

Mapping the Motet in the Post-Tridentine Era

Mapping the Motet in the Post-Tridentine Era provides new dimensions to the discussion of the immense corpus of polyphonic motets produced and performed in the decades following the end of the Council of Trent in 1563. Beyond the genre's rich connections with contemporary spiritual life and religious experience, the motet is understood here as having a multifaceted life in transmission, performance and reception. By analysing the repertoire itself, but also by studying its material life in books and accounts, in physical places and concrete sonic environments, and by investigating the ways in which the motet was listened to and talked about by contemporaries, the eleven chapters in this book redefine the cultural role of the genre. The motet, thanks to its own protean nature, not bound to any given textual, functional or compositional constraint, was able to convey cultural meanings powerfully, give voice to individual and collective identities, cross linguistic and confessional divides, and incarnate a model of learned and highly expressive musical composition. Case studies include considerations of composers (Palestrina, Victoria, Lasso), cities (Seville and Granada, Milan), books (calendrically ordered collections, non-liturgical music books) and special portions of the repertoire (motets *pro defunctis*, instrumental intabulations).

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Mapping the Motet in the Post-Tridentine Era

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9 Songs without words

The motet as solo instrumental music after Trent

John Griffiths

The motet was a central if not pivotal element in solo instrumental practice during the entire sixteenth century. Throughout this period, vocal polyphony was habitually re-notated in specifically instrumental notations for a variety of reasons. Whereas our modern historiographical tradition concerning Renaissance music continually divides instrumental and vocal music into separate streams, this produces a false picture of the role of instruments and instrumental music. We need to remind ourselves that, while there were many virtuoso instrumentalists who achieved legendary status during their lifetime, it can be supposed that nearly every composer or singer of polyphonic music would have been proficient on some kind of polyphonic instrument. These instruments formed part of the composer's toolkit in a similar manner to the way that composers of our own time use the piano. Tablature had developed only in the second half of the fifteenth century, but by the early sixteenth had become one of the standard notation systems. From a composer's point of view, the fundamental importance of the tablature as a notation system was that it provided the first effective means of writing music in score. While composers may have used slates or wax tablets during the process of composition to see the way that voices combined, it was lute and keyboard tablature that served to notate them as a score, so that they could be played or refined by a single person.¹ We have concrete evidence of composers such as Palestrina indicating how they used lute tablature to test their draft compositions.² At the same time, it is obvious that not all solo instrumentalists were composers of vocal polyphony or trained musicians. Many were simply amateurs and untrained individuals wishing to make music. For them, simply following the instructions of what to do with the fingers allowed them to play highly sophisticated music of master musicians without needing more than the most rudimentary musical knowledge. Tablature was thus a notation for all seasons, a great leveller that gave equal musical access to everyone, from consummate masters to rank amateurs. So, when we talk of solo instrumentalists we are not talking of a separate species of human beings, different from those who composed and performed polyphonic music, but the same group of people who often had more than one means of channelling their musical impulses. From this starting point, it is much easier to understand the way that the worlds of polyphonists and instrumentalists were intertwined, largely all part of the same social group rather than two diametrically

opposite musical worlds separated by different notation systems. In this less differentiated context, it is easy to see why vocal polyphony, including the motets that are our specific focus, was arranged for instrumental performance and notated in tablature, whether as mensural partituras or in the various alpha-numeric systems that were used for lutes, *vihuelas*, harps, clavichords and organ. Despite the wider circulation of polyphony that resulted from music printing, listening to polyphonic performances was still largely restricted to the socially privileged in both the ecclesiastical and courtly worlds, with a small spillover into lay communities and the households of urban professionals. The development of methods of printing tablature was also significant in broadening the social base for the consumption of vocal polyphony. Tablature sources thus also need to be integrated into our understanding of the motet in post-Tridentine Europe and into the enlarged social diaspora of ecclesiastical polyphony. It is through these sources that we can trace the way that polyphonic music extended from the institutions of Church and state into the urban sphere. These sources also allow a sharper picture to be drawn of the acceptance of musical novelties, including those imposed by liturgical reform. More than anything, they help clarify questions of reception and musical fashions, and more than anything else, they provide a tool to gauge the longevity of older musical styles, and the rate of uptake of newer innovations.

By surveying the extant printed sources of solo instrumental music from approximately the last third of the sixteenth century, following the Council of Trent, this study makes it abundantly clear that the Tridentine reforms had very little impact on the musical preferences of the lutenists and keyboard players who compiled instrumental anthologies.³ Moreover, it attests to the diminishing importance of the motet in instrumental collections in comparison to the dominant secular forms of polyphony of the age, particularly the madrigal and chanson. At the same time, it reinforces the place of musical heritage in a changing musical landscape, as well as questioning the manner in which motets were perceived and valued by sixteenth-century instrumentalists.

Little is known about how intabulations were used in the sixteenth century. Intabulated motets were no doubt sometimes performed in liturgical contexts on the organ. Among the sources that we are considering here, the clearest example of this is the keyboard *Tabulaturbuch* (Leipzig, 1583) compiled by Johannes Rühling (1550–1615). The full title of this volume points to the fact that the book is conceived as a collection to be used in the liturgy ‘for all Sundays and high feasts through the whole year’ and that it contains ‘exquisite, lovely, and artful motets, that match or agree with the Gospels, Epistles, introits, responsories, antiphons, or their stories’ (‘auff alle Sontage und hohen Fest durchs gantze Jhar [*sic*] auserlesene, liebliche und künstliche Moteten so mit den Evangeliis, Episteln, Introitibus, Responsoriis, Antiphonis, oder derselben Historien uberein kommen unnd eintreffen’).⁴ The eighty-five motets within the collection are arranged under rubrics for the full liturgical calendar, from Advent through Christmas, Lent, Easter and the remaining twenty-seven Sundays, with one or two motets for each festivity.⁵ Notated in German keyboard tablature, the intabulations are unadorned, ‘ohne Coloraturen gesetzt’, so that each organist could embellish them according

to his ability. While the collection includes works by composers who wrote following the Council of Trent, particularly fifteen motets by Lasso, the remainder are predominantly by composers who reached the zenith of their careers long before the Council. The anthology includes thirteen motets by Clemens non Papa, five by Crecquillon, four by Giaches de Wert, as well as works by Josquin, Arcadelt, Verdelot, Gombert, Regnart and Richafort. The inclusion of works by composers spanning several generations is common to many of these sources.

