LUTE SOLOS ASCRIBED TO PHILIPP HAINHOFER'S LUTE TEACHER NICOLO LEGNAME

The Augsburg merchant and art dealer Philipp Hainhofer (1578-1647) was the owner of one of the largest surviving lute manuscripts, preserved in the Herzog-August Bibliothek in Wolfenbüttel.1 The manuscript was copied by Philipp himself in Italian tablature for 6and 7-course renaissance lute and is divided into twelve separate books (I-XII) according to genre. Scattered in some sections are twenty or so pieces ascribed 'Nicolai', all edited here. They are presumed to be by Nicolo Legname, Philipp's lute teacher in Padua, and have the character of exercises and practice pieces for the young Philip Hainhofer. No other lute music by Legname is known.

On 2 May 1594, Philipp set out with his brother Hieronymus and their personal Hieronymus Bechler to travel to Italy. The brothers travelled south from Augsburg calling at Innsbruch, Brixen [Bressanone], Bozen [Bolzano] and Triente [Trento], and arrived in Padua on 10 May.2 Philipp began studying the liberal arts and then law at Padua University.3 Philipp was taught music theory by Caspar Torelli, who introduced him to the 'Ars Musica' in Padua on 14 June. Torelli is known from books of Canzonettes à 3, one published by Vincenti in 1593 and another by Amadino in 1594. In May 1595 Philipp began taking lute lessons with Nicolo Legname in his private rooms for one scudo a month.4 Like Torelli, Legname is known from two volumes of canzonettes, but unfortunately both are now lost. However, a copy of his

¹ Hainhofer's lute books include 367 lute solos on 1070 pages compared to: the Johan Thysius lute book, NL-Lu 1666, c.1590-1646 (1036 items; 907 pages), facsimile: The Dutch Lute Society and Royal Society for Music History of the Netherlands 2009; The so-called Dlugoraj lute book, D-LEm II.6.15, dated 1619 (593 items; 541 pages), facsimile Tree Edition 2001; Emanuel Wurstisen's lute book, CH-Bu F.IX.70, Öffentliche Bibliothek der Universität Basel (500 items; 342 pages); Donaueschingen Fürstliche Fürstenbergische Hofbibliothek, manuscript D-DO G.I.4/I-III (now Stuttgart, Bad Würtenbergische Landesbibliothek, D-Sl), c.1580-1595 (412 items; 430 pages); The Barbarino lute book, PL-Kj 40032, c.1580-1611 (341 items on 404 pages); Mathew Holmes first lute book, GB-Cu Dd.2.11, c.1588-1600 (325 items; 202 pages), facsimile The Lute Society, forthcoming; and Vincenzo Galilei's manuscript Libro d'Intavolatura di Liuto, I-Fn Fondo Ant. Gal VI dated 1584 (201 items on 272 pages), facsimile: SPES 1992.

² Joachim Lüdtke, Die Lautenbücher Philipp Hainhofers (1578-1647) (Göttingen, Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1999). I am also very grateful for additional information about Hainhofer from Joachim Lüdtke and his comments and corrections to my text.

³ Christoph Herold studied in Padua c1601-3, where a copy was made of his lute book (facsimile: Tree Edition 1991). Also a title in Hainhofer's lute books tells us that a galliard by Pomponio was given to Philipp Hainhofer by Jan Albin von Schlick (1579->1628), who was probably also studying in Padua at the time, see Collected Lute Solos of Hortensio Perla of Padua and Pomponio of Bologna (Lübeck: Tree Edition, 2000).

⁴ Lüdtke op cit., p. 14 n32: '9. may fundamentum posui testudinis apud Nicolaum Legname, pro solvi singulis mensibus 1 scudi'. Other Paduan lutenists active in the 1590s: Giulio Cesare Barbetta (d.>1603), Ortenzio Perla (fl.1590s?). [Giu]liana dal Lauto (d.1599), Lorenzo dal Lautto detto Perla (d.1602) personal communication from Peter Király.



second volume, published in 1608, was in the library at Kassel, from which we know that the title page referred to him as a lute player from Padua.⁵ On 14 July 1595 there was an earthquake in Padua causing Philipp to fall down whilst playing his lute. In November 1595, Hainhofer recorded that he presented Legname with a copy his coat of arms, following the custom of Padua university to allow students to exhibit their coats of arms in the central building of the university. Many are still there today, but Hainhofer's is not amongst them.6 Then in a note Philipp wrote in December, he records that he stopped lute lessons two months earlier, that is, in October. So he only received lute instruction for a total of five

months. Philipp also often visited Venice, spent time in Siena during 1596 then visiting Bologna, Rome and Naples, returning with his brother to Augsburg by the same route as the outward journey and arriving home in November 1596.

