations occur. Note e on the bass line is flattened and while the b of the alto occurs three times and in each has a different accidental: b, b, b (see Figure 7.12).

Figure 7.12: De vos sechur (De vous servir), Libro V – bars 5–8

As in the earlier case of the Pass’ e mezo 5a, the hexachords in pieces having a flat in the key signature are transposed down a fifth and therefore e occurs when transferred to the soft hexachord to retain the mi–fa interval. Thus, in the soft hexachord from B, the syllables ut–re–mi–fa–sol–la correspond to the notes b–c–d–e–f–g. Based on this transposition, the hexachords in the certain bars are mutated as illustrated in Figure 7.13, in which the voices having the chromatic alterations are presented in hexachordal analysis.

Hexachordal theory was initially destined for monophonic music and with the development of polyphony the different voices were urged to follow the same hexachord mutation where possible. In the above passage it is seen that at the beginning of the phrase, the alto and bass can be regarded as being in different hexachords, if hexachordal theory is considered relevant in this context. The bass line is in the natural hexachord since the mutation between hard and soft hexachord is avoided. Therefore, note d in the bass corresponds to the syllable la and note e' in the alto corresponds to syllable mi. The interval mi–la is a perfect fifth which in this case works well for this bar as a flat in the e' would create an imperfect interval between the two voices. In the next bar, the e in the bass is flattened to create a perfect fifth with the b♭ of the alto. If seen at the hexachord theory perspective, the e♭ of the bass corresponds to syllable fa in the soft hexachord and the b♭ of the alto also corresponds to syllable fa in the natural hexachord. If either of the two notes were natural, then an imperfect interval would be created. However, the second occurrence of note b in the alto of the same bar is natural while the harmony of the bass and tenor remains the same, creating imperfect intervals. On the other hand, it is a passing note and according to the rule of musica ficta, ‘in most returning-note figures, whether at cadences or other points, the lower note should be sharpened’. Apparently, Barberiis had some knowledge of the cadential patterns and their formation but in cases like the discussed, a non-successful pattern is created in combination to the rest of the voicing, both of the bass and the alto (i.e. b♭, b♯ and b♭).

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As noted at the beginning of this chapter, in order to use an intabulation of a vocal piece as a guide for *musica ficta*, other concordances, if available, should be used for further evidence. For this, it is suitable here to cite another intabulation of the song by Barberiis’s contemporary, Giovanni Maria da Crema. In fol. DIv of Crema’s *Intabolatura de lauto [...] Libro primo* (Venice: A. Gardane, 1546), the piece *De vous servir* no 19 is included along with other intabulations of French and Italian songs. The beginning of the piece is very similar to Barberiis’s version but in the certain point of reference, Crema’s approach is different to Barberiis’s. In Figure 7.14 presented below, it is noticed that chromatic alteration of notes is eliminated, having cautionary signs in cadential points.

Figure 7.14: *De vous servir, Libro Primo, G.M da Crema* – opening phrase

In bar 3 of Crema’s intabulation – the corresponding bar 6 of Barberiis’s – the *e* in the bass is natural and so the *b* in the alto. The interval created between *e* and *b* is a perfect fifth interval which in the certain chord does not create any dissonant intervals with the preceding and following notes. With Crema’s melodic lines in the alto and the bass, the hexachord mutation becomes simpler, having both voices singing on the hard hexachord. It changes to *ficta* system only in note *b* in the alto which is sharpened as it is a cadential note leading to *c’*. Furthermore, another important element probably defining the approach of note *e* in the bass is the melodic line of the theme. The piece begins with the theme in the soprano and then is repeated in each voice, with the tenor having a repetition an octave lower,

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the alto a fourth lower and the bass an octave lower than the alto. Thus, the
intervallic relation of the imitation between all voices should be the same to
the introduction of the theme in the soprano (see Figure 7.15 below).

As is demonstrated, the theme in the soprano and alto which is presented
above is identical in terms of intervals. Note e' in the alto which is the
corresponding note of a' in the soprano, has a major second interval with the
preceding note (d') and a major third with the following note (e'); the same
relation has note a' of the soprano with notes g' and f' respectively. Likewise, the
bass of the theme in Crema’s version follows this principle and this appears to be
the model of approaching note e in the bass.

