SOME ASPECTS OF MUSICA FICTA IN SELECTED WORKS OF JOHANNES RÜHLING'S TABULATURBUCH AUFF ORGELN UND INSTRUMENT, 1503

by

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Johannes Rühling, Tabulaturbuch auf Orgeln und Instrument.
Leipzig, 1583.
INTRODUCTION

Johannes Rühling, born in Borna near Leipzig in August of 1550, can make no claim to fame as a composer. He served as organist in Geithain (Saxony) from 1572-75, then at Döbeln, and after 1582 in Groitzsch where he was also town-clerk. He remained in this position until his death on April 2, 1615.¹

If he is to be remembered at all, it will be for the book of keyboard tablature which is the subject of this thesis. It is his only known work. The work has not been treated kindly by those writers on the history of keyboard music who have daigned to mention it. The late Gotthold Frötscher described it as "ohne wesentliche geschichtliche Bedeutung".² William Young, writing in Musica Disciplina, states that the tablature "contributes nothing to the development of instrumental music".³

Both of these opinions seem to be based on the fact that Rühling chose not to follow the lead of his contemporaries in providing written-out ornamentation but, instead, chose

¹ Manfred Schuler, "Rühling, Johannes" in Die Musik in Geschichte und Gegenwart, XI, 1969.
to transcribe the vocal models into tablature. It will be the writer's intent to point out an aspect which Frotscher and Young have ignored—the fact that, while such an unaltered intabulation does not add to the development of keyboard music as an independent art, it can shed some light on the age-old problem of *musica ficta* since the symbols of the tablature show exactly what chromatic alterations were intended.

Before describing Röhling's *Tabulaturbuch auff Orgeln und Instrument* in greater detail, a brief investigation of various types of keyboard notation in use in the sixteenth century would be of value.
CHAPTER I

KEYBOARD NOTATION IN THE SIXTEENTH CENTURY

A study of keyboard music in the sixteenth century can provide valuable insight into the development of instrumental music as an independent art as well as explanations of later developments in the Baroque in the area of dance suites and contrapuntal forms. However, the average student, if he wishes to examine the manuscript and printed sources, will find himself confronted with several problems, not the least of which is that of notation. While the notation of this period has proven infinitely less unfathomable than that of other periods--the notation of Gregorian chant, for example--a careful study of the principles involved is necessary as a key to unlock the door.

Traditionally, historians have referred to the notational systems used in keyboard music of the Renaissance as tablatures. These are further classified by nationalities leading to the designations German, French and English tablatures. As Ulli Apel points out, these classifications are often not very descriptive of the things to which they refer:

Their chief disadvantage--to mention only one point--lies in the fact that the notation used in the sixteenth century sources of English,
Italian and French organ music is essentially the same as that employed in the piano score of the present. This means, first, that the customary distinction between 'English organ tablatures', 'Italian organ tablatures', and 'French organ tablatures' is a national, not a notational classification. It means, second, that from a methodical point of view, the name of 'Italian organ tablature' (or English or French, but not German) could and should be applied to nineteenth-century piano compositions. Yet, one would, doubtless, hesitate to refer to a Beethoven pianoforte sonata as an example of Italian organ tablature.1

To clarify these problems, Apel proposes the classification which will serve as the basis of this discussion. First of all, the term tablature will be reserved for notation using figures or letters. Notation involving the use of note symbols on a staff or staves—that is, notation which, for all practical purposes, is identical with the modern piano score—is given the name keyboard score. An examination of facsimiles of sixteenth-century sources will make these distinctions clear and, in addition, will provide an opportunity for a discussion of some of the characteristics of the various national notational systems.

First to come under consideration will be the keyboard scores, since they present fewer problems to the modern reader. A glance at an excerpt (Example 1, page 5) taken from Frottola intabulare da sonare organi pub-

Example 1.

Andrea Antico, Frottole intabulate da sonare organi, Rome, 1517.
lished by Andrea Antico in Rome in 1517\(^2\) will confirm this. Two five-line staves are used in this print, although six-line ones appear in others. Clef signs at the beginning of each staff indicate the position of \(c'\).\(^3\) Leger lines are continuous for a group of notes as in the third measure and are, for single notes, longer than modern leger lines (mm. 7-8).

Chromatic alterations are indicated by dots above or below the note to be altered. These dots indicate either raising or lowering of the pitch.

Since at that time the use of chromatic tones was still limited, no confusion arose from this summary method. It was understood that a \(G\), an \(E\), or an \(A\) could only be flatted, whereas an \(F\), a \(C\), or a \(G\) could only be sharpened. Thus, in this notation, a \(G\) with a dot is a \(G\)-flat, and an \(F\) with a dot is an \(F\)-sharp.\(^4\)

Also of interest is the use of ties in this example. This symbol appears in several Italian publications of the early years of the sixteenth century but does not appear elsewhere on the continent until much later. This fact has led Manfred Schuler to pronounce


\(^3\)Here and elsewhere in the text, \(c'\) indicates middle \(C\). Letters referring to specific pitches are underlined.

\(^4\)Apel, p. 4.
the tie Italian in origin. 5

A transcription of the first five measures follows the example. 6 In this transcription, the note values have been reduced by one half.

Example 2 (page 8) represents French notational practices as presented in the publications of Pierre Attaingnant, the foremost French publisher-printer of the second quarter of the sixteenth century. This facsimile comes from his collection Treze Motets musicalx aucc ung Prelude, published in 1531. 7

Here again the notational symbols appear on a system of two five-line staves. "His type included the lines with the note on one piece of metal, as is evident from the slight breaks visible where one piece of type joins another." 8


6 This transcription, as well as those accompanying the other examples in this chapter, was prepared by the present author.


8 Young, XVII (1963), p. 164.
Example 2

Pierre Attaingnant, Treze Motetz musicaux
avec ung Prelude, Paris, 1531.
Albert Seay, in the introduction to his edition of chansons which Attaingnant transcribed for the keyboard, makes several comments about the notation:

The most unusual feature of all the keyboard prints put out by Attaingnant is their notation, for it differs in some details from that seen in his vocal publications. While certain of the larger values remain superficially the same, the smaller ones are shown by the addition of tails to both white and black stemmed notes giving in many instances a modern appearance to the page when combined with the typical five line staff customary today. Only in vertical alignment of notes . . . is there an obvious difference, for Attaingnant does not print directly under each other those notes which are to be struck simultaneously. Instead he balances them so that if one note is to be played against four, it will be printed in the middle of the figure, not at the beginning.9

Seay continues in regard to chromatic alterations:

A final peculiarity in the keyboard prints is the indication of accidentals, for many are marked for the performer, unlike the vocal prints, where the introduction of accidentals is left to the singer and his knowledge of musica ficta.10

Attaingnant used the dot to indicate chromatic alterations. He also used the regular sharps and flats but seemed to prefer the dot because it saved valuable space. Here, clefs at the beginning of the staves indicate the position of G' on the upper staff and of F on the lower one.


As in the Italian example, bar-lines divide the staves at regular time intervals. It was still common at that time to use the custos at the end of each line to show the position of the first note on the next staff. (See the transcription of the first four measures in Example 2, page 3; in this case the note values are not reduced.)

The Mulliner Book provides us with one last example of keyboard scores. This manuscript source, probably compiled by Thomas Mulliner, master of the choristers at St. Paul's Cathedral ca. 1545-35, gives several clues to English notational usage in the sixteenth century (See Example 3, page 11). 11

A noteworthy feature in English sources is the result of the use of a wider keyboard range than was common on the Continent. "This wide register compels them to use two staves with usually more lines than the French and Italian tablatures. Sometimes as many as eight lines are employed. Moreover, these two staves are joined to form one of fourteen, fifteen, or even sixteen lines." 12 Here we see a continuous staff of twelve lines.