Only about one third of the twenty-eight printed sources of intabulated motets between 1563 and 1600 are for organ (see Table 9.1). The majority are for lute and therefore not for liturgical use, but rather for domestic or private enjoyment and edification. For lutenists, in particular, the act of performance often included the mental task of separating the grid of undifferentiated letters or numbers into voices. This is completely true of French and Italian systems of lute tablature, which do not distinguish one voice from another and so, while the hands are occupied placing themselves where the tablature indicates, the player's mind is constantly engaged in the mental process of reconstructing the polyphonic matrix of the music.⁶ This kind of intellectual engagement, especially when playing intabulated motets or instrumental fantasias and *ricercars*, often leads the instrumentalist also to explore the rhetorical structure of the music and its expressive gestures, and to make extra-musical extrapolations of deeper meaning that may be construed by abstract association. Playing in this manner transforms the mechanical tasks of instrumental technique into an experience that for some players transports them to higher realms of the spiritual or metaphysical. This is the kind of revelatory experience that allowed players to be transformed in the Boethian sense from instrumentalist to *musicus*, a musician of a higher order. In this sense, playing becomes an edifying experience and not just a matter of sensory pleasure. In this way, the greatest value of performance is derived by performers themselves. This aspect of performance – playing for oneself rather than an audience – is seldom discussed in studies of musical performance, and constitutes an almost eremitic experience, to help the soul reach its ideal state of harmonic equilibrium, in the purest Pythagorean sense.

Motet intabulations also had another important function as didactic material, part of a self-directed system for anyone wishing to learn how to compose and improvise counterpoint. The intabulation method outlined in 1555 by Spanish theorist Juan Bermudo is based on this premise. In the chapters he devotes to *vihuela* playing, he recommends a three-step process: players should start by intabulating polyphonic duos in two parts to learn the basics of counterpoint; they should then intabulate three-part homophonic villancicos in order to learn harmonic progressions; and, finally, they should intabulate more complex works in four and five voices by composers such as Josquin ('the father of all music'), Morales and Gombert.⁷ He is adamant that those who do not follow this advice will never be able to invent their own fantasias with good taste.⁸

Two further questions are worth asking, although more for the sake of speculation rather than the expectation of being able to provide satisfactory answers. The first to ponder is whether the players of instrumental motets were more interested

in the music or the text; the second is whether instrumental versions of motets would have caused their listeners to recollect the text. Obviously, this latter question depends on the listener's prior familiarity with the music and numerous other variables. Regarding the first question, the evidence seems to suggest that instrumentalists were more interested in the music of motets rather than their text, especially when they were used outside their liturgical context. In the first place, most of the motet intabulations are not underlaid with text, and then, as Bermudo suggests, instrumentalists were probably more interested in learning how to compose good imitative polyphony, how to create interesting and varied textures, and how to give a sense of organisational structure to episodically composed works. This explanation is, of course, somewhat simplistic given the importance of text in shaping the musical rhetoric and expression. At the same time, it needs to be reiterated that motets were characteristically robust in their internal polyphonic and rhetorical construction, and normally able to retain strong musical coherence, even in the absence of text.⁹ These observations are perhaps connected to the fact that texted motet intabulations tend to indicate the bass voice to be sung, sometimes the tenor, rather than the cantus, which was the voice part normally indicated for singing in intabulations of chansons and madrigals. In these secular genres, the cantus lines resemble song melodies more closely and are, therefore, more memorable and more readily able to trigger text recollection in untexted performances. It might therefore be concluded that the purpose of supplying the text of the bass or tenor voice was to assist in comprehending the musical structure and not only so that these pieces could be performed as accompanied songs. Singing the bass or tenor voice while playing may have been more for study purposes or for private pleasure rather than for performance as we conceive it today.

Among the performance options relating to motet intabulations are questions about embellishment and the use of intabulations to accompany voices or solo melodic instruments. Some printed intabulations were already clad in an ornamental layer of diminutions and were thus better suited as solo pieces, particularly keyboard versions. In the main, lute versions are difficult enough to negotiate without much ornamentation, and it is generally only in the collections of virtuosos such as Francesco Canova da Milano or Giovanni Antonio Terzi that embellishments are to be found. Other virtuoso professionals such as the vihuelist Miguel de Fuenllana preferred unornamented versions in the interests of preserving the integrity of the polyphony.¹⁰ As noted above, organist Johannes Rühling advertised the fact that his motet intabulations were unadorned so that players could embellish according to their ability. In complete contrast, Jacob Paix proclaimed on the title page of *Ein schön nutz unnd gebreüchlich Orgel Tabulaturbuch* (Lauingen, 1583) that all the music was 'mit grossem Fleiß coloriert' ('embellished with great diligence'). Antonio de Cabezón's elaborate *obras glosadas* published in his *Obras de música para tecla, arpa y vihuela* (Madrid, 1578) have been regarded as masterpieces in their own right. In contrast, unadorned motet intabulations served players of flutes, cornetts and bowed instruments as the basis for virtuoso solo works. While most of the examples in sixteenth-century diminution manuals draw on madrigals and chansons for this purpose, there are some

examples of motets used in this way such as Riccardo Rognoni's *passaggi* on the motet *Domine quando veneris* in his publication of 1592.¹¹ It is far more likely, however, that performances of motet intabulations with solo voice and instrumental accompaniment would have been less virtuosic, especially in domestic or private performances. In most cases, it would have been the singer who was also the instrumentalist, rather than the kind of duo of two specialists that we have become accustomed to hearing today. Even in courtly contexts with professional musicians, singers such as the Florentine Cosimo Bottegari accompanied themselves on the lute.¹² The practice of virtuoso embellishment is strongly tied to the act of performing before an audience. In the case of motet intabulations, we should also try to consider other situations similar to those we have discussed with reference to solo performance, especially lutenist-singers playing and singing alone for their own pleasure, without any audience.

* * *

Within the broad spectrum of solo instrumental music in the sixteenth century, the motet represents a significant genre. Although fewer in number than chansons, madrigals and secular genres with German and Spanish texts, intabulated motets are still an important component of the larger group.¹³ This is true for the whole century and there is no real discernible difference in the number of intabulations of vocal music from before or after the Council of Trent. On the contrary, it is the consistency of all these genres across the entire century that is noteworthy. Intabulations, either for solo performances or used as keyboard or lute accompaniments for singing, were a constant in the musical landscape of the sixteenth century.