Jean-Baptiste Besard (c.1565-1625) mentions in both his Isagoge and Novus Partus of 1617 that he spent some time in Italy, which was probably between 1587 and 1592,7 and claimed in the preface of his Thesaurus Harmonicus that he studied with Lorenzino in Rome.8 Besard travelled from Rome to Köln around the end of November 1596, where he took on about twenty lute students. He wrote a large compendium of medical knowledge, Antrum philosophicum (Augsburg, 1617), in which he refers to a shared interest in the liberal arts with Philipp Hainhofer twenty years before (that is, around 1597). In fact, Besard met Hainhofer in Köln in March 1597, when he was in his 30s and Philipp was about 19. In a note dated in 1617 Hainhofer wrote Joh. Bapta. Besardus Vesontinus, ain excellent Lautenist, und mein gewester Maister zu Coelln',9 so Philipp continued playing the lute and was one of Besard's students in Köln. Besard also wrote some laudatory lines in an Album Amicorum of Hainhofer's in Köln in July 1597.¹⁰ However, Hainhofer left Köln in August 1597 due to an outbreak of plague, and lived in Amsterdam before returning to

⁵ Lüdtke op cit., p. 14 n33: The first print was titled Il primo libro di canzonette a .3. voci di Nicolo legname and the second Amilla libro secondo di canzonette a tre voci di Nicolo Legname Padovano sonatore di lauto (Venezia, Raverio, 1608).

6 Lüdtke op cit., p. 14 n34: '13. novembris anno 95. hab ich meim maister der lautten Nicolo Legnami daß wappen auf großem papdeckhel auf seine schuel geben'.

Peter Király, 'Jean Baptiste Besard: New and neglected biographical information' The Lute xxxv (1995), pp. 62-72. I am also very grateful to Peter Király for additional comments and information about Besard and Padua university.

8 Thesaurus Harmonicus (Köln, Grevenbruch, 1603), Prefatio, line 14 "...hic Diuinus ille artifex Laurencinus Romanus instructor quondam meus...' (see facsimile, Minkoff Édition 1975), now known to be Lorenzino Tracetti (d.1590), see Mariagrazia Carlone 'The Knights of the Lute' Journal of the Lute Society of America xxxvii (2004), pp. 1-125 and xxxviii (2005), pp. 1-45, both published in 2009

⁹ Király, op cit., p. 70 fn13.

¹⁰ According to a list of the ten most expensive books auctioned in 2006 in the Fine Books & Collections magazine, Hainhofer's Das Grosse Stammbuch was sold by Christie's in New York on June 27, lot 263, for \$2,368,000.

Augsburg the following year. Besard probably left Köln too, but was back by 1600-1601, as deduced from lute music he copied into the manuscript of an unnamed pupil of his [PL-Kj 40143], some of the music dated 1600 and 1601. Besard was in Augsburg in 1617 where he gave lute lessons and resumed his acquaintance with Philipp Hainhofer, but we do not know if Philipp continued playing the lute then, in his 40s. Besard left Augsburg and met Hainhofer again in Leipzig later that year, but nothing more moved is known about Besard after this.