Example 3

The Mulliner Book, ca. 1550.
Another interesting feature is the irregular use of bar-lines.

The modern principle of barring is carried out with remarkable regularity in all the Italian and French sources of keyboard music. . . . The English organists, however, did not accept this innovation until the middle of the sixteenth century. Even in the sources after this time (Mulliner Book, Fitzwilliam Virginal Book) bar-lines are used rather sparingly and inconsistently, so that frequently long measures of uneven length result.13

Clef signs marking C' and F appear at the beginning of the staff. A conventional sharp appears in the second measure of the top staff. The ornamental final chord on that staff should be noticed. In the transcription, note values have been reduced by one half.

At this point, we leave the realm of the keyboard score and enter that of the tablature proper. For this, examples from Spain and Germany will demonstrate the typical features of these systems of intabulation.

Spanish sources of the second half of the sixteenth century show various forms of a numerical method of tablature. Bermudo describes a system of notation peculiar to the Spanish school, in which the notes from C to a\(^2\) are numbered and placed on four lines, denoting the voices; rhythm is indicated by the spacing of the

13 Apel, p. 9.
numbers." (See Example 4, page 14 from Bermudo's Declaracion de instrumentos musicales.) A second system involves the numbering of only the white keys and the use of conventional symbols for chromatic alterations. (See Example 5, page 15 from Antonio Valente's Intavolatura de cimbalo.) In an apparent effort to simplify further this rather complex system, composers devised a system like that shown in Example 6 (page 16) from Antonio de Cabezón's Obras de música, Madrid, 1578. Here the notes of one octave, in this case f to e', are numbered 1 to 7; the octave below is shown by dashes attached to the figures; the first octave above is indicated by dots beside the figures; the second octave above, by apostrophes. Chromatic alterations are shown by "x" and "b". The rhythm is shown by note symbols.

Here, as in the Italian and French examples, bar-lines come at regular time intervals. A time sig-

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14 Young, XVII (1963), 179.
15 As printed in Apel, p. 48.
16 Apel, p. 48.
17 As printed in Apel, p. 53.
18 As printed in Apel, p. 51.
Example 4

Juan Bermudo, Declaración de instrumentos musicales, Usuna, 1555.
Example 5

Antonio Valente, Intavolatura de cimbalo, Naples, 1576.
Example 6

DE ANTONIO DE CABEZON

\[ \begin{array}{c|c|c|c|c}
\hline
& & & & \\
\hline
& & & & \\
\hline
& & & & \\
\hline
& & & & \\
\hline
\end{array} \]

Antonio de Cabezon, Obras de musica, Madrid, 1578.
nature is present and the capital B at the beginning of the four-line "staff" indicates that B-flat is to be used wherever the symbol 4 appears. A comma represents a tie while the symbol / stands for a rest. (A transcription with unreduced note values is included in Example 6, page 16.)

German keyboard tablatures employ a different manner of indicating pitches: the system of using letters for some or all of the individual voices. Two methods were in use during the sixteenth century. The first uses a staff for the uppermost voice while the remaining voice or voices are indicated by letters in rows below the staff; the second type, which appeared after 1550, uses letters for the top voice as well as the remainder of the voices.

An example of the first method (Example 7, page 18) comes from Arnolt Schlick's Tabulaturen etlicher Lobegesang und Lidlein uff die Organ und Lauten, printed in Mainz in 1512. The staff consists of six lines. The letters "c", "g", and "d" at the beginning of the staff show the position of the pitches c', g',

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19Apel, p. 50.

Example 7.

Arnolt Schlick, Tabulaturen etlicher Lobegezang und Lidlein uff die Úrgeln und Lauten, Mainz, 1512.
and d". No bar-lines are used; blank spaces on the staff show how the notes are grouped into measures. Chromatic alterations are indicated by the use of a small loop attached to the note as, for example, the sixth note on the first staff.

In the lower parts, pitches in the small octave are indicated by the appropriate letter alone; the octaves above by one or two dashes above the letters; the octave below, by a dash below the letter. The rhythmic aspect of the lower parts is shown by signs which resemble the printed symbols of the notes to which they are equal. A letter without a sign is understood to be a semibreve. The t-shaped symbols in the first and third rows are semibreve rests; the inverted ones are equivalent to a minim. Chromatic alterations are indicated by loops attached to the letters, as is shown by the eleventh letter in the second row of letters in the first system. In spite of the fact that the alteration is applied to d' and would seem to indicate a d-sharp, an e-flat is meant since the diminished sixth formed with the upper voice would hardly be correct. (A transcription follow Example 7; the minim is equal to a half-note in modern notation.)

21 Apel, p. 28.
After 1550 the second method, a tablature entirely in letters, began to appear in both manuscript and printed sources.

It is this exclusive use of letters for all the voices that distinguishes the so-called new German keyboard tablature from the earlier type. To the modern mind, this change appears bizarre. One would expect to find a gradual decline in the use of letters and an increased use of notes, yet actually the development proceeds in the opposite direction.\(^{22}\)

The inability to understand this somewhat strange development and, to be sure, a certain amount of national pride are reflected in the following comment by a Mr. Southgate in a discussion following a paper entitled "The Flat, Sharp and Natural" presented to the Musical Association in London in 1890.

It is very curious that that organ tablature should have lingered so very long in Germany. We had a tablature ourselves at a very early period, and we discarded it. There are some known examples of its being used as early as the time before the Norman Conquest, but in the time of Ethelred music was written on lines and spaces, so that we had got rid of our alphabet. . . . It is strange that the Germans should have kept up the old plan so much longer than we did.\(^{23}\)

Mr. Southgate's dates are very confused for "the origin of this peculiar method of notation can be traced back

\(^{22}\)Apel, p. 32.

to an English manuscript [the so-called Robertsbridge Codex] of the early fourteenth century (ca. 1325)."24 However, his comments on the strangeness of the retrogression are valid. Willi Apel, after making similar comments, adds some thoughts on the justification of the change.

Although one should observe discretion in condemning the peculiarities and apparent eccentricities of the distant past, since they usually prove quite reasonable if viewed in the light of surrounding circumstances, one cannot help feeling that there is little sense and no progress in this last phase of German tablature notation. It is especially strange that the new method should have been invented at a time when the other countries—England, Italy and France—had long since used the piano score of our own days, and stranger still that the German musicians should, in part, have kept to their old-fashioned notation as late as the middle of the XVIIIth century. In fact, the clinging to this notation seems to be one of those queer phenomena that one sometimes encounters in the annals of German history. Still, there is a considerable value in this oddity—as perhaps in some others. Indeed the clumsy letters used by the German writers display one great advantage over the notes of the foreign tablatures: they leave, as we have already made clear, absolutely no doubt with regard to chromatic alteration. Since the mensural codices of the XVth and XVIth centuries are extremely equivocal on this point, it is evident that the German tablatures may make some most helpful contributions towards a solution of the problems of musica ficta.25

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24 Apel, p. 22.

The use of letters would seem to be a matter of convenience in the fact that it avoids the use of a staff—a problem in printed music—and in the fact that it saves a great amount of space.

The Röhling Tabulaturbuch, which is the subject of this thesis and which will be examined in greater detail in succeeding chapters, is an example of this second type (see Example 8, page 23). We shall now look more closely at the mechanical aspects of new German organ tablature.

Much that has already been said about the old German keyboard tablature is also valid for this newer type. Chromatic alterations are handled in the same manner. B-natural and B-flat, in the typical German manner, are shown by the use of forms of H and B, respectively.

Pitches of the small octave (c – b) are indicated by lower-case letters alone. Those of the octave above (c' – b') have a dash above the letter; the second octave above (c" – b"), two dashes. In contrast to the Schlick example examined earlier, the pitches of the octave below the small octave are indicated by upper-case letters.

