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***Album Amicorum*, Commonplace Book, and Lute Book**

Abstract: When the lute became a popular instrument in the sixteenth century, amateur lute players had to make a choice where to collect the music for their instrument. Beyond the development of lute books as a new manuscript type defined by ruled pages for tablature, lute-music notation also found its way into English commonplace books and German and Dutch *Stammbücher*. The latter continue a practice already established in songbooks, namely the addition of dedications and devices to the musical pieces. This practice was adopted in German students' lute books, many of which organize their music into separate 'books' by genre in a way that resembles methods of knowledge organization that were taught for commonplace books.

It was perhaps in 1603 that the famous composer and lute player John Dowland made an entry in the *album amicorum* of Johannes Cellarius in Nuremberg with music from his famous *Lachrimae*, signed 'Jo: dolandi de Lachrimae his own hande'.¹ Although autographs of musical works were still rare at the turn of the seventeenth century,² this is not Dowland's only music autograph. He also contributed entries with his own music to two lute books as well: the so-called Board lute book and the so-called Folger-Dowland lute book.³ Beyond further lute books, his lute music can also be found in commonplace books, e.g. the commonplace book of Robert Edwards.⁴ Comparing the entries in the three different types of manuscripts, it is obvious that Dowland always wrote in his own hand for *alba amicorum*, as he sometimes did for lute books as well, but never for commonplace

1 GB-Lbl. Add. 27579, fol. 88r; facsimile in Poulton 1972, before 217. All manuscripts are cited with their RISM sigla and listed in the appendix.

2 Cf. Owens 1997, 126–134.

3 GB-Lam 603 (cf. Spencer 1976) and US-Ws V.b.280 (cf. Goodwin and Harwood 2003). On the autograph entries of Dowland, cf. Gale 2013, 208.

4 GB-En 9450, fol. 7r: 'Duland his pavan called gaudean' and 'galeard'; cf. Poulton 1972, 480, 482. On this manuscript, cf. Cooper 2015; Elliott 1961.

books. Unlike in Cellarius' *album amicorum*, where Dowland merely quotes his music, entire compositions made their way into all three types of manuscript.⁵

In the case of Dowland, a categorization of the manuscripts into such types is somewhat possible; however, other lute-music manuscripts share characteristics of more than one manuscript type. Thus, before discussing their interrelations, the definitions of *album amicorum* (or German *Stammbuch*), commonplace book, and lute book as manuscript types in the Early Modern Period must be ascertained. The first, the *Stammbuch*, is a book for collecting memories of friends, artists, and scholars through entries written in their own hands; the second, the commonplace book, is a book for collecting various items for the use and entertainment of its owner, often in his own hand. As Ann Moss states, 'The commonplace book very often enshrined and imposed culturally sanctioned modes of thought and the authoritative pronouncements of the dominant belief system'.⁶ With regard to literature, Peter Beal distinguishes commonplace books, meant to be useful, from miscellanies, meant for pleasure.⁷ Neither view is applicable in the context of instrumental music, which is both useful as well as pleasurable. Thus, I will follow the definition of David R. Parker, who emphasizes, 'What separates a commonplace book from anthologies or miscellanies produced for a larger audience is the discernibly personal selection and combination of texts for the book'.⁸ Finally, 'lute book' is a label derived from early prints⁹ as well as titles¹⁰ of multiple-text manuscripts with a collection of pieces for the lute written in tablature, which could be German, Italian, or French lute tablature. Such books, used to collect music for one of the most popular instruments in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, could be written either by the collector or by others. A constitutive part of their formatting is the ruling for the tablature, with lines representing the strings of the lute or, in the case of German tablature, in which each letter and number represents a distinct fret on a distinct string on the fingerboard, written between lines dividing the page into rows. The composition and purpose of such a book vary. Examining the sixteenth- and early seven-

5 There is one more entry by Dowland in the now lost *Stammbuch* of Hans von Bodeck (*olim* PL-E O 9) from Elblag, dated 9 May 1604, which Bauer (1929, 193) describes as 'einen kleinen Notensatz zur Laute'.

6 Moss 2011, 18.

7 Cf. Beal 1993; Burke 1996, 1–7.

8 Parker 1998, 2.

9 Cf. sixteenth-century German prints like Neusiedler 1536.

10 Cf. D-Mbs 1512 'Lauttenpuechl' (1533).

teenth-century English manuscripts in detail, Julia Craig-McFeely has pointed out three main categories:¹¹

- pedagogical books: for personal use while learning, obvious from the inclusion of instructions for playing the lute
- household or personal anthologies: personal or shared collections for playing, sometimes only comprising some folios added to a printed lute book
- professional books: professional lutenist and/or composer collections

In many cases, the personalization of such manuscripts is apparent from the very first pages, which include paratexts like titles including the name of the owner and sometimes additional attributes like coats of arms and devices. Thus, lute books compiled for personal use sometimes share characteristics with one or both of the other two manuscript types – the *album amicorum* (or *Stammbuch*) and the commonplace book.

1 Commonplace books including music for the lute

When the lute became a popular instrument in the sixteenth century, amateur musicians had to make a choice where to collect the music for their instrument. Commonplace books have not only served to collect various texts, but also to collect different kinds of music. Matthew Spring has called the two earliest British manuscripts with music for the lute ‘commonplace books’,¹² while John Ward designates them more accurately as ‘miscellanies’.¹³ One of them, GB-Lbl Royal Appendix 58, contains only music and may have belonged to a professional musician.¹⁴ It originated as a tenor partbook with vocal compositions; keyboard pieces, lute pieces, and other instrumental music were added later. It is a highly personalized collection, but because music is its only content, I would call this a ‘music book’. The other manuscript, GB-Lbl Stowe 389, originated in the fifteenth century as a collection of legal statutes from the time of Henry IV to Henry VI. In 1558, a Ralph Bowle reused the manuscript, adding eleven pieces for the lute

¹¹ Cf. Craig-McFeely 2000.

¹² Cf. Spring 2001, 47.

¹³ Cf. Ward 1992, 7.

¹⁴ Cf. Ward 1992, 13–16.

and one for the guitar with the declared purpose ‘to Learne to play on his Lutte’.¹⁵ It is a miscellany that has had two different phases of production and use, the latter devoted solely to music.

There are only two manuscripts with lute music in which mixed musical and non-musical content is written in the same hand, distinguishing them as the personalized collections of a first owner and matching Parker’s definition of a commonplace book (see Table 1).¹⁶

Table 1: Commonplace books with music for the lute.

Manuscript	Holder	Date	Format (cm)	Fols
US-Ws V.a.159 ¹⁷ ‘Lodge manuscript’	Giles Lodge?	1559–c. 1575	11 × 17	136
US-NHub Osborne 13 ¹⁸ ‘Osborne commonplace book’	?	c. 1560	16 × 23	57

There are three hands in the so-called Lodge manuscript.¹⁹ Hand A wrote pieces for the lute (fols 3^r and 4^r–12^v) and compiled an index of them (fol. 1^r).²⁰ Six out of these pieces are further mentioned in a list compiled at a Welsh manor house in 1595,²¹ but none of them occurs in a similar setting in another manuscript. Ward has pointed out that there are many errors in the tablature and proposed that hand A was an amateur composer writing down his own music,²² settings of popular melodies of which many are to be found elsewhere with other settings,²³

¹⁵ Quoted from Ward 1992, 8.