Philipp was married in 1601, and later that year began copying his lute books, presumably from loose sheets or notebooks collected on his travels and afterwards.¹¹ Philipp Hainhofer copied all the tablature with their titles himself using at least three different hands, adding the composers names to many, including 'Nicolai', using a finer pen. He also listed the composers in a 'Register dern Lautenmaister namen' at the beginning of the lute books, where we find 'Nicolo...Patauinus', leaving the space for his family name blank. The ascriptions to Nicolai could only indicate that these were the exercises and practice pieces that Legname gave to Philipp, which he could have collected from other sources. Nevertheless, it is assumed here that the music ascribed to Nicolai was all composed by Legname, which is supported by a degree of similarity in the figuration between many of the pieces. No 1-13 are all individually ascribed to Nicolai and include preludes and a variety of dances as well as the highly accomplished toccata undoubtedly the best of the music ascribed to Legname. No 5 is on the passamezo antico and nº 6 on an unidentified ground. Nº 14-22 come from the 8th book of the manuscript in a section headed Balli Padouani. La maggior parte di Nicolai, suggesting Nicolo composed most of them. Some are ascribed to other composers and it is assumed here that he composed those that are otherwise anonymous in this section. These include versions of the popular Tamburino,12 Paganina,13 and Barriera,14 as well as named balli.

11 The 8th book is titled '... mit mehrerlay padovanischen d\u00e4ntzen gezieret', that is dances he collected in Padua?

The music edited here offers a glimpse of the lessons a lute teacher would have given to a student visiting Padua in the 1590s. No ornaments appear in the original tablature. Dots under the tablature to indicate off beats to be struck with the right hand index finger are reproduced as in the original. No 23 is a typical German dance and is not by Nicolai, so one wonders who composed it and dedicated it to Philipp. Minor corrections to the tablature have been made without comment.

Worklist

- 1. Praeludium Nicolai D-W Guelf. 18.7/III, f. 206r [unbarred]
- 2. Prelude Nicolai D-W Guelf. 18.7/III, f. 214v
- 3. Preambulum Nicolai D-W Guelf. 18.7/III, f. 201r
- 4. Toccata in contra alto Nicolaj D-W Guelf. 18.7/III, ff. 213r-213v
- 5. Passo e mezzo quinta parte Nicolaj D-W Guelf. 18.8/V, f. 107r
- 6. Passo e meg[zo] In contra alto. Parte P[ri]^{ma:} Nicolaj D-W Guelf. 18.8/V, f. 77r
- 7. Gagliarda Nicolaj D-W Guelf. 18.8/VI, f. 167v
- 8. Gagliarda Nicol. D-W Guelf. 18.8/VI, f. 176v
- Gagliarda La poueretta. Nicolaj D-W Guelf. 18.8/VI, ff. 179v-180r
- Gagliarda l'Angelo bella di Nicolo D-W Guelf. 18.8/VI, ff. 182r-182v
- 11. Gagliarda Nicolaj D-W Guelf. 18.8/VI, f. 186v
- La medesima [Paganina] in un'altro tuono Nicolaj D-W Guelf.
 18.8/VIII, f. 247r [this is the gagliarda in 3 not Passamezzo in 2 - see Terzi 1599 pp. 87-88
- Barriera in contra alto Nicolai / 7. uolte gsto D-W Guelf. 18.8/VII, ff. 225r-225v
- 14. Tamburino D-W Guelf. 18.8/VII, f. 242r
- 15. Chaligaretta D-W Guelf. 18.8/ VII, f. 242v
- 16. Letitia D-W Guelf. 18.8/VII, f. 243v
- 17. Finetta D-W Guelf. 18.8/VII, f. 243r
- 18. Claudia D-W Guelf. 18.8/VII, ff. 243v-244r
- 19. Treuisana D-W Guelf. 18.8/VII, ff. 244r-245r
- 20. Giannetta D-W Guelf. 18.8/VII, f. 246r
- 21. Nobile D-W Guelf. 18.8/VII, ff. 245r-245v
- 22. Bella, D-W Guelf. 18.8/VII, ff. 245v-246r
- 23. Philipp Hainhofers Dantz/Nachdantz, D-W Guelf. 18.8/IV, f. 14r