Rhythmic indications follow a uniform practice in these intabulations. The following chart will ex-
Example 8

Johannes Rühling, Tabulaturbuch auff Orgeln und Instrument, Leipzig, 1583.
plain the symbols in use for note values and rests:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Note values</th>
<th>Rests</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Breve    Semibreve    Minim    Semiminim

This new German organ tablature continued to be used through the seventeenth century and into the eighteenth. As late as ca. 1720, J. S. Bach used it in his manuscript of the Orgelbüchlein when sufficient space was not available for conventional notation.

It is to be hoped that this brief discussion of keyboard notation in the sixteenth century has shed at least a little light in some of the problems which this notation presents to the uninitiated. We shall now discuss the Rühling Tabulaturbuch and attempt to show the importance of tablature in the study of vocal music.

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26 Apel, Notation, p. 33.


28 For an example of the use of keyboard tablature in the study of the vocal music of Orlando di Lasso, the reader is referred to the following: Elli Trerichs, "Die Accidentien in Orgeltablaturen" Zeitschrift für Musikwissenschaft, VII (1924-25), pp. 99-106.
CHAPTER II

A DESCRIPTION OF THE TABULATURBUCH

Johannes Ruhling's Tabulaturbuch auff Croeln und Instrument was published by Johannes Beyer in Leipzig in 1583. The fact that the preface is dated December 10, 1582 would seem to indicate a publication date early in the following year but the title page and colophon on f. 139v give only the year. The collection consists of 85 Latin and German sacred works intabulated for solo keyboard. These 85 works with title page, preface, a note to the organist, three Latin poems, and a table of contents fill 143 folios.

The title page, which is reproduced as a frontispiece to this paper, gives a rather complete descrip-

1This print has the designation 1583 in the RISM list of printed collections of the 16th-18th centuries. There are three extant copies, located in the following libraries: Universitätsbibliothek, Basel; Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Munich; Herzog-August-Bibliothek, Wolfenbüttel. A copy formerly in the Deutsche Staatsbibliothek in Berlin has been lost. A microfilm of the Wolfenbüttel copy, which carries the signature 21 Mus. 20, was the basis for this study.

2The table of contents indicates 86 motets. However, the work given the number 48 is actually the second part of the preceding work. In order to be consistent throughout the collection, the numbering has been corrected. There also several instances where two folios or two successive works have been given the same number. These also have been corrected. See: Howard Mayer Brown, Instrumental Music Printed before 1600 (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1965), pp. 320-25.
Tablature book for organ or other keyboard instrument containing pleasing and artful motets selected for all the Sundays and high feasts of the whole year to agree and coincide with the Gospels, epistles, introits, responsories, antiphons and passions, composed by the most eminent and most famous composers and thus arranged as by the authors in settings without ornamentation so that each organist can do with them as he wishes and can use them suitably. Chosen with particular care, put in good order, set down and set in print by Johannes Rühling from Borna, organist at Düblin. Part one. Printed by Joh. Beyer in the year of our Salvation, 1583.

Several things can be observed from the information contained on the title page. First of all, the collection can be used for any keyboard instrument. Second, the order in which the motets are arranged—that of the
church year—is important, and the intention of liturgical use is clear. Third, the intabulator has chosen not to add his own ornamentation so that each organist can follow his own inclination in the matter. Fourth, the indication, Part one, would seem to indicate that Rühling intended to publish one or more volumes in addition to this one. No more are known. Perhaps his departure from Döbeln soon after the publication of the Tabulaturbuch (see page 1) kept his intention from being realized.

The preface (f. ii) begins with a dedication to Fridrich Wilhelm, Johansen, Johan Casimir and Johan Ernst, dukes of Saxony, counts of Thuringia and margraves of Meissen. If the amount of flattery which accompanies the dedication is any indication, Rühling either must have been very much indebted to these nobles or must have hoped for something from them.

The preface goes on to state that since God has been so good to us through the gift of His Son and His holy Word as a blessing on us, we are bound to praise Him and give thanks to Him through right and true service. In the course of this service we must make profitable use of all good arts. Music is, of course, not the least of these. Rühling refers the reader to the stories in the Old and New Testaments (the Psalms, especially) as
examples of such proper service to God. He urges the use of voices and a variety of instruments (organs, harps, trombones, cornetts, strings and the like).

He sees music as giving a foretaste of heaven with Christ as precentor and director of a choir of angels singing in praise of the Holy Trinity. The music, of course, is not like that contained in Röhling's collection; it is, rather, a heavenly music of innumerable voices.

Near the end the theological tone is relaxed enough to allow the intabulator to praise himself for the no small amount of effort it has taken to transcribe good music of well-known composers, to set it in the order of the church year, and to make a collection equal to the best in print. He prays that his work may be of help in the service of God according to the teaching of His holy Word and asks for the favor of his patrons for the coming year. The preface is dated Döbeln, December 10, 1582, and is signed "Your Graces' most obedient servant, Johannes Röhling, organist there."

The preface is followed by a note 'ad organistam'. In it, Röhling says that he has taken the trouble to arrange the motets of the collection in the order of the church year, not to make organists lazy but to provide a guide to enable the organist to have music
appropriate for the particular Sunday or feast of the year.

Rühling does not specify the use he intended his collection to have. Whether the works in the collection were to replace those sung portions of the service which had the same texts as the vocal models of the intabulations or were to serve as an organ score for the accompaniment of the choir is not at all clear. Both purposes appear equally possible.

He also notes that some of the works have been transposed a fifth, a fourth, or a second where the choir range might be displeasing. (No indication is made of the direction of transposition.) More will be said of this later. He comments that, by the use of signs and by the arrangement of the pages, few page turns are necessary.

This last comment leads us to some peculiarities of the tablature which should be mentioned. Needless to say, these are in addition to the general comments made in the chapter on sixteenth-century keyboard notation. First of all, the music runs across facing pages so that, when the organist had finished playing the first line of the page, he would continue with the first line of the facing page, not the second line of the first page. This, obviously, is an important fact to keep in
mind when transcribing the tablature. The second peculiarity to be noted is the use of symbols to indicate sections which should be performed again. In the works which have a more strophic form, such as the Easter hymn Christ lag in Todesbanden, or in works where the first and second partes share a common refrain-like section, Rühling uses the symbol ‖ in the manner of the present-day dal segno. Third is a use of regular barring. In fact, the tablature figures fit into a kind of grid formed by the bar-lines and the lines which separate the page into systems (see Example 8, page 23).

Folios iv and 1r contain three Latin poems by Petrus Albinus Nivemontius, Martinus Hayneccius, and A. Siberus. They deal with the same themes—music is good and pleasing to God; study it while you are young for the time will not always be available. Naturally, Rühling is praised by all three poets for his work in preparing the collection.

The collection proper begins on folio 1v. Only a few general comments will be made about the music, for it is not our purpose to deal with the history of the motet or with compositional techniques of the sixteenth century. Vocal works with both Latin and German texts were used. Five-part writing predominates. Most of the works fall into two partes although works of a single
pars or of three or four partes also appear.

A glance at the index of the contents by composer (Appendix 3) will show that Orlando di Lasso is represented by fifteen works while Clemens non Papa has eleven. In addition, two anonymous works in the collection have been attributed to Clemens by Brown. Among other well-known composers represented are Crecquillon, Gombert, Josquin, Senfl, Vaet, Verdelot, Walter and Wert. Many of the other composers are almost completely unknown and are, perhaps, of only peripheral interest. It is noteworthy that no composer of the Roman school (Palestrina, for example) is included in the collection.

Since so many of the composers represented are almost completely unknown, the establishment of a chronological order is hardly possible. However, one can easily see that the well-known composers mentioned above cover a period of approximately one hundred years from Josquin, who would have been active as a composer from ca. 1475, to Lasso and Wert who were still alive at the time of publication.

