

FACHHOCHSCHULE NORDWESTSCHWEIZ

MUSIK-AKADEMIE BASEL

SCHOLA CANTORUM BASILIENSIS

HOCHSCHULE FÜR MUSIK

MASTERARBEIT

Singing to the lute in the early 16th century

von

Emma-Lisa Roux

Betreuender Dozent: Peter Croton

Hauptfach: Pädagogik

Hauptfach-Dozent: Peter Croton

Datum des Masterskonzerts: 23.06.2022

Abgabedatum der Masterarbeit: 04.04.2022

Abstract of the Masterarbeit "Singing to the Lute" by Emma-Lisa Roux

This study focuses on the art of self-accompanied song in the first half of the 16th century, by firstly examining settings of public and private performances of secular and sacred music in French and Italian courts as well as surviving accounts of singing instrumentalists from Italy and Spain, and repertoire for voice and lute found in French, Italian or Spanish sources. Secondly, this study explores didactical sources, such as instructions for lute, vihuela, recorder or viol, or music theory and composition. The third part of the study concentrates on the process of creating progressive material to guide the lutenist to sing to their instrument, based on the historical sources and the repertoire studied in the first two parts.

Table of contents

<i>I. Introduction</i>	3
<i>II. "Singing to the lute": a contextualisation</i>	4
1. Places of musical performance in the 16th century.....	4
2. The self-accompanying singer	13
<i>III. Learning to sing to an instrument</i>	20
1. Pedagogical material in the Renaissance	20
2. Sources for singing and playing the lute	27
<i>IV. Developing a teaching method</i>	31
1. The arrangement and transcription process.....	31
2. Learning method and pieces.....	33
3. Comments on transcriptions.....	48
<i>V. Conclusion</i>	51
<i>VI. Bibliography</i>	52

I. Introduction

“Singing to the lute” has always been part of my performance of Renaissance music. As a singing lutenist and more recently a teacher, I am interested in the learning process of singing to an instrument, as well as the historical background of such a practice. This thesis gives me the opportunity to look for answers about performance of 16th century songs, and to find tools for teaching self-accompaniment. One may ask: Who was self-accompanying, on which instrument, in what setting, and how was it perceived by listeners? I will attempt to answer these questions by introducing the reader to several places and contexts of musical performances in the first half of the 16th century in Western Europe, and by examining surviving accounts of singing lutenists and other instrumentalists. Following this contextualisation, I will explore selected historical sources for teaching instruments and repertoire and reflect on what we can learn from them and their limitations. Most of the composers that I will refer to in the first part of this thesis will be relevant to the second part, which will be focused on creating progressive material for amateur or professional lute players who enjoy singing and want to learn to accompany themselves on the lute, and explore the world of self-accompanied song.

II. "Singing to the lute": a contextualisation

1. Places of musical performance in the 16th century

Societal organisation and social dynamics greatly differ in the 16th century and 21st century: so do public musical performances and their place and function in society. To attempt to draw a picture of the art of self-accompanying in the 16th century, we need to have a good understanding of musical performances of the time, both public and private. Music held a significant place in Europeans societies. However, the concept of having a public specifically coming to listen to a musical performance by one or more musicians in a concert hall, as is prevalent nowadays, was not part of the culture of the Renaissance.

To understand what musical performances were like, we need to answer two questions: where was music performed, and most importantly, for what reason? Musical performance depended on physical spaces, as well as opportunities such as public celebrations or private parties, theatrical performances, dances, religious and/or royal ceremonies. Why or where are two questions that are intrinsically linked, and I will be answering them simultaneously, providing examples that will allow the reader to envision what it meant to be a musician in the 16th century. I have chosen the court of Francis I, the Papal court of Leo X, the ducal palace of Urbino, the courts of Mantua and Ferrara, and the Venetian academies to explore the context of musical performance in the first half of the 16th century.

Physical places for public musical performance included cathedrals, churches, royal courts, palaces, private residences. Financial support was granted by patrons which allowed professional musicians to live from their art and perform in these spaces. Royal courts had a great impact on musical life and development throughout the century as they were epicentres for thinking, creating and performing arts. The court was involved in both performances of sacred and secular music, as religious and courtly life were indissociable. Coronations, royal weddings or funeral ceremonies included sacred music, while the celebration surrounding such events, as well as birthdays, official meetings between rulers of different countries could involve instrumental dance music and secular songs.

The court of Francis I (r. 1515-1547)

Musical patronage in France in the court of Charles VIII (1483-1498), Louis XII (r. 1498-1515) and Anne d'Autriche (r. 1591-1514) and particularly in the court of Francis the First contributed in the flourishing of French vocal and instrumental polyphony: music at the French court was organised within three musical institutions: the *Chapelle*, *Chambre* and *Écurie du Roi* (the Chapel, the Chamber and the Stable of the King). Registers containing the names, positions and often salary of many of the musicians hired through these institutions survived, allowing us to retrace the life of important composers and performers of the time, and to understand their status at the French court. Moreover, the body of work published by Pierre Attaignant as *imprimeur et libraire du roy en musique* (printer and librarian of the King) provides us with a rich collection of musical works of the time,¹ often composed by the musicians serving the King and the Queen.

Before Francis the First's reign, the *Chapelle royale* welcomed famous musicians such as Johannes Ockeghem, who was its leader from 1452 until his death, as well as Loyset Compère, Alexander Agricola or sporadically Elzéar Genêt (also called Carpentras). The *Chapelle* was composed of *chantres* (professional singers), choirboys and the chapel master, providing all musical performances for religious services attended by the King. Most of the members of the *Chapelle* followed the king in his travels, which sometimes led musicians to leave the King of France to serve other rulers: Carpentras was sent to Leo X by Louis XII to become the master of the papal chapel for instance. The *Écurie* welcomed foreign instrumentalists: *piffari*, trumpets and sackbuts from Italy, or fifes and drums from Switzerland. The musicians played music for festivals, tournaments, entries, and many other outdoor celebrations, as well as on the battlefield: loud instruments that could be heard from afar. They would also accompany processions to church for royal baptisms, coronations, weddings, or funerals. For the *Chambre*, the King hired harpists, lute players, singers, as well as fifes and drums to play interior music: overall softer and quieter instruments than the instruments above.²

¹ "Attaignant was the first music publisher to achieve a true mass production. The numbered series of chansons from his later years, for instance, ran to 36 volumes and many of these went through two or three editions. With press runs conservatively estimated at 1000 copies, the total number of chansons put on the market by Attaignant alone reached a staggering figure." Daniel Heartz and Laurent Guillo. "Attaignant, Pierre." *Grove Music Online*. 2001; Accessed 19 Mar. 2022. <https://www.oxfordmusiconline.com/grovemusic/view/10.1093/gmo/9781561592630.001.0001/omo-9781561592630-e-0000001479>.

² Christelle Cazaux, *La musique à la cour de François Ier*, (Paris: École nationale des Chartes, 2002), 39-46.

The surviving accounts and registers detailing the organisation of the musical life show that music was omnipresent at the court of Francis I: in church, in the castles during costumed balls or dances, in the streets of French cities, during his trips and official encounters with other rulers or on the battlefield. When he came to power, he inherited the musical institutions of the *Chapelle*, the *Écurie* and the *Chambre* left by his predecessor Louis XII, as well as some of their singers and instrumentalists. The two institutions most interesting for this study are the *Chapelle* and the *Chambre*, for the *Écurie* only included wind instruments, in which the lute or the voice was never included. Among the singers who belonged to the *Chapelle*, we count Jean Mouton, who served Anne of Brittany as her Chapel master (at the same time as Antonius Divitis), Louis XII as his singer between 1514 and 1515, and finally Francis I until his death in 1522. Claudin de Sermisy also served Anne of Brittany and Louis XII as a singer and became chapel master of François I sometime after Jean Mouton's death. Antoine de Longueval occupied this position at the same time as Sermisy. Another important composer at the King's service was Pierre Sandrin, who composed the famous *Douce Mémoire*, and who we know served as composer for the *Chapelle* as stated in the account of the funeral of the King in 1547.³ The king created in the 1520's a new group of singers, the *Chapelle de plain chant* (the plain-chant chapel) which fulfilled the functional role of singing for daily services, while the singers of the *Chapelle de musique* were asked to sing during ordinary and special occasions.

After 1515, The *Chambre* included a large number of instrumentalists and singers: lutes, spinets, organ, rebec, cornets, fifes and drums, trumpets and other wind instruments. The musicians were given a domestic role within the House as a title in the records: the famous Italian lute player Albert de Rippe, who came to the French court in 1529 and remained at the service of the King until his death, is listed on the registers from 1534 to 1547 as *valet de chambre*.⁴ He participated in developing the French court's cultural reputation internationally: he followed the King in his travels and performed in front of the pope Clement VII in 1533 and Pope Paul III in 1538 and was celebrated for his talent even after his death.⁵ The singers who were listed as servants of the *Chambres* were often also part of the *Chapelle*, among which were De Longueval or Divitis, who both held the position of chapel master in the Chapel. Unfortunately, out of the three institutions, the musicians of the *Chambre* are the ones least mentioned in historical sources containing descriptions of musical performances. Lutes and

³ Cazaux, *La musique à la cour de François Ier*, 310-312.

⁴ Ibid., *La musique à la cour de François Ier*, 321-324.

⁵ Ibid., "Albert de Rippe", 137.

bowed instruments (except maybe violins) are very often excluded from street performances (processions and royal entries were accompanied by the musicians of the *Écurie*) and from churches (the only instrument played in the church would have been the organ). We could imagine, as stated by Christelle Cazaux, that they performed secular songs: Claudin de Sermisy, Pierre Sandrin or Pierre Certon composed a large number of *chansons* that could have been sung at the court by the singers of the King. It seems their performances were tied to banquets, feasts, dances and maybe theatre plays.

Of the few mentions of the lute, one comes from a depiction of a banquet taking place in Bordeaux to celebrate the King's return from captivity, during which a great diversity of "low" instruments start playing (together or alternatively?): "tambourines, rebecs, violas, lutes, organised spinets, fifes, sackbuts, hautboys, psalteries, and other instruments started to lead great joy".⁶ They are probably the same instruments which accompany the dancers the same evening.