John H. Robinson, November 2009, Newcastle University

versions: A-KL L81, f. 142v La Trombeta, A-Lla 475 (Eijsertt), f. 72r Ballet Tutti venite armati A5; B-Br II.275, ff. 40v-41r Bauiera Balletto; CH-Bu F.IX.70, p. 104 Bariera A.F.; CN-Mc w.s., f. 71v untitled; D-BAU 13.4°.85, pp. 51-52 La Barriera / Saltarello; D-LEm II.6.15, pp. 476-477 Parrera; D-LEm II.6.23, f. 19r Dantz; D-Ngm 33748/II, ff. 9r-10r Barriera Balletto; D-W Guelf. 18.8/IV, f. 41r Drometen Dantz, D-W Guelf. 18.8/VII, ff. 225r-225v Barriere in contra alto. Nicolaj; D-W Guelf. 18.8/VII, ff. 225v-226v La medesima d'un altro maestro Hort. Perlae, D-W Guelf. 18.8VII, ff. 226v-228r La medesima Diomedis; F-Pn Rès.941, f. 11r La barriere romano; F-Pn Rès.941, ff. 11v-13r Barriera; F-Pn Rès.Vmd.29, f. 21v Barrier, F-Pn Rès.Vmd.31, f. 12r Barriera, I-Bc AA/360, f. 109v Barriera, I-BDGchilesotti, pp. 112-113 Mascherada; I-BDGchilesotti pp. 215-6 Passo mezzo moderno; I-Fn Fondo.Magl.XIX.106, f. 8r Barriera ballo; I-Las (Lucca) 774, f. 20v Bariera; I-Nc 7664, f. 31r Barrera in tenore; I-PESc (Pesaro) b.10, f. 23v Barriera; I-PESc b.10, f. 26v Barriera; I-Rvat (Rome) 570, f. 21 r Barriera; I-SGc (San Gimignano) 31, f. 11v Barriera balletto; I-TRc 1947, f. 13v Barriera prima parte/seconda parte/terza parte/quarta parte; LT-Va 285-MF-LXXIX (Königsberg), f. 12v Tantz Alphonsi.; PL-Kj 40032, p. 373 La Bariera; PL-Kj 40153, f. 3v Bariera; US-BE 757, f. 16v Bariera in soprano; Caroso 1581, ff. 76v-78v Barriera, Balletto di M. Battistino; Terzi 1599, pp. 33-37 Bariera balletto con tutte le sue repliche; Caroso 1600, pp. 139-147 Balletto Barriera/Gagliarda, Caroso 1600, p. 190 Barriera Nuova, Negri 1602, pp. 122-124 La Barrera messa in uso in Milano; Balletti Moderni 1611, pp. 5-6 La Barera; Fuhrmann 1615, p. 180 Subplementum. Lieb Kann alles überwinden.

¹² Cognates versions: CZ-Pnm IV.G.18, ff. 172v-173v Galliarde Tambourina; D-B 4022, ff. 5v-6r [T]ambarina [G]aliarda [Al]ess Pi[cc]inin[i]; D-W Guelf. 18.8/VIII, f. 3 Tamburino [Nicolai]; GB-HAdolmetsch II.B.1, ff. 102v-104r Galliarda Tambourina; cf. GB-HAdolmetsch II.B.1, f. 104v Volte Tambourina; I-TRc 1947, f. 23r La tamburina; PL-Kj 40032, p. 387 La Tamburina. Cognate versions of different music with the same title: B-Br II.275 (Cavalcanti), f. 69v La Tamburina gagliarda musichale [index: La Tanburina Del fiorenza Galgliarda]; D-B 4022, f. 20r Jan Barino Galiarda; D-DO G.I.4/III, f. 59r Tamburino; I-TRc 1947, f. 13r Il tamburino; PL-Kj 40032, pp. 332-323 Gagliarda; US-BE 757, f. 18v La Tamburina; US-BE 760, f. 24r Il Tamburino; Terzi 1599, pp. 4-5 Gagliarda detta Tamburin.