Barberis’s seems to be unaware of the aforementioned by adding the e on
the bass line and consequently, creating more complicated chromatic alterations in
the alto, and in order to avoid certain ‘prohibited’ intervals, others are created.
From a technical point of view, it may be mentioned here is that Eb chord comes
more naturally on the left hand than E major. That is due to number 3 on the fifth
line, which corresponds to the third fret on the fifth course (note e'), being closer
to number 2 on the same line (note d), which corresponds to the second fret on the
fifth course. Therefore, there is a smaller movement on the left hand which
facilitates the change of the chord. However, changing the harmony of the piece
which often results in passages in order to assist the left hand position, is a
technique that should be avoided. Although adjustments were made on the
intabulation process for technical reasons, for example reducing voicing or
changing the voice leading, it was advised 'to follow the theory of vocal music on
the application of musica ficta'. In addition, the above case of technical
convenience on the lute can be contradicted by the occurrence of a similar passage
in bars 18–20 in which the e in the bass is natural (see Figure 7.16).

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17 Hiroyuki Minamino, Sixteenth-Century Lute Treatises with Emphasis on Process and
The bass line in these bars, follows a similar pattern to the one at the beginning of the piece but this time the e is natural. Here, both hexachords are hard and the $b\flat$ is a returning note concluding to $c'$. In this occasion, the harmony created does not cause any imperfect intervals and it is more ‘acceptable’ than the first appearance of the pattern. The only variant that could be regarded as a possible cause of the different chords, from a technical aspect, is the note that precedes them: in the first instance, number 3 is placed on the third line, which is the third fret on the third course (note $c'$) and in the second case, number 1 is placed on the third line, corresponding to the first fret on the third line ($b\flat$). This however, has not any impact on the left hand position since in the first case the hand remains in the same position and in the second, the fingers can be slid to the next fret. Thus, the technical issues of the left hand are yet proven not to be the basis for altering the bass in bar 6.

A hypothesis for the discussed pattern on the bass which could be valid for Barberiis’s decisions on musica ficta is related to the passage in the alto. The alto line which in this case has the main melodic role is embellished. As seen throughout Barberiis’s music, the melodic line of each piece usually draws the attention of the composer, adding various ornaments to present more elaborated versions (see Figure 6.14). Similar passages to the alto’s ornamented line occur regularly in lute music. Not necessarily in this order or rhythm, returning notes which embellish their approach to cadential points are characteristic in lute music as well as in other instruments of the Renaissance. Hiroyuki Minamino mentions...
that according to Galilei ‘the ornaments added to the inner voices should be interpreted according to correct counterpoint’.\textsuperscript{18} In addition, referring to a passage by Pietro Paolo Borrono in which the $b\flat$ of the tenor clashes with the $b6'$ of the soprano, he suggests that Galilei’s urge of avoiding “disproportionate passaggi” in small note value\textsuperscript{19} may have been resulted from cases like the above.

The chanson \textit{Dueil double dueil}, probably by Hesdin, which was intabulated by Barberis under the name \textit{Deul double deul} in \textit{Libro V} (see Examples, pp. 204–205 for the vocal score and Volume 2, pp. 195–197 for the transcription) presents a similar case of variant alterations which concern note $b'$ in the soprano. The piece has already been discussed in Chapter 3 (p. 51) where similarities and differences between the vocal and Barberiis’s intabulation were displayed. A further analysis though of bar 10 in relation to bar 55 in which different cautionary sings occur, will be discussed below in order to examine Barberiis’s approach of \textit{musica ficta}. The piece is written in the A Aeolian mode with no noted signs and any accidentals that appear in the score belong to the \textit{musica ficta}. In bars 10–13 in Figure 7.17, note $b'$ in the soprano occurs varied: in the first instance in bar 11 it remains natural and in the second, becomes flat.

Figure 7.17: \textit{Deul double deul, Libro X} – bars 10–13

Note $b'$ in the soprano in bar 11, despite the fact that it is a quaver and does not resonate long enough, it creates an imperfect interval with the $f$ of the bass. An augmented fourth occurs in that case which was a prohibited interval. In

\textsuperscript{18} \textit{Ibid.} p. 87.
\textsuperscript{19} \textit{Ibid.} p. 70.
Figure 7.18 below, the mutation of the hexachords is represented in order to examine the role of note $b'$ in the soprano.