The musicians of the *Écurie* are overwhelmingly present in recollections of musical performances. During the famous meeting of Henry VIII and the French King in 1520 taking place in the north of France, the latter welcomes the Tudor King on his horse, surrounded by trumpets and bugles (*clairons*) and following his many fife and drum players, and after the initial encounter, the days of celebration that follow are punctuated by loud and impressive music playing and singing, during banquets and tournaments, as well as masses, in a great exchange of French and English secular and sacred music polyphony.⁷ However, this information might help us realise that softer instruments such as plucked or bowed strings could have had more importance than the sources let us observe.

In 1525, when Francis I was held captive in Spain, he brought with him two lutenists and one spinet player, as well as four choirboys and a singer of his chapel. That was the extent of the musicians he brought with him, among the sixty people of his company. Later in 1538, Albert de Rippe and Francesco Canova da Milano, his rival in excellence, would have both performed for Francis I and Pope Paul III.⁸ Pontus de Tyard's famous praise of Francesco's playing sheds some light on the possible contexts in which lutenists performed: de Tyard recalls a feast he

⁶ "tambourins, rebetz, violles, leutz, espinettes organisées, fifres, saquebutes, psalterions, haulboys, psalterions et autres instruments commancerent a demener grant joye" Ibid., 187.

⁷ Cazaux, "Les entrevues de la fin du règne" *La musique à la cour de François Ier*, 216.

⁸ Ibid., *La musique à la cour de François Ier*, 208.

attended, organised by a certain Monsieur de Vintimille in his residence in Milan, during which Da Milano performed. It appears that he began to play once the tables were cleared, and that the beauty of his playing caused all conversation around the table to cease.⁹ To a certain extent, this description of Da Milano's performance could be representative of the performances that Albert de Rippe and the other lutenists hired by Francis I would have given for the King and his court during banquets and other events involving supper.

Musical experience in the Rome of Leo X (1513-1521)

The accounts of musical performances in public or private settings during Leo X's pontificate are abundant. Sacred music was performed in the Sistine Chapel and the Chapel of Nicholas V (the pope's private chapel) for liturgical ceremonies and feast days. Service music was traditionally performed *a capella* by the papal choir.¹⁰ The Pope was very fond of the French royal court chapel's musical traditions, and after his meeting with King Francis the 1st in 1515/16 in Bologna, he granted ecclesiastical favours to several of the King's musicians, among whom Claudin de Sermisy and Jean Richafort. Another performance location of sacred music was the Roman Coliseum, where there were "performances of a Passion play [...] which sometimes involved music".

Secular music was also part of the musical life during Leo's time, and rich in diversity. Anthony M. Cumming lists several places where the Pope would spend his time and have music performed: the Papal apartment in the Vatican Palace, the Castel Sant'Angelo, the Villa Madama, the hunting lodge, or the Ancient Roman baths, which all welcomed occasional formal or casual performances by singers and instrumentalists, often after the Pope's dinner or after banquets. Cummings cites an account of a supper and performance happening in 1518 at the ruins of the ancient Roman baths: "On the said day [2 August] the Pope had... a sumptuous supper... And after supper he had musical performances... that is, first, maybe ten dressed in violet, who sang and in turn played (on the *lirone*, two recorders, lute and harpsichord) a song in Bergamasque style. Then an equal number dressed in yellow, who sang and in turn played (on trombone and *cornetti*) a german song...".¹¹ Another instance of musical performance after supper with Leo is described by Cardinal Ippolito d'Este in a letter to Alfonso d'Este, Duke of

⁹ Pontus de Tyard, *Solitaire second ou prose de la musique* (Lyon: Ian de Tournes, 1555), 95.

¹⁰ Anthony M. Cummings, *The Lion's Ear* (Ann Arbor: The University of Michigan Press, 2012), 75.

¹¹ *Ibid.*, *The Lion's Ear*, 130-131.

Ferrara in 1513: "He invited me back to dine with him and after dinner he had some music performed by four or five of his singers".¹² These two instances and the many other surviving accounts reflect the musical diversity of the performances organised by the Pope in Rome. The musicians involved in such performances could be ensemble of singers, singing lutenists or *lyra da braccio* players, bowed string players (*lirone*), ensembles of wind players (*piffari*, *cornetti*, recorders and crumhorns at the hunting lodge), or keyboard players (portative organ or harpsichord).

To paint a fuller picture of the Roman musical life during Leo's pontificate, one must mention public festivals that could take place in the streets of Rome, like the carnivals of 1514 and 1520 which consisted in processions of floats (wooden panels representing "a particular condition in human experience or a particular human characteristic" painted by different artists), preceded by "drums, trumpets, and other instruments".¹³ In 1521, the carnival in Rome involved theatrical and dancing performances, in the courtyard of the Castel Sant'Angelo, accompanied by instrumental music. Another opportunity for music performances in the streets of Rome was provided by triumphal entries, which happened to be grandiose, or terrible: in 1515, after the marriage of Leo's brother Giuliano to King Francis the 1st's aunt Filiberta of Savoy, "Giuliano and his new consort entered Rome by means of an elaborate *entrata*, accompanied by instrumental playing", and the public was "exhausted, and tired from laughing at such poor processional music".¹⁴

The ducal palace of Urbino

The Palace of Guidobaldo I, Duke of Urbino, provided the setting for Baldassare Castiglione's *Il Cortegiano*, published in 1528 in Venice. One of the most important sources for the study of the Renaissance period, this book recounts the content of four nights of conversations which took place in 1507 in the rooms of his wife, the duchess Elisabetta Gonzaga. They consisted of debates between several gentlemen, around the qualities and skills that the ideal courtier should possess. The Duchess participated as a moderator of some sort, deciding who is to speak or when the evening would come to an end. Castiglione recalls the conclusion of the first night:

¹² Ibid., 111.

¹³ Ibid., 22.

¹⁴ Ibid., 40-41.

When everyone agreed, the Duchess desired that madonna Margherita and madonna Costanza Fregosa should dance. Whereupon Barletta, a delightful musician and an excellent dancer, who always kept the court amused, began to play upon his instruments; and the two ladies, joining hands with extreme grace, danced a bassa, and then a roegarze with extreme grace, much to the delight of those who watched. Then, the night being already far spent, the Duchess rose to her feet, whereupon everyone reverently took leave and retired to sleep.¹⁵

Music is but in the background of this entertaining performance for the noblemen and women present in the room. At the forefront is the dancing of the ladies, accompanied by Barletta. Of the four nights of conversation, the first one is the only one to end with dance and music. Whether the book relates real or fictional events is not relevant: the performance depicted in the first book, even if it did not actually happen, gives us a realistic idea of what a private performance could have looked like.

Venetian academies¹⁶ and amateur performances

Italian city states "fostered the rise of a humanistically educated middle class with artistic aspirations and enough leisure time to pursue them":¹⁷ it is important to note that music making could also be recreational and amateur performances became more common throughout the 16th century. Nowadays, thanks to modern technologies, one with access to streaming platforms can listen to any recorded music anytime, anywhere. Listening to music has never been easier. In the 16th century however, there were only two ways to listen to music: through live performances by professional or amateur musicians, or by playing and/or singing by oneself, alone or accompanied. Following the invention of type printing by Gutenberg in the 1450's, which was later adapted to print music symbols, Ottaviano Petrucci published in Venice

¹⁵ "Così confermando ogn'uno, impose la S. Duch. à M. Margherita & M. Costanza Fregosa che danzassero. Onde subito Barletta musico piacevolissimo e danzator eccellente, che sempre tutta la corte teneva in festa, cominciò à sonare suoi instrumenti: & esse presesi per mano, & havendo prima danzato una bassa, ballarono una Roegarze con estrema gratia, & singular piacer di chi le vide; poi, perche gia era passata gran pezza della notte, la Signora Duchessa si levò in piedi, & così ogn'uno reverentemente, presa licentia, sene andarono à dormire." Baldassare Castiglione, *Il libro del cortegiano* (Venice, heirs of Aldus Manutius and Andrea Torresano d'Asola, 1528), fol. D ii^v. Translation to English by Charles S. Singleton in: Charles S. Singleton, *The Book of the Courtier* (New York: Anchor Books, 1959), 85-86.

¹⁶ "Typically such groups refer to themselves with the words "accademia", "adunanza," "ridotto," or "cenacolo." The usages of "accademia," apart from groups that were formally named and drawn up, was no more standardized or systematic than that of the others, though the last three seem to imply less academic pretense". Feldman, Martha. "The Academy of Domenico Venier, Music's Literary Muse in Mid-Cinquecento Venice." *Renaissance Quarterly* 44, no. 3 (1991), 476. <https://doi.org/10.2307/2862594>.

¹⁷ Colin Lawson and Robin Stowell, *The Cambridge History of Musical Performance* (Cambridge University Press, 2012), 297.

his first printed book of music in 1501,¹⁸ which led to a shift in the accessibility of written music. The printing industry became an increasingly lucrative activity and books of music more widely accessible. Buying a music book, (manuscript or printed books of vocal or instrumental polyphony, often part books,¹⁹ lute intabulations, arrangements of vocal polyphony for voice and lute) allowed one to sing and/or play at home. Thus, in addition to appreciating the playing and singing of professional musicians, wealthy and educated people themselves sang and played at an amateur level, as a pastime.

In the mid-sixteenth century, the republic of Venice and its organisation allowed learned people to disperse and meet in smaller circles, in opposition to kingdoms where the artistic life was concentrated around the royal court. These groups, often called academies, were centres of cultural and artistic exchange, in which scholars, poets, musicians, or writers would meet and share their ideas as well as perform. There are some recollections of performances, both professional and amateur within these circles. A few Florentines who then resided in Venice welcomed such groups to their salons, such as Neri Capponi, who invited Adrian Willaert (c.1490-1562), appointed as *maestro di cappella* of San Marco in 1527, to lead his academy where the soprano Polissena Pecorina sang as *prima donna* with a corpus of excellent singers and instrumentalists of the city. According to Martha Feldman, who extensively researched academies and their activities, much of Willaert's *Musica Nova* was probably premiered there.²⁰ We also know of the Strozzi family, based in Venice at the time, of which Filippo, merchant and banker, and his brother Lorenzo who were both passionate about music and poetry, would have sung vocal polyphony (madrigals, carnival songs and lamentations) in public events.²¹ Filippo's son Ruberto, who inherited his father's passion for the arts, also sung part music with his brothers. He was very involved with Venetian musical and literary activities as a patron,

¹⁸ Ottaviano Petrucci, *Harmonice Musices Odhecaton A* (Venice, 1501). For a better understanding of Petrucci's role in making polyphonic music widely accessible, see: Stanley Boorman, Eleanor Selfridge-Field, and Donald W. Krummel. "Printing and publishing of music." *Grove Music Online*. 2001; Accessed 29 Mar. 2022. <https://www.oxfordmusiconline.com/grovemusic/view/10.1093/gmo/9781561592630.001.0001/omo-9781561592630-e-0000040101>.