¹³ Richard Hudson, 'Paganina', New Grove 2 xviii 886-887. Cognate versions for lute: CN-Mc w.s., ff. 11r-12 La paganina con il suo saltarello; CN-Mc (Montreal) w.s., ff. 40r-40v Paganina / saltarello; CN-Mc w.s., f. 76v untitled with saltarello; F-LYm (Lyon) 6244, ff. 18v-20r Tenor dta Paganina / Saltarello; F-LYm 6244, ff. 7v-9r La Paganina / Gagliarda de la paganina; F-Pn Rès.Vmd.31, f. 19v Paganina in Tenore; I-COc 1.1.20 (Raimondi), f. 42v Paganina, Pesaro b.10, f. 19v; Paganina; I-TRc (Trent) 1947, f. 4v Pasamezo; Maniero 1578, p. 5 Pass'e mezzo della Paganina / Saltarello [à 4]; Barbetta 1582, sig. C4v Passo'e mezo detto la paganina / Gagliarda; Phalèse & Bellère, 1583, f. 7v Pass'e mezzo della Paganina / Gagliarda; not the same music: I-PESc b.10, f. 3r Paganina. Related to the La Vecchia pavan in English lute sources, cf. John M. Ward, Music for Elizabethan Lutes (Oxford: Clarendon, 1992), I, 95, fn 263.

¹⁴ Elaine Bearer, 'Barriera', New Grove 2 ii 768. Cognate lute

1. Prelude - Nicolo Legname

D-W Guelf. 18.7 III, f. 206r

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2. Prelude - Nicolo Legname

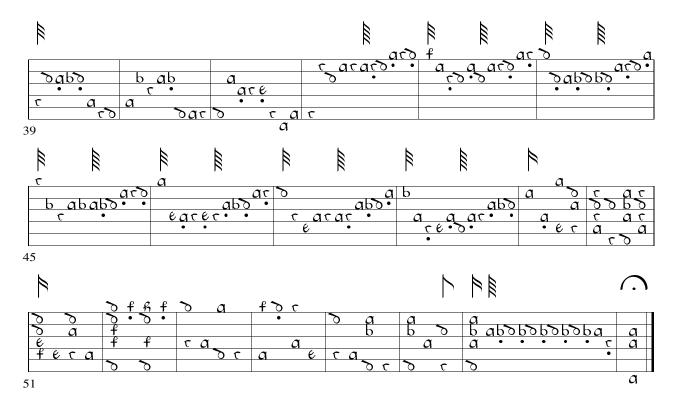
D-W Guelf. 18.7 III, f. 214v



3-4. Prelude and Toccata - Nicolo Legname

D-W Guelf. 18.7 III, ff. 201r, 213r-213v





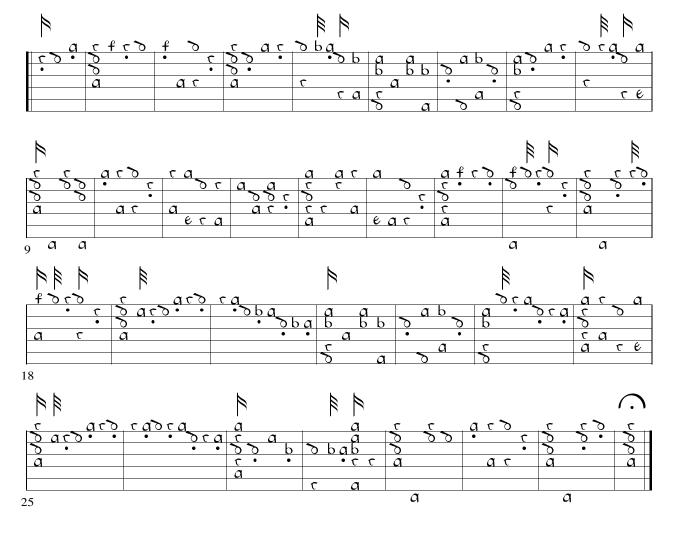
5. Passo e mezzo quinta parte - Nicolo Legname

