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Parody Versus Paraphrase in G.P. Paladino's Fantasia on "Alcun non puo saper"

By Paul Martell

IN THE SECOND OF TWO ARTICLES on the use of borrowed material in 16th-century instrumental music, John Ward defines parody technique as the "free (often random) variation of an autonomous thematic complex,"[1] a definition which, in its simplicity, helps to clarify a complicated and often controversial issue. Ward further defines parody in such a way as to exclude certain compositional categories (*cantus firmus*, folk tune, and ground-bass settings for instance) which rely most often on strict (or, at least, stricter) variation techniques. And he remarks that the drawing off of a single voice part of a madrigal or motet does not constitute parody, "since an essential feature of parody technique is the quotation — often literal — of vertical slices of the thematic complex, i.e., of chord and intervals."[2] This last point seems straightforward enough, and indeed, it is in line with most definitions and descriptions of parody technique. But it is also a condition which at least potentially begs the distinction between parody and paraphrase techniques, an issue which is of some importance in four derivative lute fantasias by Giovanni Paolo Paladino.

The fantasias are found in Paladino's *Premier livre de tablature de luth*.... published in Lyons by Simon Gorlier in 1560.[3] In terms of overall

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[1]John Ward, "Parody Technique in 16th-Century Instrumental Music," in *Commonwealth of Music, in Honor of Curt Sachs* (New York, 1965), p. 208.

[2]Ward, "Parody Technique in 16th-Century Instrumental Music," pp. 208-209.

[3]The print is a reissue of an edition (now lost) published seven years earlier. The colophon (fol.40v) reads: "Stampato in Lione per Giovan Pullon de Trino, a l'instantia di M. Giovan Paulo Paladino, l'Anno 1553." For a general discussion of the *Premier livre*... and biographical information on Paladino's life, see François Lesure and Richard de Morcourt, "G.P. Paladino et son 'Premier livre' de luth (1560), "*Revue de Musicologie*, XLII (1958), p.170. A complete edition of Paladino's works has been published by the Centre Nationale de la Recherche

repertory, the print contains the usual collection of fantasias, dances and intabulations of chansons, madrigals, and motets. In terms of the music, however, the print stands apart from most contemporary collections by the length and complexity of both the dances and the fantasias, and by the fact that four of the fantasias are derived from vocal models represented in each case by an intabulation of the model placed immediately before its fantasia.[4] By virtue of their length, use of through-imitative procedures, and methods of transformation of the vocal model, these four works occupy a central position in the history of the derivative fantasia in particular, and the lute fantasia in general. Furthermore, these fantasias and the other freely composed fantasias contained in the collection reveal Paladino as not only a master contrapuntalist, but as one of the most skilled lutenists of the sixteenth century.[5]

Implicit in Ward's comments above, is the fact that in assessing any parody it is important to examine not only what subject material is borrowed, but also instances, if any, of borrowed imitative relationships. These relationships may be defined as the combination of an entry's pitch level with the distance between that entry and those surrounding it. Relationships may be modified — transposed, inverted, or some combination of the two — without radically altering their basic connection, and may involve more than two entries. A wide range of borrowing techniques are therefore possible: a complete polyphonic structure may be borrowed; an incomplete structure may be used as a scaffold for new material; or, isolated imitative relationships may be carried over into what is essentially a new musical conception. These broad structural categories also provide a general indication of the character of the relationship between model and parody.

Instrumental parodies demand special compositional considerations due to the technical capabilities of the instrument involved, an issue that is especially crucial to the lute. Although the lute is clearly capable of sus-

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Scientifique in the series *Corpus des luthistes français*. A detailed study and edition of the four derivative fantasias is found in Paul Martell, "The Derivative Lute Fantasias of G. P. Paladino: An Analytical Study." Unpublished Master's Thesis, The University of Calgary, 1986.

[4]The vocal models are: Vincenzo Ruffo's "Alcun non puo saper" (Venice: Gardane, 1545); J. Arcadelt's "Quando io penso al martire" (Venice: Gardane, 1539); Claudin de Sermisy's "Ave Sanctissima" (Paris: Attaingnant, 1542); and Jacotin's "Proba me, Domine" (Paris: Attaingnant. 1535).

[5]Paladino's fantasias are similar in both character and scope to those in Bakfark's *...liber primus...* , also published in Lyon in 1553, the same year that the first edition of Paladino's *Premier livre...* appeared.

tained imitative textures, it is difficult if not impossible on the instrument to take a four-part polyphonic texture and add additional voices to it. A common reaction to this situation is found in the borrowing of isolated relationships, which are then embedded in some way into a new imitative situation. When this happens, it is reasonable to question whether borrowed relationships are structural — in that they reflect in some way the imitative structure of the model — or incidental (perhaps, *coincidental*) — in that they arise naturally from the use of the same subject material.

It seems that the borrowing of large-scale imitative structures does not generally play as great a role in instrumental parodies as it does in vocal ones. When it does, these structures often resemble intabulations or glosas, and are kept more or less distinct from surrounding material. Quereau, in his examination of parody techniques in the music of Palestrina, is able to uncover hundreds of borrowed relationships that serve to establish a close and carefully devised connection between model and parody.[6] When the number of borrowed relationships is small, as it most often is in instrumental parodies, it is more difficult to establish this connection over and above the use of borrowed subject material.

Imitatively, an instrumental work is not confined by the meaning of text and the need to make that meaning at least nominally clear. Partly because of this lack of restriction, and partly to avoid overly episodic formal structures, composers of imitative fantasias generally increased the number of subject entries in the point of imitation. But in situations where the vocal model contains relatively few imitative relationships, to increase the number of entries while retaining only those relationships found in the model is to risk an unacceptable lack of variety.

The solution to the problem is to either revert to points of imitation that are roughly the same length as those found in the model, or to construct imitative structures that owe comparatively little to the model over and above the use of common melodic material. This latter option is the basic technique adopted by Paladino, the resulting fantasias showing a constantly shifting blend of borrowed and newly-composed relationships. In light of this emphasis, it is perhaps not surprising that analysis of this admittedly small body of works shows that the constructive principles used have more in common with paraphrase than with 'strict' parody techniques.

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[6]Q.W. Quereau, "Sixteenth-Century Parody: an Approach to Analysis," *Journal of the American Musicological Society*, XXXI (1978), pp. 401-441.

Perhaps the clearest example of Paladino's skill in the transformation of borrowed material is found with his fantasia on Vincenzo Ruffo's madrigal "Alcun non puo saper."[7] Only a single subject is borrowed, taken from the first and only true point of imitation in the madrigal, and this subject serves as the thematic material for the extraordinary opening section of the fantasia where it is used no less than sixty times in the course of 102 measures. The concluding section is freely composed and non-imitative, making the work one of the most extended monothematic fantasias of the period.

The first compositional decision concerns Paladino's reaction to the modal structure of the madrigal's opening point of imitation, a structure which is by no means clear cut. The final cadence of the madrigal is plagal on 'E', and this, together with the ambitus of the individual voice parts, suggests an Aeolian modal orientation. However, the entries in the opening point of imitation have as their first and fourth initial pitches, 'D', rather than the more usual 'A', 'E', or 'C' (see Example 1).

A look at the opening measures of the fantasia reveals a different approach to modal-imitative structure. The work is transposed to 'G' with consistent use of both 'B' and 'E' flats and is therefore in accord with the overall modal orientation of the model. But the imitative structure of the opening point is more regular than that used by Ruffo, and it is based on a different series of initial pitches (see Example 2).

Paladino opens with what might be called a model point of imitation. The subject is presented in four descending ranges and alternates between entrances on the final and dominant. The upper and lower pairs of entries use the same imitative distance (2 minims) and are separated by twice that distance. At the conclusion of the bass entry in measure six, Paladino begins the whole process again, essentially repeating (with modifications to accompanying material) the opening imitative structure before proceeding to a cadence on the final in measure 16. Overall, the tone is one of restraint and simplicity.

These opening measures serve an important function within the fantasia, but this function is not significantly related to the fantasia's derivation from its model. The connections over and above the use of a

[7]There is to date, no complete edition of Ruffo's madrigals. The edition used in this study is taken from the 1556 reprint of the *Libro primo....* The madrigal was not popular as a subject for intabulations, the version by Paladino being the only printed intabulation of the work. There is at least one manuscript intabulation, found in the "Codex carminum Gallicorum," (Uppsala University Library, *Vok.mus.hs.87,* fol.20).

Example 1:

"Alcun non puo saper" (madrigal)—mm. 1-7 (text omitted).

Example 2:

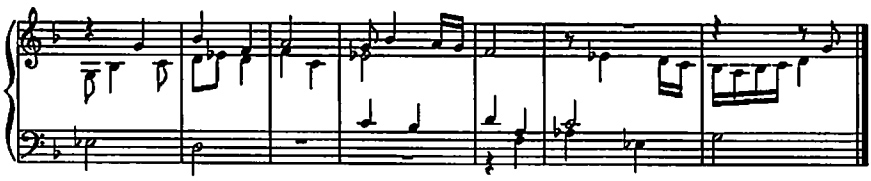
"Alcun non puo saper" (fantasia)—mm. 1-16.

borrowed subject are either tenuous or non existent, the imitative procedures too dissimilar. Instead, the significance of this passage lies in its comparatively conservative structure. It is as if Paladino wished to provide a yardstick against which to measure later, more radical settings of the subject. Thus, the virtually paradigmatic ordering of the entries, and the repetition (for emphasis) of the first series of entries.

Modifications of this basic imitative structure begin early in the work. They affect first the choice of initial pitches, and soon after, the rhythmic character of the subject. Measures 21-27 (see Example 3) provide an instructive example of the former procedure. The first two entries echo the opening of the work but the second pair of entries are transposed up a minor third, thus altering the modal character of the passage. This side-step out of the prevailing mode punctuates the first section of the fantasia and provides a point of departure for the remainder of the work.

Example 3:

"Alcun non puo saper" (fantasia)—mm. 21-27.



Rhythmic alterations fall into two general categories. The first involves simple diminution, with the minim reduced to a semi-minim. The clearest example of this technique occurs in the measures leading up to the first major cadence of the work. Here, the increased animation effectively heightens the drive to the cadence. Two sets of entries occur, the first echoing the opening of the fantasia and the second allowing some modifications in initial pitch organization (see Example 4). With the cadence in measure 36, the basic compositional procedure changes markedly, and it is at this point that parody techniques are eclipsed by paraphrase techniques. If, in terms of substantive borrowing, the open-

Example 4:

"Alcun non puo saper" (fantasia)—mm. 27-36.

Example 5:

"Alcun non puo saper" (fantasia)—mm. 40-44.

Cantus—ornamented with inserted passing tones.
Tenor—rhythmically altered (second note stretched).
Bassus—subject set in diminution.

Example 6:

"Alcun non puo saper" (fantasia)—mm. 52-57.

Cantus—Subject unaltered.
Tenor—not involved in imitative discourse, running counter-subject.

Example 7:

"Alcun non puo saper" (fantasia)—mm. 67-75.

All voices—largely unaltered statements of the subject, but texture is completely saturated with entries.

ing section of the fantasia proved to be largely unindebted to the madrigal, the material which follows proceeds with a remarkably carefree disregard of the model. There is no letting up in the imitative setting of the borrowed subject, but the subject now appears in a variety of rhythmic guises, and is combined in a bewildering range of imitative and quasi-imitative structures. The following examples, though by no means exhaustive, provide some idea of the range of these combinations.

This last passage represents the contrapuntal center and focus of the entire fantasia, the point at which the highest possible utilization of the subject is achieved. Harmonically, it is transitory, moving from 'C' through a series of unsettled sequences to the cadence on the final in measure 77, then later rising gradually over ten measures to a strongly emphasized cadence on 'C' which initiated the final point of imitation of the work.

This last point of imitation is as important within the fantasia as were measures 67-75, but for an altogether different reason. The earlier passage served to excite the texture, to provide a sort of imitative point of furthest remove. The latter passage (see Example 8) is more staid and clear cut; the momentum ebbs as the note values increase and the cantus falls through a long series of sequential thirds. Even the cadence that terminates the section is drawn out by a pair of Phrygian progressions towards the dominant.

The final 23 measures of the work form a coda-like extension to the main body of the fantasia. The section is not based on borrowed material, and like similar passages in Paladino's other fantasias, this change is accompanied by a change of texture, from the almost exclusively imitative setting of borrowed material, to a freely conceived, non-imitative texture for newly composed material. The passage is loosely held together by two recurring descending motives and is more animated than the preceding section; yet overall, one is left with the feeling that, deprived of the subject that proved so malleable for much of the fantasia, Paladino fills in time here, waiting for the extended plagal cadence that concludes the work.

It is true that Paladino's fantasia on "Alcun non puo saper" is not entirely typical of his derivative fantasias as a whole. It is the only one of the four fantasias that is monothematic, and the range of motivic transformations surpasses that found in the other works.[8] But it is typical of the

[8]Rhythmic diminution and alteration of a borrowed subject is found in the second point of imitation in Paladino's fantasia on "Quando io penso al martire." This passage is also notable in

Example 8:

"Alcun non puo saper" (fantasia)—mm. 86-103.

that it is the only imitative point in the four works which uses a subject not set imitatively in its model. The tune is taken from the opening measures of the cantus.

other works by its almost total disregard of the elements contained in the model over and above the use of a borrowed subject. These elements — initial pitch and imitative distance relationships, and the vertical sonorities arising out of these relationships — are, as Ward and others have pointed out, integral to the idea and practice of parody.[9] Paladino's choice to disregard these elements is an index of the freedom he sought to proceed as he wished. But if terms like 'parody' are to have any concrete meaning, they must be applied carefully, as accurate descriptors of a particular musical situation. In short, parody is not an accurate description of the compositional procedures at work in this fantasia on "Alcun non puo saper."[10]

Unfortunately, neither is paraphrase, at least not by the conventional definition of the term. But paraphrase is closer to the technique employed by Paladino in the composition of these works. It may be inappropriate to maintain that Paladino deliberately avoided the borrowing of imitative relationships which would lead to a close and unequivocal connection between model and fantasia. However, given the evidence provided by this and other works, it is equally inappropriate to maintain the reverse. It is at least conceivable that Paladino's borrowing is focused solely on the subject, with his purpose, like the organist required to improvise a fugue on a submitted subject, only to craft a satisfying and independent composition.

Clearly, the problem is one of intent, and just as clearly, a definitive answer is difficult to formulate. Given the mostly diatonic construction of 16th-century imitative subjects, and the fairly strict compositional rules on dissonance that govern the combination of these subjects, it is possible that many "borrowed" relationships are not borrowed at all; rather, they arise naturally from the use of a common subject. It may also be rash to say that Paladino composed instrumental 'parodies' without knowing some details about his exposure to the techniques involved in the composition of vocal

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[9]See, in addition to the sources already cited, John Ward, "The Use of Borrowed Material in 16th-Century Instrumental Music," *Journal of the American Musicological Society*, V(1952), pp. 88-98; Lewis Lockwood, "On 'Parody' as Term and Concept in 16th-Century Music," in *Aspects of Medieval and Renaissance Music: a Birthday Offering to Gustave Reese*, ed. Jan LaRue (New York, 1966), pp. 560-575; and, Howard Mayer Brown, "Emulation, Competition, and Homage: Imitation and Theories of Imitation in the Renaissance," *Journal of the American Musicological Society*, XXXV (1982), pp. 1-48.

[10]Paladino's fantasia on Arcadelt's "Quando io penso al martire," on the other hand, does satisfy the requirements for parody. The first section of the fantasia contains brief quotations taken from the opening point of imitation in the madrigal.

parodies. Paladino's writing shows him to be an extremely accomplished and talented composer of instrumental music, but it does not follow that his study of, if not exposure to, vocal parodies was extensive. A great deal of critical, stylistic, and historical research is required before a clearer picture of how borrowed material was set instrumentally in the Renaissance will emerge. Paladino's four fantasias may not represent the tip of the iceberg, but neither do they represent anything like the bulk of the genre.*

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* I would like to thank two persons for their invaluable assistance in the completion of this article: Eugene C. Cramer, who supervised the original research, and Victor Coelho, whose insightful observations have rendered him much more than an editor.

Collaboration Between Campion and Rosseter?

By Erik S. Ryding

IF ASKED TO NAME THE QUINTESSENTIAL "Renaissance Man" of the English Renaissance, one might well choose Thomas Campion. His credentials — even at a glance — are impressive: he studied law at the Inns of Court; probably traveled to France for a short time on military business; crafted elegant neo-Latin verses; composed lute-songs for which he also wrote exquisite lyrics; elicited public protest (and some admiration) both by urging poets to adopt quantitative verse in English and by condemning rhyme as a medieval barbarism; studied medicine in Caen, France, for several years; returned to England, where he practiced as a physician; brought out an influential book on music composition; and wrote elaborate masques for the Jacobean aristocracy.[1] By any standard, Campion accomplished a great deal in his life. Nevertheless, we should resist the temptation to credit him with more than his due.

The year 1601 saw the publication of *A Booke of Ayres* (henceforth *BA*), a single volume divided into two books of lute-songs. The first book contained twenty-one ayres by Thomas Campion; the second, twenty-one by Philip Rosseter. In the late nineteenth century and in the early decades of our own, many scholars assumed that Campion had written most if not

[1]Percival Vivian has written the most complete life of Campion in the introduction to *Campion's Works* (1909; rpt. Oxford, 1966), pp. ix-1. See also Edward Lowbury, Timothy Salter, and Alison Young, *Thomas Campion: Poet, Composer, Physician* (New York, 1970), pp. 14-31.

Samuel Daniel responded defensively to Campion's *Observations in the Art of English Poesie* (1602) with *A Defence of Ryme* (1603). Alexander Gil, however, still found Campion's prosodic theories relevant in 1619, when he published his *Logonomia Anglica* (2nd. ed., 1621; rpt. Menston, 1968), for in chapter 28 he draws several times upon Campion's *Observations*.

all of the lyrics in *BA*.[2] In 1943, however, Ralph Berringer cogently refuted this idea, and few now think that Campion provided the texts for Rosseter's songs.[3] But another sort of collaboration may well have taken place between the two song-writers, for one can detect, in the accompaniments to several songs in Campion's half of the *BA*, the work of Rosseter.

The wording of the preface to *BA* already suggests collaboration. In the anonymous note "To the Reader," the author — almost certainly Campion[4] — generally uses the first person singular to express his views, yet at one critical point he shifts to the plural: "For the Note and Tableture, if they satisfie the most, *we* have *our* desire; let expert masters please themselves with better. And if anie light error hath escaped *us*, the skilfull may easily correct it, the unskilfull will hardly perceive it" (my italics).[5] After this, Campion returns to the singular, though he sometimes uses "we" to mean "all of us" or "you readers and I." Why should he shift to the plural here? The reason, as an examination of his songs will show, is probably that Campion wrote the melodies and basses (the "Note") of his ayres in *BA*, while Rosseter composed the lute parts (the "Tableture").

In fact, the two were close friends. In his will, Campion left "all that he had" to Rosseter (property worth £22) and "wished that his estate had bin farr more, or he used words to that effecte."[6] We can say with certainty, then, that their friendship lasted nearly two decades — from 1601,

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[2]A. H. Bullen, in his edition of *The Works of Dr.Thomas Campion* (London, 1889), wrote that the music of *A Book of Ayres* "was written partly by Campion and partly by Philip Rosseter; but all the poetry, we may be sure, was written by Campion" (p. xiv). David Greer, in his prefatory note to the facsimile edition of Rosseter's *A Book of Ayres 1601* (Menston, 1970), lists the important works that discuss and question Campion's authorship of the texts in *BA*.

References throughout are to the Scholar Press facsimile editions of *BA*; references to Campion's other four books of ayres are also to the Scholar Press facsimile editions, prefaced by David Greer and issued together in the second volume of *English Lute Songs 1597-1632*, ed. F. W. Sternfeld (Menston, 1970).

[3]Ralph Berringer, "Thomas Campion's Share in *A Book of Ayres*," *Publications of the Modern Language Association*, 58 (1943), pp. 938-48. David Scott, however, in the introductory notes to his editions of the *First* and *Second Book of Ayres* (London, 1979), writes that Campion "collaborated with Philip Rosseter. . ., contributing half of the forty-two songs and (it is thought) all of the verse set" (p. v).

[4]In her article on Rosseter for the *New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians*, Vol. 16 (London, 1980), p. 212, Diana Poulton attributes the 1601 note "To the Reader" to Rosseter. Most scholars, however, have treated the note as Campion's work. Miles Kastendieck argues persuasively in favor of Campion's authorship in *England's Musical Poet: Thomas Campion* (New York, 1938), pp. 65-67.

[5]*BA*, sig. A2v.

[6]Vivian, p. xlvii.

the year when their joint effort appeared, to 1620, when Campion died — and can assume that they had been friends for some time before the publication of *BA*. In the dedicatory note to that volume, written by Rosseter and addressed to Thomas Monson, we read that Campion has already received "particular favours" from Monson, and we may infer that Rosseter hopes for like treatment. He gives that standard excuse for putting songs (indeed, for putting art of almost any kind) before the public:

> the first ranke of songs are of his [Campion's] owne composition, made at his vacant houres, and privately emparted to his friends, whereby they grew both publicke, and (as coine crackt in exchange) corrupted: some of them both words and notes unrespectively challenged by others. In regard of which wronges, though his selfe neglects these light fruits as superfluous blossomes of his deeper Studies, yet hath it pleased him upon my entreaty, to grant me the impression of part of them, to which I have added an equall number of mine owne.[7]

The dedicatory note leads one to believe that Rosseter included Campion's lyrics largely to attract Monson's attention. Campion himself seems to have been lukewarm about the project: his name does not appear on the title page, and Rosseter had to "entreat" him for permission to print his songs.

The volume was, like all such works, a commercial enterprise. If Campion had given his friend songs whose lute parts were crude in comparison with those by Dowland, Jones, and Morley, for example, Rosseter might well have reworked them, making them more enticing to an audience used to the subtle part-writing of the other lute-song composers. Rosseter himself seems to rule out this possibility by telling us that these published songs are authoritative, unlike the corrupt versions then in circulation. But he might have been criticizing versions of Campion's songs that contained errors in the voice parts rather than errors in the lute accompaniments. Since the extant manuscript versions of Campion's songs apparently postdate *BA*, we cannot be certain what kinds of corruption Rosseter meant.[8] I suspect, however, that the voice parts and basses in *BA* are

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[7] *BA*, sig. A2.