¹⁹ "Manuscript or printed books that contain music for only a single voice (whether human or instrumental) [...] the format seems to date from the late 15th century, becoming standard for the dissemination of ensemble music in the 16th and 17th centuries." John Morehen and Richard Rastall, "Partbooks." *Grove Music Online*. 2001; Accessed 8 Jan. 2022. <https://www.oxfordmusiconline.com/grovemusic/view/10.1093/gmo/9781561592630.001.0001/omo-9781561592630-e-0000020966>. A publication of polyphonic music for four voices for instance would be printed in four separate books, each with one voice: commonly cantus, altus, tenor and bassus.

²⁰ See: Martha Feldman, *City Culture and the Madrigal at Venice*, (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1995), chap. 2, <http://ark.cdlib.org/ark:/13030/ft238nb1nr/>.

²¹ *Ibid.*, *City Culture*, 30.

mostly between 1538 and 1542 and learned to play the viol with Ganassi, who dedicated his *Regola rubertina* in 1542 to him.²²

In conclusion, music in the early 16th century was an integral part of court, religious, as well as political life. It was present and of great importance in the church (during religious services and ceremonies), during entertainment events for members of the court (banquets, feasts, plays or ballets) and for the subjects of the kingdom (carnivals, tournaments and religious processions), but also during important political events, as it allowed a sovereign to show his or her power (meetings between monarchs, royal entries and royal ceremonies). To bring music to life, European courts and churches hired professional composers, instrumentalists and singers. Moreover, the resources that allow us today to establish the musical landscape around Francis I and Pope Leo X show us the abundance of musical exchanges that took place around their time between France, England, Italy and Spain. To get a more complete picture, it would be interesting to explore in more depth the musical life at the courts of England, Germany and Spain at the beginning of the sixteenth century, but the need to keep this study concise does not allow me to go further in this research.

²² Ibid., 34.

2. The self-accompanying singer

This chapter is dedicated to summarizing several accounts of singing instrumentalists and their performances in the early 16th century in Italy and Spain, the two countries from which most of the evidence of the presence of these self-accompanying musicians themselves survives.

The *Cantori al liuto* in northern Italy

Pietro Aaron (c. 1480 - after 1545), Italian theorist²³ active in northern Italy and Venice, wrote in his *Lucidario in musica* (1545) an extensive list of singers who he considered to be excellent. He separated them in three groups: *cantore al libro*, *cantori al liuto*, *donne a liuto e a libro*. The second section comprises twelve "singers with lute", among which stand Bartolomeo Tromboncino (1470-1535) and Marchetto Cara (1470-1525).²⁴ They are two of the most important *frottola* composers of the beginning of the century, whose compositions and performances were held in high esteem by their contemporaries. They both worked for the Mantuan court where Marchetto Cara served marquis Francesco Gonzaga as his composer, singer and lutenist, while Tromboncino worked for Gonzaga's wife, Isabella d'Este. Marchetto Cara served both of them when Tromboncino left the city. He travelled through northern Italy to perform for different courts, ravishing his audience as he sang, as depicted in Castiglione's *Libro del Cortegiano*:

"Né men commove nel suo cantar il nostro Marchetto Cara, ma con piú molle armonia; ché per una via placida e piena di flebile dolcezza intenerisce e penetra le anime imprimendo in esse soavemente una dilettevole passione."²⁵

"Nor does our Marchetto Cara move us less by his singing but only with a softer harmony. For, in a manner serene and full of plaintive sweetness, he touches and penetrates our souls, gently impressing a delightful sentiment upon them."²⁶

Other than Marchetto Cara, Baldassare Castiglione mentions Giacomo Sansecondo in his *Libro del Cortegiano*, as a remarkable singer who accompanies himself on the *viola*, through the words of Messer Bernardo, present during the second night of discussion in the chambers of Elisabetta Gonzaga, saying: "I am wont to marvel at the daring of those who venture to sing to

²³ Bonnie J. Blackburn "Aaron [Aron], Pietro." *Grove Music Online*. 2001, Accessed 11 Jan. 2022. <https://www.oxfordmusiconline.com/grovemusic/view/10.1093/gmo/9781561592630.001.0001/omo-9781561592630-e-0000000008>.

²⁴ Listed as "Messer Marchetto Mantoano". Pietro Aaron, *Lucidario in musica* (Venice, 1545), fol. 31v.

²⁵ Castiglione, *Il libro del Cortegiano*, fol. C^v.

²⁶ Singleton, *The Book of the Courtier*, 60.

the viola in the presence of our friend Giacomo Sansecondo".²⁷ Could Sansecondo be also cited by Pietro Aaron among the twelve singers with lute, under the name of "Jacopo da San Secondo"?²⁸ Aaron also mentions Ippolito Tromboncino, a venetian composer, singer and lutenist of a later generation, active around 1550, nowadays less renowned for only six of his madrigals survived. Having twelve singing lutenists listed as *Cantori al liuto* leads me to believe that singing to the lute was common practice in the region, especially considering that he only mentions singers of different generations who he thinks to be the very best.

Aaron's list only includes male musicians: he dedicates a separate category to female performers, the *Donne a liuto et a libro*, in which we find Franceschina Bellamano, who is mentioned in other accounts as a singer and lute-player. Domenico Venier praises her singing and playing in the sonnet that follows:

Con varie voci or questa, or quella corda
Tocca da bella man sul cavo legno
Mirabilmente il canto si al suon accorda.

With various words, now this, now that string
Does the lovely hand touch on the hollow wood,
Miraculously tuning her song to its sound.

(no. 68, vv. 9-11)²⁹

She is also described "una virtuosa donna che cantava & sonava eccellentemente di liuto, detta Franceschina Bellamano"³⁰ in *De le rime di diversi nobili peoti toscani* published in 1565 in Venice. Martha Feldman suggests that Bellamano could have been a courtesan³¹, perhaps an example of "Venice's famed *cortigiane oneste*, its so-called honest courtesans, women of exceptional grace and high rhetorical polish. As well as being skilled conversationalists and writers, many of these courtesans were singers, often apparently improvising and accompanying themselves on instruments such as the lute or spinet — this in an age that sheltered women closely and kept most nonpatrician women illiterate."³² Whether a woman had to be a courtesan to be able to lead an artistic life is an important question. The absence of female musicians, poets and composers in the accounts and sources should not be understood

²⁷ Singleton, *The Book of the Courtier*, 144.

²⁸ Singleton speculates that *cantar alla viola* in Castiglione's book refers to singing to the lute, however I think the term is ambiguous in this context. On one hand, it could refer to the *viola da mano*, which "can be regarded as an Italian equivalent to the Spanish vihuela. The most obvious difference between the two seems to be only the shape of their bodies". "Reconstruction of a *plucked viola*", [vihueladamno.com](https://www.vihueladamno.com/viola-da-mano/daiLibri.htm), accessed on April 2, 2022, <https://www.vihueladamno.com/viola-da-mano/daiLibri.htm>. On the other hand, it could also refer to the *viola d'arco*. Instrumentalists in the early 16th century often played several instruments, so it would not be impossible for Sansecondo to have played both *viola d'arco* and *viola da mano*.

²⁹ Pierantonio Serassi, *Rime di Domenico Veniero* (Bergamo, 1751), XV.

³⁰ Martha Feldman and Bonnie Gordon, *The Courtesan's Arts* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2006), 120.

³¹ Courtesanship is defined by Martha Feldman and Bonnie Gordon as "the social phenomenon whereby women engage in relatively exclusive exchanges of artistic graces, elevated conversation, and sexual favors with male patrons." Feldman and Gordon, *The Courtesan's Arts*, 5.

³² Feldman, *City culture and the Madrigal at Venice*, 14.

as the absence of female artists in the societies of the Renaissance. The difference of status and treatment between men and women in the 16th century resulted in the omnipresence of male musicians in the court, the church and the city, the transmission of their works through the centuries and in the almost complete erasure of the presence female musicians, for men were free to work as musicians and composers for European courts and perform for big assemblies, while women did not have that right. Fortunately, the exceptional quotes and comments on private performances by female musicians that survived prove us that women were not completely excluded from the musical world, and specifically from the art of singing to one's own accompaniment, like the accounts of Bellamano or Isabella d'Este.³³

Singing instrumentalists in Rome during Leo X's pontificate

In his chapter dedicated to "Solo singing to string accompaniment of secular texts in the vernacular", Anthony M. Cummings compiled a number of quotes from different archives mentioning musicians singing to their instruments for Pope Leo X.³⁴ Cummings systematically translated the terms *viola*, *cithara* or *citara*, *leuto* and *liuto* to the english word "lute". Although the terms *liuto* and *leuto* undoubtedly refer to the lute, the words *cithara* and *viola* are more ambiguous. Cummings lists two quotes coming from an excerpt of the archive of the apostolic treasury, in which we find the private expenses of the Pope from 1519 to 1520. It contains two mentions of the payment of singing instrumentalists: on the 13th of June 1520, "ninety-six ducats as the three-month allowance" were given to "Messer Francesco Tertio and his fellow musicians, who sing to the lute [*leuto*]"³⁵ and on the 10th of December 1520, "four ducats to the lute [*cithara*] player who sings extemporaneously". In the next quote, Cummings translates "...che audiva Strascino, con la sua citara, dicendo all'improvviso" into "...who was listening to Strascino, who was improvising [while accompanying himself] on the lute".³⁶ His version is more of an interpretation than a literal translation of the Italian quote, which I would translate this way: "...who was listening to Strascino, with his *citara*, declaiming in an improvisatory manner", keeping the original name of the instrument in the translation. I would not conclude from this quote that Strascino was specifically playing the lute, however I would support that he was declaiming or singing a poem while playing a string instrument.