¹⁶ There are similar commonplace books including music for the cittern; cf. the commonplace books of Robert Edwards (GB-En 9450) and that of John Ridout (US-CA Mus 182), which, beyond music and recipes, also include spiritual and moral propositions as well as lists of printed books (cf. Ward 1979–1981). Another miscellany in which music for the cittern appears in a chronicle is the Berther-Chronik (c. 1623) CH-D; cf. Brunold and Collenberg 2010, 254–273.

¹⁷ Cf. Dawson 1955, V–XVI; Ward 1992, 16–21.

¹⁸ Cf. Ward 1992, 22–42.

¹⁹ Cf. Dawson 1955, V–VIII, and Ward 1992, 16, who calls the hand on fol. 13^r ‘hand B’, thereby renaming Dawson’s ‘hand B’ as ‘hand C’.

²⁰ The order of the pieces in the index differs from that of the manuscript; cf. Ward 1992, 20.

²¹ Nos 1, 2, 5, 6, 8, 9, and 25. Cf. Williams 1935, 9; Ward 1992, 20–21.

²² Cf. Ward 1992, 17–19.

²³ E.g. the pieces attributed to the Queen’s luter John Johnson, *A flat Pavane* and *Trenchmore* (nos 10, 18, and 22).

but almost exclusively in English manuscripts. Thus, Ward has labelled this repertory as ‘provincial’.²⁴ He assumes that ‘the compiler could play better than he could notate’ and that ‘the tablatures may have served more as aides-mémoires than a full account of music the intabulator was able to perform’.²⁵ The pages after the index and the lute pieces were left blank, the latter in order to collect more music (ruled until fol. 18^r).

Then follows a section (ruled until fol. 76^r) with recipes (fols 60^r–62^r and 64^r–66^r), notes on a William Lyndewode (fols 62^r–62^v), and a legal form bearing the date 22 September 1559 (fols 63^r–63^v). On fols 94^v–135^r is the play *July and Julian*, and on fol. 135^v, there are some jingles. Hand B added only one lute piece, on fol. 13^r. Hand C added recipes and remedies (fols 66^v–78^v), one of them dated 1571, and lute pieces (fols 13^v–21^r) without entering them in the index. The first of these lute pieces cannot have been written before 1572, when Walter Devereux, mentioned in its title, became Lord of Essex. Furthermore, on fols 1^v to 2^r, accounts of the estates of Giles Lodges (dated 1591) were added. Fols 79^r to 93^r were left blank; on fol. 136^v are the signatures of later owners of the book (Francis Morton, dated 1600, and Richard Morton).

In the Osborne commonplace book (formerly called the ‘Braye lute book’), sections with tablature for lute, guitar, and gittern interchange with poetry as well as recipes and remedies. Of the three hands that contributed, only one is responsible for the music.²⁶ This first hand (A) planned the book as a sequence of lute pieces (fols 1^r–19^v), poetry (fols 20^r–27^v, of which only fols 20^r–23^v are filled), and recipes and remedies (fols 28^r–31^r; only fols 28^r–30^v filled). After these three sections, the scribe continued with a new section of lute pieces (fols 31^v–35^v; all pages are ruled for tablature, but only fols 31^v–32^v are filled). He entered poetry on some of the following pages (fols 36^r–37^r and 38^r), which could also have found its place on fols 24^r to 27^v. The last contribution of hand A is a series of pieces for guitar and gittern on fols 40^r to 44^r. The second hand (B) added recipes and remedies (fols 24^r–25^v, 30^v *bas-de-page*, and 31^r) as well as poetry (fols 38^v–39^r and 44^v–56^r), rotating the book and using the pages predominantly in portrait format. Finally, hand C added a remedy (fol. 28^v *bas-de-page*) and poetry (fols 26^r–27^v, 37^v, 39^v, and 56^v–57^v), applying the same layout as hand B.

Unlike the so-called Lodge manuscript, the musical repertory of the Osborne commonplace book qualifies the compiler as a ‘cosmopolite with access to a

²⁴ Ward 1992, 29.

²⁵ Ward 1992, 17.

²⁶ Cf. Ward 1992, 23.

variety of sources, printed and manuscript, foreign and domestic'.²⁷ Examples of this international repertory are the two fantasies by Francesco da Milano (nos 12 and 21), printed for the first time in 1536, and an intabulation of the French chanson *C'est a gran tort* by Claudin de Sermissy (no. 23). The same holds true of the poetry, which is court as well as broadside poetry.

Both commonplace books comprise the same content – lute music, poetry, and recipes and remedies. This content could have been divided into three different manuscripts, each of them devoted to a single genre, but here one manuscript is divided into sections, uniting the different content.

Spring calls some of the later English manuscripts with lute music 'commonplace books' as well.²⁸ However, unlike the two manuscripts discussed as such, they are not. The Brogyntyn manuscript (GB-AB 27) from Shropshire (c. 1595), for example, was turned from a lute book into the commonplace book of Thomas Tanat (Thanet) only in the 1620s.²⁹ Craig-McFeely labelled a manuscript with lute music by the Scottish poet Sir William Mure of Rowallan (1594–1657) (GB-Eu Ms.La.III.487) as his 'commonplace book'.³⁰ I would call this a 'lute book' as it contains nothing but lute music.

²⁷ Cf. Ward 1992, 29.

²⁸ Cf. Spring 2001, 112. Beyond the Brogyntyn lute book, Spring also mentions the Mynshall (GB-Lam 601), Trumbull (GB-Cu Add. 8844), and Dallis (IRL-Dtc 410/1) manuscripts. Mynshall was the lute book of Richard Mynshall and originated in Nantwich. Apart from the music (ruled until fol. 97, but with entries only on fols 1^r–12^v) and possession marks and poems, the only item connected with Mynshall (fols 1^r–II^v and 98^v) is a copy of a letter, dated 15 August 1598, from the Earl of Essex to Queen Elisabeth (fol. 98^v); cf. Spencer 1975. Trumbull was the lute book of William Trumbull (cf. Spencer 1980) and has no non-musical content. Dallis is the music book of a student of Thomas Dallis, a musician and teacher at Trinity College, Dublin in the 1580s and 1590s; cf. Spring 2001, 124–125.

²⁹ Cf. Spring 2001, 127; Spencer and Alexander 1978.