Within the intabulation genre, motets appear to have been more important for their didactic function in compositional training, rather than as accompaniments for solo song performance. While many treatises from the period give solid instruction in counterpoint and imitation, theoretical works are silent regarding the broader areas of musical composition such as musical structure, equilibrium, rhetoric and narrative. An appreciation of these dimensions was more readily acquired through the study of motets in their intabulated form. These were the foundation stones for learning how to compose autonomous instrumental works such as fantasias and ricercars. Even though there was a substantial body of these new autonomous works in circulation by the time of the Council of Trent, instrumentalist composers do not appear to have modelled their fantasias directly on those of other composers, instead preferring to learn the principles of counterpoint and contrapuntal repertory through motet intabulation. This means that the custom of intabulating motets did not dissipate during the second half of the sixteenth century, but it is equally clear that new fashions or practices in motet composition did not replace the old. As a case in point, intabulations of music by Josquin continued to be published until the 1590s, seventy years after his death. For its time, this was quite remarkable, even for a composer regarded as 'the father of all music'.

In the period from the end of the Council of Trent until the end of the sixteenth century (1563–1600), there are close to thirty solo instrumental publications that

include motets (see Table 9.1). Their publication is spread out through the entire period; as a group, they represent a body of some 370 individual motet intabulations. The number of motets in each source varies widely. Some of the collections include only one or two motets while the most extensive is Rühling's *Tabulaturbuch* (1583) that contains eighty-four. A handful of sources include between fifteen and twenty-five works, while the rest generally have five or less compositions. In terms of the regions where they were published, the largest number emanate from German printers, with a good number from Italy and the Low Countries but, surprisingly, none from France. In descending order, they are: German states (12), Italy (9), Low Countries (6), Spain (2) and Poland (1).

Most of the collections are organised by genre, and the motet groups are typically used either as a beginning or an end, indiscriminately alpha or omega. The forty-six-work anthology compiled by Melchior Neusidler (1531–90) and published as *Teütsch Lautenbuch* (Strasbourg, 1574), for example, commences with a group of ten motets followed by six chansons, six madrigals, six German songs, twelve German dance pairs, three passamezzo-saltarello pairs and three original fantasias. This was Neusidler's second lute book to be printed using German tablature throughout.¹⁴ The motet group, many with embellishment, begins with Josquin's six-voice setting of *Benedicta es caelorum regina* followed, in approximately chronological order, by works in five voices by Mouton, Senfl, Willaert, Lupus, Verdelot (or Monte), Arnold Caen (or Richafort), Clemens non Papa and, finally, Lasso. In contrast, motets are used to conclude the selection of forty-nine pieces for six- and seven-course lute collected and composed by Giulio Cesare Barbetta and published as *Novae tabulae musicae testudinariae hexachordae et heptachordae* (Strasbourg, 1582). These final four pieces are motets by Monte, Lasso and Mouton and a German spiritual Lied by Stephan Zirler, misattributed to Clemens non Papa. They are preceded in the collection by twenty dances, nine madrigals, eight fantasias and eight chansons. In a similar vein, the eight motets intabulated for lute in Pierre Phalèse's 142-work anthology *Theatrum musicum* (Leuven, 1563), printed in French tablature, are placed at the end of the group of ninety-three intabulations, as numbers 102–6, 108 and 111, and comprise works by Mouton, Clemens non Papa and Josquin. One further motet by Clemens, no. 68, is interpolated much earlier for no apparent reason. The intabulations, predominantly French chansons, interspersed with a handful of madrigals and the motets, are preceded by eighteen fantasias, and followed by seven duets and twenty-four dances.

Very few publications are exclusively devoted to motet intabulations other than Rühling's *Tabulaturbuch* mentioned above. One of them is the *Thesaurus motetarum* (Strasbourg, 1589) by Jacob Paix, which includes two of his own motets in addition to twenty-two intabulations. Representing the work of some twenty composers, the pieces appear in approximately chronological order and give an idea of what a musician like Paix considered to represent the musical heritage of the preceding century. The composers are listed here in the order their works appear in the *Thesaurus* with their death dates in parentheses to give an idea of the accuracy of the chronology: Josquin (1521), Mouton (1522), Verdelot

(ca.1530), Gombert (ca.1560), Eustachius Barbion (ca.1556), Isaac (1517), Senfl (1543), Rore (1565), Christian Hollander (ca.1568), Crecquillon (1557), Wert (1596), Ludwig Daser (1589), Lasso (1594), Monte (1603), Wilhelmus Formellis (1582), Ivo de Vento (1575), Palestrina (1594), Alexander Utendal (1581), Leonhard Lechner (1606), Teodoro Riccio (ca.1600), Jacob Paix (d. after 1623). These represent a mixture of composers of international acclaim as well as a group known best in their own region. A somewhat comparable lute book from the post-Tridentine years, the only one predominantly devoted to motets, was compiled by Hungarian lutenist Valentin Bakfark (ca.1526–76), entitled *Harmoniarum musicarum in usum testudinis factarum, tomus primus* (Cracow, 1565). Comprising only twelve works in total, the eight motet intabulations are preceded by three original fantasias and completed by Josquin's chanson *Faulte d'argent*. The motet group comprises three each by Clemens non Papa and Gombert, and one each by Arcadelt and Josquin. Appearing in print before the musical dictates of the Council of Trent had become assimilated, these motets represent the work of four of the most internationally renowned composers of the first half of the century, names that reappear in intabulation collections right up to the end of the century. Some of Bakfark's intabulations are direct transcriptions of their vocal models while others have passages of diminutions added in all voices.

In contrast to the historically orientated anthologies, others concentrate on recent compositions. Among the twenty-six motets intabulated by Elias Ammerbach in his *Ein new künstlich Tablaturbuch* (Leipzig, 1575), the majority are recent compositions by Lasso, Jacob Meiland, Formellis, etc., with a smaller number by Clemens non Papa, Crecquillon and others by older composers. In another book, the lute anthology *Das erste Büch newerlessner fleissiger etlicher viel schöner Lautenstück* (Strasbourg, 1572) compiled by printer Bernhard Jobin, five recent motets by Lasso are included alongside a miscellany of fantasias, madrigals, chansons and passamezzo-saltarello pairs, thirty-seven works in all.

Table 9.1 offers a list of the printed books that include motet intabulations for solo instruments and gives detail of the numbers of works contained in each, and their composers. The reference numbers in the first column are the corresponding entries in Howard Mayer Brown's *Instrumental Music Printed before 1600* from which the information has been distilled. From this it can be seen that Orlando di Lasso was by far the most represented composer, followed by Clemens non Papa and Josquin. Motets by Lasso are intabulated in seventeen of the sources. The next most numerous are: Clemens non Papa (9), Josquin (9), Crecquillon (6), Lupus (5), Mouton (5), Gombert (4), Palestrina (4), Richafort (4), Senfl (4), Verdelot (4), Arcadelt (3), Dressler (3), Jachet (3), Meiland (3) and Monte (3). The majority of the motets intabulated are from before 1570 and therefore do not reflect the effects of the Council of Trent's pronouncements on music. Although Lasso and Palestrina figure heavily among the composers represented, it is not until the books of the 1590s that a greater representation can be seen of composers more closely associated with the post-Tridentine style, and the gradual disappearance of works by composers who had died decades earlier.