[8] A florid version of Campion's "Shall I com sweet love to thee" exists in British Library Add. MS 29481, fol. 20, and other seventeenth-century manuscripts preserve extravagant settings of

almost exactly as Rosseter received them and that he offered, along with these versions, his own accompaniments — perhaps viewed as *alternative* accompaniments — for the lute. Thus he could present Campion's songs in an uncorrupted form (the voice-and-viol versions), gain the attention of a great patron of musicians, and appeal to a public demonstrably eager to buy collections of lute-songs.[9]

Comparing the accompaniments in Campion's half of *BA* with those in his later collections, one can recognize a distinct difference in the treatment of texture and voicing. In the earlier work, the parts played on the lute generally move with considerable independence, often working against rhythmic patterns in the voice part; in the next four books, the accompaniments tend to be chordal, plodding along for the most part with a one-two-three-four predictability. In the earlier songs, the lutenist often plays in the upper positions of the fingerboard; in the later ones, most of the fingerings are in the lower positions. Thurston Dart was the first to suggest that Rosseter might have touched up Campion's accompaniments in the 1601 volume.[10] Dart, however, cited no specific passages as evidence, and almost all other studies of Campion's music have treated the works in *BA* as the poet's own compositions — though some scholars have justly remarked that songs in the first book are generally more memorable than the later ones.[11]

The internal evidence against Campion as the *only* composer of these works is strong. Even the fingerings of individual chords raise some doubts. For example, a certain (admittedly common) configuration for the

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Campion's poems. Yet it seems unlikely that Rosseter had such versions in mind, since they all seem to have appeared after 1601.

[9]Even Thomas Morley recognized that collections of lute-songs could have commercial importance, for in 1600 he issued his *First Booke of Ayres*, though he himself admitted to being "no professor thereof, but like a blind man groping for [his] way" (sig. A2v).

[10]See the "Reviser's Note" to Dart's revision of Edmund Fellowes' edition of Thomas Campion, *The Songs from Rosseter's Book of Airs*(London, 1968): "Certain discrepancies between this melodic bass [i.e., the part for viol] and the lowest notes of the lute part suggest that Rosseter may have been responsible for working out the lute part from Campian's draft settings for voice and unfigured bass" (p. v). In "Words and Notes Coupled Lovingly Together: Thomas Campion, a Critical Study," diss., Oxford, 1981, Christopher R. Wilson, following Dart, also suggests the possibility of collaboration between Campion and Rosseter (pp. 68-69).

[11]Lowbury et al.: "The first part of Rosseter's Book has a larger proportion of good music than the four later books" (p. 58); Edward Doughtie, *English Renaissance Song* (Boston, 1986): "There is generally more variety in the music of the airs [by Campion] in Rosseter's book (1601), which contains a high proportion of Campion's most familiar songs" (p. 148); and Walter Davis, *Thomas Campion* (Boston, 1987): "They [the songs in *BA*] are among Campion's most tuneful, and the most often sung in performance" (p. 82).

B-flat chord appears twice in Campion's half of *BA* and once in Rosseter's (ex. 1).[12] Campion never uses the chord again; it does, however, show up in the lute part of the "Sacred End Pavan," included in Rosseter's *Lessons for Consort* (1609).[13] More significant, in the 1601 volume Campion often uses a tricky fingering to voice a D-major chord (ex. 2); this fingering finds its way into ten of Campion's twenty-one songs and fifteen of Rosseter's.[14] In his next four books of ayres (ninety-five songs in all), Campion uses this voicing only once (2.20),[15] preferring less technically exigent versions of the chord, whereas Rosseter uses it in his consort and solo music.[16]

The appearance of a particular cadential formula (ex. 3), favored by Campion and Rosseter in 1601, also suggests collaboration. Campion employs this cadence six times, Rosseter eight.[17] While the cadence may seem too commonplace to signify anything one way or the other, the fact remains that Campion never again uses this exact cadential formula. And in English lute-songs printed before 1601, it appears only in Morley's *Booke of Ayres* of 1600 (no. 6, "It was a lover") and in Alison's *Psalmes of David in Meter* of 1599 ("O Lord" [sig. B^{v}] and "I Love the Lord " [sig. T2^{v}]). In all other English sources antedating *BA*, the formula is slightly varied.

Turning to less quantitative issues, one finds a number of curious discrepancies when comparing songs that appeared both in 1601 and in Campion's later song-books. The preface to *Two Bookes of Ayres* (c. 1613) and the dedicatory poem to Thomas Monson in *The Third and Fourth Booke of Ayres* (c. 1618) state that most of the songs contained therein had been written long before their publication.[18] Certain songs —

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[12]Campion, nos. 10 and 15; Rosseter, no. 10.

[13]See *Music for Mixed Consort*, ed. Warwick Edwards, Musica Britannica, 40 (London, 1977), p. 139 (m. 18). See also m. 10 of Rosseter's "Almayne" in *The Board Lute Book* (Leeds, 1976), fol. 28v.

[14]Campion, nos. 1, 3, 4, 6, 7, 8, 10, 14, 15, 16; Rosseter, nos. 1-8, 11, 12, 14, 15, 17, 19, 20.

[15]The following system identifies the songs by Campion that appeared after *BA*: 1 = the first of *Two Bookes of Ayres* (c. 1613); 2 = the second of *Two Bookes*; 3 and 4 = the first and second parts of *The Third and Fourth Booke of Ayres* (c. 1618). Following each abbreviation, after a period, is the number of the song in the given volume.

[16]See, for example, the lute part to "The Sacred End Pavan," in *Music for Mixed Consort*," p. 140; and Rosseter's pavan in *Jane Pickeringe's Lute Book* (Kilkenny, Ireland, 1985), fol. 25v.

[17]Campion, nos. 5, 6, 11, 16, 17 (a slight variant), 21; Rosseter, nos. 1, 5, 6, 13, 14, 17, 18, 19.

[18]In the prefatory note to *Two Bookes*, Campion writes that the songs in the volume "were by mee long since composed" (sig. [A2v]); and in the dedicatory poem to Monson in *The Third and*

Example 1:

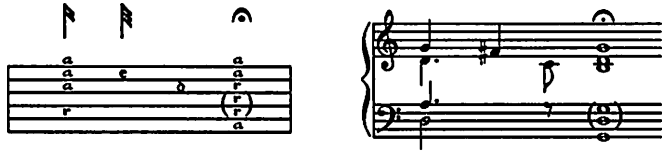
B-flat chord, tablature and transcription:

Example 2:

D-major chord, tablature and transcription:

Example 3:

Cadence used frequently by Campion and Rosseter in 1601:



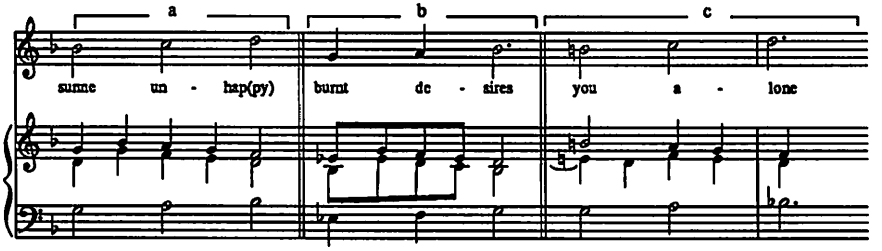
Fourth Booke of Ayres, he mentions his "youth-borne *Ayres*. . .prison'd in this Booke" (sig. A2). I assume that the "youth-borne" airs are present in both parts of the book; in *Two Bookes*, the statement that the songs were "long since composed" applies unequivocally to both books in the volume.

Example 4:

Campion, "Followe thy faire sunne" (BA.4) and "Seeke the Lord" (1.18):

Example 5:

(a) Campion, "Followe thy faire sunne" (m. 2); (b) Rosseter, "No grave for woe" (no. 3, m. 4); (c) "Shal I come if I swim?" (no. 12, mm. 13-14):



like "All lookes be pale" (1.21), on the death of Henry Frederick in 1612 — were obviously of recent vintage. But there is no reason to doubt Campion's own words that the majority of songs in the last four books date from his youth, probably from the time when he composed the songs that appeared in *BA*. If this dating is even roughly correct, then the differences in style between Campion's early songs and his "late" ones become all the more perplexing — unless we assume that another musician had a hand in composing the songs of 1601.

The music to "Followe thy faire sunne" (*BA*.4) appears again around 1613 in "Seeke the Lord" (1.18). Although both pieces share the same outer voices, the inner voices of "Followe" have more independence than those of "Seeke," which has a simple, chordal accompaniment (ex. 4). The second measure of "Followe" demands special attention, for it presents a string of descending thirds in the middle voices against ascending tenths in the outer ones. This kind of polyphonic writing — absent from Campion's later pieces — in fact parallels Rosseter's in both "No grave for woe" and "Shal I come if I swim?," songs 3 and 12 in his half of *BA* (ex. 5).[19] Rosseter, moreover, seems to have favored strings of thirds in his accompaniments and his solo music.[20]

"Your faire lookes enflame my desire" (*BA*.17) also appeared around 1618 in slightly varied form as "Your faire lookes urge my desire" (4.23). The voice parts and the basses in both settings are identical, though the barring differs. Again, the lute accompaniments do not seem to have been written by a single composer. The later version, which looks like a realized continuo part, consists of simple chords, the placement of which seems slavishly dependent on the dull rhythm of the outer voices. The earlier lute part, in contrast, fights against the rhythmic predictability of the song (ex. 6). Once more, the earlier version seems to have more in common with Rosseter's accompaniments and solo pieces than with Campion's later accompaniments.

The preface "To the Reader" in the *Fourth Booke* may seem, at first sight, to undercut my argument. The relevant passage runs as follows:

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[19]See also Campion's "Blame not my cheeks," which contains a similar passage (*BA*.14, mm. 14-15).

[20]Among Rosseter's accompaniments in *BA*, see "Let him that will be free" (no. 6, mm. 1-2 and 8) and "Reprove not love" (no. 7, mm. 13-14). See also mm. 1-2 and 19-23 of "The Countesse of Sussex Galliard," the first of three such galliards opening William Barley's *New Booke of Tabliture for the Orpharion* of 1596 (sigs. B-B3); the pieces are followed by the initials "P.R.," "P.P.," and "P.R." The second group seems a misprint for "P.R.," and the dances are generally attributed to Rosseter.

Example 6:

Campion, "Your faire lookes enflame" (BA.17), "Your faire looks urge" (4.23):

> you may finde here some three or foure Songs that have beene published before, but for them I referre you to the Players Bill that is stiled, *Newly revived, with Additions*, for you shall finde all of them reformed, eyther in Words or Notes.[21]

The difference in lute parts between the two versions of "Your faire lookes," then, may be an example of the "reformation" to which Campion refers, but another explanation comes to mind. Campion tells us, rather vaguely, that "three or four" of the pieces in the *Fourth Booke* have been published before. Two other pieces clearly use recycled material: "Beauty, since you so much desire" and "Love me or not." In both pieces, the music is substantially different from that of the earlier versions (though sections of them, to be examined later, are similar). Their "Notes," in other words, have clearly been "reformed" — both in the lute and in the voice and viol parts. (The words to *all* the songs that recycle earlier music have been altered.) In "Your faire lookes urge," however, the outer voices are, as I have pointed out, identical to those of "Your faire lookes enflame," while the two texts of "Your faire lookes" differ in structure.[22] In addition, the second and third stanzas of the earlier poem differ markedly in content from those of the later poem. Thus when Campion, discussing the revised songs in the *Fourth Booke*, says that they are "reformed, either in Words or Notes," he may mean that "Beauty" and "Love me or not" are examples of pieces whose music is revised, and that the words alone of "Your faire lookes" have been changed. This would certainly be the case if we considered only the voice and viol parts.[23]

How did Campion want his songs to be performed? His own suggestions allow for many possibilities, one of which is in fact the voice-and-viol arrangement. The title page of *BA* tells us that the airs are "to be song *to the Lute, Orpherian, and* Base Violl"; this seems to demand viol (and orpharion) accompaniment along with the lute in every piece. Yet such instructions are often unsystematic, and the title pages of Campion's later books tell a different story. In *Two Bookes*, for example, we read

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[21] *The Third and Fourth Booke of Ayres*, sig. G.

[22] In the earlier poem, the syllabic count of the stanza is 8, 6, 8, 5, 7, 8, 7; in the later poem, 7, 5, 7, 5, 5, 7, 8, 7.

[23] On the question of performing lute-songs with or without a bass viol, see Ulrich Olshausen, "Das lautenbegleitete Sololied in England um 1600," diss., Johann Wolfgang Goethe-Universität, 1963, pp. 229-32.

pieces are "To be sung to the *Lute* and *Viols*, in two, three and foure Parts: or by one *Voyce* to an INSTRUMENT" (the last phrase, however vague, clearly specifies a single instrument). In the *Third and Fourth Booke*, the songs "may be expressed by one *Voyce*, with a *Violl*, *Lute*, or *Orpharion*." If we take "or" literally, Campion is offering a choice of single instruments to accompany his songs. In his preface to *Two Bookes*, moreover, he writes that his "Ayres were for the most part framed at first for one voyce with the Lute, or Violl."[24] So the voice-and-viol arrangement was indeed one of Campion's choices for the performance of some of his songs.

In the songs by Campion that appeared in *BA* and in later books, the early voice and viol parts generally match with the late ones, whereas the lute parts are often notably different. One way to account for these differences is to assume (as Thurston Dart suggested) that Campion handed his melodies and basses to Rosseter, who composed an independent lute part that could take the place of the viol basses, while leaving the original outer melodies inviolate. The lute parts frequently have a musical goal contrary to that of the voice and viol parts. The bass viol part in "Your faire lookes," for example, usually reinforces the drab rhythm of the voice: in the first measure, four half-notes appear in the outer voices. By ignoring the viol part to the earlier version of "Your faire lookes," however, one can see how much more rhythmically inventive and playful the accompaniment is than its later counterpart. In the first measure of the 1601 lute part, the bass consists of two whole-notes while the top part adds considerable variety with its syncopations (♩ ♩ ♫ ♩ ♩ ♫).

Another instance of rhythmic discrepancies between the bass-viol part and the bass line played on the lute occurs in the first measure of "Though you are yoong" (*BA*.2). While the voice and viol move homorhythmically in triple meter (♩ ♩ ♩), the lute's bass line suggests duple meter ♩. ♩. . And in mm. 3 and 4, the cadences use syncopated figures ♩ ♩. ♫ — common enough in the galliard but absent from Campion's later works (ex. 7). Like many other professional lutenists of the time (but unlike Campion), Rosseter uses this figure elsewhere, as in

[24] *Two Bookes*, sig. [A2v].

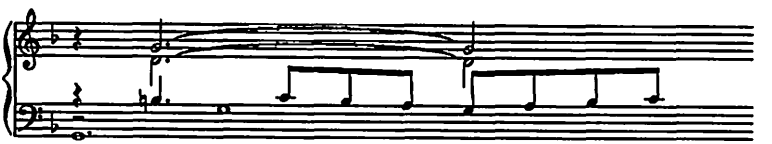
the lute part of the "Galliard to the Sacred End" (ex. 8) and in his galliards for solo lute.[25]

Example 7:

"Though you are yoong" (BA.2):

Example 8:

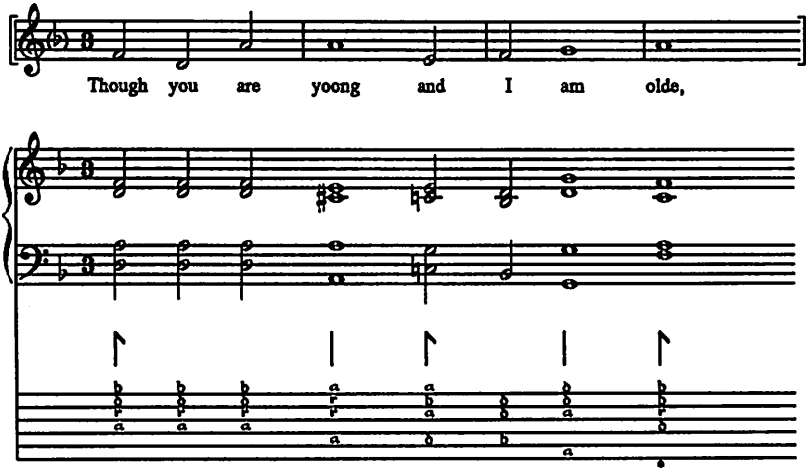
Rosseter, cadence in the lute-part of the "Galliard to the Sacred End":



[25] *Music for Mixed Consort*, 194. All three galliards dedicated to the Countess of Sussex in Barley's orpharion book use this figure (see footnote 20), as does the galliard in *Jane Pickeringe's Lute Book* (fol. 26).

Example 9:

Bandora accompaniment for Campion's "Though you are yoong" (with voice part supplied from BA.2):



Example 10:

Campion, "Follow your Saint" (BA.10) and "Love me or not" (4.10):

It may prove useful to examine another accompaniment to "Though you are yoong." In British Library Add. MS 15117, a collection mainly of lute-songs, we find at the foot of fol. 8 a single line of tablature for bandora, followed by the title "thoughe you are younge [and] I am olde."[26] With the exception of three chords near the end, the accompaniment fits Campion's song perfectly, as a transcription of the opening measures shows (ex. 9).[27] Throughout the piece, the lute part moves homorhythmically with the voice part. This is somewhat unexpected, for the compiler of the manuscript generally favors dense, imitative polyphony and has taken pains to intabulate several vocal pieces by Byrd, Morley, and others. Why would he choose such a simple arrangement — especially when another one, apparently more to his taste, was readily available in a printed book? The accompaniment may be based on a manuscript copy of the song as Campion first conceived it. The compiler, incidentally, included in his collection a setting of "I must complaine" wholly different from the published version (4.17) — though not significantly different in style from Campion's other works. Perhaps the compiler knew Campion (or one of his acquaintances) personally, in which case these settings might be among those pieces "privately emparted" to Campion's friends.

Sections of Campion's 1601 pieces sometimes appear in later songbooks, always with simpler accompaniments than those in *BA*. For example, two parallel passages are found in "Follow your Saint" (*BA*.10) and "Love me or not" (4.10). Though the songs are quite different after the opening measures, their beginnings are almost identical (ex. 10). The most interesting variant between the two passages lies in the harmony of the second measure of each piece. While Campion himself could have reharmonized his own song, one could also account for the differing harmonies by assuming that Campion handed the outer voices to Rosseter, who then harmonized them as he saw fit.

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[26]Reprinted in facsimile in *British Library Manuscripts, Part I*, introduction by Elise Bickford Jorgens (New York, 1986).

[27]In the tablature, the last chord of my example (see asterisk) is wrongly flagged. I have transposed the setting to match Campion's voice part.

In "British Museum Add MS 15117: A Commentary, Index and Bibliography," *R. M. A. Research Chronicle*, 7 (1969), Mary Joiner writes that the setting "appears to be the lowest part of a consort arrangement" (p. 58). While this could certainly be the case, one should not rule out the possibility of a single bandora accompaniment to a voice; William Barley published four bandora-songs in 1596 (and his instrument, incidentally, uses the same tuning as in MS 15117).

Finally, near the end of "Mistris since you so much desire" (*BA*.16), we find a musical idea that reappears in "Beauty, since you so much desire" (4.22), the words of which parody those of the earlier song (ex. 11).

Example 11:

Campion, "Mistris since you so much desire" (BA.16) and "Beauty since you so much desire" (4.22):

Again, the inner voices of "Mistris," carefully worked out and difficult to play, contrast strikingly with the chordal inner voices of "Beauty," the accompaniment of which falls easily under the hand. One can scarcely imagine that the composer who coordinated the polyphony of the earlier piece would have written the unimaginative accompaniment to "Beauty," which clumsily doubles the voice part several times (see asterisks in example.)[28] The earlier piece, in addition, uses the higher positions of the

[28]Lowbury et al. find "Mistris" "much inferior" to "Beauty" (p. 71); taste varies, to be sure, but the awkward counterpoint of "Beauty" is decidedly amateurish, just as the skillfully written polyphony of "Mistris" shows unmistakable signs of a professional hand at work.

instrument. While Rosseter, in pieces like the pavan for solo lute in *Jane Pickeringe's Lute Book* (fols. 25v-26), shows that he can be at home in the upper region of the fingerboard, Campion's later accompaniments seldom stray from the lower positions. Furthermore, in songs that contain sequences in the voice part, Rosseter tends to set up patterns in the inner voices of the lute part that are repeated throughout the sequence.[29] Campion, in contrast, gives no special treatment to sequences and provides them with his customary chordal accompaniments.

In the end, my argument relies chiefly on internal evidence — but strong internal evidence. The accompaniments in *BA* show a high degree of technical accomplishment and musical subtlety; they differ greatly in style from the simple lute parts that appeared in Campion's later songbooks. A number of passages from Campion's 1601 ayres, moreover, bear a definite resemblance to Rosseter's work. Surely Rosseter deserves at least partial credit for Campion's best-known songs.

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[29]See, for example, the following pieces in Rosseter's half of *BA*: "No grave for woe" (no. 3, mm. 8-12), "When Laura smiles" (no. 9, mm. 9-13), "Shal I come if I swim?" (no. 12, mm. 9-11), "Shall then a traiterous kis or smile" (no. 14, m. 8), "What is a day" (no. 18, mm. 9-11).

"The Consent of Speaking Harmony:" The Literary Aesthetics of the English Air

Daniel T. Fischlin

THE ENGLISH AIR, OR THE LUTE SONG or lute-air, as defined by Edward Doughtie in his *Lyrics from English Airs 1596-1622* [1] has distinctive literary characteristics, largely derived from the aesthetic demands a composer makes when choosing lyrics appropriate for musical setting. These demands may include singability (verses with high concentrations of consonants being, for example, more difficult to sing than verses in which vowels predominate); appropriate thematic content (including the poem's suitability for placement within the "divine" contexts of music); and finally, the suitability of formal literary features such as metre, prosodic effect, and rhetorical schemes, although these may be elaborated and modified in the musical structures which the composer devises. This essay defines and analyzes the distinctive literary characteristics of the lute song as a sub-genre within the larger context of Renaissance lyric poetry.