³⁰ Cf. Craig-McFeely 2000, 96: 'this was a pedagogical book, though its original purpose has been obscured by the activity of a subsequent owner, Sir William Mure of Rowallan, who used it as a commonplace book, entering poetry and music'. The manuscript originated as a collection of lute music for the personal use of Anna Hay, daughter of the eighth Earl of Errol, and her sister Mary, both active as scribes of this manuscript c. 1605–1608. It was compiled before the former's marriage to the Earl of Wintoun in 1609; cf. Spring 1987, vol. 2.1. On fol. V^r, there is the inscription 'godes grant, gode grant Anna Hay'. Fol. VI^r bears the title 'My Lade Bekluch her book'; thus it passed to Mary, who married the Earl of Buccleugh in 1616. The music collected by Anna and Mary Hay includes some pieces from a widespread repertory, but the readings of the concordances are closer to continental than to English manuscripts (e.g. nos 1 and 7, two versions of a similar tune, which both occur in NL-Lt 1666, fols 372^r–372^v as well). Only later, perhaps after Mary's death in 1631, did it become the book of William Mure, who added extra music, for which

2 *Lautenstammbücher*

It has been claimed that German *Stammbücher* have contained music since the last quarter of the sixteenth century.³¹ This was predominantly vocal music, featuring the (riddle) canon as the preferred genre for musicians' entries. According to Tatsuhiko Itoh, instrumental music, on the other hand, is rarely to be found in *Stammbücher* of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries.³² One reason for this opinion may be that manuscripts that consist predominantly of instrumental music, even if they show the characteristics of a *Stammbuch*, have not been regarded as such, but as lute books, for example.³³

It has been argued that songbooks, i.e. music manuscripts, from the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries can be regarded as the prehistory of the *Stammbuch*³⁴ due to the addition of proverbs and dicta to the individual pieces. Early examples are the *Liederbuch des Dr. Hartmann Schedel*,³⁵ the *Liederbuch der Klara Hätzler und des Jörg Roggenburg*,³⁶ the *Königsteiner Liederbuch*,³⁷ and the *Liederbuch des Johannes Heer von Glarus*.³⁸ The practice of adding *Stammbuch*-like elements to

no concordances have been found so far; cf. Craig-McFeely 2000, 95. Two of the pieces (nos 20 and 21, pp. 24–25) are signed in his name; cf. Spring 1987, vol. 2, 3–5.

31 Schnabel 2003 indicates *Stammbücher* from 1575, 1576, and 1577 as the earliest, but see the *Stammbuch* of Achatius von Dohna (1550–1552) below.

32 Cf. Itoh 1992; Gottwald 1969; and Schieckel 1983–1986. Entries with lute tablature are to be found in the *Stammbuch* of Gerhard Pilgrim (D-KNs without shelfmark, fols 160^r–160^v) by Johannes Schendel (*Phantasia*), dated 1578, cf. Drux and Niemöller 1958, with facsimile; in the *Stammbuch* of Burchard Großmann (NL-DHk 133 C 14 – B, fol. 177.2v) by Paulus Röder aus Kochberg, dated 16 January 1634, cf. Rifkin 2011, 165, and in the *Stammbuch* of Conrad Arnold Schmid (1716–1789) (D-Wa VI Hs 13 Nr. 35, pp. 159–60) by Silvius Leopold Weiss, dated 15 August 1742, cf. Wolff 1973.

33 The same holds true for the combination of a *Stammbuch* and collections of music for other instruments. One example is the Wittenberger Claviertabulatur (S-Uu Vok. Mus. Hs 132), c. 1593–1602, 19.8 × 15.5 cm; cf. Schwindt 2002. Unlike many student lute books (see below), this manuscript, belonging to a student in Wittenberg and finally given to a Swedish student as a gift, is not arranged by genre. It was begun as a keyboard book and turns into a *Stammbuch* from fol. 97^v onwards.

34 Cf. Petzsch 1985; Lütke 1999, 107–108. Regarding the difference from postscripts (*Beischriften*) in earlier *Liederbücher*, cf. Petzsch 1967, 68–111.

35 D-Mbs Cgm 810 (c. 1460); cf. *Das Liederbuch* 1978, but proverbs and dicta occur only at the beginning and end of the manuscript.

36 CZ-Pnm X A 12 (1470/71); cf. Haltaus 1840, x.

37 D-B germ. qu. 719 (1473); cf. Sappeler 1970, including the postscripts. Petzsch 1985 assumes that this manuscript was copied from single-song folios or scrolls.

38 CH-SGs 462 (early sixteenth century); cf. Geering and Trümpy, 178–184.

the musical pieces in songbooks continues in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries.³⁹ Therefore, these manuscripts have been called *Liederstammbuch*,⁴⁰ and Joachim Lüdtke uses the analogous term *Lautenstammbuch*⁴¹ for manuscripts with the characteristics of both a *Stammbuch* and a lute book.

Before discussing some examples of the *Lautenstammbuch* as a combination of the lute book and the *album amicorum*, it must be stated that by no means did every lute player include music in his *Stammbuch*, especially not professional musicians. An example of one lute player's *album amicorum* without music is the *Stammbuch* of musician Paul Jenisch,⁴² though it must be taken into account that, in its present state, this manuscript is a retrospective best-of collection extracted from the musician's former *Stammbücher*. The same holds true for the *Stammbuch* of Guillaume Morel, a lute teacher in Orléans, which includes entries by each of his pupils with their coats of arms, their device, and a dedication.⁴³ The merchant Philipp Hainhofer held several *Stammbücher*⁴⁴ as well as a lute book. Lüdtke pointed out that the making of the latter shows that it had the same purpose as the *Stammbücher: memoria*.⁴⁵ In Hainhofers own words: 'dadurch Ich, meine Kinder und dero Erben, eine stette Erinnerung und Fürbitt haben'⁴⁶ ('through this me, my children and their heirs have a continuous memory and example').

Five manuscripts combining a lute book and an *album amicorum* have been identified (see Table 2).

Achatius zu Dohna-Schlobitten (1533–1601) compiled his *Stammbuch*, one of the earliest extant examples,⁴⁷ as a student during his time in Kaliningrad, Wittenberg, and Frankfurt/Oder from 1550 to 1552. Playing the lute was a common activity for German students.⁴⁸ The manuscript has two parts. In the first part (pp. 1–14), there are *Stammbuch* entries spanning entire pages, with coats of

39 Cf. Brednich 1976, 45–48, who, apart from the Darfelder Liederhandschrift (D-ROS 1), mentions other such books, all without music.

40 Cf. Ameln 1925, 14.

41 Lüdtke 1999, 134.

42 D-Sl Cod. hist. qt 298 and 299; cf. Owens 2019.

43 F-Pn fr. 25185; cf. Lesure 1958, 215.

44 The most prominent is D-W Cod. Guelf. 210 Extrav.; on this and further *Stammbücher*, cf. Seibold 2014, 89–132.

45 D-W Cod. Guelf. 18.7. Aug. 2° and 18.8. Aug. 2°; cf. Lüdtke 1999, 136–140.

46 Copy of a letter, dated 9 June 1610, to the Pomeranian duke Philip II in D-W Cod. Guelf. 17.23. Aug. 4°, fols 135^v–135^v.

47 Cf. Klose 1988, 4.

48 On the musical activities of German students, cf. Koch 2009.

arms,⁴⁹ two paintings,⁵⁰ and Martin Luther's poem 'Fraw Musica spricht',⁵¹ written by Achatius himself.⁵² In the second part (pp. 15–57), all the pages except the last are filled with pieces for the lute, fifty-one in total;⁵³ *bas-de-page*, there are

Table 2: Manuscripts combining a lute book and an *album amicorum*.