Table 9.1 Solo instrumental prints 1563–1600 containing motet intabulations. Key to abbreviations: K = keyboard; L = lute; O = organ; V = *vihuela*.

<i>Brown</i>	<i>Instr.</i>	<i>Work</i>	<i>Motets</i>	<i>Composers</i>
1563 ¹²	L	Pierre Phalèse, <i>Theatrum musicum</i> (Leuven, 1563)	7 of 142	Clemens non Papa, Jacotin (or Sermisy), Josquin, Mouton
1565 ¹	L	Valentin Bakfark, <i>Harmoniarum musicarum in usum testudinis factarum, tomus primus</i> (Cracow, 1565)	8 of 12	Arcadelt, Clemens non Papa, Gombert, Josquin
1566 ³	L	Melchior Neusidler, <i>Il secondo libro. Intabolutura di liuto ove sono madrigali, canzon francesi, pass'e mezi, saltarelli & alcuni suoi ricercari</i> (Venice, 1566)	6 of 18	Lasso
1568 ⁷	L	Pierre Phalèse, <i>Luculentum theatrum musicum</i> (Leuven, 1568)	6 of 163	Clemens non Papa, Isaac, Josquin
1571 ⁶	L	Pierre Phalèse and Jean Bellère, <i>Theatrum musicum longe amplissimum</i> (Leuven, 1571)	15 of 196	Clemens non Papa, Jachet, Josquin, Lasso, Lupus
1572 ¹	L	Bernhart Jobin, <i>Das erste Büch newerlessner fleissiger ettlicher viel schöner Lautenstück von artlichen Fantaseyen, lieblichen Teütschen, Frantzösischen vnnnd Italiänischen Liedern, künstlichen Lateinischen Muteten, mit vier vnd fünff stimmen, auch lustigen allerhand Passomezen</i> (Strasbourg, 1572)	5 of 376	Lasso
1573 ³	L	Matthäus Weissel, <i>Tabulatura continens insignes et selectissimas quasque cantiones</i> (Frankfurt a. d. Oder, 1573)	4 of 52	Dressler, Hollander, Lasso, Verdelot
1574 ⁵	L	Melchior Neusidler, <i>Teütsch Lautenbuch darinnenn kunstliche Muteten, liebliche Italianische, Frantzösische, Teütsche Stuck, fröliche Teütsche Tantz, Passo e mezo, Saltarelle, und drei Fantaseien</i> (Strasbourg, 1574)	10 of 46	Caen, Clemens non Papa, Josquin, Lasso, Lupus, Monte, Mouton, Senfl, Willaert
1574 ⁷	L	Pierre Phalèse and Jean Bellère, <i>Thesaurus musicus</i> (Leuven, 1574)	3 of 80	Conseil, Piéton

(Continued)

Table 9.1 (Continued)

<i>Brown</i>	<i>Instr.</i>	<i>Work</i>	<i>Motets</i>	<i>Composers</i>
1575 ₁	O	Elias Ammerbach, <i>Ein new künstlich Tablaturbuch darin sehr gute Moteten und lieblich Deutsche Tenores jetziger zeit vornehmer Componisten auff die Orgel unnd Instrument abgesetzt</i> (Leipzig, 1575)	26 of 41	Arcadelt, Clemens non Papa, Crecquillon, Lasso, Dressler, Formellis, Gastritz, Jachet, Meiland, Ville Font
1576 ₁	V	Esteban Daza, <i>Libro de musica en cifras para vihuela, intitulado el Parnasso, enel qual se hallara toda diversidad de musica, assi motetes, sonetos, villanescas . . . y otras cosas</i> (Valladolid, 1576)	13 of 62	Basurto, Boyleau, Crecquillon, F. Guerrero, P. Guerrero, Richafort
1577 ₆	O	Bernhard Schmid, <i>Zwey Bücher; Einer neuen künstlichen Tabulatur auff Orgel und Instrument. Deren das Erste ausserlesne Moteten und Stuck zu sechs, fünf und vier Stimmen, auss den Kunstreichesten und weiterümbtesten Musicis und Componisten diser unser zeit abgesetzt. Das Ander allerley schone Teutsche, Italienische, Frantzösische, geistliche und weltliche Lieder; mit fünf und vier Stimmen, Passamezo, Galliaro und Tante in sich begreiff</i> (Strasbourg, 1577)	20 of 65	Crecquillon, Lasso, Lupus, Richafort
1578 ₃	O	Antonio de Cabezón, <i>Obras de musica para tecla, arpa [y] vihuela</i> (Madrid, 1578)	18 of 129	Clemens non Papa, Jachet (or Monte), Josquin, Lupus, Morales, Mouton, Richafort, Verdelot
1582 ₁	L	Giulio Cesare Barbetta, <i>Novae Tabulae musicae testudinariae hexachordae et heptachordae</i> (Strasbourg, 1582)	2 of 49	Lasso, Mouton
1583 ₂	O	Elias Ammerbach, <i>Orgel oder Instrument Tablaturbuch</i> (Nuremberg, 1583)	7 of 185	[composers unidentified]
1583 ₄	O	Jakob Paix, <i>Ein schön nutz unnd gebreüchlich Orgel Tablaturbuch</i> (Lauingen, 1583)	26 of 88	Clemens non Papa, Josquin, Lasso, Palestrina, G. Paix, J. Paix, Riccio, Senfl