³³ For more on Isabella d'Este, see pages 17-18 of the present study.

³⁴ Cummings, *The Lion's Ear*, 132-138.

³⁵ "duc. novantasei per provisione di tre mesi di mes. Francesco Tertio et tre soi compagni messoci che catorno con leuto..." Gasparoni and Narducci, p. 247. Translated to English by Anthony M. Cummings in *The Lion's Ear*, 133.

³⁶ *Ibid.*, *The Lion's Ear*, 133.

These descriptions and accounts confirm the presence of singing instrumentalists in Rome at the service of the Pope, whether they played lute or other string instruments to accompany themselves. The payment accounts do not specify where or when the musicians played: Cummings suggests that they would have performed for the Pope and his guests during banquets and suppers,³⁷ which is reasonable considering the possible settings of performance for solo-singing and the playing of quiet instruments such as plucked or bowed strings.

Musicians singing to an instrument are often associated with the term *dicendo* or *cantando all'improviso* which refers to the art of declaiming or singing poetry and accompanying oneself on a string instrument. This practice was in Cummings' words "a Renaissance humanism's evocation of the musical activities of historical figures of the classical world and of mythological figures like Orpheus with his lyre."³⁸ Of the singing-instrumentalists who could have engaged in this practice, we know Strascino (Nicolo Campani), who sang and played for the Pope Leo X at the Castel Sant'Angelo in the dining hall in 1520, and of Atalante Migliorotti, singer and *lira da braccio* player, student of Leonardo da Vinci, who was employed by Leo X, and who "was specifically compared to Orpheus by his fellow members of the Florentine Sacred Academy of the Medici".³⁹

Lute and Vihuela songs in Naples and Valencia

In his article *Improvisation and Composition in the Vihuela Songs of Luis Milán and Alonso Mudarra*, John Griffiths explores the Spanish vihuela song repertoire and "their possible links with unwritten improvisatory traditions".⁴⁰ He mentions two Spanish singing-instrumentalist: Luis Milán (c. 1500 - c.1562), a Spanish vihuelist and composer, who wrote about his time spent in Valencia at the court of Germaine de Foix and Ferdinand of Aragon, describing himself singing and playing the vihuela for the noblewomen of the court, in his book *El Cortesano* (1561).⁴¹ He composed twelve Spanish and Portuguese *villancicos*, four *romances*, and six Italian sonnets which were not arranged from vocal polyphony but possibly directly composed

³⁷ Ibid., p. 87

³⁸ Ibid., p. 134.

³⁹ Ibid., p. 134

⁴⁰ John Griffiths, *Improvisation and Composition in the Vihuela Songs of Luis Milan and Alonso Mudarra*, Gesäng zur Laute, ed. Nicole Schwindt. TroJa — Trossingen Jahrbuch für Musikforschung 2. (Kassel: Bärenreiter, 2003). 111-32.

⁴¹ "Dixo don Diego: Don Luis Milan, y'os agradezco lo que vos debeis agradecerme; pues yo seré causa que os agradezcan las desagradecidas el servicio que les habeis hecho en dejarlas encantadas de vuestro cantar y tañer; y vos, con el romance que habeis cantado de la batalla de Roncesvalles, me habeis sanado del mal frances que tenía defendiendo la error francesa contra la verdad española." Luis Milán, *El cortesano* (Madrid, De Auribau y Compania, 1874), 129, www.gutenberg.org.

for the voice and the vihuela. They can be found in his *Libro de musica de vihuela de mano intitulado El maestro*, published in Valencia in 1536.⁴² According to John Griffiths, "as the court of the former Aragonese rulers of Naples, Neapolitan influence would have been unavoidable and Valencian traditions are likely to have developed through a combination of local and imported influences and the interaction of Spanish and Italian musicians." He suggests that "both the *villanella*, the Spanish *villancico* and several other Iberian song types originated as solo song with lute or vihuela accompaniment."⁴³ This way of composing is reminiscent of the improvised or composed singing of Italian poems that seemed to be a part of performance practices of singing instrumentalists from Venice, Rome or Naples.

Amateur singing lutenists

Most of the accounts of performances or registers of employment of professional singing instrumentalists in the early 16th century refer to Spanish or Italian musicians, improvising or writing their own settings of poems. At first glance, the practice of self-accompaniment among professional musicians like Tromboncino, Cara, Strascino, Bellamano or Milán, seems to be tied to this art. Nevertheless, the large number of publications for one voice and lute shows that singing to the lute might have included performing arrangements of vocal polyphony, and that amateurs, who were likely to purchase these publications, could have been singing to the lute as well. Isabella d'Este (1474-1539), Marchesa of Mantua from 1490 to her death, and patron of the arts, played keyboards, plucked and bowed instruments, and sang. She was one of the most privileged amateur musicians of her time: she started learning to sing in Ferrara with her father Ercole I d'Este's chapel composer, Johannes Martini, as well as playing the clavichord. She continued benefitting from singing lessons as well as keyboard lessons with different teachers after her wedding to Francesco Gonzaga, marchese of Mantua in 1490. Isabella's correspondence with friends and family, as well as luthiers and teachers, show how passionate she was about music making.⁴⁴ In the 1490's, she took on the study of the *lyra da braccio* and the *viola da gamba*. It seems she might have played with her brother Alfonso d'Este, according to a letter she wrote in 1499, where she states that she hopes to be able to play the *viola* with him when she goes to Ferrara, after having just begun studying it.⁴⁵

⁴² Luys Milan, *Libro de Música de Vihuela de mano Intitulado El Maestro* (Valencia, 1536).

⁴³ Griffiths, *Improvisation and Composition*,

⁴⁴ See: William F. Prizer, "Una 'Virtù Molto Conveniente A Madonne': Isabella D'este as a Musician." *The Journal of Musicology* 17, no. 1 (1999): 10-49. <https://doi.org/10.2307/764010>.

⁴⁵ *Ibid.*, "Una Virtù", 22.

She occasionally performed for public occasions. In 1502, Isabella organised a dinner with eminent guests during the celebrations of her brother's wedding with Lucrezia Borgia, after which her guests asked her to play and sing for them: "so many requests and demands were made of me that I had to demonstrate my singing to the lute".⁴⁶ In 1514, she sang a sonnet of Baldassare Castiglione set by Marchetto Cara to her *viola* and again, in Naples, after having dined with Francesco Aquaviva, marchese of Bitonto.⁴⁷ If she sang and played in public for more occasions, it would have been for smaller and intimate circles. However, the example of Isabella d'Este is unlikely to represent all amateur singing-lutenists in the beginning of the 16th century, for she was in one of the most privileged positions available for a woman of her time.

William F. Prizer writes:

"There is no trace of Isabella's improvising settings of poetry anywhere in the large body of documents that mention her singing, and it seems unlikely that amateurs were trained to take part in the complex unwritten tradition of Italian secular music. The whole process of her study, with written exempla and singing methods, argues against such a conclusion, as does the nature of her musical court. She kept composers among her stable of musicians, whose function it was to set verse that she herself could sing."⁴⁸

Regardless of the level at which she played and sang and whether we can trust the praise she received from her contemporaries,⁴⁹ Isabella's performance practices could have differed from professional singing-lutenists and frottolists in that she did not improvise or compose, she only interpreted the music written by the composers of her court. She could have been representative of amateurs of her time in this aspect, although generally amateurs would play and sing from printed books that they bought, while she could request music settings directly from the composers at her service, and had exclusive access to works from poets and composers before they were published.⁵⁰

In summary, there is evidence of singers accompanying themselves on the lute in Italy and Spain. It is not excluded that this practice was also present in France or England at the beginning

⁴⁶ "Dopo cena, facessimo il ballo dil capello. Finito che'l fu, per tante preghe et croci mi furono facte, fui necessitata fare li mei atti nel cantare in lo lauto", Ibid., 25.

⁴⁷ Ibid., 27.

⁴⁸ Ibid., 18.

⁴⁹ Ibid., 31-35.

⁵⁰ Ibid., 26.

of the century, especially if one considers the international exchanges that took place during this period, however I have not found written record that such musicians performed elsewhere than in Italy or Spain. The few surviving descriptions of their musical performances show us that an important part of their repertoire belonged to an oral tradition, for they consisted of poems set to music by themselves, or even improvised. This practice could have been particular to professional musicians, whether they played lute, vihuela, bowed string instruments or even keyboard instruments, while amateurs, if they engaged in singing to their own accompaniment, could have relied on the printed publications of musical settings of Italian and Spanish poetry for voice and lute.

III. Learning to sing to an instrument

1. Pedagogical material in the Renaissance

As stated in Chapter 1, the musical printing industry that developed in the 16th century resulted in a number of publications directed towards amateur musicians. Methods for learning music were no exception, and lute masters and composers published instructions on how to play the lute or the vihuela, an instrument similar to the lute in that it uses the same tuning and more in use in Spain than the lute was. In most publications, we find comments on tuning and stringing the lute, on how to read tablature, on choosing right hand fingerings and some rule of music theory (intervals, solmization letters, rhythmical values). The written-out instructions are sometimes directly followed by a selection of pieces, which are not arranged in a progressive order, and it is left to the reader to judge for themselves if a piece is right for them, as can be observed in Attaignant's *Tres breve et familiere introduction* published in 1529 or in the so-called Capirola Lute Book (ca. 1517).⁵¹ However, some publications do include progressive material: Hans Gerle's *Musica Teusch* (1532)⁵² and Hans Newsidler's *Ein newgeordent künstlich Lautenbuch* (1536) contain one and two-voice simple pieces for instance.

Regarding indications on the use of the hands, some practical information on right- and left-hand fingerings can be found in Adrian Leroy's *Briefve Intruction how to play on the Lute by Tablature* (1568), but it remains very basic and no detail on how to hold the hands is given. On the other hand, the Capirola Lute Book contains an important passage on "the right manner to carry the hand [...] on the neck of the lute":

*"How the fingers are placed on the neck, and not to lift the fingers high above the strings, because this is very important. And make this a habit from the beginning, because if you do not, it will be difficult for you to remedy it later."*⁵³

Unfortunately, this is a rare example of comments on creating healthy habits. Other notable publications that provide more instruction on how to play the lute are Fuenllana's instruction

⁵¹ Orlando Cristoforetti, *Composizione di meser Vincenzo Capirola* (Florence: Studio per Edizioni Scelte, 1981).