Manuscript	Holder	Date	Format (cm) / Fols	Tablature type
<i>olim</i> RUS-KA Gen. 2 150 ⁵⁴	Achatius zu Dohna-Schlobitten	1550–1552	13 × 11.1 / 58 pp.	German
D-MÜwl 463 ⁵⁵	Bernhard Schenckinck	1561–1582	14.8 × 20 / 135 fols	French
GB-Lbl Add. 16889 ⁵⁶	Frederik van Botnia	1615–1618	9.5 × 15.5 / 106 fols	French
GB-Lbl Sloane 1021 ⁵⁷	Anon. student from Kaliningrad ('Stobaeus Stammuch')	c. 1636–1640	19.5 × 15.5 / 105 fols	French
F-Pn Rés. Vmf. ms. 48 ⁵⁸	Johann David Keller von Schleithelm	1663–1682	9.5 × 14 / 275 fols	French

⁴⁹ Cf. pp. 1, 4–11, and 13; a later entry, by Abraham Burggraf von Dohna, is to be found on p. 12.

⁵⁰ Cf. pp. 2–3; facsimiles in Krollmann 1933, between 40 and 41.

⁵¹ Cf. p. 14, edited in Krollmann 1933, 40.

⁵² Cf. the inventory in Krollmann 1933, 39–41.

⁵³ Cf. the inventory in Kossack 1933, 50–52 (for no. 52 there is only a heading, no music) and the incipits in Kossack 1935, 97–99.

⁵⁴ Cf. Krollmann 1933; Kossack 1933; and Meyer 1999, 241–243; for the incipits, Kossack 1935, 97–99. There are more concordances than those singled out by Kossack, Meyer, and Koch 2009, 19–20. Some of the pieces have been copied directly or indirectly from Neusiedler 1544a: cf. nos 4, 9, and 10 with nos 24, 33, and 11 in Neusiedler 1544a; from the second part, Neusiedler 1544b, cf. no. 40 with Neusiedler 1544b no. 38. Others have definitely not been copied from this source; cf. nos 2, 8, and 11 with Neusiedler 1544a nos 24, 21, and 22. None of the settings of tune nos 1, 3, 13, 14, 20, 25, 36/37, 38, 39, and 42 have exact concordances. There are also concordances to Eastern European lute books: cf. e.g. no. 46 with no. 28 in UA-LVu 1400/I; cf. Meyer 1999, 264.

⁵⁵ Cf. Dethlefs 2007; Junge, Wefers, and Dethlefs 2007.

⁵⁶ Cf. Goy 2008, I.154–156; Meyer et al. 2006; and Schlueter 2011, 19, 58, and 65, with reproductions of some paintings from the *Stammuch*.

⁵⁷ Cf. Meyer et al. 2006; Arnold 1981.

⁵⁸ Cf. Klima 1976; Meyer 1991, 124–129; and Goy 2008, I.200–205.

dicta and *Stammbuch* entries up to page 52.⁵⁹ Beyond each taking lessons from a private teacher and serenading their professors as well as girls and women, students also liked to enjoy themselves with their schoolmates, a goal promoted by pieces for more than one lute in manuscripts like the one in question. Some of the contributors to the first part have an entry in the second part, too; thus, even in the case that the two parts were kept separately before binding, they can be associated with each other. The contributions in the first part date to 1550 and 1551, and all of them were made in Kaliningrad. Three contributors from the first part also added entries to the second part:⁶⁰ one contributor in 1550, and two in 1551. All other entries in the second part were written in Frankfurt (Oder) in 1552.⁶¹

Achatius himself signed four pieces (on pages 32 and 33), which may indicate that he is not the main scribe. The *Stammbuch* entries *bas-de-page* were all added after the music was written. At the end of the manuscript, there is an index in which all the pieces have been entered, each by the hand that wrote the respective tablature. Hans-Peter Kossack has singled out at least four contributors, each of whom wrote a tablature as well as a *Stammbuch* entry dedicating a certain piece of music to Achatius as a token of the contributor:⁶²

- Hans von Mühlheim (Müllenheim):⁶³ pp. 18–19
- Abraham (von) Bock: pp. 19–20
- Georg Fröhlich?: p. 27 (no *Stammbuch* entry signed)
- Paul Kugelmann: pp. 27–28
- Fr. von Aulagk (Aulock): six pieces on pp. 50–51 and 52–54 (except *Recercaro*)

The only extant facsimile of music from this manuscript, lost since World War II, is that of pages 48 to 49. This gives an idea of the manuscript's layout. There are three *Stammbuch* entries on each page, placed below the tablature.⁶⁴ More interesting than these entries, however, are two other entries written in an empty space between lines of tablature on page 49. The second, 'Franciscus scottus der sauona', is by no means by lute player and composer Francesco da Milano, as

⁵⁹ Cf. the inventory in Krollmann 1933, 41–46.

⁶⁰ Cf. Hans von Mühlheim on pp. 1 and 18, Abraham Bock on pp. 9 and 19, and Paulus Hörnigk on pp. 10 and 19.

⁶¹ Krollmann 1933, shows that the date '1548' on p. 26 must be an error.

⁶² Cf. Kossack 1935, 64. Krollmann 1933, 46, reads 'Aulogk' and assigns only the tablature on pp. 52–53 to him.

⁶³ Von Mühlheim also signed an album from Ingolstadt (GB-Lbl Egerton 1179), but without a coat of arms; cf. Klose 1988, 8, 539; Nickson 1981, 28.

⁶⁴ Krollmann 1933, 45–46.

Kossack assumes,⁶⁵ as he died in 1547. The first is an autograph signature of lute player and composer Valentin Bakfark ('Valen[in]us Bakfarkh sibenburg[ensis] auß der statt Kron[stadt] po[linischer] ko[ninglicher] M[ai]es[te]r Musicus'), to whom Kossack ascribes the intabulation of the chanson *Je ne prends en gré* by Jacobus Clemens non Papa (pp. 48–49) as well as the 'Passamezo vom Vngern' (pp. 50–51).⁶⁶ In the latter, 'Vngern' ('Hungary') does not refer to the provenance of the composer,⁶⁷ but to a harmonic model that is also found in manuscripts with no relation to Bakfark.⁶⁸ It is neither clear when or where Bakfark signed the album, nor if he really arranged the intabulation of the chanson. Peter Király has suggested that Bakfark signed it in Kraków in April 1551,⁶⁹ but it is unlikely that Achatius, who obtained his certificate from the University of Kaliningrad on 15 July 1551,⁷⁰ was in Kraków at that time. The chanson must have been written between 3 April 1551 and 8 October 1552 (the dates of the tablature entries on pp. 32 and 53). Bakfark travelled to Kaliningrad at the end of 1551 or the beginning of 1552, and again in September 1552, but Achatius was studying in Wittenberg and Frankfurt (Oder) at that time.⁷¹ The two might have crossed paths in Frankfurt (Oder) if Bakfark, who left Kaliningrad in the direction of Lyon shortly after 15 September 1552,⁷² travelled through this city. In any case, it is by no means clear that Bakfark wrote the tablature on pages 48 and 49 because the ink of his *Stammbuch* entry seems to be darker than that of the title of the piece. If he had contributed a piece of his own, why would he have chosen a chanson setting by another composer?