D-W Guelf. 18.8 V, f. 107r



6. Passamezo parte prima - Nicolo Legname

D-W Guelf. 18.8 V, f. 77r



7. Gagliarda - Nicolo Legname

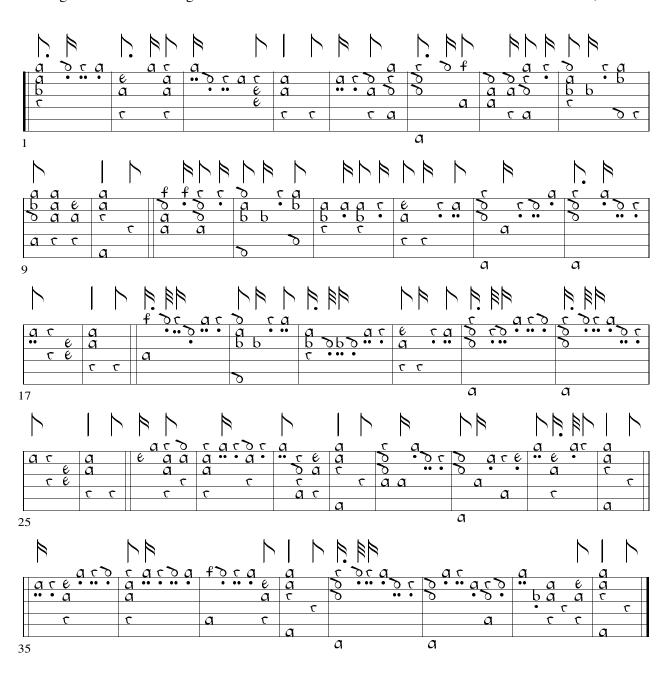
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8. Gagliarda - Nicolo Legname

D-W Guelf. 18.8 VI, f. 176v



9. Gagliarda la poveretta - Nicolo Legname



10. Gagliarda l'Angelo bella - Nicolo Legname

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D-W Guelf. 18.8 VI, ff. 182r-182v

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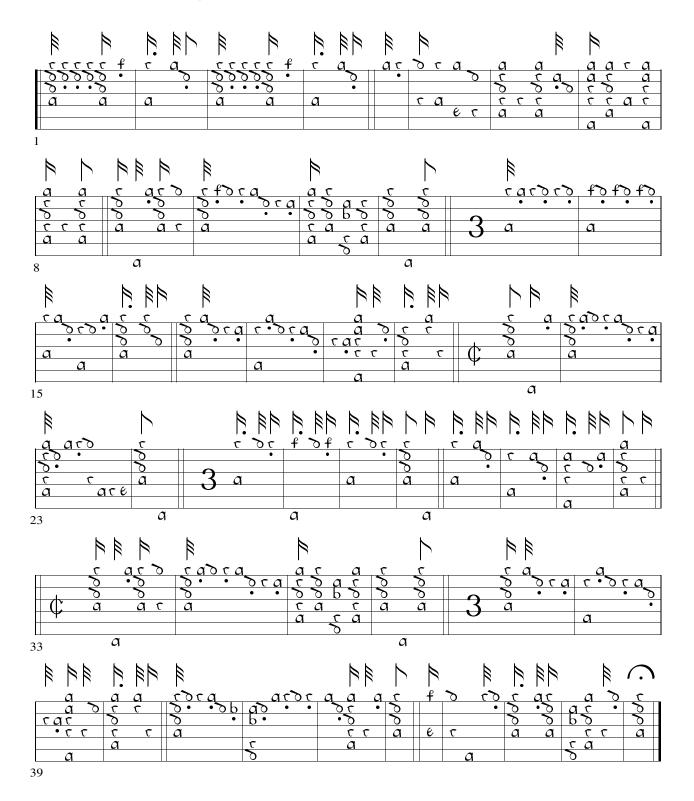