⁵² Hans Gerle, *Musica Teusch* (Nürnberg: Hieronymus Formschneider, 1532).

⁵³ Gombosi, *Composizione di Meser Vincenzo Capirola* (Neuilly-sur-Seine: Société de Musique d'Autrefois, 1955), XC.

for the vihuela, titled *Orphenica Lyra* (1554)⁵⁴ or Waissel's *Lautenbuch, darinn von der Tabulatur und Application der Lauten gründlicher und voller Unterricht* (1592).⁵⁵

Exercises are often missing from the lute methods. The only source that gives some exercises is Newsidler's *Ein newgeordent künstlich Lautenbuch* (1536). It comprises two fundamentals (*Fundament*), each comprising musical exercises to introduce the beginner to the lute. The first one (*das klein Fundament*) contains three rules (*Regeln*) that appear twice, once with left hand fingerings only, once with right-hand fingerings only.⁵⁶ The first rule is a one-voice scale pattern that goes up and down two octaves and finishes with a two voice chord, as a way to get familiar with the used range of the instrument (see Figure 1).

Die Erst Regel / und ist ein gering fundament der Lauten

Figure 1 Excerpt of the first rule. Hans Newsidler, *Ein newgeordent künstlich Lautenbuch*, fol. Ciii^r

The second rule includes imitation and adding two-voice chords (see Figure 2).

Die Ander Regel / und ist ein ander art

Figure 2 Hans Newsidler, *Ein newgeordent künstlich Lautenbuch*, fol. Ciii^v

⁵⁴ Miguel de Fuenllana, *Orphenica Lyra* (Seville: Martin de Montesdoca, 1554).

⁵⁵ Matthäus Waissel, *Lautenbuch, darinn von der Tabulatur und Application der Lauten gründlicher und voller Unterricht* (Frankfurt, 1592).

⁵⁶ Hans Newsidler, *Ein newgeordent künstlich Lautenbuch* (Nürnberg, 1536). Ff. ciii^r, ciii^v.

The third and last rule of the first fundament is musically identical but rhythmically altered: the rhythm of the second rule gives the player time to alternate between two-voice chords and melodic patterns that require alternating the thumb and index of the right hand, while the third rule requires to immediately jump from one to the other (see Figure 3).

Die drit regel / und ist auch ein andere art

Figure 3 Hans Newsidler, *Ein newgeordent künstlich Lautenbuch*, fol. Ciiiv

The three rules are then followed by the next fundament, which Newsidler describes to be "more artistic but a little more difficult than the first".⁵⁷ It includes all aspects found in the three preceding rules (one-voice melodic patterns alternated with two-voice chords) with three-voice chords in addition. These two fundaments are the extent of the exercises given by Newsidler in this lute method. Are they representative of the exercises that other lute teachers would have given to their students?

The next lute source that includes exercises is Thomas Robinson's *Schoole of Musicke* (1603).⁵⁸ As the standard was seemingly to leave the reader with very little information on lute technique, posture, hand position or learning methods, we could imagine that lute methods were not enough to replace the teacher, and amateurs needed to take lessons and use the lute method as support and source of repertoire, but not as a tool for learning independently: could it have been done purposefully by the authors to preserve their work as teachers? Thomas Mace explains that in "former times",⁵⁹ the lute was considered a difficult instrument partly because of the lute masters who kept their knowledge to themselves.

⁵⁷ "Nun volgt ein anders fundament/das vil kunstreycher/ist/aber ein wenig schwerer dann das erst." Newsidler, *Ein newgeordent künstlich Lautenbuch*, fol. D^r.

⁵⁸ Thomas Robinson, *The Schoole of Musicke* (1603). Ff. Bij, C, Cij.

⁵⁹ "they had to their lutes but few trings; some 10, some 12, and some 14 strings, which in the beginning of my time were almost together in use; (and is this present year 1675. Fifty four years since I first began to undertake that instrument)." Thomas Mace, *Musick's Monument* (London: T. Ratcliffe & N. Thompson, 1676), fol. 39. He could be referring to 5-, 6- and

*"A third and very considerable reason is, from the closeness of Masters in the Art, who (all along) have been extremely shie in revealing the occult and hidden secrets of the lute. The French (who were generally accounted great Masters) seldom or never would prick their lessons as they play'd them, much less reveal any thing (further than of necessity they must) to the thorough understanding of the Art, or Instrument [...]."*⁶⁰

From Thomas Mace's point of view (1675), the lute would have been simpler to learn if the lute masters and teachers of the 16th century had been "so kind [...] to at least leave [their knowledge and experience] behind to be published to the world for a common good after their decease".⁶¹ It is not known if Mace had access to prints from the previous generations of lute players, therefore it cannot be confirmed that his comments were based on his knowledge of the published English, Italian, Spanish or German lute instructions of the 16th century and their lack of depth.

Luis Milán mentions in the title page of his *Libro de musica de vihuela da mano* (1536) that "his book would follow the same manner and order that a teacher would bring to a beginner student: showing him progressively from the beginning everything of which he might need to know".⁶² He asks that the beginner learn to read mensural notation (*canto llano*) before anything else. As found in many other lute introductions, Luys Milán instructs the reader how to read tablature, how to recognise a false from a true string, as well as how to tune the vihuela. He goes on to introduce the *compás*,⁶³ rhythms and proportions, as well as the modes. Most of the pieces are accompanied by comments on the *compás*, the mode of the piece, the provenance of the piece and sometimes on Milán's intention with composing the piece.⁶⁴ He often reminds the reader that the pieces are set in a progressive manner, which can lead to believe the first pieces of the book were what was considered at the time by the lute masters as "easy" and truly appropriate for a beginner. After taking a look at the first *fantasia*, I observed that although it was not difficult, it did not correspond to my idea of a piece appropriate for a beginner: I

7-course lutes, if we think of the chanterelle being doubled just like the other courses. According to Mace, he started playing the lute in 1621, when the 7-course lute would have been in use in England.

⁶⁰ Thomas Mace, *Musick's Monument*, fol. 40.

⁶¹ see footnote 60.

⁶² Luis de Milán, *El Maestro*, trans. Charles Jacobs (Pennsylvania: Pennsylvania State University Press, 1971), 11.

⁶³ "Measure [*compás*] in music, so that you [may readily] understand, is nothing but a raising and lowering [of] the hand or foot at an equal speed." Luis de Milán, *El Maestro*, 20.

⁶⁴ "The *redobles* of these three fantasias are best played with the index finger [*dedillo*] since they were composed to foster finger agility [*soltura de dedo*]." Ibid., *El Maestro*, 298.

imagined it could be a slow piece that focused on one aspect of playing; either a single voice or a homophonic piece with not more than three voices. It is actually a three-voice piece that already includes a variety of rhythms and melodic passages, using all the courses of the vihuela, and even including a shift of position for the left hand. It is also supposed to be played with a fast *compás*. Milán explains this choice the following way:

*"The music that now is for beginning is somewhat easy, because it forms a starting point for the beginner. It could be easier, but then it would lack substance, and because this music for getting started has to appear good, it will not suffer being easier than it is."*⁶⁵

Milán does not want to sacrifice the beauty of the piece for the sake of writing a piece appropriate for the level of the beginner. If nowadays we can listen to concerts and recordings of professional lute players and this way get inspired to start playing the instrument, it might have been different in the 16th century. I would speculate that live music not being as accessible as it is today, writing an introduction to the lute and starting with a piece that does not sound beautiful might have not helped the beginner to find motivation to learn. I would oppose this way of thinking with the following: a piece that is too difficult to play might discourage the beginner completely.

As with many other sources of the time, Milán's book lacks instruction on how to use the hands, posture, overall advice on technique and learning methods. There is however one comment that is particularly interesting for the pedagogical aspect of my research on singing and playing the lute.

*"This which now follows is the eighth section, of music for singing and playing [...]. The coloured ciphers form the voice, which is to be sung. Study first the villancico as it is on the vihuela; and know to play it well, follow the coloured ciphers, observing which string of the vihuela they play and that you sing".*⁶⁶

This comment reveals two elements: firstly, it confirms that the villancicos are meant to be sung and played by the same person. Secondly, it gives us steps to learn the piece: first learn to play

⁶⁵ Ibid., 296.

⁶⁶ Ibid., 302. In the original Spanish: "Las cifras coloradas es la boz que se ha de cantar poneyes primero el villancico: assi como esta enla vihuela: y sabido bien de tañer: seguireys las cifras coloradas mirando que cuerda dela vihuela tocan y aquella cantareys" Milán, *Libro de Música de Vihuela de mano*, Fol. G vñ.

the vihuela part very well, and as a second step learn the sung part. There is no mention of playing or singing by memory, simply that the vihuela part must be known well (*sabido bien de tañer*).

It may be interesting to look at publications outside the ones dedicated to the lute to learn more about different methods used to teach how to play an instrument. For instance, Sylvestro Ganassi published a work in 1535 titled *La Fontegara*, "which teaches how to play the recorder [flauto] with all the skill needed on the instrument, and principally the art of diminution".⁶⁷ If we compare Milán's instruction, who states that the intention of the book is to show "everything he [the beginning student] may be ignorant of", but provides no instruction on how to hold the hands or on sound qualities⁶⁸ to Ganassi's detailed guidance on how the several ways to use the breath and the tongue to produce notes, the difference is striking. It could be explained by the nature of each instrument: plucking and pressing a string are visually perceivable movements, while breathing and movements of the tongue are not, and require more verbal explanation, while the lute student could theoretically learn by imitating the hand movements of the teacher. The book also comprises four rules (*regole*) that each contain fourteen short musical excerpts (intervals of different rhythmical values and cadence formulas) and eight examples of diminutions for each, in "different ways" and "different proportions".⁶⁹ These examples are meant to be practiced and learned, as Ganassi states to introduce the first rule: "Hereafter are given the examples for practice in diminution".⁷⁰ Such examples provide proof of the use of exercises to learn a musical skill, in this case playing diminutions.