The *Stammbuch* of Bernhard Schenckinck (Schenking) (1537/38–1597) is comparable to that of Achatius zu Dohna in its general structure in two parts, with coats of arms in the first and tablature in the second. It is one of the first *Stammbücher* from Cologne⁷³ and shows that, by this time, the *Stammbuch* was by no means limited exclusively to Protestant areas. The binding is from the 1560/70s; thus, even if the two parts were begun separately, they were bound

⁶⁵ Kossack 1935, 54. But there is a *Recercare* (no. 11) by Francesco da Milano on p. 52.

⁶⁶ Kossack 1935, 55. Cf. Bakfark 1981, xii and 32–35.

⁶⁷ The piece is not included in Bakfark 1981.

⁶⁸ Cf. D-Z 115.3, fol. 33^v; and CH-Bu Ms. F.IX.23, fol. 19^v.

⁶⁹ Király (1999, 15) assumes that this signature was added on April 1551 in Kraków, where Bakfark took residence and served the Polish King Sigismund August, and where an ambassador from the Gonzaga court, who signed on the same page, had been at that time.

⁷⁰ Cf. Krollmann 1933, 34.

⁷¹ Cf. Király 1999, 16–17; Krollmann 1933, 35.

⁷² Cf. Király 1999, 17; Homolya 1984, 27.

⁷³ Cf. Klose 1988, 24.

together before the manuscript was finished. Schenckinck studied in Cologne from 1559 to 1563 and continued his career in Münster, where he obtained a benefice at the Stift St Mauritz in 1564 and became dean in 1566. The dated entries in his *Stammbuch* comprise the period from 1561 to 1582. The first part consists of thirty-nine folios. Fols 1^r to 19^r are devoted to his family, with the coats of arms of his parents (fols 2^v–3^r), his family tree (fols 4^v–5^r), and the coats of arms of his ancestors (fols 6^v–7^r). All the other pages were left blank or filled with later additions (fol. 8^r).⁷⁴

On fols 19^v to 29^r, there are *Stammbuch* entries with the coats of arms of some of his fellow students. Due to the fact that some of these entries are not signed (fols 20^v and 22^v), and the signed ones are not in chronological order, it seems that all the coats of arms were drawn first and the signatures added only later. The dated entries span the period from 9 May 1562 (fol. 21^v) to 17 March 1563 (fol. 25^r). There is one later entry, without a coat of arms, on fol. 29^v, dated 5 April 1565 (Arnold Wachtendonck seems to have been a later friend and not a fellow student); fols 30^r to 39^v are blank, suggesting that more entries of coats of arms were originally planned. This plan was given up by 1565 at the latest. The second part (fols 40–138) consists of paper with printed six-line staves for French lute tablature. For this part, Schenckinck had obviously planned a primarily geographical division into four categories: preludes, Italian dances, German dances, and French chansons. Only forty-two pages were filled:

- preludes: one piece, on fol. 41^r; fols 41^v–51^v blank
- Italian dances: 14 pieces (including a trio), on fols 52^r–62^v; fols 63^r–82^r blank
- German dances: 21 pieces (including a trio and two duos), on fols 82^v–88^v; fols 89^r–105^r blank
- French chansons: 7 pieces (including a duo), on fols 105^v–110^r; fols 110^v–138^v blank

In this second part, almost all the pages with musical entries also have devices in *bas-de-page* (except fols 56^v–57^r, 58^v, and 108^v, containing parts of duos, and fols 60^r–62^r).⁷⁵ This shows that the devices were written only after the music was added. Many of the devices in the second part are quotes from Ovid and the *Epigrammata* (1562) of Johann Lauterbach (the latter only in the German section, and not from before 1573).

Some entries are dated, as are the four *Stammbuch* entries in this part. The entries in the French section were recorded first, with fols 105^r to 106^v written

⁷⁴ Cf. Dethlefs 2007, 9.

⁷⁵ Cf. Junge, Wefers, and Dethlefs 2007, v–ix.

before 28 November 1561 (fol. 106^v) and fols 107^r to 108^r before 20 June 1562 (fol. 108^r). The single prelude (fol. 41^v) was written on 13 August 1562; the remaining entries in the French section, before 17 October (fol. 109^v) and 20 December 1562 (fol. 110^r). The Italian section was completed on 15 March 1563 (fol. 62^v), fol. 58^r the day before; it is not clear whether the pieces on fols 52^r to 57^v were written earlier or not. The German section was begun in 1563 (fol. 83^r), and almost completed by 19 December 1582 (fol. 88^r); fols 83^v to 84^r were written no later than 16 November 1573. Fols 84^v to 87^v were written no later than 1582; fol. 88^v, after 19 December 1582.

In Cologne, Schenckinck had access to an international repertory, and collected the prelude, all the Italian and French pieces, and some of the German ones.⁷⁶ He continued his collection of German dances in Münster. Schenckinck must have been a skilled musician, because he signed the piece titled *Ocronben*, an intabulation of Claudin de Sermissy's chanson *O combien est malheureux*, on fol. 107^v in a way that suggests he was the arranger ('J Bernhardo Schenckinck conf[ecit] hanc cantionem').

The *Stammbücher* of Achatius zu Dohna and Bernhard Schenckinck show that the idea of a lute book combined with a *Stammbuch* featuring coats of arms⁷⁷ emerged independently at the very beginning of the history of German *Stammbücher*, in two regions that could not be more distant from each other and which were both far away from Wittenberg, the birthplace of the *Stammbuch*.⁷⁸ The differences between these two manuscripts are that, in the latter, all of the music was written by the owner, and there is an increase in the number of devices other than *Stammbuch* entries.

The seventeenth-century manuscripts regarded as combinations of a lute book and an *album amicorum* all show significant differences from those of Achatius zu Dohna and Bernhard Schenckinck. The *Stammbuch* of Johann David Keller von Schleithelm, the son of a noble family originally in the service of the abbey of Reichenau, is comparable to those of Achatius zu Dohna and Bernhard

⁷⁶ There are more concordances than pointed out in Junge, Wefers, and Dethlefs 2007, x–xi; e.g., the dances on fol. 84^r and the second on fol. 84^v have concordances, the first (*Kalt gebratens zu Wittemberg*) in D-B 4022, fol. 48^r, and the second (*Fuchs beyss mich nicht*) in D-W Cod. Guelf. 18.8. Aug. 2^o, fol. 38^r. It is likely that these pages had already been written in Cologne in 1563. The same holds true for fols 52^r, 54^r–55^r, and 106^v+108^v, with concordances in Phalèse 1563, fols 66^v, 61^v–62^r, and 56^v–57^r; for the *Battaglia* for two lutes, however, this could not be the source, because of the dates given on fols 106^v and 108^r as well as fol. 52^r, with a concordance in CZ-Bsa G 10,1400, fol. 11^v, and CH-Bu F.IX.23, fol. 23^v.

⁷⁷ Cf. Schnabel 2003, 333–335.

⁷⁸ Cf. Schnabel 2003, 273–274.