<i>Brown</i>	<i>Instr:</i>	<i>Work</i>	<i>Motets</i>	<i>Composers</i>
1583 ₆	O	Johannes Rühling, <i>Tabulaturbuch auff Orgeln und Instrument darinne auff alle Sontage und hohen Fest durchs gantze Jhar auserlesene, liebliche und künstliche Moteten so mit den Evangeliiis, Episteln, Introitibus, Responsoriis, Antiphonis, oder derselben Historien uberein kommen unnd eintreffen</i> (Leipzig, 1583)	84 of 85	Arcadelt, J. von Burck, Bultel, C. Canis, Clemens non Papa, Cleve, Colin, Crecquillon, Dressler, Feys, Gombert, Herpol, Hollander, Köler, Lasso, Le Maistre, Meiland, Paminger, Phinot, Regnart, Richafort, Senfl, Schedius, Scheifler, Schlegel, Schröter, Thalman, Tonsor, Vaet, Verdelot, Walter, Wert
1584 ₃	L	Gabriel Fallamero, <i>Il primo libro de intavolatura da liuto, de motetti ricercate madrigali, et canzonette alla napolitana, à tre, et quattro voci, per cantare et sonare</i> (Venice, 1584)	1 of 46	Lasso
1584 ₈	L	Gregorius Kregel, <i>Tabulatura nova continens selectissimas quasque cantiones ut sunt madrigalia, mutetae, paduanae et vilanellae</i> (Frankfurt a. d. Oder, 1584)	4 of 36	Gregorius Langius, Lasso
1586 ₂	K	Marco Facoli, [<i>Il primo libro d'Intavolatura d'arpcordo</i>] (n.p., 1586)	1 of 11	[composer unidentified]
1586 ₅	L	Sixt Kargel, <i>Lautenbuch, viler newerlessner fleissiger, schöner Lautenstück von artlichen Fantaseien, künstlichen Musicartlichen Lateinischen Muteten, mit fünf und sechs stimmen allerhand lieblichen Teutschen, Frantzösischen und Italienischen Liedern, auch lustigen Passomezen</i> (Strasbourg, 1586)	18 of 51	Crecquillon, Klingenstein, Gallo, Lasso, Meiland
1589 ₆	O	Jakob Paix, <i>Thesaurus motetarum newerlessner zwey und zweintzig herzlicher Moteten . . . und jede Moteten zu ihrem gewissen Modo gesetzt</i> (Strasbourg, 1586)	24 of 24	Alexander, Barbion, Crecquillon, Daser, Formellis, Gombert, Hollander, Isaac, Josquin, Lasso, Lechner, Monte, Mouton, J. Paix, Palestrina, T. Riccio, Rore, Senfl, Utendal, Vento, Verdelot, Wert

(Continued)

Table 9.1 (Continued)

<i>Brown</i>	<i>Instr.</i>	<i>Work</i>	<i>Motets</i>	<i>Composers</i>
1592 ₆	L	Emanuel Adriaenssen, <i>Novum pratum musicum</i> (Antwerp, 1592)	5 of 89	Gombert, Josquin, Lasso, Lupus, Pevernage
1592 ₁₁	K+L	Simone Verovio, <i>Diletto spirituale, canzonette a tre et a quattro voci composte da diversi ecc.mi musici con l'intavolatura del cimbalo e del liuto</i> (Rome, 1592)	21 of 29	Anerio, Giovannelli, R. del Mel, Nanino, Palestrina
1593 ₇	L	Giovanni Antonio Terzi, <i>Intavolatura di liutto . . . Libro primo. Il qual contiene motetti, contraponti, canzoni italiane, et francesi, madrigali, fantasie et balli di diversi sorti, italiani, francesi et alemani</i> (Venice, 1593)	9 of 61	A. Gabrieli, Ingegneri, Lasso, Merulo, Palestrina, Renaldi
1594 ₅	L	Adrian Denss, <i>Florilegium omnis fere generis cantionum suavissimarum ad testudinis tabulaturam accommodatarum . . . In quo praeter fantasias lepidissimas, continentur diversorum auctorum cantiones selectissimae, utpote: motetae, neapolitanae, madrigales trium, quatuor, quinque, sex vocum</i> (Cologne, 1594)	4 of 148	Lasso, Mosto, Victoria
1598 ₄	O	Giuseppe Gallo, <i>Totius libri primi sacri operis musici alternis modulibus concinendi partitio, seu quam praestantissimi musici partituram vocant</i> (Milan, 1598)	4 of 5	G. Gallo
1599 ₁₁	L	Giovanni Antonio Terzi, <i>Il secondo libro da intavolatura di liuto . . . nella quale si contengono fantasie, motetti, canzoni, madrigali pass'e mezi, et balli di varie et diversi sorti</i> (Venice, 1599)	5 of 93	A. Gabrieli, Merulo, A. Padovano, Rore, Vinci

Lasso is the composer whose name occurs most frequently in Table 9.1. There is a total of 88 (perhaps 89) intabulations of his motets in seventeen different prints, fifty-one for keyboard instruments and 37 (or 38) for lute. The total number is eighty-nine if we include a work attributed to Lasso by Melchior Neusidler in his *Teütsch Lautenbuch*. It is a setting of the communion antiphon

Domine quinque talenta for which no model has been identified.¹⁵ Including this work, there are forty-seven different motets preserved as intabulations. They are works with publication dates spanning nearly thirty years from 1556 to 1585, although the vast majority of them, thirty-five works, were published in the 1560s. Only eight of them were published in the 1570s or 1580s. Given this, these works cannot be claimed to have been composed in response to the Council of Trent's pronouncements on music. In fact, all but seven of them are from the period 1555–70 that James Haar describes as comprising a 'recognisable stylistic set' whose main elements are: 'thematic originality blended with a contrapuntal fluidity (that, in less distinguished pieces, approaches formula); plenty of chordal declamation, always marked by strength and clarity of harmony; expressive word-painting. . . ; a certain succinctness' and a 'capacity for obtaining iridescent changes of colour in the plainest of diatonic palettes through skilful vocal scoring'.¹⁶

Beyond the attraction of Lasso's music to contemporary musicians and audiences on account of the features described by Haar, the extraordinary preference for his works as intabulation pieces may also be tied not only to the magnitude of his output, but also to their publication in his own geographical orbit, both the Low Countries of his birth, and the German-speaking lands where he spent the last four decades of his life in service in Munich.

Eight of these sources include only one or two motets. The largest numbers are found in the German keyboard collections: eighteen in the book by Schmid (1577), fourteen by Rühling (1583) and nine each by Ammerbach (1575) and Paix (1583). Similarly, each of a further four lute anthologies contains between six and nine Lasso motets, the collections by Neusidler (1566), Phalèse and Bellère (1571), Jobin (1572) and Kargel (1586). Table 9.2 lists the motets alphabetically by incipit together with the number of voices, year of publication and the number of times each was intabulated. In the final two columns, the settings are identified by their sources and are listed by performing medium, lute or keyboard. If the number of intabulations is any indication of popularity, then the most popular were *Gustate et videte* (pub. 1556) and four that were published in 1562 – *Omnia quae fecisti nobis Domine*, *Surrexit pastor bonus*, *Veni in hortum meum* and *Angelus ad pastores ait*.