An examination of the final of each pars of the works in the collection has revealed that G and D are the most used, followed, in decreasing order of frequency, 

\[3\text{Brown, pp. 322-23; 325. The works are Number 61, Pater peccavi, and Number 83, Virgines prudentes. Number 34, Vita in ligno moritur, is ascribed to Senfl by Brown.}\]
by A, F, C, E, and B-flat. This would indicate a range of accidentals of E-flat, to G-sharp (E-flat, B-flat, F-sharp, C-sharp, and G-sharp). These supply the necessary leading tones for the finals G, D, and A and the B-flat and E-flat for the elimination of tritones; D-sharp is not used in any of the partes where the final is E. Such a range, where E-flat is the flattest pitch (that is, in relation to the rest of the scale, most out-of-tune on the low side of the pitch) and G-sharp is the sharpest (most out-of-tune on the high side of the pitch), is described by J. Murray Barbour as entirely possible in a system of meantone temperament.\(^4\)

Pitches, such as D-sharp, A-flat, etc., which are not included in the group of accidentals used in the tablature would, in Barbour's system, be too out-of-tune to use and were undoubtedly avoided.

An examination of the final chords themselves provides some interesting comments. There are twelve times as many complete triads (those containing at least one root, one third and one fifth) as incomplete (those lacking either the third or the fifth). Among the complete triads, major triads outnumber minor by twenty-five to one. This preponderance of major triads un-

doubtedly reflects the preference of the time. Writing about Palestrina, Knud Jeppesen states:

With regard to the triad, it is noticeable that he Palestrina liked the greater third (major), which was the general preference of his time. Major evidently sounded better to his ear than minor. He always uses a major third, (if at all the third is employed), as the final chord... This desire for a major third in the final chord causes a chromatic raising of the thirds in the Dorian, the Phrygian and the Aeolian tonic triads, that is: the notes F-sharp, G-sharp and C-sharp.5

The preference for major triads at cadences is also reflected in the theoretical writings of the time. Ambros in his Geschichte der Musik quoted the theorist Aron who, in his Toscanello (1523), required that the third of a final chord be major, and that, when necessary, this major third be produced by an alteration. Ambros adds in a footnote that Aron's rule was not always followed in practice and mentions a motet by Josquin, Responde mihi quantas habeo iniquitates, where it was not possible to raise the third: the minor form was retained.6

5 Knud Jeppesen, The Style of Palestrina and the Dissonance (2d ed.; Copenhagen, Ejnar Munksgaard, 1946), p. 32
6 August Wilhelm Ambros, Geschichte der Musik (Leipzig: F.E.C. Leuckart, 1851), III, 115. The work is printed in Josquin des Fraz, Werken: Matetten, V (Amsterdam: G. Alsbach, 1957), p. 44. The final is E and thus the G of the triad would ordinarily be raised; but the G' in the superius is a long-held note and could not be raised because of conflicts with changing harmony underneath.
Hugo Riemann in his *Geschichte der Musiktheorie* also quotes Aron as saying that, in the case of the Phrygian and Hypophrygian modes where the tenor ends on E, a final G in relation to the tenor must be changed to G-sharp to achieve a more pleasant sound.\(^7\)

Zarlino, in his *Dimonstrazione armoniche*, 1571, reflects this desire for a more pleasant sound by attaching the words *allegretta* and *mezza* to major and minor triads, respectively.\(^8\) The connotations have, of course, continued to the present day.

Approximately forty per cent of the major triads were produced by the use of such chromatic alterations as Aron required.

The use of chromatic alteration to produce a melodic line proceeding by semitones, which Jeppesen also discusses,\(^9\) appears only once in the Rühling collection. It will be discussed on page 68.

The precise reason for the transpositions mentioned earlier (page 29) is not clear. This transposition may be verified by comparison with the vocal

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\(^8\) Riemann, p. 393.

\(^9\) Jeppesen, *Palestrina*, p. 34.
models. Eight instances were found among the twenty-four works which are available in modern editions.\(^{10}\) All examples were transposed down a fourth. In one, Johann Walter's *Salus populi ego sum* (f. 124\(^{v}\)), the transposition makes it possible to avoid the use of E-flats common in the vocal model since they would have been the most out-of-tune accidentals. Another possibility exists and will be discussed later (page 75). One of the Lasso works, *Omnia quae fecisti* (f. 125\(^{v}\)) might also have been transposed to avoid the E-flats. No solution connected with the problem of accidentals can be found for Ludwig Senfl's *De profundis* (f. 128\(^{v}\)) or for the following Lasso works: *Congratulemini mihi* (f. 65\(^{v}\)), *Lecem pone* (f. 105\(^{v}\)), *Non vos me* (f. 109\(^{v}\)), *Surgens Jesus* (f. 74\(^{v}\)), and *Tibi laus tibi gloria* (f. 96\(^{v}\)). The possibility of a transposing organ, that is, one in which the pitches produced by the pipes did not correspond to those indicated by the keyboard, also exists.\(^{11}\) A third possible reason is the problem of keyboard compass for, in each of the above works, the transposition downward makes it possible to avoid such pitches.

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\(^{10}\) The twenty-four works are the following (the numbers refer to those in Appendix A): 4, 8, 9, 10, 11, 18, 19, 23, 37, 38, 39, 45, 51, 53, 58, 61, 64, 65, 66, 69, 74, 77, 78, 80.

\(^{11}\) Unfortunately, no information is available about any of the organs which Rühling might have played.
as f" and g". Perhaps Rühling simply thought the works sounded better at a lower pitch level. One can only wish that he had stated his reasons for transpositions in as extended a fashion as he did his feelings about the place of music in the worship of God.

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12 The keyboard compass required by the collection is C to g". The extremes of the range are infrequently used; therefore, a range of F to g" would represent the most used pitches. Peter Williams in *The European Organ, 1450-1850* (London: B. T. Batsford, 1969), p. 100 describes the organ of the Johanniskirche in Lüneburg, built in 1551-52, as having three manuals with the compasses C - a"; FF - a"; and F - a". In his *The Organ* (New York: Philosophical Library, 1952), p. 81, William Leslie Sumner lists the compass of C - a" for the Oberwerk and Rückpositiv and F - a" for the Hauptwerk of the organ of the church of St. Petri in Hamburg, an organ from an earlier date which was reconstructed in 1603-04. It seems very likely that the organ of Rühling’s church in Düben would have had a similar compass.
The present author has examined the eighty-five intabulations included in the collection and has selected a group of twenty-four for which vocal models are available in modern editions. A comparison of the models with the intabulations has confirmed much of what the modern editors of the former have indicated as being required by the rules of musica ficta. However, there are many instances where there is some disagreement. It will be instructive to examine these disagreements by means of the examples from sixteen of the selected group to be presented on the following pages. These sixteen were chosen on the basis of the agreements and disagreements they contain. The works will be taken up in the order in which they appear in the Tabulaturbuch.

1 The sixteen works are the following (the numbers refer to the list in Appendix A): 9, 19, 28, 37, 38, 45, 51, 53, 58, 61, 65, 69, 71, 77, 73, 80.

2 Of the remaining works of the original group, seven by Lasso contain nothing of interest for this study. The one remaining work, Jacobus Vaet's Ecce apparaballet Dominus, has already been discussed in print: Milton Steinhardt, Jacobus Vaet and his motets (East Lansing: Michigan State College Press, 1951), p. 49. The vocal model and a transcription are contained in volume I of the complete works of Jacobus Vaet edited by Steinhardt (Denkmäler der Tonkunst in Österreich, 98; Graz: Akademische Druck- u. Verlagsanstalt, 1961).
First let us consider a work by Orlando di Lasso entitled *Verbum caro factum est* (f. 16v), a motet for Christmas Day. Example 94 (page 39), showing measures 23-26, presents an apparent contradiction of the convention of eliminating the tritone. The E-flats in the bassus in measure 24 and measure 26 are obviously there to eliminate a tritone relationship with the B-flats preceding them in measure 23 in the bassus and in the tenor in measure 25. The editors of the vocal model suggested the E-flats in the *altus* (m. 23) and *quinta vox* (m. 25) to avoid such relationships and then added the E'-flat in the *cantus* (m. 24) to eliminate any conflict with the other E-flats. Rühling does not indicate the E-flats suggested by the editors but, rather, retains the tritone relationships in the *altus* and *quinta vox*.