Schenckinck due to its combination of a collection of coats of arms and lute tablature. It is different in that it has neither devices nor *Stammbuch* entries on the tablature pages, and includes additional music for keyboard and vocal music. The first part (fols 1^r–57^v) contains six *Stammbuch* entries with coats of arms and devices (fols 6^r, 7^r, 29^r, 31^r, 32^r, and 57^r), which were collected in Freiburg im Breisgau in 1663; all the other pages are blank. The second part opens with a quote from Horace (fol. 58^r), a gravure of a lute (fol. 58^v), and explanations for the tuning of the lute (fols 59^r–59^v); then follow the lute pieces (fols 60^r–137^v; pages ruled until fol. 144^r). The third part comprises an air with variations for keyboard by Wolfgang Ebner, printed in 1648 (fols 144^v–181^r; ruled until fol. 182^r). The fourth part, compiled in the early 1680s,⁷⁹ consists of French airs without accompaniment (fols 182^v–203^r), while the fifth part includes Italian airs and duos with basso continuo, mainly from Domenico Gabrielli's opera *Silvio, re degli Albani*, first staged in Turin in 1698⁸⁰ (fols 203^v–222^v; ruled until fol. 260^r). All the other pages have been left blank. The manuscript shows that the musical interests of Johann David Keller von Schleithem changed during his lifetime. The *Stammbuch* section and the music section are independent, but the lute music was written in the same period as the *Stammbuch* entries.

The *album amicorum* of Frederik van Botnia (159?–1651), who hailed from a noble family in Friesland, was compiled in Saumure, Paris, and Brussels from 1615 to 1618. The *Stammbuch* comprises mainly fols 32^v to 48^r, but there are a few entries afterwards (fols 66^v, 68^r, 86^v–87^r, and 111^r) that show that, by 1616, the manuscript already existed in its current dimensions. Fols 1^v to 32^r each feature a chanson text on the verso and a miniature on the recto side, with the coats of arms of the owner on fol. 2^v. Fols 32^v to 48^r continue this layout, replacing the miniature with coats of arms and dedications as *Stammbuch* entries. The music was added only later, most likely after Botnia's death. The lute pieces are written for the new tunings that were in fashion in France in the third and fourth decades of the seventeenth century. The tablature (fols 72^v–75^r and 88^v–110^v) is written by two different hands (the second produced fols 72^v–73^r, 88^v–91^r, 92^v–94^r, and 107^v–108^r⁸¹). There are some possible *termini post quem* for the airs and some of the chanson texts due to the prints in which they occur; the latest are 1671, 1675, and 1676.⁸²

⁷⁹ Cf. Goy 2008, I:204.

⁸⁰ Cf. *BnF Catalogue général*, 'Notice bibliographique. Album amicorum et livre de musique de Johann David Keller von Schleithem'.

⁸¹ Cf. Goy 2008, I:154.

⁸² Cf. Meyer et al. 2006: fol. 68^v in *XIV. Livre d'airs* 1671; air fols 56^v–57^r and text fols 85^v–86^r in *Recueil de chansonnettes* 1675; air fol. 2^r and text fol. 76^r in *XVIII. Livre d'airs* 1675; airs fols 53^v–55^r and texts fols 55^v–56^r, 69^r, and 71^v in *XIX. Livre d'airs* 1676.

Unlike the *Stammbücher* of Achatius zu Dohna and Bernhard Schenckinck, in Botnia's manuscript, *Stammbuch* and tablature represent two different phases in the production and use of the manuscript; as in Kellner's *Stammbuch*, there are neither devices nor *Stammbuch* entries on the pages featuring tablature.

The so-called Stobaeus *Stammbuch* (GB-Lbl Sloane 1021) is by no means a *Stammbuch* of the composer Johann Stobaeus (1580–1646),⁸³ who became cantor at the Dome of Kaliningrad in 1602. As Arthur Ness and John Ward have shown,⁸⁴ the scribe of this manuscript is the same as hand D in the lute book LT-Va 285-MF-LXXXIX.⁸⁵ As Lüdtke has stated,⁸⁶ Stobaeus made a *Stammbuch* entry only on fol. 88^r, as he did in other *Stammbücher* in Kaliningrad, too.⁸⁷ Because this is the only *Stammbuch* entry, I would not call this manuscript a *Stammbuch*. Another lute book, owned by Barthold Lünghausen (D-KNh R.242), has two *Stammbuch* entries,⁸⁸ but has not been regarded as a *Stammbuch*. What resembles a *Stammbuch* in both are the devices *bas-de-page*, which were written before the tablature in GB-Lbl Sloane 1021, as some pages without music show.⁸⁹ In fact, GB-Lbl Sloane 1021 was conceived as a lute book divided by genre; some of these sections bear headings:

- [preludes, varia], fol. 4^r
- [dances], fol. 15^v
- [pavans], fol. 21^v
- [ballets], fol. 30^r
- [galliards], fol. 44^r
- 'Curanten', fol. 49^r
- [*mori palatine* and *bergamaschi*], fol. 65^r
- 'Choreae polonicae', fol. 72^r
- [intabulations], fol. 75^r
- 'Deütscher Lieder und psalmen', fol. 112^r

The pages at the end of the sections (fols 6^v–9^r also within a section) were then used to enter poetry by authors of the so-called *Königsberger Dichterkreis*, such

⁸³ As Kossack (1935, 85) states.

⁸⁴ Cf. Ness and Ward 1989, 14.

⁸⁵ According to Ness and Ward (1989), only one piece in this hand, *Nun last uns Gott des Herrn* (fol. 73^r), occurs in an identical setting in GB-Lbl Sloane 1021, fol. 112^v.

⁸⁶ Lüdtke 1999, 128.

⁸⁷ Cf. Bogun 1901–1909, 32: 61 and 37: 24.

⁸⁸ Cf. D-KNh R.242, fols 221^r and 262^r, where Simon Pflüger and Henrich Boener added their entries.

⁸⁹ Cf. e.g. Arnold 1981, 85.

as Simon Dach; treatises concerning the lute and its tuning; and treatises with general musical advice. This manuscript is different from the other *Lautenstammbücher* because of the portrait format and its organization. First, it contains no coats of arms, so one may speculate that its holder had no aristocratic background. Second, it contains much pedagogical material, such as treatises and fingerings for the lute.⁹⁰

3 Student lute books resembling *Stammbücher* and commonplace books

There are more books with lute music compiled by German and Swiss students that not only include music, but show characteristics of *Stammbücher* as well. Most of them are small and in landscape format (see Table 3).⁹¹

Table 3: Manuscripts of students with lute music and *Stammbuch*-like entries.

Manuscript	Holder	Date	Format (cm) / Fols	Content
CH-Bu F.IX.70 ⁹²	Emanuel Wurstisen	1591– 1594 ⁹³	32.5 × 21 / III + 341 fols	German tablature 1 ‘Preambell’ (fol. 8) 2 ‘Mutetenn’ (fol. 20) 3 ‘Fantasienn’ (fol. 40) 4 ‘Madrigalenn’ (fol. 64) 5 ‘Passometzo’ (fol. 114) 6 ‘Täntz’ (fol. 236) 7 ‘Galliardenn’ (fol. 296) 8 ‘Geistliche Lieder’ (fol. 320) Index (fols 336–341)
D-Z 115.3 ⁹⁴	Johannes Arpinus (after 1571–1606)	c. 1590– 1600	15.8 × 18.3 / 158 fols	German tablature 1 ‘Choreas et Galliardas’ (fol. 2)

⁹⁰ Cf. Nachtsheim 1998, facsimiles of fols 1^r–2^r, 3^r, 24^r–28^r, 36^r–39^r, 41^r, and 42^r.