**Figure 7.18: hexachords mutation bars 10–13**

The hexachords above represent the melodic line of the soprano and the bass line, being the voices of reference. The soprano in bars 10–12 is in the hard hexachord while the bass is in the natural hexachords and the solmization of the syllables in the two hexachords varies (see Figure 7.19).

**Figure 7.19: solmization of bars 10–11**

Having note $f$ in the bass ($fa$) resonate for two crotchets in bar 11, note $b'$ on the second beat of the soprano ($mi$) coincides with $f$. As a result, the well-known rule of *musica ficta* is located: *mi contra fa est diabolus in musica*, meaning that the interval between $mi$ and $fa$ in polyphony, is prohibited. One option could be the lowering of $b'$ in the soprano that would create a perfect fourth interval. Also, in hexachord theory the pattern would move to the soft hexachord and note $b\#$ would correspond to syllable $fa$, creating a perfect interval. The other option could be the simplification of the melodic line in the soprano without the added embellishment,
which would avoid any of the ‘forbidden’ intervals. In bar 13 where $b\flat'$ recurs, such issues do not apply since all intervals are consonant.

A similar ornament found in bar 55 is approached in a different way by Barberiis and this time, it is given the ‘appropriate’ cautionary sign (Figure 7.20).

Figure 7.20: *Deul double deul* – bars 54–57

The $b'$ in the soprano which is embellished here, is flattened the second time of its occurrence, avoiding imperfect intervals between the other voices. As seen in the hexachord analysis in Figure 7.21, the hexachords in soprano and bass are mutual. The $b$ on note $b'$ in the soprano (bar 55), does not belong in the natural hexachord and therefore the rule of *una note supra la, semper est canendum fa* is applied (see on page 170).

Figure 7.21: hexachords mutation – bars 54–57

With the analysis of the above passages, it is apparent that Barberiis added ornaments on the melodic lines without following with consistency the rules of
musica ficta. Furthermore, another version of the piece shall be cited for the comparison of the dissonant passage in bar 11. The version presented below in Figure 7.22 is found in Albert de Rippe, *Tiers livre de tabelature de luth [...]*, (Paris: Adrian le Roy & Robert Ballard, 1562).\(^{20}\)

The piece is written for a lute in A and similarly to Barberiis’s version is in the A Aeolian mode, as besides the vocal version. In the above excerpt of the piece it is noticed that the soprano has the same melodic line without the embellishment of Barberiis’s in bar 11. This simplification of the melodic line in soprano which is in fact a *literal* intabulation of the vocal piece, deters the creation of ‘prohibited’ intervallic relations. In particular, note $b'$ in the soprano is not heard until the third beat of bar 11 which falls on a G major chord. As seen in Barberiis, his placement of note $b$ in the second beat (bar 11) is still part of the F major chord of the first beat which lasts a minim and hence creates the prohibited tritone. Moreover, the first chord of bar 11 in Rippe, is a D minor chord in first inversion, which is identical to the vocal piece (see Examples for vocal score, pp. 204–205) in oppose to Barberiis’s F major chord. The note $c'$ in the alto of Barberiis’s version which defines the chord is also held for two beats, creating another dissonant interval with the $b'$ on the second beat of the soprano.

Besides, two more versions found in Pierre Phalèse, *Hortus Musarum in quo tanquam flosculi [...]*, (Lovani: Apud Petrum Phalesium, 1552)\(^{21}\) and in *Theatrum Musicum in quo selectissima optimorum [...]*, (Lovani: Ex Typographia Petri Phalesii, 1563),\(^{22}\) include the piece in a similar version to Rippe. Figure 7.23 below, presents bar 6 of the versions in Phalèse’s *Hortus Musarum* and *Theatrum Musicum* (which corresponds to bars 11–12 in Rippe and Barberiis).