The problem of how the texts to the airs "fit" into the Western lyric tradition is important, though not central, to this study. In these terms I consider the air primarily as a transitional genre between late-Elizabethan lyric and early seventeenth-century Metaphysical lyric. The air, like Skelton's poetry, fills an important gap in the development of an English lyric tradition; its mixture of Petrarchism and anti-Petrarchism combines with its propensity for metaphysical literary strategies to place it squarely on the traditional dividing line between the Elizabethan and Metaphysical styles. However, I wish to emphasize my wariness of historical boundaries as applied to the study of literature. Such periodization is often constraining, especially since stylistic mutations occur in the form of hybrid and so-

[1] Edward Doughtie, *Lyrics from English Airs 1596-1622* (Cambridge, Mass., 1970).

called "impure" literary types, in which the characteristics of past and future styles may be observed. In this wariness, I take much the same position as Richard Halpern takes in his recent article on Skelton: "To begin to come to terms with his [Skelton's] poetry . . . requires us to formulate a history that can accomodate him. This does *not* mean to reduce him, to eradicate his genuine originality in conformity to an iron law, to find a history of which he is the 'normal' expression. It means to construct a field against which the eccentricity of his productions can at least be mapped and understood."[2]

The texts to lute songs comprise a relatively small percentage of the total number of lyrics generated in the late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries. The complete corpus of airs, including those by Campion, contains approximately 650 songs and just about as many poems. A distinction between "poem" and "song" must be made because in a few instances, especially in the cases of the short song cycles to be found scattered throughout the songbooks, composers set separate stanzas of a single poem as separate songs.[3] Thus, there are slightly more songs than poems in the *oeuvre* of the lute song poets and composers. The airs were published within a well-defined period whose *terminus a quo* is the publication of the first book of airs by William Barley (*A New Booke of Tabliture*, 1596) and whose *terminus ad quem* is John Attey's *The First Booke of Ayres* (1622).[4] The opportunity to study these texts as a corpus is a result of the publication of two twentieth-century anthologies which document their chronology: Doughtie's meticulous recent edition, mentioned previously, and Edmund H. Fellowes's ambitious *English Madrigal Verse 1588-1632*,[5] an earlier anthology not only of the English lute song books but also of the English madrigal books.

This brings us to the distinction between the madrigal and the air. Most basically, the madrigal is a secular vocal composition for several voices, as opposed to the air, which is usually sung by a soloist. The

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[2]"John Skelton and the Poetics of Primitive Accumulation," in *Literary Theory / Renaissance Texts*, ed. by Patricia Parker and David Quint (Baltimore, 1986), p. 227.

[3]Some multiple-stanza poems were separated by composers who set each stanza to different, though usually related, music; the result was a sort of shortened song-cycle. See, for example, John Danyel's songs XIII through XV in his *Songs for the Lute Viol and Voice* (1606) and John Bartlet's songs XIX through XI in *A Booke of Ayres* (1606).

[4]See Doughtie's sequential listing of the published songbooks and his introduction in *Lyrics*, pp. xi-xii and pp. 1-41.

[5]Edmund Fellowes, ed., *English Madrigal Verse 1588-1632*, 3rd ed., rev. and enl. by Frederick W. Sternfeld and David Greer (London, 1967).

madrigal has an extensive history beginning in fourteenth-century Italy and encompassing many different national styles, whereas the English air has a much briefer history and a lesser musical influence. Both the madrigal and the air are highly dependent on the poetry to which their music is set, and the fourteenth-century madrigal was actually derived from a poetic form with a specific rhyme and stanza scheme (terza rima for two or three stanzas, and a final rhymed couplet, or, *aba bcb cc*). Thomas Morley's definition of the madrigal makes mention of the madrigal's literary origins: "use showeth that it is a kind of music made upon songs and sonnets such as Petrarch and many poets of our time have excelled in."[6] In literary terms, the distinction between the madrigal and the English air consists in the former's clear reliance on the Petrarchan repertoire of literary conceits (defined in the period as *poesia per musica*), and the latter's reliance on a native English tradition that had been influenced by Petrarchism but was fast abandoning that influence. That there is a musical rationale for this distinction is suggested by the comment of Joseph Kerman, that "poets preferred the simpler monody of the lute-air to the elaborate madrigal, which [the madrigal] professing to follow a text, actually smothered it with sophisticated musical devices."[7] The relative lack of critical attention to the literary characteristics of the air[8] is especially unfortunate, in that the texts to the airs include some of the best lyrics of the late-Elizabethan, Jacobean, and early-Caroline periods.

Nevertheless, it is necessary to justify a purely literary study of the air, since its most important characteristic is its association of musical with poetic forms. The literary characteristics of the air may be studied

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[6]Thomas Morley, *A Plain and Easy Introduction to Practical Music* (1597), ed, by Alec Harman (New York, 1973), p. 294. Morley does not define the air, except in terms of short and secular song forms such as canzonets, neapolitans, villanelles, balletts, and vinate. The reason for this lack is that his book was published at the beginning of the English air's short history, that is, in the same year as Dowland's first book of songs.

[7]Joseph Kerman, *The Elizabethan Madrigal: A Comparative Study* (New York, 1962), p. 11. See also pp. 2-3 in which Kerman states that "the English madrigal proper largely neglected serious Elizabethan poetry, quite in contrast to other Elizabethan secular varieties [of vocal music], and in even greater contrast to the parent Italian madrigal, a literary product from its first beginnings . . . it will be suggested that this neglect on the part of the English composers caused their madrigals in general to be *less* directly expressive than their Italian models" (p. 3).

[8]Excepting Bruce Pattison's *Music and Poetry of the English Renaissance* (New York, 1948) and Catherine Ing's *Elizabethan Lyrics* (London, 1968), both of which devote attention to some of the literary characteristics of the airs. Pattison's study is an interdisciplinary study of relationships between music and poetry in the madrigal, the air, and the ballad. Ing's work examines structural relationships between the music and poetry of the Elizabethans, with an emphasis on prosody.

dently of the music in order to understand better the particular aesthetic approach which the lute song poets take towards expression. The known poets whose texts were set to music in the some thirty-one lute song books printed (and reprinted) in this period define the apogee of achievement in lyric poetry of the English Renaissance.[9] The composers who chose and sometimes wrote the texts of the songbooks were guided by—and perhaps helped form—the literary taste of the age. In effect, by dint of their literary tastes and needs, they were creating a lyric canon. The majority of the poems remain anonymous, though they may have been written by the composers themselves, as George Saintsbury suggests in his *History of English Prosody*.[10] The circumstantial evidence to support such a claim includes the unusual degree of thematic unity to be found in individual songbooks, the qualitative uniformity among the anonymous poems, a number of passing remarks by the composer's themselves in the prefaces and dedicatory poems to the songbooks, and the skill that a number of lute song composers demonstrated in other literary endeavours.

The extent of the literary craft possessed by some of the lute song composers, aside from the obvious example of Campion, is evident in the case of John Dowland. In addition to doing an English translation of Andreas Ornithoparcus's *Micrologus* (*His Micrologus, Or Introduction Containing the Art of Singing*, [London, 1609]), Dowland also wrote several commendatory verses, the most interesting of which relates to the second edition of Sir William Leighton's set of spiritual meditations, *Teares or Lamentations of a Sorrowful Soul*, to which Dowland also contributed two polyphonic vocal settings. The poem is evidence of Dowland's literary skills, as well as of his views on the relationship between music and the divine, a crucial element in the underlying aesthetic of the lute song.

Vpon this Excellent and Diuine Worke.
If that be true the Poet doth auerre,

[9]The airs include texts written by William Shakespeare, John Donne, Samuel Daniel, Fulke Greville, Ben Jonson, George Peele, George Gascoigne, Nicholas Breton, Thomas Campion, Thomas Lodge, Sir Philip Sidney, Sir Walter Raleigh, Sir John Davies, the Earl of Essex, many less illustrious poets (Anthony Munday, Thomas, Lord Vaux, Henry Morrice, etc.), and several Italian poets, including Petrarch. The airs also include a small number of translations and paraphrases of Spanish (e. g., the translation of a sonnet from Gaspar Gil Polo's *Diana Enamorada*, 1564, set in Michael Cavendish's *Ayres*, 1598) and Italian texts (e. g., Songs XXII and XXV from Cavendish's *Ayres*, 1598).

[10]George Saintsbury, *History of English Prosody* (New York, 1961), vol. 2, p. 138.

Who loues not Musicke and the heauenly Muse,
That man God hates, why may wee not inferre?
Such as that skill vnto his praise doe vse,
Are heauenly fauorde, when (as Angels) breath,
High Mysteries in lowly tunes beneath.
Such was that sweetest Singer Israels King,
Whom after his owne heart the Lord did chuse,
And many moe that did diuinely sing,
To whom be addeds thy deuotest Muse,
Who while she soundes her great Creators prayse,
Doth her own fame next his high glory raise.[11]

Though this is not a great poem, it demonstrates nonetheless that Dowland had literary skills, though not to the same degree as Campion. The aesthetic which joins religious poetry and music is, in Dowland's words, a "High Mystery" expressed in "lowly tunes." That aesthetic may be applied, *mutatis mutandis*, to the lute song, whose "well-tuned words," according to Campion, "amaze / With harmony divine."[12] Further evidence of the lute song composers' literary skills may be found throughout the other dedicatory verses and prefatory prose writings in Doughtie's anthology —for example, John Coprario's prefatory poem "To the Ayre" in *Funeral Teares* (1606) and John Danyel's dedicatory poem to "Mrs Anne Grene" in *Songs for the Lute Viol and Voice* (1606)— as well as in any number of Campion's exquisite poems.

There are several prominent literary elements in the songbooks, in addition to the poems themselves. These include dedications, written in both verse and prose, and lengthy prefatory comments, frequently autobiographical, that are addressed "To the Reader;" even the scores to the songs have literary features in their use of melody with textual underlay and a printed version of the poem's stanzas set beneath the music.The songbooks also have a high degree of thematic unity. For example, Dowland's *The First Booke of Songes or Ayres* (1597), is unified by topoi of rejection and infidelity, while in Pilkington's *The First Booke of Songes or Ayres* (1605), the consolatory power of music as a "deare

[11]This poem is quoted in Diana Poulton's *John Dowland*, 2nd ed. (London, 1982), p. 83.

[12]Thomas Campion, song XII, *Third Booke of Ayres* (c. 1617), in *Songs and Masques with Observations in the Art of English Poesie*, ed. by A. H. Bullen (Folcroft, Penn., 1972), p. 97. See below for further commentary on the text to this song.

sollace"[13] underlies the topoi of love and death. Other songbooks also demonstrate a consistent, though subtle, thematic focus. Robert Jones, in the dedication to *The Muses Gardin for Delights* (1610), describes an integrated literary organization for the songbook within the metaphoric context of the "Muses Gardin:"

> *I shall for your recreation and refreshing, guide you to the* MUSES GARDEN, *where you shall find such varietie of delights, that questionlesse you will willingly spend some time in the view thereof. In your first entrance into which Garden , you shall meete with Loue, Loue, and nought but Loue, set foorth at large in his colours, by way of decyphering him in his nature. In the midst of it, you shall find Loue reiected, vpon inconstancie and hard measure of gratitude: Touching them that are louers, I leaue them in their owne censure in Loues description. And now for the end, it is variable in another maner, for the delight of the eare to satisfie opinion. I am not so arrogant to commend mine owne gifts, neither yet so degenerate, as to beg your tolleration .*[14]

Such extensive literary ordering does not mean that the songbooks are actually extended song cycles (although a few of them do contain short cycles),[15] but merely indicates that the organizational principles which determine the final form of the songbooks are a result of literary considerations. The thematic unity and literary ordering of the lute song books are a direct function of the aesthetic choices made by the composers. Not only did the the composers decide which lyrics were appropriate for musical

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[13]Ibid., p. 234.

[14]Ibid., pp. 359-60.

[15]John Coprario's two cycles *Funeral Teares* (1606), "For the death of the Right Honorable the Earle of Devonshire," and *Songs of Mourning* (1613) "Bewailing the untimely death of Prince Henry." Also, from John Bartlett's *A Booke of Ayres* (1606) the triptych of "Sur-chargde with discontent" (Songs XIX-XXI) and from John Danyel's *Songs for the Lute* (1606) the triptych of "Griefe keepe within" inscribed as "Mrs. M. E. her Funerall teares for the death of her husband" (songs IX-XI). See also Thomas Greaves *Songes of sundrie kindes* (1604) which contains several examples of songs interrelated both musically and poetically. The thematic unity of all these short cycles (the longest are seven songs and both by Coprario) that express elegiac and panegyric intent and the dates of publication (i. e., 1606, except for Coprario's *Songs of Mourning*, published in 1613) would seem to indicate a short vogue. These groups of songs do not represent song cycles in the extended Schubertian or nineteenth century sense of the song cycle.

setting, after which the "chiefest care was to fit the Note to the Word,"[16] but they also decided which lyrics could be combined in an effective manner to form a book, as Jones's comments about the "Muses Gardin" indicate.

The need to study the air from a literary perspective has been noted by a number of prominent literary critics,[17] who speak positively, though cursorily, of the air as they pass from a description of the Elizabethan poets to the Metaphysicals. C. S. Lewis, for example, in discussing Campion states:

> To approach Campion's poetic art without a consideration of his music is not so risky a proceeding as might be expected. The musical and the metrical pattern are often such that neither, of itself, would suggest the other . . . However happily married to their 'notes' in the end, the poems had a rhythmical life of their own before the marriage, and it is their 'music' in that sense that the literary critic is concerned with . . . His poetry is as nearly passionless as great poetry can be. There are passions somewhere in the background, but a passion, like a metre, is to Campion only a starting point: not for moral or intellectual activity but for the creation of a new experience which could occur only in poetry."[18]

It is suggestive that the literary quality which Lewis recognizes in Campion's all-but "passionless" poems nevertheless has passion "*somewhere* in the background," as a "starting point." I believe that a more complete study of the nature of the passionate experiences which are expressed in the lute

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[16]See Robert Jones's "To the Reader" in *The First Booke of Songes or Ayres* (1600); Doughtie, *Lyrics*, p. 115.

[17]The airs' literary excellence has also been noted by Kerman, who states of the air, as compared to the madrigal: "It was unkind of Burney to shrug it [the madrigal] off as "wretched trash," but surely the praise that has been so generously showered upon it since has been intended for the lyrics of the lute-air, which in reprints and anthologies of the last hundred years have customarily been printed together with real madrigal verse (often without any distinction drawn between the kinds of music concerned). *These lute-air sets certainly contain very valuable poetry, and are indeed sometimes more interesting as literature than as music.*" Quoted from *The Elizabethan Madrigal*, p. 26; my emphasis. The revival of the lutesongs or airs began as a literary revival with the publication of A. H. Bullen's *Lyrics from the Song-Books of the Elizabethan Age* (1887) and with Edward Arber's work in reprinting Renaissance English texts. The restorative literary work of these men contributed to the eventual musical revival of the lutesong.

[18]C. S. Lewis, *English Literature in the Sixteenth Century* (New York, 1954), pp. 553-56.

song poems is required, in order to understand what Lewis calls the "new experience" which occurs in the poetry. Even less precise, however, is Saintsbury, who states: "it is strange that they [the airs] should have been so long overlooked . . . It has, since their disinterment [by A. H. Bullen and Edward Arber], struck everybody as the most remarkable proof existing of the irresistible poeticalness of the time, not merely that there should be so much that is exquisite here, but that so much of that exquisite stuff should be all but anonymous, or even wholly so."[19] Saintsbury does little to explain why the airs are exquisite, nor does he attempt a description of their literary characteristics. Maurice Evans devotes more critical space to the air in his *English Poetry in the Sixteenth Century*, yet merely arrives at a greater number of generalizations:

> The air, in contrast [to the madrigal], had a more immediate effect on verse form. It was a tune sung to the accompaniment of other voices or of a viol or, particularly in England, of a lute, and it differed from the popular song in that it used the new Italian modes and rhythms. It was a more literary form than the madrigal, and words and tune were precisely matched to each other . . . The sung lyric is public and hence relatively impersonal; it has immensely complex rhythms but simple language, and its subtlety comes, as we have seen, from the interplay of words and music. It may have dramatic continuity, but it cannot express sustained thought, and if it is in stanza form, each will be a precise echo in emotion and balance of the one before, so that the whole lyric forms a pattern of analogies. The lyric for reading, in contrast, is by its very nature private and introspective, as we have already seen in the sonnet cycles; it is relatively pedestrian in rhythms but capable of far greater verbal complexity.[20]

Such sweeping critical observations have contributed to the critical neglect of the air as literature. To say that the air "cannot express sustained thought" is demonstrably false,[21] just as Evans's implication that the "lyric

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[19]Saintsbury, *A History*, p. 138.

[20]Maurice Evans, *English Poetry in the Sixteenth Century* (New York, 1967), pp. 116-21.

[21]Cf. the statement in *Thomas Campion: Poet, Composer, Physician*, (London, 1970), by Edward Lowbury et al.: "One feature found in the lightest as well as the more serious poems [in the lutesong genre] is a use or a show of argument . . . Abstractions are frequent and (particularly in Campion) references to music" (p. 45).

for reading" is "introspective" and "private," but that the "lyric for singing" is not, is misleading. Furthermore, to suggest that the "subtlety" of the air only comes from the interrelationship between the poetry and music is to neglect the subtle effects which occur in the literary ordering of the poetry itself.

"Anyone who has read large amounts of the lyric poetry of the sixteenth century will realize that most of it is poor, much of it astonishingly poor. I believe that the lack of critical discrimination and interest on the part of such textual and other historical scholars as have worked in the field has led to serious misconceptions."[22] Yvor Winters sees the English air as an exception to this assessment, and his comments again show the need to reevaluate the Elizabethan lyrics, especially the stylistic transition from Tudor lyric to Metaphysical lyric. Like Saintsbury, Lewis, and Evans, Winters is struck by the "beautiful poems" of the air while failing to consider how they are distinctive or beautiful: "Of those composers who appear in the main to have set the lyrics of other men, John Dowland, the lutanist, is perhaps the most valuable collector of poems, as he is one of the greatest composers, but many beautiful poems, most of them of unknown authorship, are to be found in the collections of other men. Of the composers who regularly wrote, or appear to have written, their own lyrics, the best poets are Campion and Morley. Of the writers, not composers, who wrote many lyrics to be set, the greatest are Sidney and Shakespeare."[23]

Further on Winters discusses the importance of the air in terms of stylistic transition, again in a brief summary, admittedly because, as he states, it takes him out of the century he is studying: "The all but innumerable anonymous songs of the period likewise played an important part in refining English style, more than one song being notable for a single phrase or cadence but so notable for that alone as to be unforgettable. The influence of the song-books and miscellanies on such poets as Herrick and as Crashaw is very extensive . . . "[24] Finally, Winters ends his article with

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[22]Yvor Winters, "The 16th Century Lyric in England: A Critical and Historical Interpretation," from *Elizabethan Poetry: Modern Essays in Criticism*, ed. by Paul J. Alpers (London, 1967), p. 93.

[23]Ibid., p. 113. These comments may be contrasted with Saintsbury's remarks in *The History of English Prosody* that "It seems impossible that mere music-masters or editors like Weelkes and Wilbye, Byrd and Dowland, Rossiter and Jones, should be authors of the ravishing things they published; but if they were not, who were?" (Saintsbury, *A History*, p. 138). The question remains valid.

[24]Winters, "The 16th Century Lyric in England," p. 115.

the conclusion that "the Petrarchans represent a tendency of secondary importance in the century, not of primary. The great lyrics of the 16th century are intellectually both profound and complex, are with few exceptions restrained and direct in style, and are sombre and disillusioned in tone. If we regard as the major tradition of the century the great poems of Gascoigne and Raleigh, and those most closely resembling them by Greville, Jonson, Donne, and Shakespeare, we shall obtain a very different view from that which we shall obtain by regarding as primary Sidney, Spenser and the song-books; we shall bring much great poetry to light; and we shall find the transition to the next century far less obscure."[25] Unfortunately, not only does Winters fail to describe the salient literary features of those songbooks except in the most general terms, but his conclusion that the songbooks lie outside of the "major tradition" of the sixteenth-century is incorrect.

The airs may be grouped in Winter's "major tradition" for three reasons. First, most of the poets known to have written texts to the airs are the poets whom Winters lauds as being of primary importance to the sixteenth-century's poetic legacy (Raleigh, Greville, Jonson, Donne, Shakespeare, Gascoigne). Moreover, the texts to the airs manifest a surprising resistance to the Petrarchism of which they are implicitly accused, there being many instances in which the poets have clearly absorbed the Italian tradition, only to transform and subvert it, as Shakespeare does in his sonnet "My mistress' eyes are nothing like the sun."[26] Finally, the texts from numerous airs fit into Winters's characterization of "the great lyrics of the 16th century" in terms of their thematic profundity and complexity, and in terms of their structural restraint, directness, and "sombre and disillusioned" tone.[27]

The combination of music and poetry in the air is a distinctive and unique blend. However, to overlook the individual components of that blend, or, worse, to generalize about the nature of those individual components, can result in misleading and sometimes patently false

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[25]Ibid., p. 123.

[26]William Shakespeare, *The Complete Works*, ed. by Alfred Harbage (New York, 1975), sonnet 131, p. 1475.

[27]Winters falls into a critical fallacy by suggesting that the great sixteenth-century lyrics are characterized solely by a tone that is "sombre and disillusioned;" some of the greatest lyrics of the sixteenth century are anything but _e. g., Shakespeare's "It was a louer and his lasse" (Song VI in Morley's *The First Booke of Ayres*, 1600) and "Fain would I change that note" from Tobias Hume's *The First Part of Ayres* (1605), characterized by Saintsbury as "incomparable."

conclusions about why the genre had such success within its own historical context. As Lewis, Saintsbury, Evans, Winters, and others have noted correctly, there is more to the air than meets the eye (or ear); to study or to perform the airs without an understanding of their literary context and their literary strategies is both naïve and imprecise. Though intended as a description of the airs' significant literary qualities, and thus as a defence of the historical importance of the air, this essay does not regard the textual aspects of the air as of superior importance to the music (or vice-versa). Rather, it attempts to understand what literary characteristics made particular lyrics attractive to composers for setting even when, in some instances, those lyrics were not particularly valuable or interesting, but merely expressions of a trite, conventional, epigonic, or clichéd vision, as is the case with "In darknesse let mee dwell,"[28] of which Doughtie states, "The jigging poulter's measure . . . prejudices the reader against the poem immediately and makes the content seem to be an even worse exercise in trivial melancholia than it is."[29] Nonetheless, as is the case with other insipid texts, the end result of the joining of the text of "In darknesse" with music is a song of considerable aesthetic merit. It is my contention that this is not so solely because of the music which Dowland wrote, but that embedded within even the most banal of texts chosen for musical setting are literary elements which give the text a certain aesthetic allure. To ignore these elements, even if the lyrics appear to be banal or conventional, is to ignore a substantial factor in those lyrics' original appeal to composers.