As representative examples of motet intabulation in the latter decades of the sixteenth century, let us consider the four known arrangements of Lasso's motet *Confitemini Domino*, which opens his 1562 collection of *Sacrae cantiones*.¹⁷ The first 12 bars of the motet and the corresponding passages of the four intabulations printed between 1572 and 1586, two for keyboard and two for lute, are shown in Ex. 9.1. The keyboard versions are the work of professional organists of considerable stature, contemporaries from different parts of the German-speaking world. Elias Nikolaus Ammerbach (ca. 1530–97) spent most of his life in Leipzig where he was organist at the Thomaskirche from 1561 to 1595, while Bernhard Schmid (1535–92) served as organist at the Strasbourg Cathedral for an almost identical period, from 1562 until 1592. In books published only two years apart

Table 9.2 Printed intabulations of motets by Lasso, 1563–1600.

<i>Motet</i>	<i>vv</i>	<i>Pub.</i>	<i>Total</i>	<i>Lute</i>	<i>Keyboard</i>
<i>Alleluia vox laeta/Alleluia prae gaudio</i>	5	1568	1	1584 _s	
<i>Amen dico vobis</i>	4	1564	1		1575 ₁
<i>Angelus ad pastores ait</i>	5	1562	4	1586 _s	1575 ₁ , 1577 ₆ , 1583 ₆
<i>Beati omnes qui timent dominum/ Ecce sic benedicetur homo</i>	5	1565	2		1575 ₁ , 1583 ₄
<i>Benedicam Dominum/In Domino laudabitur</i>	5	1562	4	1566 ₃ , 1571 ₆ , 1586 _s	1577 ₆
<i>Benedictio, et claritas, et sapientia</i>	6	1582	1		1583 ₄
<i>Certa fortiter, ora ferventer</i>	6	1582	1		1583 ₄
<i>Confitemini Domino/Narrate omnia mirabilia</i>	5	1562	4	1572 ₁ , 1586 _s	1575 ₁ , 1577 ₆
<i>Confundantur superbi</i>	5	1562	1	1572 ₁	
<i>Congratulamini mihi omnes/ Tulerunt Dominum meum</i>	6	1566	2		1583 ₄ , 1583 ₆
<i>Credidi propter quod locutus sum/ Vota mea</i>	5	1569	1	1584 _s	
<i>Da pacem Domine</i>	6	1556	1		1583 ₄
<i>De ore prudentis</i>	5	1565	1	1586 _s	
<i>Deus canticum novum/Quia delectasti</i>	5	1565	3	1566 ₃ , 1571 ₆ , 1586 _s	
<i>Deus noster refugium</i>	5	1565	1		1577 ₆
<i>Deus qui sedes</i>	5	1562	1		1583 ₆
<i>Dixit Joseph undecim fratribus suis/Nunciaverunt Jacob</i>	6	1564	1		1583 ₆
<i>Domine quinque talenta tradidisti mihi (attr.)</i>	5		1	1574 _s	
<i>Ego sum qui sum/Ego dormivi</i>	6	1570	1		1577 ₆
<i>Gustate et videte/Divites eguerunt</i>	5	1556	6	1566 ₃ , 1571 ₆ , 1586 _s , 1594 _s	1577 ₆ , 1583 ₆
<i>Heu mihi Domine</i>		1556	1	1571 ₆	
<i>Iam non dicam/Accipite Spiritum Sanctum</i>	6	1573	1		1577 ₆
<i>In me transierunt</i>	5	1562	4	1566 ₃ , 1571 ₆	1575 ₁ , 1577 ₆
<i>In principio erat verbum/Fuit homo missus a Deo/In propria venit</i>	4/4/6	1566	2		1575 ₁ , 1583 ₆
<i>In te Domine speravi/Quoniam fortitudo mea</i>	6	1564	3	1586 _s , 1592 ₇	1577 ₆
<i>Jerusalem plantabis vineam/ Gaude et laetare Jacob</i>	5	1562	1		1583 ₄
<i>Laudate Dominus omnes gentes</i>	12	1573	1		1583 ₄
<i>Legem pone mihi Domine/Da mihi intellectum</i>	5	1562	3	1572 ₁	1577 ₆ , 1583 ₆
<i>Non vos me elegistis</i>	5	1562	2		1577 ₆ , 1583 ₆
<i>Nuntium vobis fero/Thus Deo myrrham</i>	5	1571	2	1572 ₁	1583 ₄

<i>Motet</i>	<i>vv</i>	<i>Pub.</i>	<i>Total</i>	<i>Lute</i>	<i>Keyboard</i>
<i>Nuptiae factae sunt in Cana Galilaeae/Dixit mater/Et dicit ei Jesu/Omnis homo</i>	6	1566	1		1583 ₆
<i>O altitudo divitiarum/Quis enim</i>	6	1582	1		1589 ₆
<i>Oculi omnium in te sperant/Justus dominus in omnibus</i>		1585	1		1575 ₁
<i>Omnia quae fecisti nobis domine</i>	5	1562	5	1566 ₃ , 1571 ₆ , 1586 ₅	1575 ₁ , 1583 ₆
<i>Pater noster</i>	6	1565	1		1577 ₆
<i>Quasi cedrus exaltata sum</i>	4	1564	1	1582 ₁	
<i>Quia vidisti me Thoma</i>	4	1563	1		1577 ₆
<i>Sicut mater consolatur</i>	5	1562	2	1572 ₁	1577 ₆
<i>Surge prospera/Surge amica mea</i>	6	1564	1		1577 ₆
<i>Surgens Jesus</i>	5	1562	2		1583 ₄ , 1583 ₆
<i>Surrexit pastor bonus</i>	5	1562	5	1566 ₃ , 1571 ₆ , 1586 ₅	1575 ₁ , 1577 ₆
<i>Tempus est ut revertar/Nisi ego abiero</i>	6	1566	1		1583 ₆
<i>Tribus miraculis</i>	5	1565	1		1577 ₆
<i>Veni in hortum meum</i>	5	1562	5	1571 ₆ , 1572 ₁ , 1573 ₃ , 1593 ₇	1577 ₆
<i>Verbum caro factum est</i>	6	1564	2	1592 ₇	1583 ₆

in their cities of residence, Leipzig 1575 and Strasbourg 1577, both used very similar forms of new German keyboard tablature.¹⁸ Both versions preserve the integrity of the original five-voice polyphony, although Schmid chose to transpose the music a fourth lower. Ammerbach's setting adds a greater amount of diminution in the opening bars, although not a significantly higher amount than Schmid's version taken in its totality. It might not be pure coincidence that some of the added diminutions in both versions resemble one another closely (bars 3, 5 and 9), but they might reflect something of a common approach, perhaps dictated by the way the added notes fall naturally under the hand. The principal difference between the two versions is that the setting by Schmid omits the first half of bar 7 of the motet, although we can only guess whether this was due to working from a different source, if it were an editorial decision or merely an accident. The most likely explanation is that it is a typesetter's error, caused by inadvertently omitting two of what were probably four A-major chords in the handwritten original from which he was copying.