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4 In the examples, the pitches are those of the vocal models. Accidentals which appear in the vocal editions are indicated on the staff (those which appeared above the staff as editorial suggestions are enclosed in parentheses). All accidentals shown in the tablature appear above the notes in question.

5 Here and in later instances, measure numbers refer to those given for the vocal models. They coincide with those of the tablature versions in all instances.
Example 9

Lasso, Verbum caro factum est.
The next work, number 19 of the collection, is a setting of the Gospel for the second Sunday after Epiphany Nuptiae factae sunt in Cana Galilaeae (f. 30v), a four-pars work which recounts the story of Christ's first miracle. 6

Example 10 (page 41), measures 4-5, represents the use in the tablature of f'-natural and then f'-sharp in the quinta vox. While this can be justified for melodic reasons—the first f' being approached from below, the second from above, the possibility of a printer's error also exists since, when these measures are echoed several bars later by the lower three voices, both f's are natural.

In our example number 11 (page 42), measures 41-42, the tablature symbols indicate a simultaneous cross-relation where the editors have avoided it. Rühling calls for the raising of the f's of the sexta vox to form a kind of double leading-tone cadence on C while retaining the f'-natural of the quinta vox as the preparation for the suspension in the next measure.

The final measures of the first pars, measures 69-71 (Example 12, page 43), may give a clue to the keyboard of the instruments for which Rühling compiled his collection. The original sources of the vocal model

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6The vocal model is found in Lasso, Werke, XV, 30-40.
Example 10

Contus \[ \text{music staff} \]

Altus \[ \text{music staff} \]

Quinta \[ \text{music staff} \]

Vox \[ \text{music staff} \]

Tenor \[ \text{music staff} \]

Sexta \[ \text{music staff} \]

Bassus \[ \text{music staff} \]

Lasso, Nuptiae factae sunt.
Example 11

Lasso, Nuptiae factae sunt.
Example 12

Lasso, Nuptiae factae sunt.
apparently require the use of $F$-sharp in the bassus in measure 69. Rühling indicates the use of $F$-natural undoubtedly because his keyboards did not have an $F$-sharp. In accordance with the short octave system in use until the early seventeenth century, all the accidentals of the bottom octave ($C^\flat$) except $B^\flat$ were omitted as unnecessary.\footnote{Sibyl Marcuse, 	extit{Musical Instruments: A Comprehensive Dictionary} (Garden City, New York: Doubleday, 1964), p. 274.}

The next work is yet another of Lasso’s, the motet 	extit{Dixit Joseph undecim fratribus} (f. 46$^v$).\footnote{The model is found in Lasso, 	extit{Werke}, XV, 75-81.} Measures 32-34 show another disagreement about the tritone. The original source calls for the $e^\prime$-flat in the altus (m. 32) because of the simultaneously sounding $b^\prime$-flats of the cantus. Rühling confirms this but does not confirm the editors’ suggestion of the $e^\prime$-flats in the sexta vox. He retains the $e^\prime$-naturals to form a double leading-tone cadence. (See Example 13, page 45)

A work by Clemens non Papa entitled 	extit{Maria Magdalene} (f. 61$^v$), a motet based on the Gospel for Easter Day, will be considered next.\footnote{The model is found in Jacobus Clemens non Papa, 	extit{Opera omnia}, Corpus mensurabilis musicae, 4, ed. by K. Ph. Bernet Kempers (Rome: American Institute of Musicology, 1980), IX, 18-25.} The tablature confirms most of the $F$-sharps which Bernet Kempers has suggested,
Example 13

Lasso, Dixit Joseph undecim fratribus.
but disagreements do occur. In measures 46-47 (Example 14, page 47), a cadence before the beginning of a new point of imitation, the tablature clearly indicates the raising of the seventh degree (f'-sharp) in cantus I. while the simultaneously sounding f' in cantus II remains natural. Several measures later (see Example 15, page 48), the tablature version shows, in cantus I, a c#'-sharp rather than the c'-natural of the vocal model but, as above, no such raising of the c' of the tenor is indicated.

Measures 89 and 91-93 (Example 16, page 49) demonstrate that, although a repetition of similar material is involved, the tablature would seem to indicate that the rules of musica ficta—in this case, the rule of raising the seventh scale-degree in a cadence—were not necessarily applied consistently. In the first case, the tablature shows an f'-natural; in the second, an f'-sharp. This same situation occurs in measures 45 and 49 of the second pars, since the final thirty-five measures of each pars are identical. In Example 17 (page 50) from the concluding measures of each pars (measures 118 and 75, respectively) the tablature requires the use of an f'-sharp leading-tone in the cantus II simultaneously with the f'-natural in the altus. This cross-relation demonstrates the greater importance given to the linear
Example 14

Clemens non Papa, Maria Magdalene.
Example 15

Clemens non Papa, Maria Magdalene.
Clemens non Papa, Maria Magdalene.
Example 17

Clemens non Papa, Maria Magdalene.
rather than to the vertical aspect, for the use of f-sharp and f-natural are called for by the motion (in the first case, ascending; in the second, descending) of each melodic line. This was also true of Examples 14 and 15 above.

We turn now to another of the Easter motets Dum Transisset Sabbatum by Johannes de Cleve (f. 53).

One difficulty in examining this work and the others as transcribed in Maldeghem's Trésor musicale is the fact that one cannot be certain which accidentals actually existed in the sources and which were supplied by the editor.

Measures 19-21 of the first pars (Example 18, page 52) present an interesting case. The c in measure 20 of the bassus has been flatted to correct a tritone. The vocal model shows a series of B-flats throughout the other voices to bring everything into agreement. The

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10For another similar cross-relation, the reader is referred to the Vaet work mentioned in footnote 2, page 37. The example is also printed in Gustave Reese, Music in the Renaissance (rev. ed.; New York: U. W. Norton and Company, 1959), p. 701.

11The vocal model is found in Robert van Maldeghem, ed., Trésor musicale: Musique religieuse (Brussels: Librairie européenne de C. Mouquet, 1865-93), XIVe année, 8-14.

12Unfortunately Maldeghem makes no statement of the procedures he used in preparing his edition. Gustave Reese has identified many of his sources in "Maldeghem and his Buried Treasure" Music Library Association Notes, VI (1948), 75-117.
Example 18

Cleve, *Dum Transisset Sabbathum.*
tablature, on the other hand, uses the b-flat mentioned to eliminate the tritone but keeps the B-naturals for the remaining notes in question.

Measure 63 of the first pars (Example 19, page 54) illustrates another simultaneous cross-relation. The tablature indicates that the b in the bassus should not be flatted while the b' in the altus should be. However, at measure 65 of the second pars, this same material appears with 5-flats in both voices.

Although one must keep in mind that exactly what Maldeghem added to his edition cannot be easily identified, it seems clear, generally speaking that his tendency was to apply accidentals too freely. This would seem to be the result of thinking too much in nineteenth-century harmonic rather than sixteenth-century linear terms.

Next to come under consideration is Josquin des Prez' setting of the sequence for Pentecost Veni, sancte Spiritus (f. 86v). Here the tablature confirms the vocal model's consistent use of B-flat. Measures 5-6 (Example 20, page 55) of the tablature show that both the c' of the superius and the f' of the altus should be raised to form a double leading-tone or Burgundian cadence. The same circumstance appears at measures 22-23.