Many of the texts set to music by the lute song composers are some of the best lyrics of the age. Others are not, despite the excellence of the songs in which they appear. While it is obvious that a setting may transform the experience of a banal poem into a more interesting aesthetic event, it would appear that these more mediocre lyrics were found to be worth setting in the first place because they contained literary elements which made them suitable for music. For, as stated earlier, the crucial literary elements which define the lute song genre, in terms of both its excellent and mediocre poetry, are those elements which facilitate musical setting. Whatever the quality of the poetry, however, the musical adaptation must not, ideally, limit the expressive potential of the lyrics

[28]Song X in Robert Dowland's 1610 florilegium, *A Musicall Banquet*. See Doughtie, *Lyrics*, pp. 351-52.
[29]Ibid., p. 34.

chosen for setting, as is made clear by Campion and other composers who stress that words must be "well-tuned."

The predominant literary characteristics which define the lute song may be grouped under the rubric of *brevitas:* the genre's condensed formal structures, concise expression, and small proportion are at the core of its aesthetic. At the same time, the rhetorical dominance of *brevitas* is opposed by *exergasia,* a rhetorical figure that repeats the same thought in many different ways and so leads, as Doughtie has stated, to "copiousness,"[30] and by the related figure of *metalepsis* ort *ransumptio,* which is defined by John Smith, in *The Mysterie of Rhetorique Unvail'd* (1657), as "divers Tropes . . . shut up in one word."[31] The opposition in the lute song aesthetic between its epigrammatic concision ("What epigrams are in poetry, the same are airs in music")[32] and its copious expression is the key to the literary interest that certain lyrics had for composers. The other literary elements that we have discussed as contributing to the lute song aesthetic may be related to the basic tension which exists between expressive concision and significative abundance.Most basic is the repeated use of the inexpressibility topos, a topos in which the "emphasis is upon [the] inability to cope with the subject,"[33] and a topos which contributes to copiousness by suggesting that expression is insufficient to the task of imitating experience. The use of multiple metrical variations within the confines of limited poetic forms amounts to a prosodic equivalent of that copiousness within a limited formal structure. Finally, even the manipulation of diction enters into the relation between expressive concision and copiousness. The balance between monosyllables and polysyllables, like that between consonants and vowels, is part of the airs' "coupling" of words and music, as Campion describes it: "In these English airs, I have chiefly aimed to couple my words and notes lovingly together . . . The light of this, will best appear to him who hath paysed our monosyllables and syllables combined: both of which, are so loaded with consonants, as that they will hardly keep company with swift notes, or give the vowel convenient liberty."[34] An

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[30]Ibid., p. 37.

[31]Richard Lanham, *A Handlist of Rhetorical Terms* (Berkeley, 1969), p. 66.

[32]Campion, from *A Booke of Ayres* (1601), in *Songs and Masques,* p. 4.

[33]Ernst Robert Curtius, *European Literature and the Latin Middle Ages* (New York, 1953), p. 159. See Curtius's comments on this topos, pp. 159-62.

[34]Campion, from *Two Bookes of Ayres* (c. 1613), in *Songs and Masques,* p. 45.

equilibrium must be achieved by the poet between expressive constraint, signified by the excessive consonants which make words difficult to sing, and expressive liberty, signified by the vowels upon which the singer may sing more easily.

The philosophical premise underlying these technical features of the air is discussed in some of the statements made by composers in their dedications and prefaces to the songbooks. These statements generally establish a relationship between music and the inner life of the individual, an inner life that is metonymized in the concepts of "Mind" and "Soule." Francis Pilkington's dedication "To the Right honourable William Earle of Darby," in his *The First Booke of Songes or Ayres* (1605), attempts to define the relationship between music and the "Soule of man," which is the "subiect and obiect of all harmonicall concents." The following passage presents an eloquent justification for the importance of musical expression:

> *Aristoxenus (thrice noble Lord) held that the Soule of man was Musicke: not that the being thereof was framed of numbers, as the Pithagorians affirme: But for that it is the subiect and obiect of all harmonicall concents: Intimating heereby the dignitie and high renowne of that Art, which descended from so noble a stemme, seeketh by all meanes possible to nobilitate the same, and that man to bee unfit for the society and commerce of men, that honoureth not so worthy a Iewell for the life of man.* [35]

The "harmonicall concents" which inhere in the art of music ennoble and dignify humanity and reflect the individual's soul. The soul, in turn, is an experience of the harmony which art imitates. The music to the lute songs may be understood, in this regard, as an approximation of the subjective and objective experiences of "Soule," of self— a comprehensive experience which is by definition ineffable. And these inexpressible experiences, generated through the experiences of the self and approximated by art's imitative capacities, recur in the literature chosen by the composers for setting.

Robert Jones's dedication of *Vltimum Vale* (1605) to "HENRIE Prince of Wales" discusses the virtues of the air's art and ethos through a series of civil metaphors, while also mentioning the essential

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[35]Doughtie, *Lyrics*, p. 221.

inexpressibility of the experience of the air: "*Almost all our knowledge is drawne through the senses, they are the Soules Intelligencers, whereby she passeth into the world, and the world into her, and amongst all of them, there is none so learned, as the eare, none hath obtained so excellent an Art, so delicate, so abstruse, so spirituall, that it catcheth vp wilde soundes in the Aire, and bringes them vnder a gouernment not to be expressed, but done, and done by no skill but it owne.*"[36] The passage attempts to link a civil ethos with a musico-poetic and "spirituall" aesthetic *("Politie or the subject therof, a Common wealth, is but a well tunde fancy, done in time and place").*[37] The "Soules Intelligencers" mediate between the inner experience of the soul and the outer experience of the phenomenological world, "hearing" being the "learned" sense which can apprehend the air's "wilde soundes," subordinating them to a "gouernment" that is harmonious but indefinable. Jones's comments reveal the air to be a self-consciously synthetic art form, one which attempts to unify the experience of the inner and the outer in a medium whose ultimate effect is acknowledged as "not to be expressed."

The texts to the lute songs, therefore, represent an attempt to express emotion and inner experience, while simultaneously suggesting that such inner experience is inexpressible, that is, "Beyond time, place, and all mortality,"[38] as stated by one poet (possibly John Hoskins) in a love song. The process is evident throughout those lyrics which use tropes, frequently of the "divine," that formulate an experience beyond human knowing. Typical is the second stanza of Pilkington's "Musick deare sollace," Song XIX from his first book, which conflates the experience of love with that of music's "golden harmony:"

> 2 I doe compare her fingers swift resounding,
> Vnto the heauens Sphaericall rebounding:
> Harke, harke, she sings no forst, but breathing sound I heare,
> And such the concord *Diapasons* shee doth reare,
> As when th'immortall god of nature from his seate aboue,
> First formd words all, & fairely it combind, combind by loue.[39]

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[36]Ibid., p. 203.

[37]Ibid., p. 203.

[38]From Thomas Morley's*The First Booke of Ayres* (1600), Song XIIII; ibid., p. 145. The context of this line is established by a speaker "Who loues a Mistris of such qualitie" that he finds "Affections ground / Beyond time . . ."

[39]Ibid., p. 234.

The poet compares the beloved's playing of the lute and singing to the music of the spheres. The concord which the beloved produces between her "breathing sound" and her "fingers swift resounding" is likened to the divine concord that "first formd words all," and combined that "all" with music through the divine experience of love, or God. The feeling of love by the poet for his mistress as he listens to her making music is transformed into a transcendent experience of the "heauens Sphaericall rebounding" (the cosmos) and of the "immortall god of nature" (the divine). The experiences of love and of music are so powerful that only divine or cosmic comparisons make them understandable.

The inexpressibility topos underlies the thematic concerns of the English air. The air's two most common themes, love and death, are focused on death-despair (the elegy) and love-despair (the amorous complaint or lament). Art often becomes a metaphor for the inexpressible in the poetic elaborations of both these thematic concerns. For example, love may be termed "a Poet's Lie . . . A mad mans dream, an ignorants idoll great," as it is in song VI of Michael Cavendish's *14. Ayres* (1598), while unmeasurable grief may be described through a musical metaphor which approximates "passions sound." The latter technique is evident in Songs XIII through XV of John Danyel's *Songs for the Lute Viol and Voice* (1606):

XIII.

The first part.

CAn dolefull Notes to measur'd accents set,
Expresse vnmeasur'd griefes that tyme forget?

XIIII.

The second part.

No, let Chromatique Tunes harsh without ground,
Be sullayne Musique for a Tunelesse hart:
Chromatique Tunes most lyke my passions sound,
As if combynd to beare their falling part.

XV.

The third part.

Vncertaine certaine turnes, of thoughts forecast,
Bring backe the same, then dye and dying last.[40]

The Danyel airs enact a musico-poetic approximation of the inexpressible. The metaphor of the "Chromatique Tunes" is paralleled in the musical chromaticism evident in both the cantus and the accompaniment to these airs.[41] The "dolefull Notes" which approximate but cannot express "vnmeasur'd griefs," the "Tunes" which are "most lyke . . . my passions sound," and finally the "Vncertaine certaine turnes, of thoughts forecast," which bring further uncertain certainties, create a tropological ordering which reflects the intensity of an unmeasurable emotional state. The oxymoronic figure of the "Vncertaine certaine turnes" is ultimately an expression of metaphysical uncertainty.

There is a progression of topoi in the three airs derived from the stanzas of the poem —from the traditional topos of music as a measure of transcendent emotional states, to the topos of grief that cannot be measured, to the topos of the inexpressible approximated by the artifice of music and poetry. The airs pose the question: can music express grief? The answer is a literally resounding no, though with the qualification that chromatic music is "most lyke" the passions' "sound," which is to say that such music symbolizes passionate experience which cannot be expressed. The word "turn" denotes a circular figure from dance, as well as the more general notion of transformation. Hence, the "turnes" suggest the uncertain dance of life as it is transformed into death, the only form of permanence the poem concedes. They also imply the chromatic transformation of the diatonic scale, with a possible pun on "turn," since such a transformation is a "turning" which approximates passion. The "Vncertaine certaine turnes" seem to refer not only to the chromaticism evident in the musical accompaniment, but to the process by which the self's knowledge of grief is expressed inexpressibly, in uncertain (yet certain) terms.

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[40]Ibid., p. 266.

[41]See the score to Song XIIII for the best example of this persistent chromaticism. The high degree of imitative and canonic polyphony in the accompaniment to these airs would also seem to suggest an obsessive emotional or intellectual preoccupation.

The airs from the songbooks consistently explore the same thematic preoccupations with subtle changes effected through choice of specific metaphor, symbol, and trope. At the same time, the musical setting reïnforces and participates in the literary strategies which it supports. The airs, as poetry, use strategies that deny the power of the word to express metaphysical states; the airs, as music, collaborate with these literary strategies through the semantics of musical media. These interactive factors, combined with the interplay between the largely anonymous texts and the complex appropriations of voice which the performers must enact to perform these airs effectively, make for a set of unique circumstances as the basis for the airs' aesthetic.

Thus, the musical context in which the lute song poems were placed is of importance to the literary features which define those poems. That is, the musical aesthetic influences the literary aesthetic —including, perhaps, the role of the inexpressibility topos. That role is determined, in part, by the common Renaissance perception of music as a "divine Art"[42] capable of anagogic or spiritual revelation. The relationship of music to the divine is clearly stated in Thomas Robinson's lute tutor, *The Schoole of Musicke* (1603), which draws analogies between musical intervals and divine states of concord and "perfect harmonie:"

> . . . for Musicke is none other than a perfect harmonie, whose diuinitie is seene in the perfectnesse of his proportions, as, his vnison sheweth the vnitie, from whence all other (concords, discords, consonancies, or others whatsoeuer) springeth, next his vnitie, his third: (which is the perfectest concord that is in all Musicke) representeth the perfect, & most holie Trinitie; his fift, (the most perfect consonance in all Musicke, for that it is the verie essence of all concords) representeth the perfection of that most perfect number of fiue, which made the perfect atonement, betweene God, and man . . . I conclude, the necessitie of diuinitie in a Musition.[43]

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[42]See John Baptisto Besardo's "Necessarie Observations Belonging to the Lute, and Lute Playing" in Robert Dowland's *Varietie of Lute-Lessons* (1610), intro. by Edgar Hunt (London, 1958), p. 12.

[43]Thomas Robinson, *The Schoole of Musicke* (1603), ed. by David Lumsden (Paris, 1976), pl. IV.

The passage demonstrates that the divine could be "represented" musically through the "perfectnesse" of proportion and through intervallic relationships which "express theological concepts: unisons symbolize unity, thirds represent the Trinity, fifths expresse [sic] Atonement [the five wounds of Christ]."[44] The literary features of poetry set in such a musical context would seem to require a correspondence with the musical features which represent the divine. In the lute song poetry, the correspondence between the musical and literary expression of divine harmony depends on the inexpressibility topos, which permits the literary approximation of metaphysical states like divinity and harmony, or grief and love.[45]

The concluding passage in Thomas Mace's *Musick's Monument* (1676), entitled "Musick's Mystical and Contemplative Part," states a philosophical position that posits such a relationship among the inexpressible, the divine, and music:

> This is an *Undeniable* and *Unutterable Mystery*, viz. *Infinity* of *Infiniteness*; both of an *Unlimited*, and *Wondrous Vastness*; and likewise a kind of *Boundless Interminated-Littleness* ; both which, in the *Mystery*, signifie the same Thing to me, concerning the *Wonderfulness* of the *Almighties Mystical Being* ; which is the *Thing*, I would have *Well Noted*, from *This last mentioned Mystery*, so *Discernible Plain* in *Musick*; and is a *Most Worthy*, and *High Consideration*, becoming the *Highest Divine Philosophers*, and the *Largeness*, and *Capaciousness* of our *Souls* and *Minds*.
>
> And from hence, I cannot but Apprehend some sort of *Analogy*, relating to the *Manifestation* of some *Significant* (though *Unexpressible*) *Conception*, of the *Infinite*, and *Eternal Being* ; the *Center*, and the *Circumference*, have such an *Absolute Uniform Relation*, and *Dependance* the *One* to the *Other*, that Both are *Equal Mystery*, and *Wonder*. Thus I hope *Musick* may be conceiv'd, and allow'd to have a near *Affinity to Divinity*, in reference to the *Deep*,

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[44]Ibid., p. xxiii.

[45]See Curtius's comment which links the inexpressibility topos with the divine through the panegyrics associated with sainthood: ". . . the *vita sancti* [is] a genre which first appeared in the fifth century and which had an enormous need for panegyrical phraseology, since the saint must have performed as many miracles as possible" (*European Literature and the Latin Middle Ages*, p. 160).

> and *Undeterminable Mysteries* of Both, after This way of *Comparison.*
> *Muchmuch more* could I say, of the *Admirable*, and *Sublime Effects*: The *Unexpressible*, and *Unvaluable Benefits* of *This Divine Art*; the which (I thank God) I have found to my *Internal Comfort*, and *Refreshments.*[46]

Mace, writing in 1676, was not expressing a contemporary aesthetic, but rather describing the earlier aesthetic of Robert Johnson, John Dowland, and the other great Elizabethan and Jacobean musical masters.[47] Music and divinity are tied closely through the "*Undeterminable Mysteries* of Both;" both approximate the inexpressible, through an "Analogy" that may be made between the "*Divine Art*" of music and a Godhead who is infinite, sublime, and mysterious. Like Robinson, Mace does not mention the specific implications of such a musical aesthetic for poetry that is set to music, though he does state that there is "a very great *affinity, nearness, naturalness* or *sameness* betwixt *Language* and *Musick* . . . not known to many."[48] Hence, it may be posited that the aesthetic context of the music *does* exert an influence on the nature of any literature joined to music's mysterious and "divine Art." Such an influence is reflected in Campion's famous phrase linking divine harmony with the "well-tuned word."[49]

The claim that music has a "near *Affinity to Divinity* " and that it is capable of "*Sublime effects*" which remain "Unexpressible" is characteristic of the Renaissance aesthetic which underlies the lute song as a genre, and which affects its literature. These attitudes are rooted in the notion that there is a limit beyond which no art can attain, except by approximation, paradox, and analogy. The airs consistently reïterate this idea, as in the first lines of song X in Thomas Ford's *Musicke of Sundrie Kindes* (1607), which ask "How shall I then discribe my loue, when all mens skilfull arte / is Far inferior to her worth."[50] Like the beloved Other's "worth," the purity of the emotion —whether love or grief— exceeds the "skilfull arte" of the poet to describe it. The literary strategies of the lute song texts involve a self-conscious attempt to approximate "loue" and

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[46]Thomas Mace, *Musick's Monument* (1676), facs. (Paris, 1966), p. 268.
[47] See "A Dialogue between the Author and his Lute: The Lute complaining sadly of its great Wrongs and Injuries," ibid., pp. 33-35.
[48]Ibid., p. 3.
[49]See below for a more complete discussion of this passage.
[50]Doughtie, *Lyrics*, p. 278.

other emotions through the skill of art. The mind's and soul's "infinite" capaciousness, and the *"Wondrous Vastness"* and the *"Boundless Interminated-Littleness"* of which Mace speaks, are related to the Orphic powers of poetry and music, which combine to create *"the consent of speaking harmony, ioyned with the most musicall instrument the Lute."*[51] The idea of the "consent of speaking harmony" is derived by Dowland, in his dedication to Sir George Carey of *The First Booke of Songes or Ayres* (1597), from the traditional Platonic definition of melody, a definition which involves an inalienable association between the "heauenly Art of musicke"[52] and the word: "Plato *defines melody to consist of harmony, number & wordes; harmony naked of it selfe: words the ornament of harmony, number the common friend & uniter of them both.*"[53] Thus, when discussing the literary aesthetic of the English lute song, it is important to understand the relationship its composers envisaged between music as an approximation of a divine harmony and the words which are joined to that divine art, and which therefore complete and ornament its divine harmonies.

The airs, then, use a circular literary strategy by which one denies expressibility by subverting language, but nonetheless tries to approximate passionate expression through language. Such a scheme is anything but nihilistic and self-denying; after all, the concept of inexpressibility is itself subverted by the air's myriad forms of expression, its conspicuously diverse metrical, tropological, and topical strategies. In short, the airs' literary strategies admit to the self's inexpressibility, its solipsistic nature, while simultaneously subverting that admission with evidence that the attempt to express the inexpressible is indefinitely delightful and self-revelatory. This process is self-consciously reflected in the trope of the "vncertaine certaine turnes." In order for the inexpressibility topos to be invoked, the lute song poets frequently have to deny or subvert the power of language to express thought or feeling. Thus, words are seen to be "trifles" which "passe away as puffes of winde,"[54] or the poet, in this case Sir Philip Sidney, bluntly states: "Words O words of heauenly knowledge,

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[51]Ibid., p. 66. See also Mace's comments on "The Lutes Language:" "*She has* discourses *so* sublime, / *No* Language *yet in* Any Time / *Had* words sufficient *to* devine / *Her* Choice Expressions *so* Divine" (*Musick's Monument*, p. 36).

[52]Ibid., p. 66.

[53]Ibid., p. 66.

[54]From William Barley's *A New Booke of Tablature* (1596), song II; ibid., p. 59.

/ Know my words their faults acknowledge."[55] Inexpressibility functions as a literary means to an aesthetic end; that end is an approximate experience that, as Campion states, "amazes" with emotions and sensibilities too fine for words, or music.

The airs, in their use of the inexpressibility topos, rely on two basic kinds of subversion: logical subversion and the subversion of the literary conventions of Petrarchism. Logical subversion occurs when the paradoxical notion that one can express the inexpressible is made a cornerstone of a poet's expressive strategies. Logical subversion also occurs frequently in the form of the oxymoron, which represents ambiguous and antithetical notions like the paradox of the "living death" or the idea that "Absence dooth ioyne."[56] Petrarchan conventions are subverted in a number of ways, such as the poet's recognition of betrayal by an unfaithful mistress ("Shall I be with ioyes deceiued")[57] or of courtly duplicity: "Beware faire Maides of Musky Courtiers oathes."[58]

The rhetorical strategy of negative assertion, in which negative rhetorical figures are interwoven with a language of assertion in order to create paradox, is another important variety of logical subversion. Two examples from Song XIII of Thomas Morley's *The First Booke of Ayres* (1600) demonstrate the paradoxes that are created when negative assertion is used: "Ther stood a man was neuer man" and "That dying would not let him die."[59] Each statement asserts a state —manhood, dying— only to subvert that state through the use of negative tropes. Within the musico-poetic contexts of the air, the affective purpose of a subversive topos like that of inexpressibility, or of a subversive strategy like negative assertion, is to reveal, by paradox, a poetic state in which the anagogic becomes possible, as the experience represented by the air subverts the rational and the phenomenological: "grone my soule with such a pittyous sound / as may thine owne amazed self confound."[60] It is at such a point that the air communicates a "harmonicall concent," a "consent of speaking harmony" that is transcendental and intuitive. By repeatedly creating paradox, the airs

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[55]From Robert Jones's *The Muses Gardin for Delights* (1610), song XVII; ibid., p. 375.

[56]From Thomas Morley's *The First Booke of Ayres* (1600), song XIIII; ibid., p. 144.

[57]From William Corkine's *The Second Booke of Ayres* (1612), song VII; ibid., p. 390. Cf. also Song XX from Jones's *The Second Booke of Songs and Ayres* (1601): "To sigh and to bee sad, / to weepe and wish to die, / is it not to be madd, / if not hypocrisie," ibid., p. 165.

[58]Ibid., song VIII, p. 391.

[59]Ibid., p. 144.

[60]From song 7 in George Handford's *Ayres* (1609); ibid., p. 308.

approximate the self-experience, whose central characteristic, as a created effect throughout the songbooks, is the contradictory emotional perception of either love or death ("All other things shall change, but shee remaines the same;" "And yet aliue / my fatall knell I helpe to ring").[61] Those contradictory experiences may be approximated only by other apparent contradictions, exemplified in the rhetorical figures of the paradox and the oxymoron. The representation of such experiences occurs throughout the lute song texts, and the anagogic dimension is sometimes quite explicit, as in the final lines of this poem by Frances Davison, which was set to music by Thomas Ford:

[Altus] Thou giust more blisse than mortall harts may know,
[Cantus] more blisse I take then Angels can desire.
[Chorus] Let one griefe harme vs
and one ioy fill vs
let one loue warm vs
& one death kill vs.[62]

The passage clearly refers to an experience of sexual bliss. However, that experience is transformed into something that is beyond the corporeal, that is inexpressible ("more blisse than mortall harts may know"), and that uses the familiar language of divinity to demonstrate its mystical attributes ("more blisse I take then Angels can desire").