![Figure 7.23: Duel double duel, Phalèse – bar 6](image)

Both versions found in Phalèse are very similar with a couple of alterations but in the discussed passage they are alike. Phalèse’s versions as well as Rippe’s version are to confirm that the simplified intabulation of bar 11 should be followed in order to stay within the principles of *musica ficta*.

Having demonstrated a sample of various instances in which *musica ficta* is applied, the conclusion regarding Barberiis’s approach is best expressed through Hiroyuki Minamino’s words: that ‘some lutenists may simply have been ignorant of the rules of *musica ficta* in order to “grace” the composition with their idiosyncratic ornaments’\(^{23}\) and this seems to be valid for Barberiis. It can be observed that the main cause for the majority of the places where harmonic peculiarities occur in passages, lies in the ornamental patterns used by Barberiis.

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\(^{23}\) H. Minamino, *Sixteenth-Century Lute Treatises*, p. 70.
As seen through his intabulations and *fantasias*, embellishment is used routinely and in particular, in the soprano. In his attempt to present elaborated compositions for the lute, harmonic issues are created. The horizontal way of intabulating or composing original pieces like *fantasias*, it has been proven that it often results to unexpected dissonances which probably Barberiis did notice. This could be an effect of his inefficient theoretical training in music, which was the main ingredient for composing music for a polyphonic instrument such as the lute. An excellent knowledge of counterpoint, modes and hexachord theory was required for any composition during the Renaissance and were apparently lacking in the case of Barberiis. For that reason, performers who are try to find solutions on *musica ficta* through intabulations, should be aware of the errors that occur systematically in tablatures, either these are printing or compositional. In addition to this, the fact that various intabulation techniques were developed – and some were in fact recompositions of the vocal piece – in combination to the different styles, regions and years that occur, performers are advised to examine any available sources for evidence on *musica ficta.*
8. CHAPTER – Conclusion

During the sixteenth century when printing was flourishing in Italy with the three ‘big’ printing houses (Ottaviano Petrucci and later Antonio Gardano and Girolamo Scotto) based in Venice, the Paduan priest Melchiorre de Barberis had the opportunity to have his own works printed. Five books of his music for solo lute (and duos), which appear to be part of a ten-book series, were published by the House of Scotto in 1546 and 1549. Barberis occupies the majority of editions in the series and his books are placed alongside those of some important composers of the sixteenth century such as Francesco da Milano, Giovanni Maria da Crema, Pietro Paolo Borrono and Antonio Rotta. Barberis is described as sonatore eccellentissimo di Lautto on the title page of his editions and his compositions seem to represent the musical trends of his time. These are the only sources that bear his name and there is no reference to his name elsewhere. He does not appear in any list of musicians and although he was a priest, as he is titled in his editions (using the address pre = priest), no documentation for identification has been found. Judging from his dedications, he may have been active both in Padua and Venice (see Chapter 2). He appears to have been involved within circles of educated men as well as highly esteemed persons; for, as a priest, he was well educated.

However, the quality of his work has been questioned by some recent scholars due to the errors in the tablature which are not always printing errors as seen previously, but rather the result of the composer’s understanding of harmony. It cannot be denied, judging from his compositions, that he was an amateur musician. Yet it seems that the content of his books was of interest to Scotto who published such a large collection of his work. Barberis included in his books some typical genres of the Renaissance and went even further, including a few others not very well-known or found in few sources, such as the dance piva or vesentino. His books mainly contain intabulations of well-known songs mostly by French composers, as well as Italians. Many of them were very popular on the Continent, as is indicated by the number of concordances found for these songs (discussed above in Chapter 3). He also included examples of many of the developing lute, and general, musical genres such as fantasias, ricercars, pass’e
mezzi, pavane, saltarelli, gagliarde and some other famous dances based on grounds (La cara cosa, Brando Francese). Not only did he publish the aforementioned genres which are found in every lute book of his era, but he also published an intabulation of a whole Mass, something unusual up until then. In addition, he included four fantasies for a 7-course guitar, which are also unusual since they are the only guitar intabulations printed in Italy (at least by 1549). He continued to add new elements in his editions such as experimenting with the tuning of the instrument.