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Example 19

Cleve, Dum Transisset Sabbatum
Example 20

Josquin, *Veni, sancte Spiritus*. 
where the material is repeated.

In measures 45-47 (Example 21, page 57), most of Rühling's accidentals contradict those of the editor, Smijers. Apparently the second f' of the altus (m. 45) is natural because of the preceding b-flat in the quinta vox and the simultaneously sounding c' in the quinta vox and the f in the bassus; however, it is not clear why Rühling indicated the f'-sharp in the next measure of the superius but did not indicate the raised seventh degree in the quinta vox.

Measures 75-76 (Example 22, page 58) provide an instance where the E's in the altus, sexta vox and bassus are not lowered by Rühling, perhaps because of the cadential situation, to eliminate the tritone relationship with the b-flat of the quinta vox. These measures are marked in the same way at their repetition in measure 93.

Near the end of the second pars (m. 172ff), the tablature indicates the use of several accidentals (Example 23, page 59). The seventh scale-degree is raised in measure 172 in the superius (the f'-natural in the sexta vox is to be retained) and in measure 174 in the superius and sexta vox. However, in the ornamental figure in measure 173, the f'-natural is not altered. Here it should be noted that, in this work by Josquin and the other works in the collection which date from before the
Example 21

Josquin, *Veni, Sancte Spiritus.*
Example 22

Josquin, Veni, sancte Spiritus.
Example 23

Josquin, *Veni, sancte Spiritus.*
time of Rühling, the indications of the tablature cannot be taken as necessarily valid for the period of their composition but only for performance practice in the last quarter of the sixteenth century.

Rühling has transposed Lasso's *Surgens Jesus, Dominus noster* (f. 74v)\(^{14}\) a fourth lower (Example 24, page 61). Measures 35-36 show another instance where two different chromatic alterations of a pitch are used in close proximity by Rühling. He indicates the use of b♭-flat and then b′-natural in the *quinta vox* even though the use of B-flat creates a tritone relationship with the simultaneously sounding E's in the *cantus* and *tenor*. One cannot rule out entirely a printer's error as an explanation for this.

Another Lasso motet *Tempos est ut revertier* (f. 82v)\(^{15}\) demonstrates two different solutions to a problem (Example 25, page 62, mm. 41-42 of the second *pars*). Both Rühling and the editors agree on the b-naturals in the *altus*. However, the latter suggest an f′-sharp in the *tenor* (m. 41). This avoids the tritone f - b but creates another, f-sharp to c′ (a simultaneously sounding tritone). Rühling, on the other hand, uses the

\(^{14}\)The vocal model is found in Lasso, *Werke*, V, 60-63.

\(^{15}\)The vocal model is found in Lasso, *Werke*, XIII, 25-31.
Example 24: Lasso, Suroens Jesus.
Example 25

Lasso, Tempus est ut revertar.
f-natural in the tenor and avoids the simultaneously sounding tritone which might have been regarded as a greater evil even in this cadential situation.

Measure 46 from this motet (Example 26, page 64) shows what must be a printer's error and provides the opportunity for the author to insert a caveat lest the reader think that the Rühling Tabulaturbuch is being proposed as an infallible guide through the labyrinth of musica ficta. No editor, no source, can ever provide such a guide for the possibility of human error is always present. As we see in this example, the situation prescribed by Rühling can only be described as highly unlikely. The f'-sharp which he calls for in the cantus creates a triad based on an augmented fifth--B-flat, D, F-sharp--a chord more typical of later periods in the history of music. In addition its use would cause a cross-relation with the f'-natural which Rühling indicates for the sexta vox.

The motet *Tibi laus, tibi gloria* (f. 96v)\textsuperscript{16}, also by Lasso, gives two examples of the use of two different chromatic alterations of a pitch in close proximity (Example 27, page 65, mm. 32-33 of the first pars and mm. 44-45 of the second). The examples are

\textsuperscript{16}The vocal model is found in Lasso, *Werke*, III, 130-134.
Example 26

Lasso, Tempus est ut revertar.
Example 27

Lasso, Tibi laus, tibi gloria.
similar to that presented in Example 24; however, the creation of a tritone relationship is not involved. But measures 13-14 of the first pars show a similar situation where Rühling used the raised form both times.

The motet *Pater peccavi* (f. 101v) appears anonymously in the Rühling collection. As mentioned above, Brown attributes it to Clemens non Papa and it appears in the *Corpus mensurabilis musicae* edition of Clemens' works.17 The tablature version of this work, whose text deals with the parable of the prodigal son, is sparing in its use of G-sharp except at the final cadence of each pars (measure 51 of the first pars and measure 62 of the second, as shown in Example 28, page 67). Bernet Kempers' application of accidentals does not coincide with the tablature figures. There is nothing, however, to suggest that he or any of the other editors of the modern editions in question (Steinhardt's edition of the Vaet works is the notable exception.) were aware of the existence of the Rühling collection.

Measure 25 of the second pars (Example 29, page 57) shows an instance where the b-natural in the altus called for by the tablature creates a tritone relationship with the f of the tenor.

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17The vocal model is found in Clemens non Papa, *Opera omnia*, IX, (CMII, 4), 1-7.
Example 28

Clemens non Papa, Pater peccavi.
The sparing use of G-sharps, mentioned above, may reflect a desire to avoid them since they would have been the sharpest pitches in a meantone temperament system of the type discussed in the preceding chapter.

The final measures of the first pars (Example 30, page 69) of the Lasso motet *Gustate et videte* (f. 106v)\(^8\) give another example of the use of different chromatic forms of a pitch. Röhling and the editors agree on the use of f'-sharp and then f'-natural in the cantus and the use of the different forms can easily be justified. In the first case the f'-natural is proper to the downward curve of the melodic line. In the second case the use of the f'-natural reflects the plagal cadence.

Example 31, page 70 (mm. 47-48 of the second pars), shows yet another instance where the possibility of a printer's error exists. The tablature symbols call for f'-sharp followed by f'-natural in place of the tied f'-natural of the vocal model. Since notes tied over a bar-line are never indicated in the tablature, one cannot be certain whether the chromatic semitones are intended. However, the use of them does coincide with a change of chord (D major to F major).

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\(^8\)The vocal model is found in Lasso, *Werke*, V, 73-78.
Example 30

Lasso, Gustate et videte.
Example 31.5

Lasso, Gustate et vidate.
In Arnold Feys' motet *Emendemus in melius* (f. 112v)\(^1\), Rühling's tablature figures again do not coincide with Maldeghem's consistent use of a cadential G-sharp as in measure 40 (Example 32, page 72). Many times Maldeghem's use of the G-sharp has obliterated a Phrygian cadence and has created a "tonal" one. The augmented sixth created in the Maldeghem edition seems hardly typical even though the interval occurs as early as the works of Machaut.\(^2\) It might also be pointed out that, in measure 10 (Example 33, page 73), his failure to use the b-flat in the bassus, which Rühling indicates, creates a tritone not only with an f preceding it but also with the f' in the contratenor.

The intabulation of Philippe Verdelot's motet *Si bona suscepiimus* (f. 119v)\(^3\) illustrates, when compared with Maldeghem's edition, the latter's penchant for trying to make the music he is editing conform to the major-minor system as it was understood in his time. In measures 15-16 (Example 34, page 74), he calls for a

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\(^1\) The vocal model is found in Maldeghem, *Musique religieuse*, XVIII\(^{e}\) année, 1-7.