To say that something is inexpressible or mystical is to say that the quality of the experience is so profound, so personal and intimate, as to be knowable only in a solipsistic sense, that is, by the self alone. Yet that solipsism can be imitated and approximated, as it is throughout the lute song texts, by means of subversive poetic strategies. The air's literary procedures, and its use of the ultimate language of transcendence, music, portray an experience of the inexpressible or intense paradox, but only in a way that presumes an inviolate state which refuses to cede to the imprecision of linguistic definition. That sensibility resides, at least partially, in the power of music to enhance. through the "consent of speaking harmony," the limitations of the imprecise significations of the word.

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[61] From Songs II and V in Dowland's *The Third and Last Booke of Songs or Aires* (1603), ibid., pp. 170-71.

[62] Song XI, *Musicke of Sundrie Kindes* (1607); ibid., p. 279.

Mace, implies this in his dedication to *Vltimum Vale* when he refers to the music "in all thinges," that is, to the hidden harmonies of creation that music represents: "*There is Musicke in all thinges, but euery man cannot finde it out, because of his owne iarring, hee must haue a harmony in himselfe, that shold goe about it.*"[63] Jones implies that the music or harmony in "all thinges" can only be apprehended by a like harmony in one's "selfe," which may be approximated in the experience of music, the "Soule of man." The airs' texts, then, may be understood in terms of the aesthetic potencies which result from the combination of music with literature. The aesthetics of the genre implicitly demand that the song portray the achievement of a supra-rational experience of the inner ("a harmony in himselfe") and the outer (the "Musicke in all thinges"), conjoined in the harmonies of music and poetry.

In summary, then, a significant number, though not all, of the poems which deal with the themes of death, melancholy, and love subvert experience, whether it is the experience of the poem itself as a medium that uses language, or the experience represented by the poem, such as love which is unrequited. In creating these subversions, the texts to the airs use paradox, the deferral of meaning, and antithesis —to the end, I would argue, of representing a contemplative state that approaches anagogic revelation. In the sense that the lute song texts posit imaginative situations that are antinomious and paradoxical ("I liue, that death may kill me, / I dye, that life may fill me.")[64] and pose difficult metaphysical questions, the airs may be considered a form of askesis, or spiritual exercise. These poetic situations necessitate a reevaluation of the relationship between subjective and objective states of reality and the modes of expression which mediate between these two forms of reality. The experience of the airs is closely tied to the representation of metaphysical questioning: "What greater griefe then no reliefe in deepest woe," "Shall I striue with wordes to moue, / when deedes receiue not due regard," and "Tell me true Loue, where shall I seeke thy being."[65] Such questioning involves transcending metaphysical categories in anagogy and in askesis. The askesis that the experience of certain airs seems to represent has interesting implications for the transition from the Elizabethan to the Metaphysical and contemplative

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[63]Ibid., p. 203.

[64]Song XVI from Jones's *Vltimum Vale*; ibid., p. 216.

[65]From song 113 in Tobias Hume's *The First Part of Ayres* (1605), song V and Song VIII in Dowland's *A Pilgrimes Solace* (1612); ibid, pp. 200, 404 and 406.

styles of the seventeenth century. Could it be that one of the sources of the seventeenth-century religious lyric is the air? Certainly, the link between askesis and musical expression is implied by Dowland in his dedicatory poem to Leighton's *Teares or Lamentations of a Sorrowful Soule*, quoted earlier. As we have noted, Dowland states an analogy between musicians who "are heauenly fauorde" and angels, because musicians like angels are capable of "High Mysteries in lowly tunes beneath." In the poem Dowland speaks in musical terms as he justifies the addition of music to a series of contemplative poems. We are now in a position to see that such a conjunction of religious poetry with music represents the exercise of the artist's spiritual and contemplative faculties.

A similar divine conjunction of word and music is propounded by Thomas Campion in frequently quoted verses from Song XII, "Now winter nights enlarge," in the *Third and Fourth Booke of Ayres* (c. 1617). Campion implies that the aesthetic of the air is derived from the "well-tuned" word's capacity to "amaze." To amaze, in the Elizabethan sense, means not only to cause wonder, admiration, and surprise, but also to bring into a state that is labyrinthine and antinomious, that is, to cause perplexity and confusion. The concept of amazement is useful to understanding the lute songs, in which the attempt to express emotional extremes of joy and despair generates wonder and confusion: "Oh what hath overwrought / my all amazed thought."[66] The first stanza of Campion's poem is especially representative of the lute song's capacity to invest quotidian experience with a transcendental dimension:

> Now winter nights enlarge
> The number of their hours;
> And clouds their storms discharge
> Upon the airy towers.
> Let now the chimneys blaze
> And cups o'erflow with wine,
> Let well-tuned words amaze
> With harmony divine!
> Now yellow waxen lights
> Shall wait on honey love
> While youthful revels, masques, and Courtly sights,
> Sleep's leaden spells remove.[67]

[66]Song XIII in Dowland's *The Third and Last Booke of Songes or Aires* (1603), ibid., p. 177.
[67]Campion, *Songs and Masques*, pp. 96-97.

The structural limitations of the airs' lyrics are such that they "amaze," in part, by their capacity to condense. In the first stanza of "Now winter nights enlarge," the festal commonplaces of the "chimneys' blaze" and the "youthful revels" are apposed with the power of "well-tuned words" to amaze by virtue of their divine harmonies. The stanza conflates this sense of the divine empowerment of "well-tuned words" with a sense that the quotidian and occasional experience which the poem expresses is an appropriate context for "honey love" and for the dissolution of "Sleep's leaden spells." The poem typifies the particular admixture of commonplace experiences with the hint of experiences beyond the commonplace ("honey love" and "harmony divine") that occurs in the airs.

The metaphysical issues raised by the air's literary strategies include human beings' standard preoccupations with the nature of death and love, and what it means to possess a sense of self. The airs also pose the difficult questions of how one may express passionate experience without tainting its essential mystery, and what poetic structures are accurate reflections of these contemplative concerns. The questions are, in the philosophical position adopted by the poets of the lute song, unanswerable. The subversive strategies of the lute song texts place the nature of the textual experience in question by uniting the literary experience of doubt with the transcendental language of music. Verbal experience is questioned or castigated in the airs ("Praise blindnesse eies, for seeing is deceit, / Bee dumbe vaine tongue, wordes are but flatttering windes."),[68] while music is invoked as the "deare sollace"[69] by which passion may be approximated, or by which the insufficiency of verbal expression may be transcended.

The composer's "voice" is particularly important in the lute song books, not only for the obvious musical reasons, but for the equally important reason that the literary characteristics and ordering of the songbooks were, to a large extent, his responsibility. However, what makes the songs and their texts fascinating is not the predominance of the composer's voice, but rather the manner in which that voice is multiplied, and sometimes obscured, by the many other "voices" apparent in the genre. In fact, after the masque and theatre, the lute song is probably the

[68]From John Dowland's *The Second Booke of Songes or Ayres* (1600), song IX; Doughtie, *Lyrics*, p. 103.

[69]From Francis Pilkington's *The First Booke of Songs or Ayres* (1605), song XIX; ibid., p. 234.

most complex representation of voice in late-Elizabethan and Jacobean culture. In the formal elaboration of a single song, numerous facets contribute to this complexity. These include the poet's voice; the composer's voice, as he modifies the primary material of the text either through editorial control[70] over the text or through the musical setting which he gives the text; the interplay between the poet's and the composer's voices (particularly evident in metrical tension between musical meter and scansion); the singer's voice as s/he interprets the collective interplay between poetic and musical voice and lends a corporeal identity to the score; the accompanist's "voice," which interprets and comments upon elements in the literary text through such musical devices as dynamic level, accent, legato, and articulation; and, finally, the element of anonymity, which further conceals and obscures the nature of the poetic "voice(s)" (re)presented in the airs.[71] The complex representation and interplay of voice which occur in the lute song formulate what may be called "a continuum of symbolic gesture."[72] That interplay prevents any simple critical description of the lute song's literary processes. The songs require an approach that is open to the variety of gesture and voice inherent in the genre.

The complexity of the voices present in the song intensifies the literary experience of the lyrics, as does the use of a wide range topics within a fairly limited number of conventional themes. Robert Jones, in the dedication of *A Musicall Dreame* (1609), virtually summarizes the experiential compression in the songs in terms suggesting the genre's intrinsic diversity ("many opinions and extravagant humours of diuers Natures and Conditions"):

> . . . it happened mee to fall into a Musical dreame, wherein I chanced to haue many opinions and extrauagant humors of diuers Natures and Conditions, some of modest mirth, some of amorous Loue, and some of most diuine contemplation; All these I hope, shall not giue any distaste to the eares, or dislike

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[70]Compare, for example, the Coprario setting of "In darknesse let me dwell" in *Funeral Teares* (1606) with John Dowland's setting, in Robert Dowland's *A Musicall Banquet* (1610), which changes the ordering of some phrases in the poem's first stanza and omits the second stanza of the poem.

[71]See Edward T. Cone's *The Composer's Voice* (Berkeley, 1982) for a more complete discussion of the problem of "voice" in song.

[72]Ibid., p. 17.

to the mind, eyther in their words, or in their seuerall sounds.[73]

The result of Jones's dream is a songbook whose lyrics span the experiential gamut of "modest mirth" to "diuine contemplation." The experiential diversity evident in the lute song texts supports their multiplicity of voice and of "symbolic gesture." The greater the number of voices in a particular songbook —whether they are anonymous or not, fictive poetic personas or not— the more difficult it is to determine the exact nature of those voices, and, paradoxically, the more those voices are universalized in terms of the particular conventions in which they speak. That is, the multiplicity of voices creates a situation in which the conventionality of attitudes, emotions, and thoughts —in short, of ethos— is reïnforced by the diversity of the voices by which those attitudes,

In turn, those voices entail an opposition between private sentiment and the public expression of that sentiment. This opposition between the public and the private is made explicit by John Danyel in his dedicatory verses to "Mrs. Anne Grene," in the *Songs for the Lute Viol and Voice* (1606):

> THat which was onely priuately compos'd
> For your delight, Faire Ornament of Worth,
> Is here, come, to bee publikely disclos'd:
> And to an vniuersall view put forth.
> Which hauing beene but yours and mine before,
> (Or but of few besides) is made hereby
> To bee the worlds: and yours and mine no more.[74]

Danyel reluctantly discloses the "priuate harmonie"[75] of which the poem speaks because such a disclosure debases its private value. However, Danyel does disclose what was "priuately compos'd" to the "vniuersall view" because he fears "that time might haue beguild / You of your owne, and me of what was mine," and because he desires "to haue it [his composition] knowne my Child."[76] Such opposition between the private

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[73]Doughtie, *Lyrics*, pp. 316-17.

[74]Ibid., p. 260.

[75]Ibid., p. 260.

[76]Ibid., p. 261. Compare Danyel's comments with Jones's, in his comments "To the Reader" in *The Second Booke of Songs and Ayres* (1601): "*If the Ditties dislike thee, 'tis my fault that was*

and the public expression of sentiment and thought, between the self-effacement of privacy and the self-perpetuation of public disclosure, is intrinsic to the aesthetic of the lute song.

This opposition has been noted by, among others, Catherine Ing, who suggests that in the Elizabethan lyric, "the subject of the poem, whether emotion or situation giving rise to emotion, must be freed from those elements which might connect it so intimately with an individual human personality that his privacy might be invaded."[77] Northrop Frye in his more general characterization, derived from John Stuart Mill, of lyric as an "utterance that is overheard,"[78] that is, as private speech that becomes public, has also noted the conflict between private and public expression. The texts to the lute songs have a complex variety of private lyric voices that disclose the complex interests of both their creators and their intended audience. For many reasons, then, the English air is a distinctive sub-genre of lyric. Most fundamentally, it uses a literary strategy which implies that the passionate word is insufficient to the task of expressing the complex experiences of self, love, or death, all of which are central preoccupations in the genre. Paradoxically, the recognition of that insufficiency is, in fact, the means by which a certain expressive potency may be achieved. The structural procedures of the texts confirm this strategy, particularly in the use of subversions, paradoxes, and ambiguities, and in the opposition which the genre generates between its limited structures and its attempt to achieve copiousness. Hence: the lute song texts are subtle, complex, and highly-wrought yet are defined by their beauty in small proportion. In historical terms the air is an important transitional genre in English lyric history between Tudor (and specifically Elizabethan) lyric and the Jacobean and Caroline (or Metaphysical) styles by which it was followed. The literary study of the lute song enhances the knowledge of the aesthetic strategies which were evolving in the late sixteenth- and early seventeenth-century lyric, and furthers the understanding of the ethos in which the lute song flourished. Such knowledge and understanding may help explain why the art of the air's well-tuned words still causes "amazement" and

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so bold to publish the priuate contentments of diuers Gentlemen without their consents, though (I hope) not against their wils," ibid, p. 149.

[77]Ing, *Elizabethan Lyrics*, p. 15.

[78]Northrop Frye, *Anatomy of Criticism* (Princeton, N. J., 1973), pp. 249-50. Frye's suggestion that the lyric is associated with a "dream or vision" in which "the individual commun[es] with himself," is also of relevance to the lutesong lyrics. See the comments by Jones from the dedication to *A Musicall Dreame*, quoted above.

well-tuned words still causes "amazement" and "Delightes the sences, captiuates the braines; / Wrapping the soule in contemplation, / With sweetest musickes delectation."[79]

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[79]From a dedicatory poem, attributed to William Webbe, in Thomas Greaves' *Songes of sundrie kindes* (1604); Doughtie, *Lyrics*, p. 184.

Miscellanea

A Poet's Description of the Lute Playing of Silvius Leopold Weiss, and a Possible Link Between Weiss and David Kellner*

By Kenneth Sparr

AN APPARENTLY UNKNOWN ACCOUNT of the lute playing of Silvius Leopold Weiss is hidden in the collected poems of the "Saxon Horace" Johann Ulrich von König (1688-1744).[1] The passage on Weiss is found in a pastoral, pseudo-dramatic poem, written on the occasion of the birth of a Saxon prince and the return of the Elector Frederick Augustus I in 1720. Entitled *Ein Schäfer-Gedicht auf die hohe Geburt eines Chur.-Sächs. Printzen, bey zugleich glücklich erfolgter Zurückkunft Sr. Majestät unsers allergnädigsten Königs* ("A pastoral poem on the high birth of an Electoral Saxon Prince, upon the simultaneous fortunate return of his Majesty our Most Gracious King"), König's poem describes in fanciful terms the effects of Weiss' playing on his listeners, but he also gives some insightful information regarding Weiss' skill as a musician and composer. The *dramatis personae* of the poem are the three shepherds Seladon, Hulderich, and Elban. The lengthy section on Weiss begins after the shepherds express their wish to sing a lullaby. Seladon says:

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[1]The most complete biography of Johann Ulrich von König is Max Rosenmüller, *Johann Ulrich von König — ein Beitrag zur Literaturgeschichte des 18. Jahrhunderts* (Leipzig, 1896).

Now we shall seize the pipes
and alternate with singing.
Listen! how I am already trying to
find the right note with puffed
cheeks.

But Hulderich has some objections to this and says:

Away with the old lyre! Away with the
pipes!
No crude or ruleless note is accepted
here.
None but Silvius is to play the lute
thereto. (u)
When he plays he does it in such a way
that the hearts feel it.
In variations he is quite inexhaustibly
rich,
and he is unequalled in his art.
When he carelessly and just lightly
touches his strings with a nimble hand,
and he, after innumerable pleasures
now and then strengthened by a bright-
ly sounding battle,
conducts the harmony and the art in such
a pleasant fight,
that even his sonorous wood must quiver,
and the heart trembles with pleasure
as his strings are shaking.
But when the sound dies away,
he also, through lamentable amorous
caresses,
through always changing, strange
enchantments,
through many false progressions that deceive
the ear of the listener,
and even through the deception he plea-
ses us skilfully,
now sighing and trembling,
now hovering and calmly resting;

And often he sharpens the sound at first,
while he seems to keep silence,
so you disquietingly hold your breath,
so that your ears will not miss a single note.
Often he surprises us with unexpected decreasing,
often he amazes us with stunningly
rapid increasing,
often he answers himself with an imitable
sound,
and gives, through a soft plucking, the
most beautiful echo.
If he wants to double and increase the
sound,
then the listener does not know how he
makes it:
you even distrust your eyes,
believing that you are listening to more
than one.
In short: in the midst of pleasure, sur-
prise and repose
you forget yourself and listen to him.
Thus Hulderich spoke and each of the
other two
said: yes! and joyfully they broke
their crooks to pieces.
Away! they shouted, with pipes and
with crook,
only Sylvius will play truly to such a
fine ear....

(u) Silvius is the christian name of the
royal court musician and famous lutenist, Mons. Weiss.[2]

König's description of Weiss becomes more credible when one considers the poet's musical background and his possible ties to Weiss himself. Both were employed at the Dresden court at about the same time: Weiss acquired his position as *Kammerlautenist* in 1718, and König was appointed "Royal Polish and Saxon Electoral Privy Secretary and Court

[2]*Des Hernnvon Königs Gedichte aus seinen von ihm selbst verbesserten Manuscripten gesammelt und herausgegeben* (Dresden, 1745), pp. 65-66.

Plate I

Portrait of Silvius Leopold Weiss from *Neue Bibliothek der schönen Wissenschaften*, (Leipzig, 1765).

Poet" in early 1720.[3] Prior to coming to Dresden, König wrote libretti to operas by Keiser, Hoffman, Heinichen and others, as well as smaller texts that were set to music by Mattheson and Telemann. He also held a leading position at the Hamburg opera. In all probability, the quote "Es soll nur Sylvus die Laute spielen," which appears beneath the famous portrait of Weiss (see Plate I) and attributed to a "v. König" was taken from the passage in the poem quoted above.[4] Thus, Hans Volkmann's identification of "v. König" as Frederich August von König — Johann Ulrich's son by his marriage to Regina Gertrud Schwarz — is probably incorrect.[5]

Regina Gertrud Schwarz was seven in 1697 when David Kellner married her widowed mother, thus making Regina Kellner's stepdaughter.[6] Regina most likely studied music with her stepfather between 1697 and 1700 in Dorpat, Livonia. By 1704, she was acclaimed as both a singer and composer, and in 1708, Johann Valentin Meder reported to Mattheson that Regina participated in performances in Riga of cantatas by Keiser and Bromer. In 1715, she performed in Mattheson's *eine vollstimmige Kirchen-Musik* in Hamburg. Mattheson was obviously impressed by the singer; in his *Exemplarische Organisten-Probe* of 1719, Regina is cited as exemplary in the art of singing to one's own accompaniment. Mattheson refers to her in the form of a pun, "Ob die Person blond oder Schwarz sey, mag einer erraten" ("Whether the person were white or Schwarz, one can guess"), which suggests that she was quite well known. Kellner, who was at this time working as organist and carillonneur in Stockholm, must have acquired a copy of Mattheson's book soon after its publication, for on 24 September 1720, he wrote a

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[3]See Douglas Alton Smith, "Sylvius Leopold Weiss," *Early Music*, 8 (1980), p. 8; also, Rosenmüller, *Johann Ulrich von König...*, p. 33.

[4]*Neue Bibliothek der schönen Wissenschaften und der Freyen Künste*, Ersten Bandes, erstes Stück (Leipzig, 1765).

[5]Hans Volkmann, "Sylvius Leopold Weiss — der letzte grosse Lautenist," *Die Musik* (1906/1907) p. 289.

[6]The identity and biography of Regina Gertrud Schwarz have been confused by many earlier writers. The clearest picture of her emerges from the following: *Nova literaria Maris Balthici*...(Lübeck, 1704), p. 104; Nikolaus Busch, "Alt-Rigas Musikkultur," *Baltische Monatshefte* (1937), 11, p. 646; Werner Freytag, *Musikgeschichte der Stadt Stettin im 18. Jahrhundert* (Köslin, 1936), pp. 3-4; Johann Mattheson, *Grundlage einer Ehren-Pforte*... (Berlin 1910, p. 220 and 200ff; Max Rosenmüller *op. cit.*; Cornelius Gurlitt, *August der Starke*, Band II (Dresden, 1924), p. 265; Ernst Ludwig Gerber, *Neues historisch-biographisches Lexikon der Tonkünstler Dritter Teil* (Graz, 1966), p. 168; J. F. von Recke & K. E. Napiersky, *Allgemeines Schriftsteller- und Gelehrten-Lexikon der Provinzen Livland, Esthland und Kurland*, 4 (Mitau, 1842), p. 164. The author is at present working on a full biography of David Kellner.

letter to Mattheson in which he mentions that "ich ein Stieff-Vater der Schwarzin sey" ("I am a stepfather of Schwarz").[7]

Even without clear evidence, it seems likely that Regina Gertrud Schwarz provided her stepfather with information about musical events in Germany, particularly Dresden. Kellner must have been eager to know about new musical developments in one of Europe's important musical centers. And if König's poem *An eine berühmte Virtuosin über ihre Volkommenheit in der Musik* (To a famous virtuosa, on her perfection in music) refers to Regina, then she also played the lute.[8] Interestingly, it was her desire to have a keyboard instrument that combined the force of the harpsichord with the sensitivity of the clavichord that inspired Gottfried Silbermann to build a "clavessin d'amour."[9] Probably as a result of the influence of his stepdaughter, David Kellner introduced this instrument to Sweden in the 1720's.[10]

Finally, Regina Gertrud Schwarz may also have played a role in the possible connection between Weiss and Kellner. A passage in Kellner's *Treulicher Unterricht im General-Bass...* of 1732 indicates that he was aware of Weiss' greatness, particularly in the art of accompaniment from a thorough-bass:

> That the famous Sylvius Leopold
> Weiss upon his lute is able to
> play a correct accompaniment and
> on that instrument accomplish what
> others have to avoid is more to credit his skill than the instrument.[11]

Kellner was known primarily by his treatise *Treulicher Unterricht im General-Bass* . His reputation as a lutenist, on the other hand, seems to have been more modest. Aside from the fact that he owned a lute, he only

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[7]The letter from Kellner was published in Johann Mattheson, *Grosse Generalbass-Schule* (Hamburg, 1731), p. CIv ff.