⁹¹ Cf. Lüdtke 1999, 129–130; Koch 2009, 118–119.

⁹² Cf. Meyer 1991, 11–27; Leszczyńska 2020; and Milek 2016.

⁹³ Jarchow, in Fabricius 2013, 88, advocates for a later end date.

⁹⁴ Cf. Koch 1983. There is one folio missing between fols 53 and 54, about 23 folios between fols 106 and 107, and one fol. after fol. 158; cf. Koch 1983, 2, and Meyer 1994, 318–322. Arpinus, from

Table 3: (continued)

Manuscript	Holder	Date	Format (cm) / Fols	Content
D-KNh R. 242 ⁹⁵	Barthold Lüninghau- sen	c. 1600	15 × 18.5 / 286 fols	French tablature 'Praeludia' (fol. 7) 'Fantasiae' (fol. 26) [<i>Vilanelle</i> (fol. 55)] 'Pauanae' (fol. 103) 'Galliardae' (fol. 129) [<i>Passamezzi</i> (fol. 158)] [<i>Courante, Volte, Branles</i> (fol. 186)] [<i>Allemande</i> (fol. 215)]
D-LEm II.6.23 ⁹⁶	Johannes Fridericus	c. 1600– 1625	15.2 × 19.1 / 63 fols	French tablature
DK-Kk Thott. 4° 841 ⁹⁷	Peter Fabricius (1579– 1650)	c. 1605– 1615	16 × 19.9 / 153 fols	German tablature [Songs (fol. 8)] [Dances (fol. 76)] [Songs (fol. 85)] [<i>Allemanden, Praembuli, Battaglia, Fantasia, Intrada</i> (fol. 97)] [<i>Galliarden and Pavanen</i> (fol. 107)] [<i>Passamezzi</i> (fol. 119)] [Sacred songs (fol. 145)] ⁹⁸

Dorndorf (near Žatec), was not matriculated at any university. This manuscript is related to CZ-Pu 59r.469 (1592–1617?), owned by the second husband of his mother (cf. Koch 1983, 2), as it shows almost the same order of the pieces at the beginning (cf. Meyer 1999, 74–80), including the poem 'Testudo curas' (fol. 12^r) and the treatise 'Die Laute ins Instrument zu ziehen' (fol. 1^r).

⁹⁵ Cf. Meyer 1994, 145–149.

⁹⁶ Cf. Meyer 1994, 175–179.

⁹⁷ Cf. Fabricius 2013; Wohlfarth 1989. Fabricius studied in Rostock from 1603 to 1608, became a priest in Bilderup in 1610 and in Warnitz in 1617. The manuscript, written in his own hand, contains 260 lute pieces and 169 songs with lute; there are some additions of tablature to songs and dedications by Petrus Lauremberg (fols 8^r, 10^r, 12^r, 17^r, and 19^v).

⁹⁸ Wohlfarth 1989, 126–130, outlines four main parts (songs, dances, galliards, and *passamezzi*) due to the occurrence of marginal devices and the blank pages (later filled). He points out that the continuation of the songs from fol. 85^v in the part previously reserved for instrumental music shows that Fabricius had many more songs than instrumental music at hand. Furthermore, he notes the rare occurrence of yellow ink for highlighting, which allows us to assume that these entries were made at the same time: fols 83^r–84^v, 89^r–94^r, 109^v–114^r, 135^v–138^r, and the continuation on fols 117^v–118^r, as well as additions to fols 50^r, 60^r, and 80^r.

Table 3: (continued)

Manuscript	Holder	Date	Format (cm) / Fols	Content
D-B 40141 ⁹⁹	Johannes Naclerus (Schiffer)	c. 1607– 1620	16 × 18.5 / 255 fols	French and German (fols 204 ^v – 267 ^v) tablature Index (fol. 268 ^r)
D-LEm II.6.15 ¹⁰⁰	(anonymous student from Leipzig)	1619	19.5 × 15.8 / VIII + 277 fols	German tablature [Praeludien] Fvgae (fol. 23) Fantasien (fol. 41) Pavanen (fol. 77) Intraden (fol. 141) Galliarden (fol. 189) Cvrrrenten (fol. 237) Ballet (fol. 285) Volten (fol. 333) Choreae (fol. 365) Cantivncvulae germanicae (fol. 413) Cantivncvulae latinae et italicae (fol. 469) Cantivncvulae sacrae (fol. 525)

CH-Bu F.IX.70, D-B 40141, D-LEm II.6.15, and DK-Kk Thott. 4^o 841 each have sections with Protestant sacred songs at the end, as does GB-Lbl Sloane 1021, but not all of these manuscripts were produced in a Protestant milieu: D-MÜwl 463 and D-KNh R.242 both belonged to Catholic holders from Westphalia.

Beyond concordances of pieces, there are certain items shared by several books, such as instructions for tuning the lute,¹⁰¹ the acrostic poem ‘Testudo

⁹⁹ Cf. Naclerus 2010; Meyer 1994, 35–39. In Naclerus 2010, 16–18, Jarchow counts six different scribes and assumes that Naclerus wrote most of the music in 1615, the date given on fol. 0. Given that Naclerus began his studies in Rostock in 1605 and left the city no later than 1612, when he became a deacon in Medelby; that the date on the cover is 1607; and that there are about 100 pieces in common with the repertory of another student in Rostock, Peter Fabricius, I would argue that the main part was written in Rostock.

¹⁰⁰ Cf. Meyer 1994, 159–175. Lüdtkke 1999, 129–130, points out that some of the composers were active in Leipzig, and that some titles mention Leipzig. Király (2010, 140) additionally mentions Johann Klippstein und Matthäus Reymann as composers from Leipzig.

¹⁰¹ CH-Bu F.IX.70, pp. 2–6; D-B 40141, fols 249^v–253^v; D-LEm II.6.23, fols 3^r–4^r. Similar are D-B 40141, fol. 253^v; DK-Kk Thott. 4^o 841, fol. 150^r; CH-Bu F.IX.70, p. 1; and GB-Lbl Sloane 1021, fol. 36^v.

curas',¹⁰² and the device 'Nympha callix'.¹⁰³ Not only are pages with devices found at the beginning of these manuscripts, before the music, but also, as in the *Stammbücher*, each of them features the juxtaposition of such devices with music on the same page.¹⁰⁴

In the lute books of Johannes Nauclerus, Johannes Arpinus, and a student from Leipzig (D-LEm II.6.15), dicta have been added only to a few pages.¹⁰⁵ In the lute book of Barthold Lüdinghausen, dicta have been added only at the beginning of sections devoted to a genre.¹⁰⁶ In the lute book of Johannes Fridericus, dicta that are now sometimes incomplete due to the trimming of the book block were regularly added to the recto pages.¹⁰⁷ As an exception to the rule, in this manuscript as well as in GB-Lbl Sloane 1021, they were at least sometimes written before the tablature, as the dicta on the pages without tablature show (pp. 23 and 25). The only one of the above-mentioned student lute books in which dicta were added throughout is that of the Swiss student Emanuel Wurstisen, which is the earliest one.