\(^3\) The vocal model is found in Maldeghem, *Musique religieuse*, XXVIII\(^{e}\) année, 8-13.
Example 32

Feys, Emendamus in melius.
Example 33

Superius

Quinta

Contra-
tenor

Tenor

Bassus

Feys, Emendamus in melius.
Example 34

Verdelot, *Si bona susceptimus.*
b-natural in the tenor II which creates a vii\(^6\)-I cadence in modern terms. The b-natural, of course, causes a tritone relationship with the f of the tenor I. A similar situation exists at measures 55-56: the tritone would have been avoided had the cadence been left in its modal form.

The single work in the collection by the great German Lutheran composer Johann Walter is his Salus populi ego sum (f. 124\(^v\)) from his Geistliches Gesangbüchlein (Wittenberg, 1551).\(^{22}\) The version in the Rühling Tabulaturbuch is pitched a fourth lower than that in Walter's complete works. There is, however, a note appended to the work by Schröder which indicates that, originally, it may have been sung a minor third lower. In this way the final would have been E rather than G, which, according to the accidentals indicated in the tablature, would have required the use of D-sharp (a disastrously out-of-tune accidental in meantone temperament of the type discussed in the preceding chapter).

Example 35, on page 76 (measure 16), again illustrates one of the many times the Rühling accidentals do not agree with those suggested in the modern

\(^{22}\)The vocal model is found in Johann Walter, Sämtliche Werke, ed by Utte Schröder (Kassel: Bärenreiter-Verlag, 1953), II, 178-101.
Example 35

Tenor

Bassus

Walter, Salus populi esto sum.
edition: the tablature does not use the $f$-sharp and e-flat in the bassus, as indicated by Schröder. Except for one interior cadence, at measures 45-46 (Example 36, page 78), Rühling calls for accidentals only in the final cadence where, in all instances but one, his indications agree with those of Schröder (Example 37, page 79). Note also the simultaneous cross-relation indicated by the tablature in measure 16 (Example 35).

The next work is the final one by Lasso in the Rühling collection *Omnia quae fecisti nobis* (f. 125v). This single-para work is transposed down a fourth in the Tabulaturbuch. Example 38, on page 30, represents another example of the situation shown in Example 12 (page 43). Here, the $e$-natural in the bassus called for by the original source would have required the use of $f$-sharp in the transposed version. Because this key was, in all likelihood, not available, he substituted the natural form.

Finally, we will compare the vocal and tablature settings of Ludwig Senfl's *De profundis* (f. 128v).

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Example 36.

Walter, Salus populi ego sum.
Walter, Salus populi ego sum.
Example 38

Lasso, Úmmia quae fecisti nobis.
Here again, Rühling has transposed the work, a setting of Psalm 130, down a fourth, but in this case there is no apparent reason for the transposition.

An unusual use of a B-natural (it is, in fact, somewhat contradictory) is called for by the tablature indications in measures 29-31 (Example 39, page 82). The b'-natural in the discantus I moves upward to c" while the lower voices move in a deceptive resolution to members of an F-major triad rather than to C-major, which the use of b'-natural would seem to have prepared. Then, in measure 31, the b'-natural in the tenor (f-sharp in the transposed tablature) forms a tritone with the f'-natural of the discantus secundus. A cross-relation such as this was forbidden but had apparently come to be accepted. More than a century earlier, the theorist Tinctoris had decried the commission of such "errors".

In the final measures of the motet (Example 40, page 83), the b'-natural indicated by the tablature for the discantus primus seems called for by the upward turn of the melodic line just as the b'-flat following is a result of the melodic curve falling to f'. This is imitated in measures 169-170 by the discantus secundus.

Example 39

Senfl, De profundis.
Example 40.

Distantus primus

Distantus secundus

Contratenor

Tenor

Bassus

Senfl, De profundis.
The above comments represent the result of an examination of all the works in the Rühling collection for which modern editions are readily available. In addition, an examination of the remainder of the collection revealed twenty-six more examples of cross-relations of the type mentioned earlier in connection with the Clemens non Papa motet Maria Magdalene. They most often occur in cadential situations involving the seventh scale degree. The cross-relations usually appear between inner voices or a combination of upper voice and an inner voice—never the two outer voices. All can be justified by melodic conditions.

To the musician of today, for whom the pure polyphony of Palestrina with its careful treatment (even, abhorance) of dissonance represents the sixteenth-century ideal, these sharp dissonances may seem strange and un-stylistic. However, if one examines reports of musicological research and contemporary sources, it becomes apparent that this German collection is not an isolated example.

Willi Apel, in an article surveying Spanish organ music of the early seventeenth century, calls attention to a cross-relation of e to e'-flat which had been corrected in a modern edition to an E-flat octave. Even though, he states, most scholars would approve the cor-
rection, he is hesitant to do so:

However, even in this extreme case, I am doubtful about the validity of the correction, not only because the manuscript is on the whole very reliable in the placement of accidentals, but also because the e of the bass is quite logical from the horizontal point of view.26

The Spaniard Francisco Correa de Arauxo, whose treatise for organists was published in 1626, took great care to describe "a new false relation . . . of chromatic semitones" and illustrated his description with three examples from his own works which form the musical part of the treatise.27 Later in his introductory material he called on other sources to support his earlier remarks. Among these are a treatise by Francisco de Montanos, two works by Gombert and one by Josquin. He then quotes from the Josquin work, a pleni sunt.28 (Example 41, page 86, is a transcription by the present author of the Spanish numerical tablature of the original example.)

The editors of the historical series Tudor Church


28 Correa de Arauxo, p. 50.
Josquin, Pleni sunt from Francisco Correa de Arazco, Libro de tientos, Alcala, 1626
Music in their comments on "Editorial Method in relation to Sixteenth-century Notation" also call attention to the use of raised and natural forms of the seventh scale degree. The use of the former rising to the tonic with the latter falling to the dominant produced "a harmonic clash which is one of the most striking and beautiful features of the music of the period." These clashes, which at first were only implied where the two forms closely follow each other but later were caused by the simultaneous use of the two, "are so common in music of the Tudor period that they are simply clichéd to be found in a majority of cadences."  

Thomas Morley in Part III of his famous Pleine and Easie Introduction to Practicall Musike (1597) quotes an example from Taverner where a cross-relation of $f'$-natural to $f$-sharp occurs. An untitled piece by Thomas Tallis edited by Margaret Glyn in her collection of Tudor organ music includes a cross-relation ($f'$-sharp to $f$'-natural). There are many other such examples

30 Tudor Church Music, I, p. xliii.
to be found in the music of the period.

These Spanish and English examples contrast sharply with the much more rigid view of the Italian theorist Gioseffo Zarlino. In Chapter 30 of his *Istitutioni harmoniche* (1573) he forbids relationships involving tritones as well as chromatic semitones in a single voice and then states that since these relationships are forbidden in the same voice, they cannot be used in two separate voices. The rigidity was only relaxed by the concession that, if necessary, one should use those tritones natural to the mode rather than those which require the use of chromatic alterations. But this concession involves only tritones since no semitone relationship can be natural to the mode. These restrictions reflect the purity of the Roman school just as the English and Spanish treatises reflect a freer treatment.

It would be presumptuous, indeed foolhardy, to attempt to formulate any rules for or to make any generalizations on the proper application of *musica ficta* on the basis of the preceding comparison of so small a part

---

of the tablature and vocal literature. However, the author feels the following points have been made clear: first, the advisibility of broadening our view of sixteenth-century polyphony to include more than the Roman school; second, the value to modern research of keyboard tablature in general, the importance of the Rühling Tabulaturbuch in particular, and the necessity of consulting all existing versions of a work when attempting to prepare an authentic edition; and finally, the need for great moderation in the application of musica ficta about which so little can be clearly defined. At the end of his preface, Johannes Rühling expressed the hope that his work had not been in vain. His goal was the greater service of God and undoubtedly his collection served that goal. But it is the author's hope that a less lofty goal has also been served—that this collection can be one of the many keys necessary to unlock the door leading to a better understanding of musica ficta.