When looking at sources on theory or composition, such as Juan Bermudo's *El libro llamado declaración de instrumentos musicales*,⁷¹ a treatise on musical instruments and composition, we do see that learning progressively (using very simple material and little by little getting used to more and more complex works) was taken into consideration. In the part dedicated to learning about composition rules and style (one of the end goals being to compose or improvise fantasias on one's instrument), Bermudo recommends intabulating vocal polyphony: firstly, one should start by intabulating two-part homophonic music (villancicos) and then moving to three-part

⁶⁷ Sylvestro Ganassi, *Opera intitulata Fontegara* (Venice: Sylvestro Ganassi, 1535). Translated to English and French in William Dongois and Philippe Canguilhem dir., *Sylvestro Ganassi, Opera intitulata la Fontegara* (Geneva: Haute École de Genève, 2020), 49.

⁶⁸ Milán, *El Maestro*, 11.

⁶⁹ Dongois and Canguilhem, *Sylvestro ganassi*, 70.

⁷⁰ *Ibid.*, *Sylvestro Ganassi*, 72.

⁷¹ Juan Bermudo, *El libro llamado declaración de instrumentos musicales* (Ossuna: Juan de Leon, 1555).

homophonic compositions. The second step is to move to imitative three-part vocal music, and only after this can the instrumentalist start intabulating four-voice music that is longer and more complex. It is worth mentioning that Bermudo recommends that the two-voice villancicos should only be used "for practice and for learning how to intabulate, they are not worth more", as "they do not have strong enough musical foundations to develop and cultivate good taste in invention".⁷² Contrary to Milán's approach, exercises based on simple music, although not musically interesting, are an important part of the learning process for Bermudo. From the next step on, he mentions composers whose works he considers to be of high quality: Juan Vázquez, Baltasar Tallez, Cristóbal de Morales ("music of so many good qualities that I am incapable of describing it"), Josquin ("do not forget that of the Great Josquin, who founded music") or Gombert.⁷³ As observed by John Griffiths, Bermudo's pedagogy focuses on learning and absorbing the style of composition by becoming familiar with it through the process of intabulating, but does not give "direct, concrete guidance on how to proceed from intabulation to fantasia".⁷⁴

⁷² John Griffiths, "Juan Bermudo, Self-Instruction and the Amateur Instrumentalist" *Music Education in the Middle Ages and the Renaissance*, Ed. Russell Murray Jr, Susan Forscher Weiss, and Cynthia J. Cyrus. Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2010, 131.

⁷³ Griffiths, "Juan Bermudo", 132-133.

⁷⁴ *Ibid.*, "Juan Bermudo", 133.

2. Sources for singing and playing the lute

Throughout the 16th century, there are French, Italian or Spanish sources dedicated to singing to the lute (music arranged for one voice and one lute) where a line of tablature is written under a line of mensural notation. Most of these publications are not specifically dedicated to singing lutenists, but they can of course be used to perform this way.

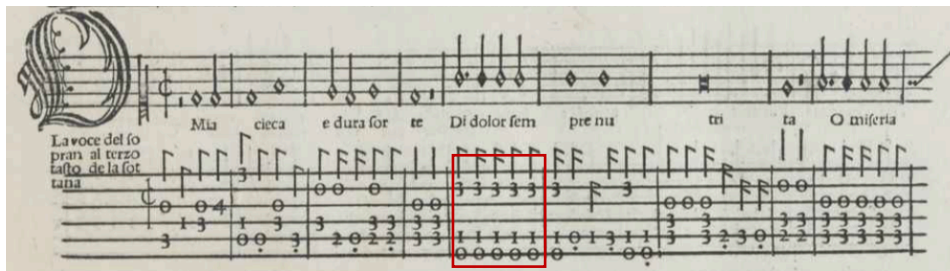


Figure 4 Tenori e contrabassi col sopran in canto figurato. Venice, Ottaviano Petrucci (1509) fol. XIX



Figure 5 Tres bresve et familiere introduction... Paris: Pierre Attaingnant (1529) fol. 38v

In sources such as Attaingnant's *Tres bresve et familiere introduction* or Bossinensis' two books of *Tenori e contrabassi col sopran in canto figurato*, the arrangements of four-part vocal polyphony for voice and lute are reduced to three parts: the voice sings the *cantus*, while the lute plays two of the three lower voices: the *altus* is often omitted. The remaining voices (*tenor* and *bassus/contrabassus*) played by the lute are often diminished. A third note is often added to a two-note chord in a homorhythmic context (figure 4), or to help sustain the sound (figure 5). On the other hand, in Willaert's arrangements of Verdelot's madrigals, the lute part is a quite strict intabulation of the three lower voices of the four-part madrigals.⁷⁵

⁷⁵ Adrian Willaert. *Intavolatura de li madrigali di Verdelotto da cantara et sonare nel lauto* (Venice: Ottavio Scotto, 1536).

As mentioned earlier, some Spanish sources contain pieces with text written under the tablature and red letters in the tablature designating the voice that is sung, as in the example below. These publications explicitly state that the singer and the lute player can be the same person.



Figure 6 Los seys libros del delphin, Luis de Narvaez. (1538), Libro 5 fol. 72r

In Luis de Narvaez's fifth book, we find pieces in which the voice that is sung is the highest, as well as the lowest voice (figure 6) or the middle voice (figure 7), a more inclusive approach than found in other publications dedicated to the voice and lute, in which the highest voice (cantus) of the composition is always meant to be sung.



Figure 7 Los seys libros del delphin, Luis de Narvaez. (1538), Libro 5 fol. 79v



Figure 8 Los seys libros del delphin, Luis de Narvaez. (1538), Libro 5, fol. 80v

The same observation can be made of Luis Milán's intabulations for voice and lute in *El Maestro*, which we mentioned before.⁷⁶ The instruction given before the villancicos indicates that they are meant to be sung and played. Each villancico is provided twice and prefaced by an indication on how to perform each version:

"In the way in which this villancico that follows is arranged here, the singer may add vocal ornamentation and the vihuela is to be played very slowly"

*"In the way in which this same villancico is arranged here, the singer is to sing in an unadorned fashion and the vihuela moves somewhat quickly"*⁷⁷

These two quotes offer a look into possible manners of singing to the lute: it could be that villancicos were performed twice, once singing with ornamentation while the lute plays a chordal accompaniment and the second time playing a diminished version of the accompaniment while the voice sings without ornamentation. There is unfortunately no information on the possible ornamentation of the sung part.

In his *Regola Rubertina*, first published in 1542, Ganassi dedicated a chapter to singing to the viol, which includes "a madrigal which you can sing and accompany on the viol".⁷⁸ He explains in his introduction to the madrigal that the music had to be adapted and does not respect the original madrigal:

⁷⁶ see p. 24 of the present study.

⁷⁷ Milán, *El Maestro*, 302.

⁷⁸ Silvestro Ganassi, *Regola Rubertina* (Venice: Silvestro Ganassi, 1542).

I would like to say that if the madrigal mentioned has not been reproduced in the way the composer intended, that should not be a point of criticism, because the instrument was not used to its best effect. In actual fact the piece should be played on the lute, for when a lute is played I can contrast the figured parts with the Cantus Firmus, which is impossible on the viol because of the bow. Of course you could use it as if on the seven-stringed Lyra and imitate the Lute this way.⁷⁹

Ganassi also cites two performers who are "two accomplished masters of this art", Juliano Tiburtino and Lodovico Lasagnino of Florence. From this chapter we learn that there were at least two musicians singing to the viol around the 1540's in Italy, and that the lyra da braccio or lute could be used to that effect as well.

To conclude, there is a substantial number of sources dedicated to voice and lute which comprise compositions by the same composers who we know performed singing and playing simultaneously, such as Marchetto Cara, Bartolomeo Tromboncino, or Luis Milán. Ganassi and Milán both explicitly state that the pieces in their respective publications are meant to be played and sung by the same person. It is interesting to observe that the level of complexity in the lute accompaniment does not decrease in the pieces meant for singing and playing simultaneously, as seen in Luis Milán's intabulations. Publications for singing and playing the lute are valuable to us in that they reveal the repertoire that was used to sing and play, and they can also help us understand how vocal polyphony was arranged for the voice and lute to create our own intabulations of existing vocal polyphony, if that is our goal.

⁷⁹ Hildemarie Peter, *Regola Rubertina* (Berlin: Robert Lienau, 1972), 78.

IV. Developing a teaching method

Drawing inspiration from the lute and vihuela methods as well as the treatises of music mentioned above, I have compiled a number of pieces that I believe to be adapted to guide the lutenist, amateur or professional, wanting to experiment with singing to the lute. The aim of this chapter is to show the process I went through and the choices I made when arranging, editing, and simplifying pieces. I will divide this chapter into all the steps I estimate to be important for learning to play and sing.

1. The arrangement and transcription process

Vocal range

The pieces in this chapter are all arranged for soprano and lute, i.e. all the arrangements are done in the following way: the cantus (or upper voice) is sung, while the lower voices intabulated. As this chapter is dedicated to the process of creating material to accompany teaching self-accompaniment, I have had to limit myself to one voice register. It is quite possible to sing a different voice and add the upper voice to the intabulation, or to transpose the pieces to suit the student's tessitura.

French and Italian tablatures

As it is important for lute players to be fluent in different types of tablature and as the repertoire in this compilation comes from different countries, *frottole* and other Italian pieces will be transcribed using Italian tablature, and French and English pieces will be transcribed using French tablature.

I have also transcribed the lute part of each piece to mensural notation, to make them accessible to those, who do not read lute tablature.

Arrangements and simplifications

The first four pieces are my own simplified intabulations of vocal polyphony or already existing arrangements for voice and lute. The following pieces are either literal transcriptions of intabulations for voice and lute, or my own more or less complete arrangements of vocal

polyphony, based on historical lute intabulations for voice and lute. A more detailed explanation is given for each piece in the chapter "Comments on transcriptions".