The two lute intabulations are by Sixt Kargel (ca.1540 – after 1593) and Bernhard Jobin (d.1594), and both were printed by Jobin, who was also responsible for printing Schmid's tablatures. Born in Porrentruy west of Basel, Jobin had settled in Strasbourg by 1560 and became one of the most prolific printers of instrumental tablatures in Central Europe. In addition to his general printing work and his

The image displays a musical score for the motet 'Confitemini Domino' by Orlando di Lasso. It features five vocal parts (Soprano, Alto, Tenor 1, Tenor 2, and Bass) and four instrumental intabulations (Ammerbach, Schmid, Jobin, and Kargel). The score is in 4/4 time and B-flat major. The lyrics are: 'Con - fi - te - mi - ni Do - mi - no, con - fi - te - mi - ni'. The Ammerbach intabulation is a lute-style piece with a complex, flowing melody. The Schmid intabulation is a simpler, more direct setting. The Jobin intabulation is a more elaborate, multi-measure rest piece. The Kargel intabulation is another complex, multi-measure rest piece.

Ex. 9.1 Orlando di Lasso, *Confitemini Domino*, bb. 1–12 and the corresponding passages of the intabulations by Ammerbach, Schmidt, Kargel and Jobin.

5

Do - mi - no, con - fi - te - mi - ni Do - mi - no,
no, con - fi - te - mi - ni Do - mi - no, et in - vo - ca -
- mi - ni Do - mi - no, et in - vo - ca - te
con - fi - te - mi - ni Do - mi - no, et in - vo -

The musical score consists of vocal lines and piano accompaniment. The vocal parts are written in a single system with four staves. The piano accompaniment is written in two systems, each with two staves (treble and bass clef). The score includes lyrics in Latin: "Do - mi - no, con - fi - te - mi - ni Do - mi - no, no, con - fi - te - mi - ni Do - mi - no, et in - vo - ca - mi - ni Do - mi - no, et in - vo - ca - te con - fi - te - mi - ni Do - mi - no, et in - vo -". The piano part features a complex rhythmic pattern in the right hand, often using triplets and sixteenth notes, while the left hand provides a steady harmonic accompaniment. A large arrow points from the end of the first piano system to the beginning of the second, indicating a continuation of the piece.

Ex. 9.1 (Continued)

The image displays a musical score for a vocal and piano piece, labeled 'Ex. 9.1 (Continued)'. The score is written in a key signature of one flat (B-flat) and a common time signature (C). It consists of several systems of staves. The top system includes a vocal line with lyrics: 'et in - vo - ca - te no - men e - jus,'. The second system continues the vocal line with lyrics: '- te no - men e - jus, no - men e'. The third system shows the vocal line with lyrics: 'no - men e - jus, et in - vo - ca'. The fourth system shows the vocal line with lyrics: 'et in - vo - ca - te no - men e'. The fifth system shows the vocal line with lyrics: 'ca - te no - men e - - - jus,'. The piano accompaniment is written in a grand staff (treble and bass clefs) and features a complex, rhythmic pattern in the right hand, often consisting of sixteenth-note runs, and a more rhythmic bass line in the left hand. The score is divided into measures by vertical bar lines, and there are repeat signs at the beginning of some sections.

Ex. 9.1 (Continued)

own two books of lute tablature, his workshop produced several books for lute and cittern by Sixt Kargel between 1574 and 1586, as well as lute books by Melchior Neusidler (1574) and Giulio Cesare Barbetta (1582), as well as the keyboard tablatures of Bernhard Schmid (1577) and Jakob Paix (1589). As printer of both lute arrangements of *Confitemini Domino* it is therefore not surprising that they

are printed with the same type, even though fourteen years apart. As with the keyboard version by Schmid, the lute settings by Jobin and Kargel are also transposed a fourth lower than the vocal model, assuming they were for a standard lute in G. Both versions make only minimal compromises to the integrity of the five-voiced polyphony and are quite difficult to play on the lute. Jobin's arrangement is the least embellished of any of the instrumental arrangements, with ornaments largely restricted to cadential flourishes. Of the four versions, Jobin's is also the only one not to raise the leading tone preceding the patently obvious cadence at the beginning of bar 8. Given the generally high quality of his intabulations and other lute music, it could well be a typographical error rather than a matter of taste or a reflection of lesser musical acumen than if he were a professional lutenist. Of German origin, Sixt Kargel worked in Strasbourg as a lutenist in the service of the Prince-Bishop Johann of Manderscheid-Blankenheim, Landgrave of Alsace, and also of Cardinal Charles of Lorraine, but also as an editor in Jobin's workshop from 1574. It is therefore likely that he directly supervised the printing of his own tablatures. Consistent with many of Kargel's lute works, his intabulation of *Confitemini Domino* shows his love of ornamentation and diminution, although still somewhat more restricted than Ammerbach's version, due purely to the natural constraints of the lute. None of the four instrumental intabulations is underlaid with text, and it seems unlikely that they were intended to be used for anything other than solo performance.

* * *

While motets continued to occupy a venerable position in many post-Tridentine solo instrumental sources, their popularity was vastly inferior to the secular genres with Italian, French and German texts that outnumber them ten to one in prints from this period. Although the most popular of Lasso's motets was intabulated six times, it is hardly significant in comparison to his popular chanson *Susanne un jour* that appears in thirty-five printed versions in sixteenth-century prints, as well as in many manuscripts. Thirteen of the motets in Table 9.2, however, date from the early part of his career, mainly from the 1560s, before the pronouncements on music by the Council of Trent were absorbed into the broader raft of liturgical reforms. In choosing works by Lasso to intabulate, instrumental composers of the sixties, seventies and eighties showed little regard for much other than their own taste and traditions. This started with their continued veneration of Josquin, Clemens non Papa, Crecquillon among the composers active in the decades prior to the Council of Trent, and extended to Lasso, Palestrina and some of their contemporaries. Through intabulations we get hardly a glimpse of what was happening at the vanguard of musical composition and no sense of any desire to be at the cutting edge of creative activity. The motet remained, nevertheless, a persistent part of instrumental collections, and also provided a point of departure for the abstract instrumental genres of the fantasia and ricercar. This legacy permeates the musical language and structure of these instrumental compositions, especially the notions of proportional balance and rhetorical expression. In many ways, the motet was the touchstone for the instrumentalist's imagination. Along with the

closed forms of dance music and the textural contrasts that abound in secular vocal music, the motet was one of the crucial catalysts that allowed instrumental music to find its freedom. The evidence does not point to the oft-argued need for instrumental music to liberate itself from the oppressive yoke of vocal music, but to the ways in which genres such as the motet assisted in the generation of independent instrumental idioms.