The lute book of Petrus Fabricius has an elaborate layout, featuring the dicta not *bas-de-page*, but in a frame surrounding the tablature, intended to be read in a circular order.¹⁰⁸ However, this layout is not found on every page, firstly because the devices were added only after entering the tablature and, as the present state shows, not immediately after; and secondly because, on some of the pages, the margins were already filled with additional versions or parts of the pieces in the tablature.

So far, there is no hint that the same devices were added to pages with the same pieces in different manuscripts;¹⁰⁹ thus they were not copied together with the music. Rather, the combination of certain pieces of music with certain devices is unique to each manuscript, creating pages that are originals.

¹⁰² Cf. CH-Bu F.IX.70, fol. 7^r; D-KNh R.242, fol. 1^r; and D-Z 115.3, before fol. 1^r.

¹⁰³ Cf. D-Z 115.3, fol. 3^r; and D-LEm II.6.23, fol. 4^r.

¹⁰⁴ Beyond the dicta *bas-de-page* and at the beginning of some manuscripts that are clearly subdivided into books devoted to a single genre, the remaining blank pages at the end of these books have also been filled with devices, e.g. CH-Bu F.IX.70 (fols 16–19, 30–39, 61–63, and 107–112) and D-KNh R.232 (fols 11^r, 19^v, 34^v, 72^r, 79^r–79^v, 139^r, and 218^v).

¹⁰⁵ Cf. D-B 40141, fols 28^r, 35^r, 59^r, 78^r, 123^r, 138^r, and 187^r; D-LEm II.6.15, fols 1^r–2^r; and D-Z 115.3, fols 3^r, 6^r, 7^v, 8^r, and 10^r–12^r.

¹⁰⁶ Fols 7^r–7^v, 26^r–27^v, 55^r (not fol. 55^r, due to the song text occupying the space below the tablature), 58^r–58^v, 103^r–105^v, 129^r–132^r, 134^r, 136^v–137^r, 158^r–166^r, and 215^r–216^v.

¹⁰⁷ Not pp. 49, 55, 57, 83, 85, and 103, but also pp. 28, 36, 48, and 66.

¹⁰⁸ Only fols 8–30, 64^r–66^r, 76^r–91^r, 107^r–107^v, 109^v–112^r, and 119^r–140^r.

¹⁰⁹ Cf. e.g. D-B 40141, fol. 78^r, *Wohlauf gut gesell*, and *bas-de-page*, 'Grossen Herrn undt schonen Frauen', which are found on different pages in CH-Bu F.IX.70 (fols 271^r and 45^r).

Moreover, concerning its content, the lute book of Johannes Arpinus shows parallels with commonplace books. Beyond the tablature, there are recipes for saltpetre ('Vom salpeter neu zu siedē', fols 107^r–129^r, in German) and instructions for treating horses ('Kdyžgest Kuň Vvrcženy: Kun když se kowati neda', fol. 142^v, in Czech).

Many of the lute books that were in the possession of students are organized differently from other lute books. The fundamental difference from other lute books is their subdivision into books that are each devoted to a single genre.¹¹⁰ In some of these manuscripts, the books bear headings or titles; in many of them, they are further organized into physical units that Johann Peter Gumbert calls 'blocks'.¹¹¹

The criteria for the organization of the material in German students' lute books are the musical genres and language of the vocal compositions or models that are intabulated. D-LEm II.6.15 has sections for German, Latin, and Italian songs (though CH-Bu F.IX.70 subsumes all but the sacred songs under 'Madrigallenn'). Most books open with preludes, and if they have such a section, they close with intabulations of sacred songs. The dances, which dominate the repertory, may be further subdivided; most often, the galliards have a section of their own. Sections composed of other genres like motets, fantasies, and fugues may occur.

Lüdtke has argued that the division into separate books bears similarities to an encyclopedia.¹¹² Further examples of such an organization are to be found e.g. in the lute books of Philipp Hainhofer, which are unlike the ones discussed here written in Italian tablature,¹¹³ and in prints, such as Jean-Baptiste Besard's *Thesaurus Harmonicus* collection.¹¹⁴ Concerning the sixteenth-century Spanish prints for vihuela, Deborah Lawrence has pointed out that these are the first prints with a systematic subdivision into books and stressed the parallel with commonplace books.¹¹⁵ I would argue that the organization of the content in the German

¹¹⁰ D-B 40141 or D-LEm II.6.23, however, are not.

¹¹¹ Gumbert 2004, 24.

¹¹² Cf. Lüdtke 1999, 130–132.

¹¹³ Cf. D-W Cod. Guelf. 18.7. Aug. 2^o and D-W Cod. Guelf. 18.8. Aug. 2^o, in twelve books: 1 'Gaystliche Hymni, Psalmen, Kürchengesang vnd Lieder', 2 'Mvteten, Madrigali, Canzoni, Villanellae, Arie', 3 'Prelvdi, Praembvli, Phantasiae, Ricercate passionate', 4 'Deutsche dāntz', 5 'Passa mezza, Saltarelli', 6 'Gagliarde', 7 'Pavane, Battaglie, Barriere', 8 'Padounische dāntze', 9 'Großer Herr dāntz', 10 'Spagnolete, Entrate', 11 'Brande', and 12 'Courante, Volte'.

¹¹⁴ Cf. Besard 1603 including ten books: 1 'Praeludia', 2 'Fantasiae', 3 'Madrigalia & Villanellae', 4 'Cantiones gallicae & Air de court', 5 'Pass'emezi', 6 'Galliardae', 7 'Allemandes', 8 'Branles & Balletz', 9 'Voltes & Courantes', and 10 'Miscellanea'.

¹¹⁵ Cf. Lawrence 2013.

students' lute book shows similarities with the system found in commonplace books as well. In the Early Modern Period, the art of compiling commonplace books as personal collections of knowledge was a subject of instruction in books and manuals or at universities.¹¹⁶ Commonplace books shaped the structuring of knowledge in their time.¹¹⁷ The fundamental idea behind the commonplace book – the practice of collecting pieces of music as examples that could be used in particular situations – provides a fresh look at collections of music not only as found in commonplace books, but also in other manuscripts providing their owners with music suitable for different occasions.¹¹⁸

4 Conclusion

When the lute became a popular instrument in the sixteenth century, amateur lute players had to make a choice where to collect the music for their instrument. Beyond the development of lute books as a new manuscript type, defined by pages ruled for tablature, this music found its way into English commonplace books as well as German and Dutch *Stammbücher*. Moreover, the latter continue a practice already established in songbooks, namely the addition of dedications and devices to the pieces of music. This practice was adopted in German students' lute books, many of which organize their music into separate books by genre in a way that resembles methods of knowledge organization that were taught for commonplace books.

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¹¹⁶ Cf. Locke 1686; English translation Locke 1706; cf. Stolberg 2014.

¹¹⁷ Cf. Moss 1996.

¹¹⁸ Cf. Lawrence 2013.

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