Jane Bernstein mentions in her book regarding the Scotto Press that ‘the musical repertory printed by Scotto and Gardano not only expressed the catholic taste of cosmopolitan Venice, it also reflected the interests of a wide-ranging international audience’.\(^1\) Printers urged publication of books not only designed for skilful performers but also for a wider audience, many of them amateur, who would buy their editions for pleasure and for their contents. This also explains the fact that a few editions for lute include an instruction manual for amateur lutenists. Barberis reproduced an instruction manual for the lute in all three editions of 1546, addressed to those who have a ‘little or no knowledge of music’. Thus Scotto had in his hands a five-book collection fulfilling all the requirements, and mainly including music that was currently in demand by the general public. All of the above may explain the reasons for Scotto publishing five books which despite the fact they have a significant number of errors, they composed a fine collection of the sixteenth-century repertoire that was in fashion and therefore would attract a large audience (buyers). It also seems that Barberis was not unknown in other music circles – this is indicated by the appearance of the Fantasia per sonar con dui Lauti in Ottava (fol. Ee4v, Ff1 in Libro X) in the French editions by Pierre Phalèse of 1552 and 1563.\(^2\)

Furthermore, the case studies of intabulations in Chapter 3 are presented to reveal Barberis’s view of this music with regard to cadential accidentals and which suggest alternative solutions to musica ficta dilemmas in the specific songs.

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Intabulations of vocal music do tell us more about *musica ficta* since everything is written in the tablature and nothing is left to the performers’ judgement. It has been demonstrated above, in conjunction with indications from other intabulations of vocal pieces, that some decisions by performers (and in particular, singers) regarding *musica ficta* are easier to take; for example in the chanson *Jatens secours* (Chapter 3), Barberiis’s and Attaingnant’s keyboard versions agree at a certain point where the b’ in the vocal part is flattened (bar 10 in Attaingnant and 21 in Barberiis) whilst in the other lute-song version by Attaingnant, the editor added a ˙ in brackets. This shows that consulting other sources of the same piece, and especially intabulations, helps us to have a better picture of the piece.

The process of Barberiis’s intabulation technique is not clear in his compositions, although it is suggested that he had the bass line of the model in most of the cases and maybe also the soprano. In some other songs that were short and had an ‘easy’ melody to remember, he probably memorized the outer voices, which occasionally brought about different harmonization or the omission of certain bars. Missing bars, though, were not always a result of bad memory but of sometimes copying or printing failure. This must be the case in *Il est bel et bon* in which a bar is omitted in the first phrase at the beginning of the piece. That said, this chanson seems otherwise to be a unique case of a strictly literal intabulation by Barberiis. The composer followed all the voices in the vocal model. The fact that this song has mimetic passages with voices following one another, thereby making the song more difficult to remember, suggests that he had all the vocal parts of the model available to use for the intabulation.

Titles of the chansons are also useful to us regarding the intabulating procedure. In the cases studies (Chapter 3), a few titles of chansons were presented and it is noticeable that the title differs from source to source. A good example of that is the chanson *Dueil double dueil* which appears in various sources under different names: *Deul dobble duel* (Pierre Phalèse), *Deul double deul* (Melchiore de Barberiis), *Deul double deul* (Benedikt de Drusina), *Doeul double doeul* (Nicolle des Celliers de Hesdin and Wolff Heckel). Most of the chanson titles in Barberiis’s books are misspelled which might lead to the hypothesis that he was reproducing them from memory. The names could also have been changed during their ‘journey’ from France, and Barberiis may have received them under those names or similar ones. If this is the case, then not only
the titles might have changed but also the content of the music itself. Likewise, the vocal music could appear in different versions (as seen previously) but it is difficult to say which version Barberiis heard or used for his intabulations.