12. La paganina - Nicolo Legname

D-W Guelf. 18.8 VIII, f. 247r

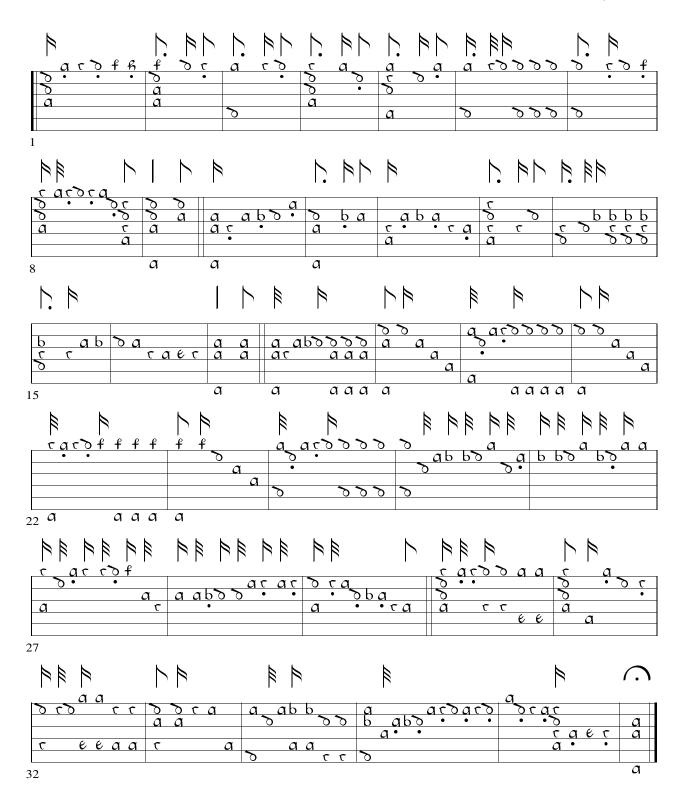


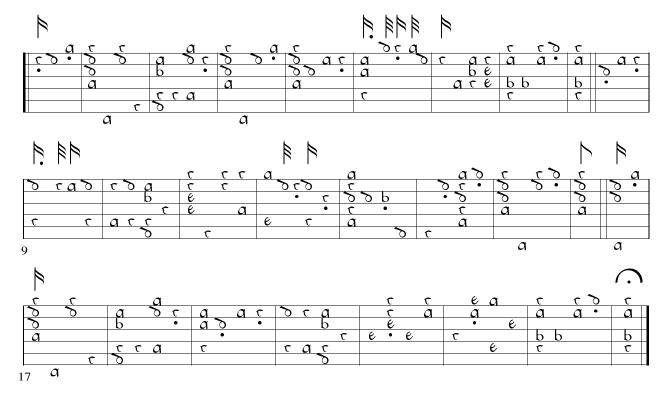


BALLI PADOANI. LA MAGGIOR PARTE DI NICOLAI

14. Ballo - Tamburino

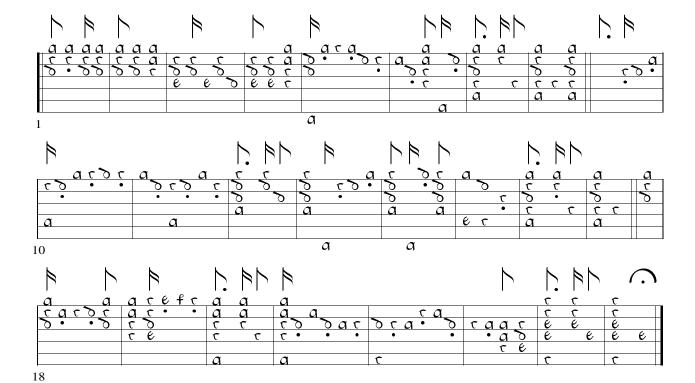
D-W Guelf. 18.8 VII, f. 242r





16. Ballo - Letitia

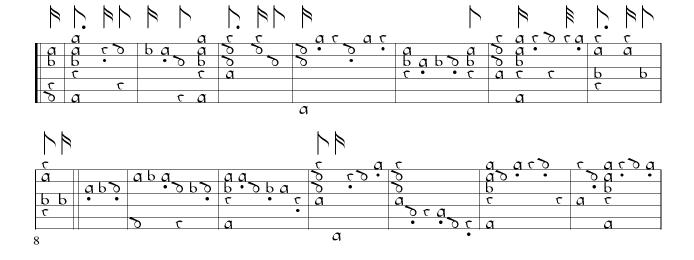
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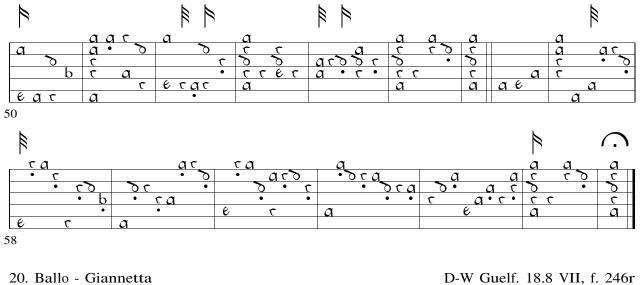
18. Ballo - Claudia

D-W Guelf. 18.8 VII, ff. 243v-244r















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