Notes

- 1 The process for inventing and notating polyphonic compositions is discussed extensively in Jessie Ann Owens, *Composers at Work: The Craft of Musical Composition 1450–1600* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1997).
- 2 The role of tablature as part of the composer's toolkit and the Palestrina evidence is presented in John Griffiths, 'The Lute and the Polyphonist', *Studi Musicali* 31 (2002): 71–90.
- 3 This study has been limited to printed sources for reasons of manageability. At the present time, the full repertory of keyboard intabulations has been catalogued and published, and more recently made available in an online catalogue by Cleveland Johnson, 'Vocal Compositions in German Organ Tablatures, 1550–1650', <http://my.depauw.edu/library/musiclib/intabdatabase/index.asp>, accessed February 6, 2017. The excellent listing of sources given by Gary Boye in his website 'Music for Lute, Guitar and Vihuela 1470–1799', <http://applications.library.appstate.edu/music/lute/home.html>, accessed June 7, 2017, is only of very limited use here as it includes very few listings of the contents of the sources.
- 4 See David Crook, 'The Exegetical Motet', *Journal of the American Musicological Society* 68 (2015): 255–316, esp. 257–68, and the same author's chapter in the present volume.
- 5 See Howard M. Brown, *Instrumental Music Printed before 1600* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1967), 1583, for a full inventory.
- 6 German lute tablature, on the other hand, like most of the keyboard tablatures makes at least a partial separation of the alpha-numeric characters into voices.
- 7 Juan Bermudo, *Comiença el libro llamado declaracion de instrumentos musicales* (Osuna: Juan de León, 1555), fols. 99v–100. I have discussed this more thoroughly in an article entitled 'Juan Bermudo, Self-Instruction and the Amateur Instrumentalist', in *Music Education in the Middle Ages and the Renaissance*, ed. Russell Murray Jr et al. (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2010), 126–37.
- 8 'Mucho yerran los tañedores, que comenzando a tañer: quieren salir con su fantasía. Aunque supiesse contrapunto (sino fueße tan bueno como el de los sobredichos músicos) no avían de tañer tan presto fantasía: por no tomar mal ayre' ('Many instrumentalists mistakenly wish to play fantasía when just beginning. Even if they know counterpoint – unless they be as good as the abovementioned musicians – they should not be so eager to improvise fantasías, so as not to play with bad taste').
- 9 See John Griffiths, 'Une fantaisie de la Renaissance: An Introduction', *Journal of the Lute Society of America* 23 (1990): 1–6.
- 10 Miguel de Fuenllana, *Orphenica lyra* (Seville, 1554), fol. iv: 'No pongo glosa todas veces en las obras compuestas, porque no [sic] soy de opinión que con glosas ni redobles se obscurezca la verdad de la compostura, como vemos que algunos, contentos con sola su opinión, las obras que muy buenos autores han compuesto con excelente artificio y buen espíritu, puestas en sus manos, las componen ellas de nuevo, cercándolas con no sé qué redobles, ordenados a su voluntad' ('I do not always add diminutions in intabulations because I am of the opinion that with both diminutions and ornaments the truth

- of a composition is hidden, as we see in some people who, happy with only their own opinion, take it upon themselves to compose afresh works that very good authors have written with excellent craft and good spirit, smothering them with who knows what kinds of ornaments, placed according to their own free will’).
- 11 Riccardo Rognoni, *Passaggi per potersi essercitare nel diminuire* (Venice: Giacomo Vincenti, 1592), fol. H2.
 - 12 There is a growing awareness of the number of lutenist songwriters in the sixteenth century who are remembered only as names. Bottegari is one of the few whose music survives. Other better-known figures include Giulio Cesare Brancaccio and Ippolito Tromboncino. Studies by Carol MacClintock, Dinko Fabris, Richard Wistreich and David Nutter are detailed in the bibliography.
 - 13 In Table 9.1 below, the number of motets in each source is shown. Excluding the four sources that are almost entirely devoted to motets (Brown, 1583₆, 1589₆, 1592₁₁, 1598₄), the motets in the other anthologies represent 10% of their contents, 233 out of 2,239 works.
 - 14 Neusidler’s first two lute books were printed in Venice by Antonio Gardano in 1566 (Brown, 1566₂ and 1566₃). The two volumes were republished as a single book in Frankfurt an der Oder in 1573, transcribed into German tablature by Benedict Drusina (Brown, 1573₁). The *Teütsch Lautenbuch* was Neusidler’s first new venture to be published in German tablature, and obviously aimed at a German clientele.
 - 15 No five-voice setting of this antiphon is known among the vast repertory of surviving Renaissance polyphony. The only setting identified to date is a three-voice setting by Jan Tollius, published 1590. It should also be pointed out here that a setting of the sequence *Quoniam magnus es tu* attributed to Lasso by Johannes Rühling in Brown, 1583₆ is in fact by Christian Hollander, a Dutch composer active in the German-speaking lands in the chapel of Ferdinand I.
 - 16 James Haar, ‘Lassus’, in *Grove Music Online, Oxford Music Online*, Oxford University Press, www.oxfordmusiconline.com/subscriber/article/grove/music/16063pg1, accessed February 5, 2017.
 - 17 Orlando di Lasso, *Sacrae cantiones quinque vocum* (Nuremberg: Berg and Neuber, 1562; RISM L 768), edited in idem, *Sacrae cantiones (Nuremberg, 1562)*, ed. James Erb, *The Complete Motets 2/Recent Researches in Music of the Renaissance 133* (Middleton, WI: A-R Editions, 2001).
 - 18 Elias Nikolaus Ammerbach, *Ein new künstlich Tablaturbuch darin sehr gute Moteten und lieblich Deutsche Tenores* (Leipzig: Johan Beyer, 1575); Bernhard Schmid, *Zwey Bücher, Einer neuen kunstlichen Tabulatur* (Strasbourg: Bernhart Jobin, 1577).

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