The study of *fantasias* in Chapter 4 reveals a different compositional style, yet with Barberiis idiomatic writing of chromatic alterations and ornamenting passages, characterising his *fantasias*. In these pieces, Barberiis is mainly focused on the melodic line which in many cases is alternated with contrapuntal passages. Through examples of Barberiis’s contemporaries it is demonstrated that countinuous ornamenting passages (including scale passages) were frequent in *fantasias* (e.g. *Ricercar Primo, Secondo* and *Terzo* in *Gorzanis Libro Primo*). Most of his *fantasias* are non-thematic with a few exceptions where the element of imitation is adopted. In these, short themes repeated in various voices for a few bars, for example No. 30, *Fantasia* in which the theme in the opening bars introduced by the soprano, is repeated in the other voices. The same *fantasia* is using the parody technique of a theme introduced in Francesco da Milano’s *Fantasia* no. 41, indicating Barberiis’s ability to borrow melodies and adapt them in his compositions. Barberiis’s *fantasias* are free compositions, without following specific structure and this gives the composer the choice of improvising on the lute. His *fantasias* constitute a summary of his compositional markers on the lute i.e. chromatic alterations and ornamenting passages which are used routinely here. Although short, the ornamenting passages used in his *fantasias* are combined, producing long phrases. An example of the above practice is located in *Fantasia sopra Se mai provasti donna* (fol. Dd4), in *Libro X*. Barberiis’s *fantasias* comprise his own original work and reflect his idiomatic writing.

Throughout the analysis of dances in Chapter 1, it is noticed that dances are treated differently than intabulations or *fantasias*. They mainly follow the harmonic variation of chordal passages, emphasizing on the rhythm of each dance with occasional intercession of his characteristic ornamenting passages. A significant decrease of errors is observed, while strong dissonances and clashing notes do not occur systematically. This may result from the fact that some dances are composed within a mould of certain chord progressions and formal structure, for example the *passamezzo moderno* and *passamezzo antico* which follow a ground bass. His dances are well-structured, consisting of four-bar, eight-bar and 16-bar phrases which was the recommended model for dances. Rare dances are
found in this book, like the *piva* or *vesentino*, as well as more popular dances such as *La cara cosa* and *La traditora*, demonstrating again Barberiis’s wide knowledge of the *Cinquecento* repertoire.

It has been demonstrated that Barberiis had his own compositional style, which uses characteristic connective and ornamenting passages, major thirds in the cadences, and changes of minor/major mode within a bar. Although he did not seem very inventive in ornamentation, he did use ornaments throughout his compositions and when necessary, to add more interest in the melody. His music is a mixture of easy pieces and a few that are more difficult, mostly in terms of chord shapes and slow passages. He does not use any smaller note value than a quaver, making his music more accessible to beginners as well as more advanced lute players.

The whole collection by Barberiis includes a few errors, a number of which are printing solecisms. Jane Bernstein observes that there is a gap in editions from 1545 to 1547 with Girolamo Scotto’s name or any of his printer's marks, which is also absent from Barberiis’s editions of 1546. She goes even further saying that ‘the lute publications, for which Girolamo took out a privilege, were probably sub-contracted to one or two other bookmen, since they did not need the expertise of a music compositor […]. The typography of several of the unsigned editions suggests that they were issued by a printer who did not specialize in music’. This statement explains the appearance of many errors in the publications, although it is not responsible for every single error in the collection. However, compositional errors, or decisions made by Barberiis, should not always be seen in a very strict counterpoint from a staff-notation point of view, but from a lute perspective, as demonstrated in Chapter 6.

A final study of Barberiis’s music is discussed in Chapter 7 with regard to *musica ficta* implications. Through detailed examination of specific passages which disagree in the approach of *musica ficta*, it is observed that Barberiis did not follow systematically the rules of this system. He shows inconsistency in his choice of cautionary sign and especially in the approach of notes *e* and *b*. This occurs in similar passages, as well as in repeated passages which theoretically should be approached in the same way. It is noticed that unsuccessful selections of

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3 J. Bernstein, *Print Culture*, p. 179.
*musica ficta* often result from the addition of ornamenting passages; despite the fact that passing notes have no duration, they use inflections which often clash with the long notes of other voices. The hexachordal analysis in this chapter assists in identifying Barberiis’s view of *musica ficta* and in parallel with excerpts of analogous cases by other composers, it is concluded that Barberiis had a basic knowledge of music theory. The purpose of this chapter is focused on evidence of *musica ficta* in the intabulations as a guide to *musica ficta* in vocal music. It has been stressed that intabulations give direct instructions for the placement of the left hand on the fingerboard and therefore the problem of *musica ficta* is solved through the tablatures. However, such evidence should be used with caution as seen and especially in cases of careless vocal settings, which occur in different sources of lute music.