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34 Toward this end, it is hoped that the indices, both alphabetic and thematic, will help to provide bibliographic access to the collection.
SOURCES CONSULTED
SOURCES CONSULTED

Books


Articles


________. "Ruhling, Johannes." Die Musik in Geschichte und Gegenwart. Vol. XI.


APPENDIX A

LIST OF THE CONTENTS OF THE TABULATURBUCH
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<td>Anonymous</td>
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Dominica Prima Post Epiphaniorum.

18 29v Lasso: Deus qui sedes a5

Dominica II. Post Epiphaniorum

19 30v Lasso: Nuptiae factae sunt
Pers II, Dixit mater
Pers III, Trium: Et dicit ei Jesus
Pers IV, Omnis homo a6

Dominica III. Post Epiphaniorum

20 33v Wert: Nolite esse prudentes
Pers II, Non vos met ipsos
Pers III, Sed si esurierut a5

Dominica IV. Post Epiphaniorum

21 35v Schedius: Ingressus erat Jesus navim
Pers II, Domine serva nos a4

Dominica V. Post Epiphaniorum

22 36v Herpol: Domine nonne bonum
Pers II, Colligite primum a5

Dominica Septuagesima

23 38v Crecquillon: Deus virtutum
Pers II, Et perfice eam a5

Dominica Sexagesima

24 40v Clemens non Papa: Servus tuus ego sum
Pers II, Ego vero egens a5

Dominica Quinquagesima

25 42v Wert: Transcunte Domino clamat
Pers II, Et ait illi Jesus a5

Dominica Quadragesima

26 44v Crecquillon: Adiuva nos Deus a5

Dominica Reminiscentia

27 45v Dressler: Dixit Jesus a5

Dominica Oculi

28 46v Lasso: Dixit Joseph
Pers II, Nunciaaverunt Jacob a6

Dominica Letare

29 48v Kübler: Dancket dem Herrn
Pers II, Der Herr hat nicht
Pers III, Der Herr hat gefallen a5

Dominica Judica

30 50v Phinot: Corne meos esse gemitus
Pers II, Non licet afflictas a6
Dominica Palmerum

31 52v Clemens non Papa: Fremuit spiritu Jesus
Pars II, Videns Dominus a5

De Passione Christi

32 54v Anonymous: Vita in ligno moritur
Pars II, Qui Propheticus
Pars III, Qui Expansis a5

33 56v Anonymous: Nos autem gloriem a5

34 57v Anonymous: O Jesu Christ a5

35 58v Le Maistre: Tristus est anima mea
Pars II, Ecce appropinquabit a4

36 59v Anonymous: In nomine Jesu
Pars II, Rogamus te a4

De Resurrectione Christi

37 61v Clemens non Papa: Maria Magdalene
Pars II, Cito euntos dicite a5

38 63v Cleve: Dum transisset Sabbatham
Pars II, Et valde mane a6

39 65v Lasso: Congratulamini mihi
Pars II, Tulerunt Dominum a6

40 68 Tonsor: Dum transisset Sabbatham
Pars II, Et valde mane a5

41 69v Meiland: Mane nobiscum Domine a5

42 70 Burck: Christus excitatus est
Pars II, Christus traditus est a5

43 72v Binellus: Domine quid multiplicati a5

44 73v Thalman: Christ lag in Todesbanden a5

Quasimodo Geniti

45 74v Lasso: Surgens Jesus a5

Misericordias Domini

46 75v Dressler: Gves mea vocem meam
Pars II, Pater meus a4

Jubilate

47 76v Colin: Jubilate Deo omnis terra
Pars II, Populus eius a5

Cantate

48 78v Tonsor: Cantate Domino a4

Domini Cunditatis

49 79v Anonymous: Domus mea domus orationis a4
De Ascensione Domini
50 30v Paminger: Ascendit Deus
   Pars II, Et Dominus in voce
   Pars III, Gloria Patri a6
51 32v Lasso: Tempus est ut revertar
   Pars II, Nisi ego abiero a6

Exaudi
52 34v Wurt: Paracletus autem Spiritus Sanctus
   Pars II, Non Turbatur a5

In Die Pentecostes
53 36v Josquin: Veni Sancte Spiritus
   Pars II, O lux beatissima a6
54 38v Arcadelt: Dum completerunt a5
55 39v Preschner: Also hat Gott
   Pars II, Gleich wie Moses a5
56 41v Scheifler: Sic Deus dilexit
   Pars II, Venite ad me a5

De Sancta Trinitate
57 43v Holland: Te Deum patrem
   Pars II, Quoniam magnus es tu a6
58 44v Lasso: Tibi laus tibi gloria
   Pars II, Da gaudiorum praemia a5

Dominica I. Post Trinitatis
59 46v Schröter: Homo quidam erat dives
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Dominica II. Post Trinitatis
60 48v Sultel: Homo quidam fecit
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61 50v Anonymous: Pater peccavi in coelum
   Pars II, Quanti mercenarii a4

Dominica IIII. Post Trinitatis
62 52v Harpol: Estate misericordes
   Pars II, Nolite Judicare a5

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63 54v Cleve: Mirabilia testimonii a6

Dominica VI. Post Trinitatis
64 56v Lasso: Legem pone mihi
   Pars II, Da mihi intellectum a5
Dominica VII. Post Trinitatis
65 106v Lasso: Gustate & videte
   Pars II, Divites aguerunt a5

Dominica VIII. Post Trinitatis
66 108v Lasso: Non vos me elegistis a5

Dominica IX. Post Trinitatis
67 109v Wurt: Divitias & paupertatem a6

Dominica X. Post Trinitatis
68 110v Richafort: Hierusalem luge
   Pars II, Deduc quasi torrentem a5

Dominica XI. Post Trinitatis
69 112v Feys: Emendemus in melius
   Pars II, Peccavimus patribus a5

Dominica XII. Post Trinitatis
70 114v Clemens non Papa: Deus in adiutorium
   Pars II, Ecce in tenebris a6

Dominica XIII. Post Trinitatis
71 116v Crecquillon: Tua est potentia
   Pars II, Creator omnium a5

Dominica XIII. Post Trinitatis
72 117v Gumbert: Cum transiret Jesus a5

Dominica XV. Post Trinitatis
73 118v Dressler: Nolite quaerere
   Pars II, Quia potius a5

Dominica XVI. Post Trinitatis
74 119v Verdolot: Si bona suscepimus a5

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75 120v Clemens non Papa: Discite à me
   Pars II, Quia qui se exaltat a5

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76 122v Crecquillon: Congregati sunt inimici
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77 124v Walter: Salus populi ego sum a5

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78 125v Lasso: Omnia quae fecisti a5
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79 126v Clemens non Papa: O bone Jesu.
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Dominica XXII. Post Trinitatis
80 128v Senfl: De profundis clamavi
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81 130v Huns: Magister scimus
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Dominica XXIII. Post Trinitatis
82 132v Anonymous: Si bona susceptimus a6

Dominica XXIV. Post Trinitatis
83 133v Anonymous: Virgines prudentes
   Pars II, Media autem nocte a4

Dominica XXV. Post Trinitatis
84 134v Crecquillon: Sunt lumbi vestri
   Pars II, Vigilate ergo a5

Dominica XXVI. Post Trinitatis
85 136v Clemens non Papa: Assumpsit Jesus
   Pars II, Et ecce vox de nube a5

1 Only the title of this pars is given in the collection. Brown apparently mistook a note to the organist saying it had been deliberately omitted (consulto omisimus) for the title of the pars.

2 This pars was given a separate number (43) in the collection. The numbering has been corrected in order to be consistent.

3 The leaf containing f. 90r and f. 91v is missing from the Wolfenbüttel copy of the print.
APPENDIX B

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