[8]*Des Herrn von Königs...*, p. 318.

[9]This fact was related by Johann Ulrich von König himself, in *Bresslauischen gedruckten Sammlungen von Natur-, Medicin-, Kunst- und Literatur* (1721), quoted in Ernst Flade, *Gottfried Silbermann* (Leipzig, 1953), p. 242.

[10]Abraham Abrahamson Hülpers, *Historisk Afhandling on Musik och Instrumenter* (Västerås, 1773), p. 80.

[11]David Kellner, *Treulicher Unterricht im General-Bass...* (Hamburg, 1732).

published a single collection, the *XVI Auserlesene Lauten-Stücke* (1747), which is rather conservative considering its late date.[12] But while Kellner's compositional output for the lute is small, his interest in the instrument may have been inspired by Weiss, with his stepdaughter — well established in the Dresden musical circles — acting as intermediary. This speculation may serve as a point of departure for future biographical research on Weiss, for one can detect the spirit in his music of some of the lute works of David Kellner.

NYNÄSHAMN, SWEDEN

[12]Stockholms stadsarkiv, *Boupptecknings* 1748/2 fol. 674.

APPENDIX I

A.

Jetzt wollen wir die Pfeiffen
Abwechselnd zum Gesang ergreiffen.
Hört! wie ich mit geschwollnen
Wangen
bereits den rechten Thon zu suchen
angefangen.

B.

Die alter Leyer weg! die Pfeiffen
hiervon!
Hier gilt kein bäurischer kein
Regel-loser Thon.
Es soll nur Silvius darzu die Laute
spielen,(u)
Der so spielt, wann er spielt, dass
es die Herzen fühlen.
Er ist an Aendrungen ganz uner-
schöpflich reich,
Und sich in seiner Kunst nur einzig
selber gleich.
Wann er nachlässig seine Saiten
Mit leichter Hand nur obenhin be-
rührt,
Und, nach unzähligen Annehmlich-
keiten
Alsdenn verstärkt durch ein hell-
klingend streiten,
Den Wohllaut und die Kunst in sol-
chen Lustkampf führt,
Dass selbst sein thönend Holz davon
sich muss erschüttern,
So bebt das Herz vor Lust, wie seine
Saiten zittern.
Wann aber denn der Thon ersterbend
sich verliehrt,
Er auch, durch klägliche verliebte

Schmeicheleyen,
Durch immer wechselnde stets fremde
Zaubereyen,
Durch manchen falschen Gang
des Hörers Ohr betrügt,
Und selbst durch den Betrug noch
künstlicher vergnügt,
Bald seufzend bebt, bald schwebend
stille liegt;
Und oft den Klang erst schärft, in-
dem er scheint zu schweigen,
So hält man bey sich selbst den
Athem ängstlich an,
Damit den Ohren ja kein Thon ent-
wischen kan.
Oft überrascht er uns durch wunder-
schnelles Steigen,
Antwortet oft sich selbst mit nach-
geahmten Schall,
Und macht durch sanftem Griff den
Schönsten Wiederhall.
Will aber er den Klang verdoppeln
und vermehren,
So weiss, wie ihm geschieht, der
Hörer nicht:
So misstraut man dem Gesicht,
Und glaubt hier mehr als einem zu-
hören
Kurz: Zwischen Lust, Verwunderung
und Ruh,
Vergisst man sich, und hört ihm zu.
So sagte Hulderich, und von den
andern beyden
Sprach jeder: ja! und brach sein
Rohr entzwey mit Freuden.
Weg! rieffen sie: mit Pfeiffen und
mit Rohr,
Nur Silvius spielt recht für ein so
zartes Ohr...
(u)Silvius ist der Taufnahme des
Königl. Cammer-Musici und be-
rühmten Lautenisten, Mons. Weissens.

C.

Dass aber der berühmte Sylvius
Leopold Weiss auf seiner Laute
was rechtschaffens accompagnieren
und auf derselben das praestiren
kan, was andere müssen bleiben
lassen, solches ist mehr seiner
Geschicklichkeit als dem Instru-
ment zuzuschreiben.

Arnolt Schlick's *Maria zart* for Lute and Voice: Background, Sources, Performance*

by Charles Turner

ARNOLT SCHLICK'S *Tabulaturen etlicher lobgesang und lidlein uff die orgeln und lauten*[1] was published in 1512 by the Mainz printer Peter Schöffer.Containing compositions for lute, organ and voice with lute accompaniment, this collection is one of the most important sources of intabulated music from sixteenth-century Germany. However, perhaps because of Schlick's use of German lute tablature, modern editions of his songs have not been edited in a manner that is conducive to performance with lute accompaniment. Consequently, this collection has not received from lutenists the attention it deserves, and the repertoire is not as well understood as it might otherwise be. The present study will examine one of Schlick's songs from this collection in some detail, and consider both its original format and historical context.

Perhaps the best known of the twelve songs with lute accompaniment is *Maria zart*, which occupies pages 74-76 of Schoffer's print. It is printed in the common arrangement of vocal melody in mensural notation with an intabulated accompaniment, the rhythmic values of which are indicated by flagged and unflagged stems without note heads (see Facsimile 1). A problem might arise in the rhythmic interpretation of a note value without a stem (see, for example, Facsimile 1, first chords in lines four and five). According to Schlick's usage, however, a chord without a stem is to be interpreted as the next value longer than a note with an unflagged stem, namely the semibrevis, ⋄ . Another minor point relating

* The author wishes to express his gratitude to Professor Austin Caswell of Indiana University and to lutenist Catherine Liddell for suggestions offered during the preparation of this paper.

[1] A facsimile edition of *Tabulaturen* was published in 1977 by Zentralantiquariat of Leipzig. For a description of this print, transcription of the title page, inventory, citation of surviving copies, and reference to modern studies and editions, see Howard Mayer Brown's *Instrumental Music Printed Before 1600* (Cambridge, Mass., 1965), pp. 21-22. The setting of *Maria zart* for lute and voice must be distinguished from a second setting for organ solo, also from Schlick's *Tabulaturen*.

Facsimile 1. Schlick's setting of *Maria zart* for voice and lute (*Tabulaturen etlicher lobgesang*, pp. 74-76).

to the notation is that since the tablature does not employ note heads, it obviously cannot distinguish notes with blackened note heads from those with void ones. Its durational symbols 𝅗𝅥 ♩ ♪ 𝅘𝅥𝅯 (note heads implied) are the respective equivalents of the values 𝅗𝅥. 𝅗𝅥 ♩ ♪ in the vocal melody, which has the mensural signature *tempus imperfectum diminutum.*

In Schöffer's print there are several instances of the minim rest; the typographical layout places these on the same plane as the characters representing stopped and open strings, and not in horizontal alignment with the other durational values. This is rather confusing, especially since the rest ( ) is difficult to distinguish from the sign for an open sixth course (+). While Schöffer's print of *Maria zart* is free of errors, the number 1 (the open fifth course) may easily be mistaken for the letter l (the third fret of the same course). Individual notes of the vocal line are carefully aligned in score with the accompaniment. Although this melody is untexted in Schöffer's print, the words would have been accessible to a singer, for *Maria zart* was one of the best-known of German Marian songs.

It is important to note that the vocal melody in Schlick's setting is quite different from the well-known *Maria zart* tune itself, which is, in fact, incorporated into the lute accompaniment.[2] The traditional tune had considerable appeal to composers of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, and there are several surviving settings of it, the most celebrated example probably being Obrecht's monumental *Missa super Maria zart.* The original tune is a beautiful Phrygian melody cast in Bar form, A A B (See Example 1). The poetry may be analyzed as follows:[3]

A	a^4		a^4		b^7	/	
A	c^4		c^4		b^7		
B	d^4	/	d^4				
	e^7	/	e^7				
	f^4	/	f^4				
	g^4		g^4	/			
	h^7		i^4	/			
	i^4		h^7	/			

[2] In the following discussion, the vocal line of Schlick's setting will be called the "cantus;" the traditional melody will be identified by the term "cantus firmus."

[3] Capital letters: Musical divisions (A = *Stollen;* B = *Abgesang*); lower case letters: rhyme; numbers: syllabic count; virgules: syntactical divisions of text.

Example 1:

The *Maria zart* cantus firmus (text following the reading in the Ebrach manuscript).

Tender Mary, of noble art, Rose without thorns.
Thou hast restored what long was lost through Adam's fall.
Thou hast the choice promised by Saint Gabriel.
Help, that my sin and guilt be not avenged.
Obtain grace for me, for there is not consolation where Thou art not.
Grant mercy at the end.
I pray, turn not away at the hour of my death.

(author's translation)

The expressive quality of this devotional song may partly be due to the interesting relationship between text and music. The poem is constructed of rhyming iambic patterns of either four syllables or seven syllables in length. However, if the text is divided into units according to content and syntax, the end rhyme of a complete idea never duplicates that of another, and the following pattern may be observed: b d e f g i h. The beginning of a new idea sometimes initiates a new rhyme, but often continues the previous one. The last line (i^4 h^7) has the penultimate pattern (h^7 i^4) in reverse. The beginning of the *Abgesang*, "Durch Adams Vall," initiates a new rhyme and syllable count as well as a new section of music. Although it is quite distinct in these ways from what precedes it, its content requires continuity with the preceding, since it completes the idea of the previous text ("Through Adam's fall" was all lost). Finally, the internal rhyme of the first *Stollen*, a a b, is suggestive of the overall Bar form of the song. These observations are relevant to performance, for all of these relationships apply to this setting for lute and voice, even though the vocal melody used by Schlick is not the traditional tune with which the text was more closely associated.

A fact not previously recognized is that Schlick's setting of *Maria zart* is not newly-composed music, but rather an arrangement of a different composer's earlier setting for four voices. In 1925, Hanns Dennerlein published an article concerning two Marian songs copied into a manuscript from the Ebrach Kloster.[4] One of these songs is of great interest, for it is a four-voice setting of *Maria zart*, composed just twelve years prior to the printing of Schlick's version for voice and lute. It is fortunate that Latin rubrics in the Ebrach manuscript reveal both the year of composition and the name of the original composer. Preceding the uppermost of the four voices is an inscription (legible in Facsimile 2, lines 4 and 5) which reads, in part: "Anno a natali cristiano millesimo quingentesimo compositum" (Composed in the year one thousand five hundred after the birth of Christ). Later in the manuscript, following the notation of the four voices, appear

[4]"Zwei Ebracher Marienlieder," *Zeitschrift für Musikwissenschaft* I/8 (1925), pp. 1-9. Dennerlein apparently did not know of Schlick's setting, which in 1925 had not appeared in modern edition or facsimile. Dennerlein was also the author of the article "Ebrach" in *Die Musik in Geschichte und Gegenwart* (Kassel, 1954), which includes (as *Tafel* 26b, opposite columns 1025-1026) a photograph of the folio corresponding to Facsimile 2 of the present study. This plate was not included in Terence Ford's otherwise excellent "Index to the Facsimiles of Polyphonic Music Before 1600 published in *Die Musik in Geschichte und Gegenwart*," *Notes* 39/2 (1982), pp. 283-315, and discovery of it by the present writer was serendipitous.

several additional strophes of German and the following comment (not visible in Facsimile 2) in Latin: "hoc carmen composuit quidam dictus Pfabinschswantz de auchspürg" (This song was composed by a certain so-called Pfabinschswantz of Augsburg).

This is clearly an attribution to an otherwise unknown composer, "Pfabinschwantz" of Augsburg. Unfortunately, efforts to identify this mysterious composer have proven fruitless. The peculiar name brings to mind "Phfawinschwantcz" from the Glogauer Liederbuch, where instead of a composer's name it is the title of two textless four-voice compositions.[5] Perhaps the Ebrach attribution was made in jest (it translates "Peacock's tail"), but it suggests, at least initially, a relationship between *Maria zart* and the two Glogauer pieces. However, there is no musical similarity between *Maria zart* by "Pfabinschwantz," and either composition entitled "Der Pfhawinschwantcz" in the Glogauer manuscript. One of the Glogauer works is anonymous, but the other is attributed to Paulus de Broda. The composer "Pfabinschwantz" (from Augsburg), Paulus (from Broda), and Schlick (who was associated with Wittenberg) were all distinct personalities with different geographical associations. The composer with the playful sobriquet "Pfabinschwantz" remains unknown only by this name and only from his setting of *Maria zart* in the Ebrach manuscript.

Although the tenor voice of the Ebrach setting carries the cantus firmus, only the uppermost voice is texted (See Facsimile 2). The fact that the cantus of Schlick's setting and that of the Ebrach manuscript were both recorded in mensural notation invites comparison, and Schlick's cantus may be seen to agree almost exactly with that of the Ebrach setting (See Facsimiles 1 and 2). Closer examination reveals that Schlick incorporates both the tenor cantus firmus and the bassus of the Ebrach setting into the lute accompaniment.[6]

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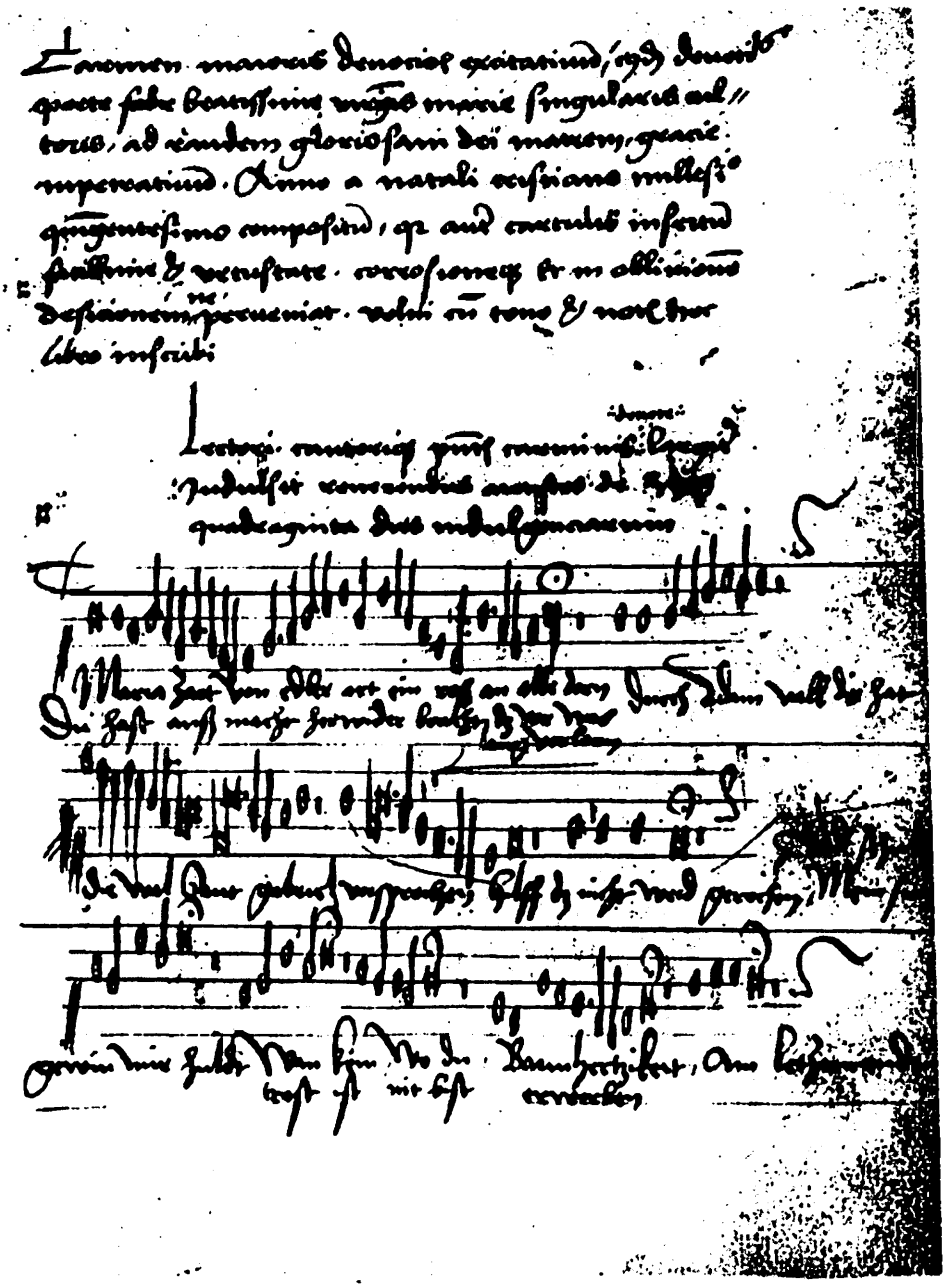
[5]A facsimile of this manuscript, with commentary by Jessie Ann Owens, has been printed as *Kroków, Biblioteka Jagiellónska, Glogauer Liederbuch; Renaissance Music in Facsimile* 6 (New York, 1986). The pieces in question have been edited by Herbert Ringmann in *Das Erbe Deutscher Musik* 4 (Kassel, 1954), pp. 88-91.

[6]Dennerlein's 1925 article, cited in note 3, includes transcriptions and complete facsimiles of both Ebrach Marienlieder, *Maria zart* and *Dich fraw von hymel*. (The latter song has no relationship to any of Schlick's other settings for lute and voice). The facsimiles in this article are of poor quality; fortunately, an excellent photograph of the folio containing almost all the uppermost voice of *Maria zart* is provided in *Die Musik in Geschichte und Gegenwart*. Cf. note 3, above.



Facsimile 2. Beginning of the cantus to *Maria zart*, four-voice setting from the manuscript Kloster Ebrach Rep. 182, Nr. 120, now in the Bamburg Staatsarchivs

Thus, we have a procedure more closely associated with the frottola repertory, in which a four-part work is arranged as a song for solo voice with lute accompaniment. The uppermost voice is retained, the altus is omitted, and the tenor and bassus are combined in an intabulated part for lute. This was the procedure employed by Bossinensis, as is evident from the titles of his collections printed by Petrucci .[7]

Given the preceding, modern performance of Schlick's setting has been complicated by the fact that modern editions either do not reflect the tablature's indications of finger placement or ignore the original disposition of parts. For example, Helmut Mönkemeyer's edition[8] provides the original German tablature in tandem with a transcription ostensibly for lute tuned in A, but really directed toward guitarists. The vocal line is included on a separate staff without text (as in Schöffer's print) and is transposed a fifth higher than the original so as to be compatible with guitar accompaniment.

Mönkemeyer's version is thus quite similar to the much earlier one by Hans Bruger,[9] employing transposition of a fifth and transposing treble clef. Bruger's edition includes left-hand fingerings, but these are given according to the requirements of guitarists, and are of no use to lutenists, since they do not agree with the original tablature. Bruger provides the vocal melody with its German text and suggests that a second vocal melody be sung simultaneously. This second vocal line, i.e. Bruger's editorial addition, is in fact the *Maria zart* cantus firmus. Bruger does not explain his suggestion, but it seems historically inappropriate for several reasons: 1) a second singer could hardly have read this melody from Schöffer's printed edition, since it is intabulated; 2) it needlessly doubles one of the

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[7]*Tenori e contrabassi intabulati col sopran in canto figurato per cantar e sonar col lauto, libro primo/liber secundo.* RISM 1509[3]/1511. Both of these volumes have been made available by Minkoff (Geneva, 1977/1982) in facsimile editions (reviewed by Richard d'A. Jensen in this *Journal*, 17/18 [1984/85], pp. 136-138). The problems of the modern edition by Benvenuto Disertori, *Le Frottole per canto e liuto intabulate da Franciscus Bossinensis* (Milan, 1964), are well known to lutenists. The question of vocal transpositions was originally clarified thirty years ago by John Ward in an important article, "Le problème des hauteurs dans la musique pour la luth et vihuela au XVIe siècle," *Le Luth et sa Musique*, ed. Jean Jacquot (Paris, 1958/r1981), pp. 171-78. An English revision of this article "Changing the Instrument for the Music," appeared in this *Journal*, 15 (1982), pp. 27-39, and should be read by any lutenist interested in song accompaniment.

[8]*Die Tabulatur*, Heft 3 (Hofheim am Taunus, 1965), pp. 14-15.

[9]*Schule des Lautenspiels* (Wolfenbüttel, 1926), pp. 48-49. Bruger's transcription is accompanied by a comment that the original notation of *Maria zart* is reproduced elsewhere in the book, but no such facsimile is actually given.

two original voice parts incorporated into the lute accompaniment; 3) it is not in keeping with the performance practice associated with solo song derived from four-part models, discussed above.

Assuming modern performance with a lute tuned in G, a transcription of *Maria zart* at the appropriate pitch[10] is given below in Example 2. The vocal line has been transposed a fourth higher than the original and its note values reduced to progress at the same speed as the lute accompaniment. The Ebrach reading of the text, one obviously close to Schlick, has been applied to the vocal melody. So as to facilitate comparison, the original tenor and bassus parts from the Ebrach manuscript, transposed to the same pitch level, are given below the transcription of the accompaniment

In most cases, Schlick's setting retains the poignant rests of both the original cantus firmus and the Ebrach version. In two instances, however, the original silence is replaced by a brief running passage (Cf. measures 29-30, 38-39). In both cases, the rests that are eliminated come between the ending of one syntactical unit and the beginning of another. This not only lends variety and momentum to the piece but also serves to emphasize the phrases "Erwirb mir Huld" (Obtain grace for me) and "Barmherzigkeit erwerben" (Grant mercy), which are the essence of this supplicative text. One of the few instances of melismatic writing in the cantus is imitated in inversion in the accompaniment (Cf. measure 26).

The bar lines of the transcription (absent from both sources) do not imply a metrical regularity of accent throughout, and in performance, the stressed notes of the vocal melody should be those having accented syllables. Observe, for example, the interplay between the rhythm of the voice and that of the accompaniment in measures 3-4, 6-9, 30-31, 33-34, 36-37, 47-48, and 52-53, where the phrasing suggested above the staff indicates the true pattern of accentuation. From the point of view of the lutenist, the requirements of *Maria zart* are quite modest. The basic texture is that of two-voice counterpoint with occasional decorative flourishes, and the activity is concentrated in the inner courses, the first and sixth being rarely employed. Musically speaking, it would be most satisfactory for the accompanist to project and sustain the borrowed melody.