Repertoire

The pieces chosen for the purpose of this chapter are Italian *frottole* by Marchetto Cara and Bartolomeo Tromboncino, French *chansons* by Claudin de Sermisy as well as two pieces found in the *Henry VIII* manuscript. To expand the student's knowledge of vocal polyphony of the end of the 15th century and beginning of 16th century, it would be interesting to add Spanish *villancicos* (many are already composed and/or intabulated for voice and vihuela by Luis de Narvaez and Luis Milán in above mentioned sources), and arrangements of compositions by Franco Flemish composers (such as Josquin Desprez, Johannes Ockeghem or Antoine Busnois), of *Lieder* from Ludwig Senfl or Paul Hofhaimer to the list of repertoire.

2. Learning method and pieces

Learning to sing and play the pieces

As seen previously, Luis Milán suggests learning the sung part and the lute part separately: it is an essential part of the learning process. As he does not give further explanation on how to learn, I have decided to propose a method:

- Playing the sung part on the lute to get an idea of what it will sound like. One can imagine the text while playing.
- Separating the piece in parts (corresponding to musical and textual phrases). Singing each phrase with the text. Repeating the phrase until it is learned by heart, before going on to the next phrase.
- Executing the same process with the lute part.
- Putting the voice and the lute together. Separating the piece in parts and repeating each phrase several times once it feels comfortable before going to the next phrase is a great way to be efficient in learning the piece, even more so when the musician is effectively doing two things at once (singing and playing).⁸⁰

Becoming familiar with singing and playing at the same time

Considering this work is addressed to lutenists who are already familiar with the instrument, the first step would be to find or arrange pieces which allow the student to sing while playing two- or three-voice chords as the starting point. The first two excerpts allow the player to focus on the voice while the lute executes simple chordal shapes.

⁸⁰ "Repetition is essential to motor learning ('muscle memory'), although there is no consensus on the number of repetition necessary for the learning process. Gerhard Mantel states that, for the first learning of a passage [...] most people need five to nine correct repetitions and then perhaps 15 more repetitions to automatize it. [...] If you make a mistake and correct it only once you haven't actually learned anything." Peter Croton, *A Method for the Renaissance Lute* (Paris: Le Luth Doré, 2019), 49.

No. 1: O mia cieca e dura sorte (excerpt)

O mia cie-ca'e du-ra sor - te Di do-lor sem - pre nu - tri - ta

9
O mi-se-ria de mia vi - ta tris - to'a - nun - cio a la mi - a

16
mor - te a la mi - a mor - te

No. 2: Grene growth the holy

The musical score consists of two systems. The first system has three staves: a vocal line in treble clef with lyrics, a lute tablature line with letters 'a', 'e', and 'r', and a lute chordal line in treble clef. The lyrics are: "Grene growth the ho - ly so doth the i - vye, though win - ter blas - tys blow". The second system also has three staves: a vocal line with lyrics "ne - ver so hye, grene growth the hol - ly", a lute tablature line, and a lute chordal line. A measure rest '7' is placed above the first measure of the second system's vocal line.

The next piece is different from the two first ones in that it involves three homorhythmic voices. It is not anymore about playing simple chords but being able to sing while playing two voices on the lute.

No. 3: Helas Madam celle que j'aime tant

He - las ma - dam cel - le que j'ai - me tant Sof - frez que soye vo -

7

tre hum - ble ser - vant vo - tre hum - ble ser - vant je se - ray a tou -

12

jours et tant que je viv - ray autre n'ai - me - ray que vous et

17

tant que je viv - ray autre n'ai - me - ray que vous

a a a a a a a a a a a a a a a a

r r r r a a b a a r r r a

The following piece provides the opportunity to play three homorhythmic voices with the sung part instead of two.

No. 4: Tant que vivray

Tant que vi - vray en a - ge flo - ris - sant je ser - vi - ray da -

7
mour le dieu puis - sant en faitz en ditz en chan - sons et a - cordz.

13
Par plu - sieurs jours ma te - nu lan - guis - sant mais a - pres deuil ma

19
fait re - jou - is - sant car jay la - mour de la belle au gent corps

25

Son al-i-an - ce cest ma fi-an - ce son cueur est mien le mien est sien

Chord chart for measures 25-28:

a	a	a	r	b	a	a	a	r	a	b	a	r	a	b	a	r	a	b
				a					a				a	b				a

29

fi de tris-tes - se vi - ve li-es - se puis - quen a-mours puis - quen a-mours a -

Chord chart for measures 29-32:

a	a	a	r	b	a	a	a	r	b	a	a	r	a	b	a	a	r	a	b
				a					a					a					a

33

- tant de biens puis - quen a-mours puis - quen a-mours a - tant de biens

Chord chart for measures 33-36:

a	a	b	a	b	a	a	a	r	a	b	a	a	r	a	b	a	a	r	a	b
				a					a					a					a	

The fifth piece introduces the singer and player to executing different rhythms with the voice and the lute. It is important to isolate and slow down the passages that are difficult to execute, separating the singing and the playing if necessary.

No. 5: De che parlera piu

The musical score for 'De che parlera piu' is presented in three systems. Each system consists of a vocal line, a lute tablature line, and a lute chordal line. The key signature is one flat (B-flat) and the time signature is common time (C). The lyrics are: 'De che par - le-ra piu la lin-gua mi - a Chal-tro non sa par-lar se non da - mo - re se piu non am-e-ro co - me da pri - a'. The tablature uses numbers 0-4 on a six-line staff to indicate fret positions. The chordal line shows the harmonic accompaniment with stems and flags.

No. 7: Helas madam celle que j'aime tant

He - las ma - dam cel - le que j'ai - me tant Sof - frez que

so - ye vo - tre hum - ble ser - vant vo - tre hum - ble ser - vant je se -

ray a tou - jours et tant que je viv - ray autre n'ai-me-ray que

No. 8: O mia cieca e dura sorte

O mia cie - ca'e du - ra sor - te Di do - lor sem - pre nu -

7
tri - ta O mi - se - ria de mia vi - ta tris - to'a -

14
nun - cio a la mi - a mor - te a la mi -

19

- a mor - te Piu do - len - te'e piu'in - fe - li - ce Son che'a
Lar - bor

Chord chart for measures 19-25:
 Measure 19: F, F, |
 Measure 20: |, |
 Measure 21: F, F, |
 Measure 22: |, |
 Measure 23: F
 Measure 24: |
 Measure 25: |

26

lui che vi - va in ter - ra Per che piu non ha - ra di - ce
son che'il ven - to a ter - ra Ve - ro'e ben quel che se di - ce

Chord chart for measures 26-32:
 Measure 26: |, F, F, |
 Measure 27: |, |
 Measure 28: F, F, |
 Measure 29: |, |
 Measure 30: F, |
 Measure 31: |
 Measure 32: |

33

Che mal va chia ma - la sor - te chia ma - la sor - te

Chord chart for measures 33-39:
 Measure 33: F, |
 Measure 34: F, |
 Measure 35: F, |
 Measure 36: |, |
 Measure 37: F, |
 Measure 38: |, |
 Measure 39: |

3. Comments on transcriptions

No. 1: O mia cieca e dura sorte (excerpt)

Source: Franciscus Bossinensis, *Tenori e contrabassi intabulati... Libro primo* (Venice: Ottaviano Petrucci), fol. xix.

Composer: Marchetto Cara.

General comments: Originally, the intabulation is made for a lute in nominal A tuning. As the standard lute tuning is nowadays in G, I transposed the intabulation so that it can be read on a lute tuned in nominal G. In the intabulation, the voice part starts on a D, which does not correspond to the lute part. This can be observed consistently throughout the book: a comment is often added to indicate to the lute player which note the singer should start on. For this piece, "the voice of the soprano [*sopran*] to the third fret of the second course [*sottana*]"⁸¹

The lute part has been simplified: only the harmonies have been kept.

No. 2: Grene growth the holy

Source: *Add. MS 31922* (London, British Library), ff. 37v-38r.

Composer: Attributed to Henry VIII.

General comments: The original piece is written in three parts. To create a chordal accompaniment, I have used the skeleton of the two lower voices and added a third voice most of the time. As can be observed in lute accompaniments of the time, it is common to not consistently keep the three voices in the part, which is why I took the liberty to add or remove a voice in the chords in measures 3, 4, 5 and 6 and 7.

⁸¹ "La voce de la sopran al terzo tasto de la sottana" Bossinensis, *Tenori e contrabassi intabulati*, fol. XIX.

No. 3: Helas Madame cel que j'aime tant

Source: *Add. MS 31922* (London, British Library), ff. 18v-19r.

Composer: attributed to Henry VIII.

General comments:

This is a simplified arrangement of the four-voice chanson *Helas madame cel que j'aime tant*, attributed to Henry VIII and found in the Henry VIII Manuscript.⁸² The sung part corresponds to the first part of the piece, while the lute plays the second and fourth parts. I have decided to remove the third voice, imitating the arrangements for lute and voice found in Attaignant's *Tres bresve et familiere introduction* as well as Bossinensis' *Tenori e contrabassi col sopran in canto figurato*. All melodic runs have been removed so that the lute part could become homorhythmic, and the second part has been altered to avoid any parallel fifths.

No. 4 Tant que vivray

Source: *Tres breve et familiere introduction* (Paris: Pierre Attaignant, 1529), fol. 54v.

Composer: Claudin de Sermisy

General comments:

This is a simplification of the original intabulation of the *chanson*. All melodic runs in the lute have been removed. The difference between the original and the simplification can be observed by comparing No. 4 with No. 6, the transcription of the original intabulation published by Attaignant.

No. 5: De che parlera piu

Source: Franciscus Bossinensis, *Tenori e contrabassi intabulati, libro primo* (Venice: Ottaviano Petrucci, 1509), fol. XLIX.

Composer: Marchetto Cara

General comments:

The original intabulation is written for a lute in nominal A-tuning, which corresponds to the pitch at which the sung part is written: "The voice of the soprano [*sopran*] on the open first course [*el canto vodo*]."⁸³ As lutes are often in nominal G-tuning nowadays and the lute part

⁸² GB-Lbl Add. MS 31922, British Library, London, England, (ff. 18v-19r).

⁸³ "La voce del sopran el canto vodo" Bossinensis, *Tenori e contrabassi*, fol. XLIX.

looked easier as written than transposed a tone up, I have decided to not transpose the lute intabulation, but the sung part one tone lower to allow the lutenist and singer to read the piece in G.

No. 6: Tant que vivray

General comments:

Ms. 10: The letter "c" on the second course of the last chord of the bar was replaced by the letter "a".