The body of work by Barberiis is without a doubt an important contribution to the lute repertory. Although he cannot be included among the finest composers of lute music, the quality of his music is mostly of an acceptable standard, considering that he was an amateur musician. And despite the fact that he may not have been the most inventive composer, as seen in Chapter 4, some compositions in his collection are definitely worthy of attention, both for study and performance. His music, usually not complicated but at the same time difficult in a few instances, reveals the needs of the market of his era which required music to be playable by a wider public and of course enjoyable.

Finally, this study of the three books attempts to make Barberiis’s music more accessible, correcting only what seems to be misprints and not interfering with compositional decisions. Barberiis’s music can offer some important stylistic information and trends of sixteenth-century music in Italy and it offers some clue on *musica ficta*. The transcriptions of chansons and also dances can be used for future research, as well as in performance.
Examples

1. Madonna qual certezza

2. Deul double deul

3. Jatens secours

(1) L'Harmonie entre crochets est celle de la version polyphonique. Les lettres entre parenthèses donnent fa, mi, ré, et n'ont pas été transcrites.
4. Passtime with good company

Pastyme with good companye

Source: Transcription by Niki Andronikou from the Add. MS 31922 (‘Henry VIII manuscript’), provided by the British Library.
Passtime with good company
(Royal App. 58)  Henry VIII
De Mon Triste


De mon triste
(Phalèse 1547)

J. Richafort
Source: Add. MS 31922 (‘Henry VIII manuscript’), provided by the British Library.
fit all good sport for my sport who play me lot.

Well I for my pittance first fruit a Dance my hart

Your the most faire in Sallance of good as all in pittance
Company me then by then let all thoughts strange to Speech
for fudling is the most marve of vices all then who ever saw
but my hart and play is best of all.

Company to thone is netho nices to slye.
Company is good as all but cit marquith find the mest.
the best enen the worst effe to my mindly habbe
been to me nice to recite thing I use me.
Source: Add. MS 5665 (The Ritson Manuscript), provided by the British Library.
Source: MS Royal Appendix 58, provided by the British Library.


5. Il est bel et bon

Il était deux femmes toutes du pays,
Il était deux femmes toutes du pays,
say the one to the other: "You have a good husband."
Il est bel et bon, bon, bon, bon, bon, com-mère,
Il est bel et bon, bon, bon, bon, com-mère,
bon, bon, bon, com-mère, com-mère, com-mère, mon mari. Il ne me courrouce,

il est bel et bon, bon, bon, bon, bon, bon, com-mère, mon mari. Il ne me courrouce,

Il est bel et bon, bon, bon, com-mère, mon mari.

Il ne me bat aussi.

Il fait le ménage,

Il ne me bat aussi.

Il ne me couvre, ne me bat aussi.

Il ne me couvre, ne me bat aussi.

Il ne me couvre, ne me bat aussi.
He feeds the chickens,

and I take my pleasure.

Doesn't it make you laugh, dear,
when the
Petite coquelette, quand la poule le cri-e!

Petite coquelette, quand la poule le cri-e!

'liinsa fiord'
Chiarenzana
Il est bel et bon

Marcantonio del Pifaro
6. Adieu mes amours

Qant je voy que sul ne m'entent
Une seul blane en main il entent,
Qu'il faut dire sans faire effroy
Adieu mes amours, etc.

Ainsi qu'il vient il se despent,
Et puis aprés on s'en repent.
N'est-ce pas, cela je le croy.
Remede ny voy quant à moy
Fors publier ce mot patent,
Adieu mes amours, etc.
7. Recercario


15. Recercario

(fol.5v) *The Siena Manuscript*  [Francesco da Milano]
8. Madonna Tenerina

Source: Transcription by Niki Andronikou from the Ms. Hs. 18827 [c15406], held in Vienna Österreichische Nationalbibliothek.

Madonna Tenerina

Ms. 18227 (f. 9-9v)
Source: Transcription by Niki Andronikou from the Ms. Hs. 18827 [c15406], held in Vienna Österreichische Nationalbibliothek (Transcribed from German tablature to French by John Robinson).

Madonna Tenerina
Ms. 18227 (f. 39)
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