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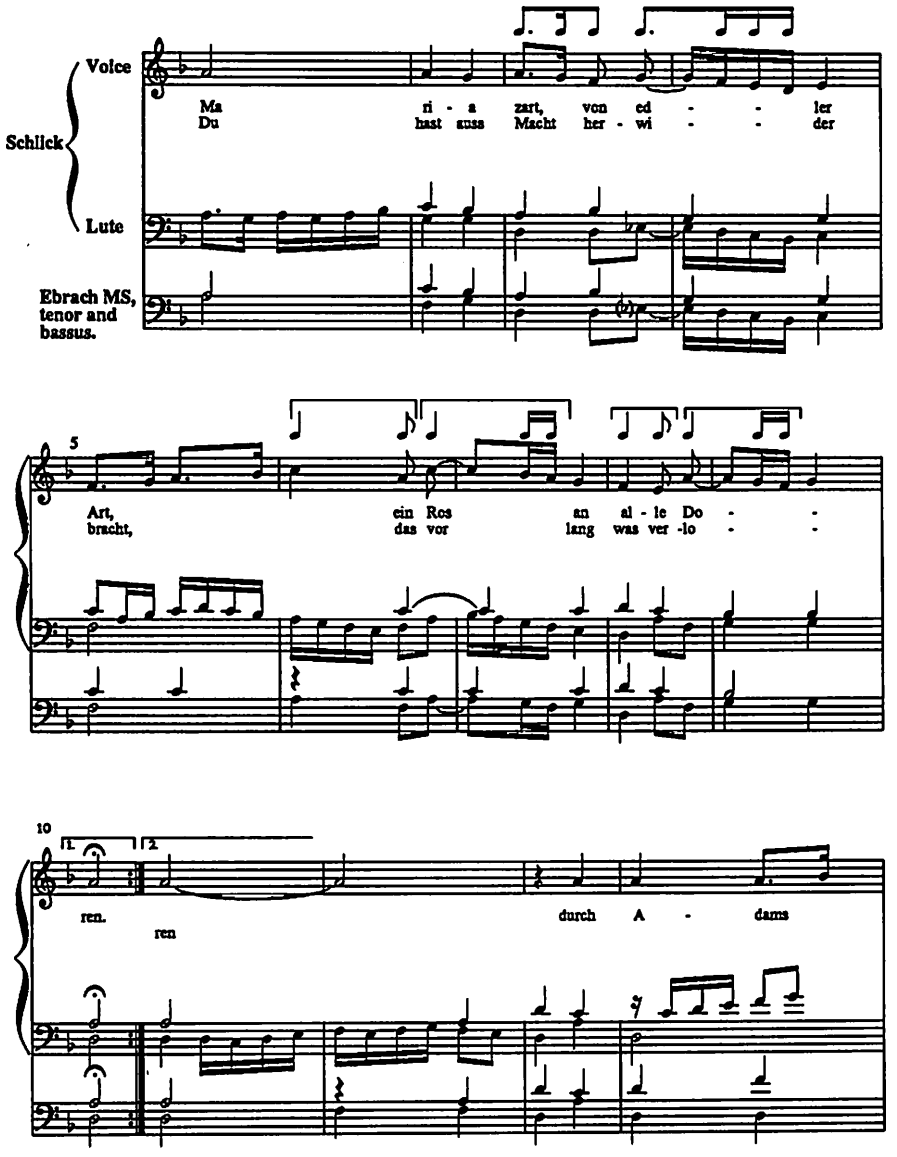
[10]This comment pertains only to the written pitch. In the original print, the vocal melody is notated in untransposed Phrygian. In practice, the singer would simply take his/her pitch from the accompanying instrument. For that matter, assuming performance by unaccompanied voices, the original four-voice version would have been sung at whatever pitch was desirable.

Example 2:

Maria zart (comparative edition).



15
Vall. Dir hat die Wahl Sankt Gab - bri - el vor -
20
spro - chen. Hilff, das nit werd go -
25
ro - - chen mein Sünd und Schuld.
30
Er - - wirb, mir Huld, dann kein Trost ist
35

wo Du nit bist.
Barm - her - zig -
keit er - - wer - den am letz - ten
End. Ich bitt nit wend von mir in
main - nem ster - - - - den.
40
45
50
55

Maria zart is an excellent example of a pre-existent composition having been adapted for performance by a singer and lutenist. The inability of the instrument to sustain is effectively compensated for by the filling in of sustained notes with neighboring tones and running scale passages, but the composition is also enhanced by the musical aspects of Schlick's treatment. In style, *Maria zart* reflects the growing taste for homophonic settings of devotional songs, which were to become increasingly popular with the advent of Luther's Reformation; in terms of performance practice, however, it is more closely related to the contemporary Italian frottola.

It is hoped that this example will foster increased interest in this small but important collection of German lute songs.

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Book Reviews

Fabritio Caroso. *Nobiltà di Dame*: A treatise on courtly dance, together with the choreography and music of 49 dances. Translated, edited, and with an introduction by Julia Sutton; the music transcribed and edited by F. Marian Walker. (New York: Oxford University Press, 1986), 362 pp.

IT IS INTERESTING TO NOTE that although Fabritio Caroso's first book of dance instruction described the gentleman dancer (*Il Ballarino*, [Venice 1581]), his second dance treatise was written to ennoble the ladies (Venice, 1600). In his dedication he declares that "...(it) provides a unique sample in this day and age of those qualities which are appropriate to them" (p. 73). Further, he informs the reader that his fifty years of experience in the profession have enabled him to correct the first book "according to the laws of symmetry and perfect theory" to render the present volume "truly perfect" (p. 73). Whether this indicates that ladies are more "perfectly symmetrical," as are the dances and tunes in this volume, or that they are more likely to insist on perfect symmetry that "...makes the dances less interesting, though it simplifies learning" (p. 46), is left to the reader's discretion.

Sutton has provided us with a detailed and thoughtfully-written edition, personally attending to the theoretical interpretation and the dance-related materials, relying on musical transcriptions by Marian Walker. The volume contains a seventy-page introduction, divided into seven chapters and a bibliography, which situates the material in the context of dance history, explains translation problems and methods, and acquaints the reader with the life of Caroso, inexplicably separating this information (pp. 13-20) from a discussion of late-Renaissance dance in general (pp. 21-30). It also specifies the dance types found in the manual and presents the problems of (as well as some solutions to) the correlation of dance instructions with music that are so familiar to the instrumentalist and to the dance scholar. The lutenist will be interested in Walker's paragraph on transcription of the lute tablature (p. 63), which verifies the lamentable fact that today the keyboard instrumentalist has replaced the lutenist as the musician best qualified for accompanying dance.

In the introduction, Sutton gives us a sense of her own research, explains her translation and transcription methodology, and — most felicitously — points the way for future scholarly research. She does not attempt to go beyond her capabilities, providing instead a carefully reasoned and competent guide for the translation that follows. She is interested in re-creating the dances and one can only admire the effort spent on clarity and benefit from her obvious familiarity and experience with the materials.

On page 7 of Chapter 2, "Problems of Translation," Sutton tells us: "All step terms have been translated into English and italicized." She incorporates both time values and movement clues into words chosen to represent a grouping of weight changes that comprise a single unit. One searches in vain for standardized notation, such as Labanotation, to objectify the dance terms as clearly as the music notation objectifies the music theory and lute tablature in chapters 6 and 7. She explains her methodology clearly; the serious student will read the translation with a thumb in Chapter 2 for easy reference, especially pp. 8-10.

Chapter 4, "Late-Renaissance Dance," contains fairly general remarks on courtly dance etiquette, a single paragraph on neo-Platonism, with new insights only when the author discusses Caroso. Her comments on 'vera' or 'perfetta Theoretica' (p. 27) and on improvisation and variation (pp. 27-28) could well be incorporated into Chapter 5, where she comes into own discussing "Dance Types in *Nobiltà di Dame*," thus avoiding redundancy. Her insights and the questions she raises in this chapter are invaluable.

In Chapter 6, the section entitled "Correlation of Text and Music" will be most closely scrutinized by dancers and musicians alike, for it attacks the greatest problem facing the re-creation of Renaissance dances. For this information we can be most grateful; rather than trying to solve all problems, Sutton and Walker give us their insights and point us in the direction of solutions without pedantic insistence on one that is exclusive.

Sutton then provides us with a detailed and careful translation of the entire manual, providing an internal logic that is uniquely her own. A musicologist, not a linguist, she opts for a method that mingles English translations with Italian terminology according to her own personal system, carefully elucidated, rather than drawing on any objectively established external guidelines. She provides an extensive (eleven-page) glossary to which the dance scholar must constantly refer until the Suttonese is memorized. "Limping hop" for *zoppetto* and "falling jump" for *trabucchetto*, do not inspire visions of grace. "Continence" cannot be considered a cognate for the subtle and lilting sway of *continenza*, reminding one rather of control of quite another kind. In avoiding linguistic principles, Sutton has denied the reader intuitive responses to one of the most basic of human attributes, the acquisition of language, and has robbed her translation of a valuable learning tool. By adhering to literal translation of Italian terms, Sutton disregards the association that any scholar familiar with Italian has al-

ready established with the original text; further, she creates a new set of images in the English language that have little or nothing to do with the steps and step patterns desired in recreating the dances. While she has italicized the phrases so that they are isolated and hence easily recognizable, it is unfortunate that Oxford University Press did not provide us with a copy of the original text, as many dual language editions do. This would have greatly facilitated the work of the scholar interested in textual comparisons.

The illustrations add immeasurably to the edition. Sutton has explained each in terms of the text itself, providing guidelines for reading Caroso's embellished prose that facilitate understanding. This edition is destined to become a landmark in the analysis and explication of sixteenth and early seventeenth-century dance; one can hope that it will inspire other scholars to produce translation/transcription editions of Caroso's earlier work, *Il Ballarino*, as well as manuals by his contemporaries, Cesare Negri, Livio Lupi, Prospero Lutij, and the Frenchman, Ferdinand de Lauze. When more materials are analyzed in depth, scholarly dialogue can truly begin in dance history.

A further step is suggested by this volume: the development of an objective dance notation adopted by dance historians that can be used by all of them in interpreting materials from the past. While lamenting the paucity of dance notation throughout dance history in the Western world, and cherishing the eighteenth century for its widespread use of Feuillet notation, twentieth-century dance scholars continue to publish books requiring individual interpretation. Sutton has provided us with a basis for re-creating dances; this reviewer urges that a young notator labanotate the dances in this book as quickly as possible, collaborating with Sutton to render her scholarly and artistic decisions available to the dancing community of the present and future. This system weds dance movements to music and provides us with an objective score. Only in this way can we benefit from her experience, and preserve the fruits of her research to realize her stated goal: "A work of this kind is tested when the dances are brought to life" (p. x).

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Meredith Alice McCutcheon. *Guitar and Vihuela: an Annotated Bibliography.* RILM Retrospectives No. 3 (New York: Pendragon Press, 1985). xlv, 353pp.

THE RECENT PROLIFERATION OF RESEARCH concerning the guitar and vihuela has made it difficult for the serious performer and scholar to keep abreast of all the contributions and publications that have appeared across the globe. Meredith Alice McCutcheon's *Guitar and Vihuela: an Annotated Bibliography* addresses this need by providing a bibliography that is well conceived and admirably realized. She indicates that the purpose of her book is to "fill the need for an annotated reference tool for the study of the guitar and vihuela. It contains literature on composers, performers, theorists, music and analysis, iconography, and design and construction in both an historical context and in a technical one. In addition to literature on the six-string classic guitar, literature on the Renaissance four-course guitar, the Renaissance and Baroque five-course guitar, the chitarra battente, the terz guitar, the seven-string Russian guitar, and the modern eight-string, ten-string, and microtonal guitars is included. Texts in Catalan, Danish, English, French, German, Italian, Latin, Polish, Portuguese, Russian, Spanish, Swedish, and Ukranian languages are listed (p. xxvi)."

She divides her introduction into three parts. The first provides a brief historical background of the vihuela and guitar and justifies placing them together in the same bibliography. The second section gives concise and extremely useful advice about locating and identifying vihuela and guitar music. This discussion is particularly commendable for it makes the bibliography accessible and useful to any serious guitarist, not just to those already immersed in musicological research. The third section explicates the purpose, content, and organization of the bibliography. Eight chapters follow entitled: General Histories and Dictionaries, National Histories, Histories of the Renaissance Period, Histories of the Baroque Era, Histories of the Early Six-String Guitar, From Tárrega to the Present, Iconography, and Design and Construction. The chapters are logically subdivided into detailed subcategories. This thorough organization greatly facilitates the location of material in general, but the reader should be forewarned (and McCutcheon herself advises) that one must check in several locations to obtain all pertinent citations.

Two appendices follow: 1) "Periodicals Devoted to the Guitar and Other Fretted Instruments" and 2) "Music for Guitar and Vihuela Printed Before 1800 and Modern Editions." For each periodical cited in Appendix I, McCutcheon indicates several libraries in the United States that have that source in their holdings. This courteous touch increases the power and utility of the appendix. A comprehensive index of authors, subjects, and titles concludes the volume.

Overall, McCutcheon's decisions on what should and should not be included are sound and prudent. She treats the "guitar" in an amplified sense

without excluding such variants as the chitarra battente and terz guitar. This approach is a wise one, for the guitar has undergone so many transformations (both stylistically and physically) that too narrow a definition of just what constitutes a "real guitar" could eliminate much valuable information. Logically, she also regards the vihuela and guitar as part of the same extended family instead of classifying them as fundamentally unrelated instruments. Unlike many bibliographies, she includes book reviews and lists masters theses as well as doctoral dissertations, courteously providing the reader with the UMI numbers to facilitate ordering them from University Microfilms.

Several laudable aspects of McCutcheon's bibliography should be noted. She does not limit her scope exclusively to the "standard" musicological and scholarly journals. As a result, many significant resources surface in her bibliography that are absent in other traditional research tools. McCutcheon has made a real effort to locate pertinent foreign publications. She presents well over a thousand sources, many of which have been unknown or neglected by most American guitarists and scholars. I have nothing but praise for her articulate and accurate annotations that accompany this gargantuan body of material. Her annotations provide brief but lucid abstracts for each cited work. She informs the reader if there are musical examples, a bibliography, or transcriptions, and she often supplies cross-references to other citations.

In spite of the generally high quality of this bibliography, a handful of problems, limitations, or omissions do occur that should be noted. The three major problems of the volume concern: 1) the editorial decision to exclude introductions to editions; 2) cursory and incomplete citations in Appendix II; and, 3) an occasional omission of very recent research.

If there is an Achilles' heel to McCutcheon's volume, it results from her decision to exclude introductions to editions of music and to method books. Some of the most informative and accurate information available to scholars and guitarists appears as critical commentary to musical editions. McCutcheon's exclusion of this invaluable resource seems somewhat arbitrary and unfortunately weakens the value of her book. The problem is exacerbated by her editorial procedures in "Appendix II: Music for Guitar and Vihuela Printed Before 1800 and Modern Editions," for she lists modern editions but does not indicate whether or not an edition contains introductory material or critical commentary. The unfortunate result is that some of the best scholarly research by such authors as Emilio Pujol, Luis García Abrines, Monica Hall, Charles Jacobs, James Tyler, Brian Jeffery, and others is not listed anywhere in the bibliography.

Further problems arise in Appendix II due to overly brief or incomplete citations. They do not meet the same care and rigor that McCutcheon has set for herself in the previous sections of her bibliography. Not only does she fail to mention whether an edition has commentary or an introduction, but she does not consistently cite such basics, such as place and date of publication, whether the

edition is in facsimile, or whether the edition contains a transcription into staff notation. These omissions generate all sorts of thorny problems. For example, she states that the 1674 and 1697 editions of Sanz's *Instrucción de música sobre la guitarra española* are identical. Not true. Even a cursory perusal of the source reveals that Sanz published "Books 1 & 2" of the *Instrucción* in 1674 and added "Book 3" in 1697. There are other differences between the 1674 and 1697 editions as well; García Abrines discusses them in the preface to his facsimile edition (Zaragosa: Institución "Fernando el Católico" and the Consejo Superior de Investigaciones Científicas, 1952) as does Rodrigo de Zayas in his edition of Sanz's *Instrucción* (Madrid: Opera Omnia & Alpuerto, n.d. [early 1980s]) which contains exhaustive commentary, a facsimile of the original, and a complete transcription. The reader would have had access to this information and been able to catch this oversight quite readily if McCutcheon had guided the reader to these authors. In another citation concerning Sanz, McCutcheon includes a citation for a Schott edition of Sanz's *Instrucción* but gives no publication date or place of publication. Although this edition has been promised as "forthcoming" for years, it still has not been completed and released according to the information given to me in the spring of 1986 at Schott's London office. This example produces serious implications: whenever McCutcheon fails to include date of publication, the reader is left guessing as to whether an edition is merely "promised" or whether it actually exists.

Other "ghost" editions surface in Appendix II. For instance, McCutcheon cites modern Bärenreiter editions for the following works: Juan Carlos Amat, *Guitarra española y vandola* c.1761, (1980); Nicola Matteis, *The False Consonances of Musick*,1682 (1980); Ludovico Roncalli, *Capricci armonici*, 1692 (1979); Giovanni Battista Granata, *Soavi concenti*,1659 (1979); and Santiago de Murcia, *Resumen de acompañar la parte con la guitarra*, 1714 (1980). In trying to locate these editions I discovered that they are not published by Bärenreiter at all but merely *distributed* by them in Germany: the publisher is actually Chanterelle. The confusion is compounded when McCutcheon lists a Chanterelle edition and a Bärenreiter edition of Roncalli's *Capricci armonici* as separate entities when they are one and the same. A similar duplication of citations arises with Emilio Pujol's edition of Narváez's *Los seys libros del Delphin* which first appeared in 1945 and was later reissued in 1971. If McCutcheon had habitually entered complete citations she would have instantly recognized that the 1945 and 1971 editions were identical for they both are "Volume 3" of the series "Monumentos de la Música Española." In fact, the verso side of the 1971 title page explicitly clarifies that it is an "offset reproduction of the first edition of 1945."

Some problems also arise with respect to listings of very recent contributions. I have found few omissions of important material published before 1980, but a few minute "cracks" appear in the years 1980-85. Below I list three source

areas that should be checked independently to supplement McCutcheon's bibliography for that time period: 1) *The Revista de Musicología*, published in Madrid under the auspices of the newly formed Sociedad Española de Musicología, published seven articles between 1979-1984 containing some of the most exciting research to come out for decades concerning the vihuela and guitar; 2) Most theses and dissertations completed after late 1981 do not appear in her bibliography. The scholar should consult the standard sources to fill in any small gaps; 3) Also, no citation of any article from the *Journal of the Lute Society of America* after 1979 (vol. 14) is included, even though extremely important articles by Emil Vogl, Kevin Mason, John Ward, and Monica Hall appeared in volumes 15-17 (1980-82). In McCutcheon's defense, it must be noted that volumes of the *JLSA* appeared two years late during that time period, so she is only "out-of-step" by a year or two--not by four or five as the *printed* dates on the journals would indicate.

A few minor problems also cause McCutcheon to conceal or misfile a few citations. Juan José Rey, for instance, follows the Spanish custom of signing his articles with both his paternal and maternal surnames (Rey Marcos). McCutcheon misfiles this author's work under "Marcos" (the mother's maiden name). The same holds true for Francisco José Leon who is mistakenly catalogued under "Tello" (for he signs his books and articles "Francisco José Leon Tello). Some Spanish authors from the past, too, have their names undergo odd transformations. *Antonio* de Cabezón is "Frenchified" into *Antoine* for no apparent reason. *Tomás* de Sancta María is transformed into an English *Thomas*. She fails to cross-reference "Antoine Carré" and the "Sieur de la Grange" as being one and the same person. It is also unfortunate that rasgueado (a basic guitar technique) is misspelled throughout as *rasguado*.

In spite of the few problems that arise in McCutcheon's bibliography, they are dwarfed by the thoroughness, quality, and utility of the rest of the volume. She has tackled an enormous project full of treacherous problems, resolved them successfully, and produced a research tool worthy of praise. Unquestionably, this book will be a constant companion to scholars and guitar enthusiasts for years to come and should be considered an indispensable resource for any reputable music or research library.

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Reviews of Music

Henry Grenerin. *Livre de theorbe contenant plusiers pieces sur differens tons, avec une nouvelle methode tres facile pour aprendre a jouer sur la partie les basses continues et toutes sourtes d'airs·a livre ouvert* (Paris, [ca. 1682]). Geneva: Minkoff Reprints, 1984.

AS BAROQUE MUSIC MOVES INTO TODAY'S MUSICAL MAINSTREAM, interest in accompaniment by hand-plucked instruments like the theorbo grows. But the modern lutenist who turns to the theorbo is confronted with the problem of re-creating the art of continuo playing without the benefit of a continuous tradition. Therefore, one must consult the few historical sources that survive and try to glean practical information from them. This new Minkoff facsimile of Grenerin's *Livre de theorbe* offers brief and rudimentary information on the subject of theorbo continuo playing in seventeenth-century France.

Henry Grenerin was a theorbo player (and a guitarist) employed at the court of Louis XIV and is known to have played theorbo continuo in several ballets by Jean-Baptiste Lully, to whom Grenerin dedicated his *Livre de theorbe*. The exact date of publication for this engraved print is unknown, but it may have appeared as early as 1670; Minkoff's editors suggest a date as late as 1682. Grenerin's little book (only seventeen pages) is just one of a number of prints with instructions for playing continuo on the theorbo, testifying to a "school of French theorbo playing." The earliest in the series was Nicolas Fleury's *Methode pour apprendre facilement à toucher le theorbe sur la basse-continue* (Paris, 1660) which was followed by Angelo Michele Bartolomi's *Table pour apprendre facilement à toucher le theorbe sur la basse continue* (Paris, 1669), and Grenerin's treatise. These three early treatises have several important features in common: all are comprised of charts showing the most common chords and progressions in tablature, and all are aimed at the same audience — the beginner. Towards the end of the century, however, the trend was away from tablature and towards regular staff notation for players of more serious intent. In 1690, Denis Delair's *Traité d'accompagnement pour le theorbe et le clavessin* appeared, and was later revised and reprinted in 1723 under the title *Nouveau traité*. Here Delair eschews tablature (except for several tuning charts) to make the treatise useful to keyboard as well as theorbo players, and he goes into detail about musical composition since the art of accompaniment is, in fact, instantaneous composition from a bass line. Francois Campion, a theorbo player in the opera orchestra of the Académie Royale de Musique, shows the same correlation between accompaniment and composition in his *Traité d'accompagnement et de composition selon la regle des octaves de musique* (Paris, 1716). This treatise explains the famous "regle des octaves," a rule for reading from unfigured bass lines, and goes into detail about transposition, but says little specifically about the theorbo. Campion's next treatise, however, the *Addition au traité...où est compris particuliérement le secret de*

l'accompagnement du théorbe, de la guitare & du luth (Paris, 1730), gives simple instructions for learning to read figures on the theorbo without resorting to tablature.[1] In addition to the above mentioned treatises, any serious student of French theorbo accompaniment should read Michel de Saint-Lambert's *Nouveau traité de l'accomagnement du clavecin, de l'orgue, et des autres instruments* (Paris, 1701) — a treatise aimed primarily at keyboard players, but generally conceded to be the single most important French treatise on accompaniment. All the treatises mentioned above, with the exceptions of Bartolomi and Delair's *Nouveau traité*, are available in facsimile from Minkoff Reprints.