Ms. 25, 26: on the fourth chord of each of these two bars, the letter "d" was replaced by letter "a" on the third course, as it is in the bassus of the original four-part *chanson*.⁸⁴

No. 7: Helas madam celle que j'aime tant

General comments:

This is my own arrangement of the complete sung part and lute intabulation of the complete second and fourth parts of the four-voice *chanson*.

No. 8: O mia cieca e dura sorte

General comments:

This is a transcription of the entire intabulation by Bossinensis. The transpositions are the same than the first version of this *frottola* (No. 1).

⁸⁴ See the *Bassus* of Pierre Attaignant, *37 Chansons musicales a quatre parties* (Paris: Pierre Attaignant, ca. 1528) fol. 16.

V. Conclusion

The practice of self-accompaniment in the early 16th century was tied to particular performance contexts: in general, musicians playing "low" instruments such as lute, harp, keyboards or bowed instruments often performed at the court during banquets, theatre plays or ballets, as well as during private events, such as dinners or more intimate gatherings in restricted circles. It was in these settings that singing lutenists often performed. In Italy and possibly Spain, their art was linked to that of improvising or composing musical settings of poems, declaiming or singing the words while accompanying themselves on a plucked or bowed instrument, evoking Orpheus singing to his lyre. Amateurs also participated in singing to their instruments, although they probably did not improvise or compose their own settings of poems; they could have relied on publications of arrangements for voice and lute composed by musicians of the court and singing-lutenists themselves. The accounts of their performances show that self-accompanying musicians were highly regarded.

Awareness of the performances settings and of the repertoire created or used by singing-lutenists, whether professional or amateur, helps us understand and make choices as performers attempting to revive this art in the 21st century. By performing the surviving repertoire of lute songs of the first half of the 16th century, we might be closer to imitating amateurs than professional singing lutenists, in that we do not compose or improvise our own musical settings. Could we, as modern-day performers, attempt to recreate the art of *cantar all'improvviso*?

In addition, the study of pedagogical sources of the time and my experience as a performer and teacher until now informed my decisions concerning which steps I believe to be necessary for learning to sing and play simultaneously, and the creation of simplified versions of lute songs dedicated to lutenists who would be inclined to singing to the lute.

As a final note: Although the present study is dedicated to the first half of the 16th century, the art of self-accompaniment did not disappear after 1550. As an extension of his research, it would be interesting to explore the repertoire, iconography and accounts of performances of the second half of the sixteenth century and of the turn of the seventeenth century, for instance to learn about the performance of Italian monodies or the French *Air de cour*.

VI. Bibliography

Add. MS 31922 "Henry VIII Manuscript", London: British Library.

Attaignant, Pierre. *37 Chansons musicales a quatre parties*. Paris: Pierre Attaignant, ca. 1528.

Attaignant, Pierre. *Tres breve et familiere introduction*. Paris: Pierre Attaignant, 1529.

Batov, Alexander. "Reconstruction of a *plucked viola*", vihueladamno.com, accessed on April 2, 2022, <https://www.vihuelademano.com/viola-da-mano/daiLibri.htm>.

Bermudo, Juan. *El libro llamado declaración de instrumentos musicales*. Ossuna: Juan de Leon, 1555.

Blackburn, Bonnie J. "Aaron [Aron], Pietro." *Grove Music Online*. 2001, Accessed 11 Jan. 2022.

<https://www.oxfordmusiconline.com/grovemusic/view/10.1093/gmo/9781561592630.001.0001/omo-9781561592630-e-0000000008>.

Bossinensis, Franciscus. *Tenori e contrabassi intabulati, libro primo*. Venice: Ottaviano Petrucci, 1509.

Castiglione, Baldassare. *Il libro del cortegiano*. Venice: heirs of Aldus Manutius and Andrea Torresano d'Asola, 1528.

Cazaux, Christelle. *La musique à la cour de François Ier*. Paris: École nationale des Chartes, 2002.

Cristoforetti, Orlando. *Compositione di meser Vincenzo Capirola*. Florence: Studio per Edizioni Scelte, 1981.

Croton, Peter. *A Method for the Renaissance Lute*. Paris: Le Luth Doré, 2019.

Cummings, Anthony M. *The Lion's Ear*. Ann Arbor: The University of Michigan Press, 2012.

Dongois, William and Canguilhem, Philippe. *Silvestro Ganassi, Opera intitulata la Fontegara*. Geneva: Haute École de Genève, 2020.

Feldman, Martha and Gordon, Bonnie. *The Courtesan's Arts*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2006.

Feldman, Martha. *City Culture and the Madrigal at Venice*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1995. <http://ark.cdlib.org/ark:/13030/ft238nb1nr/>.

Feldman, Martha. "The Academy of Domenico Venier, Music's Literary Muse in Mid-Cinquecento Venice." *Renaissance Quarterly* 44, no. 3 (1991).

Fuenllana, Miguel. *Orphenica Lyra*. Seville: Martin de Montedoca, 1554.

Ganassi, Sylvestro. *Opera intitulata Fontegara*. Venice: Sylvestro Ganassi, 1535.

Gerle, Hans. *Musica Teusch*. Nürnberg: Hieronymus Formschneider, 1532.

Gombosi, Otto. *Compositione di Meser Vincenzo Capirola*. Neuilly-sur-Seine: Société de Musique d'Autrefois, 1955.

Griffiths, John. *Improvisation and Composition in the Vihuela Songs of Luis Milan and Alonso Mudarra*, Gesäng zur Laute, ed. Nicole Schwindt. TroJa — Trossingen Jahrbuch für Musikforschung 2. (Kassel: Bärenreiter, 2003). 111-32.

Griffiths, John. "Juan Bermudo, Self-Instruction and the Amateur Instrumentalist" *Music Education in the Middle Ages and the Renaissance*, Ed. Russell Murray Jr, Susan Forscher Weiss, and Cynthia J. Cyrus. Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2010, 131.

Heartz, Daniel and Guillo, Laurent. "Attaignant, Pierre." *Grove Music Online*. 2001; Accessed 19 Mar. 2022.

<https://www.oxfordmusiconline.com/grovemusic/view/10.1093/gmo/9781561592630.001.0001/omo-9781561592630-e-0000001479>.

Hildemarie Peter, *Regola Rubertina*. Berlin: Robert Lienau, 1972.

Lawson, Colin and Stowell, Robin. *The Cambridge History of Musical Performance*. Cambridge University Press, 2012.

Mace, Thomas. *Musick's Monument*. London: T. Ratcliffe & N. Thompson, 1676.

de Milán, Luis. *El Maestro*, translated by Charles Jacobs. Pennsylvania: Pennsylvania State University Press, 1971.

Milán, Luis. *El cortesano*. Madrid: De Auribau y Compania, 1874. www.gutenberg.org.

Milan, Luys. *Libro de Música de Vihuela de mano Intitulado El Maestro*. Valencia: Francisco Díaz Romano, 1536.

Morehen, John and Rastall, Richard. "Partbooks." *Grove Music Online*. 2001; Accessed 8 Jan. 2022.

<https://www.oxfordmusiconline.com/grovemusic/view/10.1093/gmo/9781561592630.001.0001/omo-9781561592630-e-0000020966>.

Newsidler, Hans. *Ein newgeordent künstlich Lautenbuch*. Nürnberg: Johann Petreius, 1536.

Petrucchi, Ottaviano. *Harmonice Musices Odhecaton A*. Venice: Ottaviano Petrucci, 1501.

Pietro Aaron, *Lucidario in musica*. Venice: Girolamo Scotto, 1545.

Pontus de Tyard, *Solitaire second ou prose de la musique*. Lyon: Ian de Tournes, 1555

Prizer, William F. "Una 'Virtù Molto Conveniente A Madonne': Isabella D'este as a Musician." *The Journal of Musicology* 17, no. 1 (1999): 10–49.

<https://doi.org/10.2307/764010>.

Robinson, Thomas *The Schoole of Musicke*. London: Thomas Este for Simon Waterson, 1603.

Serassi, Pierantonio. *Rime di Domenico Veniero*. Bergamo: Pietro Lancellotto ,1751.

Singleton, Charles S. *The Book of the Courtier*. New York: Anchor Books, 1959.

Waissel, Matthäus. *Lautenbuch, darinn von der Tabulatur und Application der Lauten gründlicher und voller Unterricht*. Frankfurt, 1592.

Willaert, Adrian. *Intavolatura de li madrigali di Verdelotto da cantara et sonare nel lauto*. Venice: Ottavio Scotto, 1536.

Abstract

This study focuses on the art of self-accompanied song in the first half of the 16th century, by firstly examining settings of public and private performances of secular and sacred music in the court of Francis I, the Papal court of Leo X, the ducal palace of Urbino, the courts of Mantua and Ferrara, and the Venetian academies, as well as looking at the surviving accounts and descriptions of singing instrumentalists from Italy and Spain, and repertoire for voice and lute found in French, Italian or Spanish sources. Secondly, the study explores didactical sources, such as instructions for lute, vihuela, recorder or viol, or music theory and composition, and it was found that one source included instruction on how to learn to sing and play simultaneously. The third part of the study concentrates on the process of creating progressive material to guide the lutenist to sing to their instrument, based on the historical sources and the repertoire for voice and lute studied in the first and second parts.

Name: Roux_____

Vorname: Emma-Lisa_____

Hiermit erkläre ich, dass ich die vorliegende Arbeit selbständig und ohne die Mithilfe

anderer Personen verfasst habe, dass ich keine anderen als die angegebenen Hilfsmittel verwendet sowie alle wörtlich oder dem Sinn nach aus der Literatur zitierten Stellen entsprechend gekennzeichnet habe.

Ort, Datum Basel, 04.04.2022_____

Unterschrift _____

**DECLARATION OF CONSENT
FOR MAKING YOUR MASTER THESIS AVAILABLE
IN THE REPOSITORY IRF OF THE FHNW**

I hereby declare that I agree to make my Master Thesis, written for the conclusion of my studies at the Schola Cantorum Basiliensis, available in the official repository of the FHNW, the IRF.

The rights to the text remain the property of the author and the Schola Cantorum Basiliensis.

Saint-Louis, on the 19th of January 2023