Grenerin's little treatise can be studied easily by any lute player with only a modest knowledge of the French language since the book is comprised almost entirely of tablature charts. What little text there is simply labels each example. It begins with a brief preface, then presents a series of tablature charts showing root-position chords, six-chords, 7-6 suspensions, 9-8 suspensions, simple cadences, full cadences, interrupted cadences, the six-chord with a diminished fifth, and rules for when the bass line moves in quarter or eighth notes. All examples consist of a fully figured bass-line with the tablature realization placed directly beneath.

As Grenerin mentions in his preface, the treatise is designed not only for those who know about the basic fundamentals of music, but also for those who know nothing about music. For the latter group, the treatise becomes a "paint-by-the-numbers" book in which the player simply looks at the bass note and figure to be played, finds them in one of the charts, and plugs the tablature chord into the accompaniment. Although this is not the most clever way of learning to play from a figured bass line, it was common in the seventeenth century, for one finds similar tablature charts in English, German, and Italian manuscript sources from as early as 1600 when figured bass lines first came into use.

In spite of the simplistic nature of Grenerin's book, a careful reading will reveal some interesting and perhaps insightful, but also quite puzzling things. In almost every example, for instance, the bass line, which ranges from CC to e', is played without any transposition. The only exceptions to this are accidentals in the contrabass range which are played up an octave (clear indication that Grenerin's theorbo did not have the seventh and eighth courses on the fingerboard as Campion's did). His insistence on playing high bass lines in their written octave, however, results in chords which sound inverted because of the theorbo's re-entrant tuning — a problem that shows up in the Fleury and Bartolomi books as well. Less serious problems of voice-leading occur also because of the tuning. Chords usually have three or four voices with the number of voices determined by convenience of fingering or other special circumstances. Six chords, that is to say first inversion chords, generally have only three voices with no doublings especially when the bass note is an accidental or when there is a 7-6 suspension on the chord.

One final curiosity is that the *Livre de theorbe* may not survive complete. According to the title page, it should contain a number of *pieces sur differens tons*; but the book includes only the tablature charts and there is no

[1]See my article "Francois Campion's Secret of Accompaniment for the Theorbo, Guitar and Lute," this *Journal*, XIV (1981) pp. 69-94.

indication of missing pages (the Brussels copy from which the Minkoff facsimile was made is the only known copy). Since the term *pieces* usually refers to a complete piece of music rather than the type of examples that appear in the book, it would seem that something is, in fact, missing. Also, Grenerin published another engraved print entitled *Livre de Guitarre* (Paris, 1680) whose title page goes on to say that the book includes *autres pieces de musique, meslées de Symphonies, avec une instruction pour jouer la basse continue.* This book does contain solo pieces and tablature charts similar to those in *Livre de theorbe*, but it also includes short "simphonies" for two violins, bass viol, and continuo which introduce several "airs curieux" for three and four voices with continuo and all with tablature accompaniments for guitar. If part of the *Livre de theorbe* is missing, then it seems likely that the music would consist either of solo pieces or ensemble pieces with written-out theorbo accompaniments. While the discovery of such accompaniments might answer many of our questions about the theorbo, in the meantime, we must continue to study treatises like Grenerin's and combine what we learn there with our own performance experiences in creating a convincing style of accompaniment for music of the French baroque.

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***Manuscrit Béthune. Tablature d'angélique* (Luth). (Bibliothèque nationale, Paris, Rés. 169) Introduction by François Lesure. Index. (Geneva: Minkoff reprint, 1978)**

ONE IN THE BONANZA OF TABLATURE FACSIMILES to have appeared in recent years, the Béthune manuscript differs from others in containing music not for lute but for a related instrument, the angélique. The facsimile is very clear in its impressions, made on paper of excellent quality. There are spots in the reproduction that are dim, reflecting the unevenness of script in the original but rarely affecting readability. The pieces were entered on printed tablature paper made in Strasbourg in 1681, according to the engraved "title page" which is finely reproduced. The pagination is modern.

In the introduction, Lesure provides biographical data about four of the five composers' names represented: Béthune, presumed to be responsible for the collection; Vignon, like Béthune known to have been a teacher of the angélique;[1] and, Strobel and Gumprecht, both Germans active at one time or another in Strasbourg. A gavotte by Baptiste that was "mise par Bethune" also appears in the source. Béthune's name, however, is given as composer far more often than is suggested by Lesure's remark that he is only mentioned "essentiellement" as adapter of the works of others. In the English version of the Introduction, the reference to G. Jacquesson as "facteur" should have been translated "instrument maker," not "postman."

At the end of the volume appears an Index, listing the contents alphabetically by title. One correction is needed here: the title of the work on p. 62 is not "Rote" but "Vote," that is, *volte*. Spelling vagaries of this sort are not uncommon; one of the three Vignon pieces has the name spelled "Vigneon," for instance. Three untitled pieces were omitted from the Index, a gavotte on p. 169, a menuet on p. 170 and a prelude on p. 177. Of the two pieces listed as "Pièces sans titre de Béthune" one is a gavotte (p. 51), the other (p. 114) perhaps a menuet. In all, 136 works are found, entered on 180 pages.

No discussion of the instrument or its music is provided. Although the angélique is mentioned here and there in documents of the period, by far most informative is the section on lutes and the like within the so-called James Talbot manuscript, which has been dated *ca.* 1685-1701.[2] Talbot described two "angel-lutes" or angéliques. Both had two tuning heads, the upper carrying six single strings (the lowest pitched), the lower head bearing ten single strings. One of the two instruments was reported to have had nine frets, there being no comment about the other in this regard. In another entry, a tuning supplied by M. Duprés

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[1]François Lesure, "The Angélique in 1653," *Galpin Society Journal*, VI (1953), pp. 111-12.

[2]The relevant discussion is in: Michael Prynne, "James Talbot's Manuscript. IV. Plucked Strings — The Lute Family," *Galpin Society Journal*, XIV (1961), pp. 57-58. A specimen of the instrument is described in: *Conservatoire Royal de Musique. Musée Instrumental. Catalogue déscriptif et analytique du Musée*...par V. C. Mahillon...2nd ed. (1893-1922), Vol III, pp. 150-51. I cannot discover any pictorial representation in the *Syntagma musicum* of Prætorius despite some references to this effect, however.

La Tour Crevecoeur (perhaps the "Dupré d'Angleterre" credited with some lute pieces in late seventeenth-century manuscripts) was specified as D-E-F-G-A-B-c-d-e-f-g-a-b-c'-d'-e', that is, a diatonic disposition minimizing the need for elaborate stopping. This is about what is demanded in our source, in which the full "accord" is never specified. The lowest string is more often tuned to "C", however, this being labelled "accord ordinaire" in the source at times. The highest fret required is the seventh, and that only for the highest course.

With only a few modifications, the tablature employed is the same as for French lute and theorbo music of the time. While seventh string notes are below the "staff," eighth string use is indicated by a short "ledger line" below the letter. Starting with the ninth string the usual hash marks appear, from one to five for strings nine through thirteen. The lowest three strings are indicated by digits 4, 5,and 6, referring to their respective positions on the upper head rather than as continuation of the series of hash marks.

A limited number of keys was used, from c minor on the flat side to G major. Keys were often indicated in the usual way, such as "Ce sol ut Be mol[le]" for c minor and "Ge re sol be car[ré]" for G major. Not surprisingly for an instrument designed for playing ease, many tuning adjustments by semitone are specified. For instance, the work on p. 76 has the instructions "4: ab[aisser]" and "6:ab[aisser]", meaning that the fourth and eleventh strings must be lowered from B to B♭ to allow performance of the piece, which is in F major. Similarly a piece in G will require the "F" strings (i.e., the seventh and fourteenth) be raised ("reh[ausser]"). Adjustment of the bottom course from C to D is specified by indicating with which higher string it will now be in octave agreement.

As usual in manuscripts, there are only a few signs for *agréments*. Most abundant is a comma following a letter, clearly signifying trill. Nearly as frequent, surprisingly, is an "x" preceding a letter. The contexts in which it appears suggest that it should be interpreted as an appogiatura from below, commonly called *port-de-voix*, for which the usual sign in lute music is a semicircle below the letter (ḍ). It sometimes occurs in a final chord, applied to a stopped pitch which is in unison with an adjacent open string.

Possibly the sign signifies a mordent, as it often does in lute sources of the period, but if so it is much more frequent than usual. It is also possible that it may signify either ornament; it may mean mordent when used in conjunction with the first note of a piece, for instance. At any rate, it never occurs attached to the letter "a", thus clearly pertaining to a lower neighbor.

The only other *agrément* sign to appear is a wedge (>), which may be found before or after a note, as can be seen on pp. 112 (third line) and 133 (also third line), respectively. Its rarity and contextual ambiguity do not allow a clear interpretation. Perhaps it signifies mordent or appoggiatura from above.

Specification of right hand strokes employs common signs, but they are not consistently found. A short vertical line means thumb, one dot index finger and two dots middle finger. Only the thumb indication is frequent in the more hurriedly written sections, though. Slurs are often specified but signs for sustains and arpeggiation of chords are seldom encountered. However, one instance

of *harpègement* on p. 5 is the second couplet of an *Allemande de Strobel mise et changee par Mr. de Bethune* is both redundant and informative. The relevant measure contains four chords, each with *harpègement* signs separating its three pitches. But at the same time the rhythm indications specify that each chord is to be played . Even though it may not be certain that the rhythm was to be understood as metrically exact, it does seem clear that *harpègement* did not mean rapid strumming, at least in this instance. Concordance study in the lute repertory reveals much the same thing; a work with *harpègement* signs in one source will appear in another with chords broken in specified rhythms.

Roughly the first half of the source has music written in a hurried, sprawling manner, with lack of attention to vertical alignment. Once it is recognized that rhythm signs are sometimes a bit ahead of the notes to which they apply the notation is easily deciphered. There are a few corrections, but even so omissions and errors do appear on occasion.

First on p. 87 and then from p. 90 on an elegant new hand appears, to prevail until the last few pages. Although the script is similar to the first hand in some respects, there are several of new letter shapes and a vast improvement in appearance and legibility. Nonetheless, there is nearly total consistency with the earlier hand in notational conventions. Further, the later hand seems to have entered some titles and ascriptions in the earlier portion of the collection, and it in turn is followed by four pages of entries made by the first hand. Clearly, the two scribes were in close contact.

In repertory, too, some degree of homogeneity prevails. Better than half of the works are identified as by Béthune or "Mr. de Bethune." Furthermore, all fifteen pieces ascribed to Strobel and Gumprecht are scrupulously marked as having been "changee par" Béthune. The piece by Strobel "changee et mise" by Béthune has been mentioned above; other works by Strobel (pp. 17 and 25) are marked "...changee par M. de Bethune qui a fait le fin seul."

It might become clear precisely what these comments mean if concordant lute versions of the pieces could be identified. Lute works by both composers (and, for that matter, Vignon and Béthune as well) are scattered mostly among German manuscripts of the time. But I have not located concordances for these "arrangements"; perhaps Béthune made substantial alterations in them. This could be the case with a few other pieces marked "mis" or "changee par Bethune" but without designation of composer. It seems likely that the "Gavotte de Baptiste mise par Bethune" is a piece by Lully; although I have not yet located the original, there are many Lully dances in contemporaneous solo instrumental music collections.

The Béthune connection becomes even stronger when it is compared with another angélique manuscript, Paris, Bibl. nat. Vm^{7}6212, known as *Monin* because of the note penned in it by Marguerite Monin (not Morin, as Lesure read it), that in 1664 "Monsieur de Bestune" had begun to teach her angélique. This source contains thirty-two angélique pieces, most at the beginning, along with unrelated lute and theorbo music. The hand which entered these works is surely the same as the first of the two in our manuscript, and quite possibly Béthune

himself. Only a few of the *Monin* pieces bear composer ascriptions, and these have the indication "Betune le cadet" i.e., the younger, entirely absent in our source. There are nine concordances between the two sources,[3] all anonymous in *Monin* but two ascribed to Vignon and four others to Béthune in our manuscript. Not that the readings are the same, though; differences appear, mostly slight, a few substantial. Most striking among the latter is the "Gigue de Bethune" on pp. 46-47, for the rhythmic values of the first couplet are double those of the *Monin* entry. For some reason several of the duple meter pieces in our source have longer durations than expected, beginning, for instance, with a dotted half note on the downbeat rather than the more common dotted quarter.

But there is a further complication. The sharp eyes of André Tessier detected that the *Monin* version of this piece was in essentials the same as a Denis Gaultier work in *Rhétorique de Dieux* and other sources, variously called allemande or gigue.[4] Although there are discrepancies in rhythm and cadence approaches between *Monin* and the lute versions, Tessier's identification is most remarkable because *Monin* has the work in the key of C while the lute versions are in A, no doubt due to the differing requirements of the two instruments. So is the resemblance inadvertent, after all? Did Béthune "borrow" Gaultier's work and deliberately appropriate it as his own by the time of its entry in our facsimile manuscript? Are there other such borrowings here, obscured by changes in text and notational appearance? It seems to me unlikely that Béthune intentionally claimed Gaultier's work as his own. After all, the pieces of Gumprecht and Strobel were specifically marked as adapted by him, while Vignon's works, probably written for angélique, bear no such remarks. Perhaps the adaptation of Gaultier's piece in the 1660s was merely forgotten by the time of its inclusion here in the 1680s.

Whatever the reality, the whole business underscores the uniformity of repertory for solo instruments in French music of the period. Lute pieces can reappear in versions for claveçin or ensemble, guitar works (e.g., Visée's music) were adapted for theorbo and lute, etc. Thus it will not surprise the reader to learn that there is a preponderance of binary-form allemandes, gigues, courantes and sarabandes in our manuscript, with unmeasured preludes liberally scattered throughout. On the conservative side, only one of the gigues is in triple meter,

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3 p.46-7, Gigue de bethune: *Monin*, f. 12'-13 (anon)
p. 50, Sarabande (anon): *Monin*, f. 8 (anon)
p. 64-5, Courante (anon): *Monin*, f. 14'-15 (anon)
p. 66-67, Allemande (anon): *Monin*, f. 17'-18 (anon)
p. 137, Gigue de Bethune: *Monin* f. 16'-17 (anon)
p. 143, Sarabande de Bethune: *Monin*, f. 3 (anon)
p. 146, Courante de Vignon: *Monin*, f. 6'-7 (anon)
p. 147, Sarabande de Vignon: *Monin*, f. 3'-4 (anon)
p. 154, Gavotte de Bethune: *Monin*, f. 9 (anon)

4 The relevant piece is number 11 in *La Rhétorique des Dieux at autres pièces de luth de Denis Gaulter...Publications de la Société française de musicologie*, VI and VII, ed. A. Tessier (Paris, 1932).

appropriately labelled "gigue d'Angleterre." More characteristic of the late seventeenth century is the appearance of several menuets and gavottes, plus a handful of works ascribed to Béthune that bear more unusual titles. Three of them, Trompette, Postillon, and "Fantesie", are in binary form. The fourth, an Echo, is in four sections. These names, plus the galant regularity and simplicity of style in these, the menuets and the gavottes, suggest to me that many of these works were composed in the 1680s or even a bit later. Much of the content of the manuscript, though--certainly the pieces by the Germans and the *Monin* concordances--originated decades earlier. The most extensive work included is Béthune's setting of "Folie d'espagne" starting on p. 162 (not p. 165 as the Index has it; the title is given at the end of the piece). More unusual is the existence of two other works by Béthune explicitly associated with the *Folies* variations, a prelude and a sarabande. However, I cannot discern any musical relationship among them other than key, and they are not adjacent in the manuscript.

In fact, the suite hunter will find little encouragement here. Often adjacent pieces are in different keys, sometimes requiring tuning changes. When several works in the same key appear together the order seems arbitrary, as in this succession in C minor, pp. 50-62: Sarabande-[Gavotte]-Courante-Courante-Allemande-Courante-Courante-Volte. The unavoidable impression is that of a collection of largely unordered works likely stemming from the Béthune atelier, an anthology prepared for sale or for a specific student.

Although lutenists might not find this source useful for performance, I urge players to investigate other manuscript facsimiles published by Minkoff, particularly *Manuscrit Barbe*[5] and *Manuscrit Vaudry de Saizenay*. By far the majority of works by French lutenists of the seventeenth century is found only in manuscript and these representative anthologies, apparently prepared by professional copyists, are easy to read and relatively error-free. Both can serve as superb introductions to the art of *les luthistes*.

WALLACE RAVE
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[5]See the review by David Buch in this *Journal*, XVII-XVIII (1984-85), pp. 133-34.

Communications

To the Editor of the *Journal*,

IN THE LAST ISSUE OF THE *JOURNAL* [XVII-XVIII], I read with interest the list of proposed research projects in the history of the lute (pp. 118-132). It is along these lines that I wish here to describe some projects already or about to be realized, as well as pose a few questions.

In 1985 I completed a *thése de maîtrise* at the Université de Liège entitled *L'idée de la mort dans la musique instrumentale baroque* (2 vols, 249-150 pp.) in which the results are published in "Le tombeau en musique en France à l'époque baroque" *Recherches sur la musique française classique*, 25 [1987], pp. 103-36), and will be published in a forthcoming issue of the *Nuova rivista musicologica italiana*. Both articles deal not only with *tombeaux* written for lute, but for guitar, keyboard and viols as well.

Martine Deprez (Université de Liège) and I are finishing a study on François Campion, which will cover the theoretical, aesthetic and musical work of this unjustly neglected musician.

I should like to add that in the course of a seminar in musicology at the Ecole Normale Supérieure de Paris in 1985-86, Jean-Michel Vaccaro and several students laid the groundwork for an edition of the works of Charles Lespine, which will appear in the series "Corpus des luthistes français." In addition, in musicology seminars at the Université de Liège, directed by Professor Anne-Marie Bragard, I researched various projects including a study of the Scheele manuscript in Hamburg and a stylistic analysis of the work of Jacques de Saint-Luc, which complements the work of Maier.

I bring the above to the attention of the readers of this *Journal* in the hope of stimulating more exchange of information between European and North American scholars working in the area of lute music.

PHILIPPE VENDRIX
UNIVERSITÉ DE LIEGE

To the Editor of the *Journal*,

AN INTERNATIONAL COMMITTEE made up of Monique Rollin (CNRS, Paris), Victor Coelho (The University of Calgary), Dinko Fabris (Istituto di Studi Rinascimentali, Ferrara), François Lesure (Paris), Christian Meyer (CNRS, Strasbourg) and Jean-Michel Vaccaro (Centre d'Etudes Supérieures de la

Renaissance, Université François-Rabelais, Tours), met in Tours, France from September 8-11, 1988, to discuss, plan and launch an ambitious project that will catalogue the entire corpus of manuscript sources in tablature for plucked-string instruments. The catalogue, which forms part of the RISM project, is entitled *Catalogue descriptif des sources manuscrites en tablature: Instruments à cordes pincées* (Descriptive Catalogue of Manuscript Sources in Tablature: Plucked-String Instruments).

This catalogue will provide information on two levels:

1. A description of each source and its present location.

2. A thematic index with a list of concordances for each source.

The project will be dedicated at first to manuscripts for lute and theorbo. Upon completion of this stage, the manuscripts for guitar, and other plucked-string instruments will be catalogued. The catalogue will be prepared in a computer-generated format so that it can be augmented (upon discovery of new sources or concordances, for instance) and/or corrected (in the case of the appearance of new information). This format will also permit a more widespread use and circulation of the catalogue.

The information that will go into this catalogue is being compiled through an international network of participating correspondents and consulting editors chosen by the Committee.

CHRISTIAN MEYER
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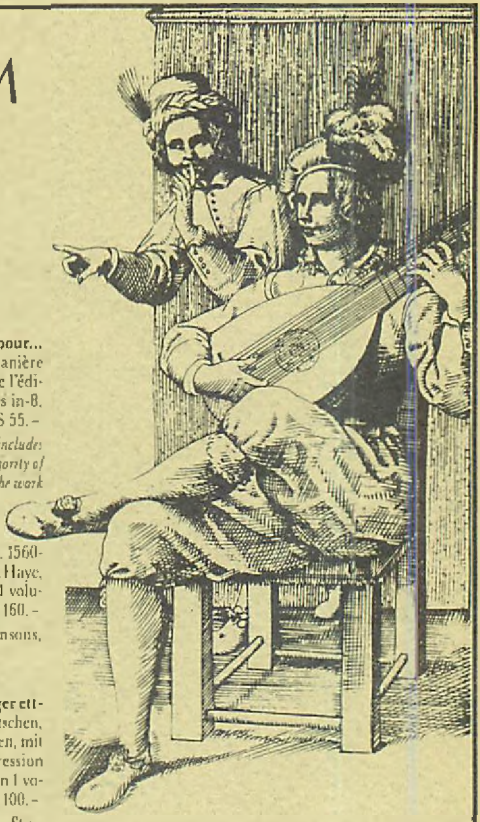

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Italian tablature, discovered at Siena in 1863, containing free pieces, dances, chansons, *madrigals and motets.*

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Important collection in German tablature, compiled by a publisher and lutenist from Strasbourg, containing fantasias, dances and numerous transcriptions of works by R. de Lassus.

GALILEI, Michelagnolo. – **Il primo libro d'intavolatura di liuto...** nel'quale si contengono varie sonate: come toccate, gagliarde, correnti, volte, passemezzi et saltarelli. Introduction et index de **Claude Chauvel**. Réimpression de l'édition de Munich, 1620 *liée avec* **MANUSCRIT WERL (ca. 1620-1650).** – Fac-similé. Introduction, étude des concordances et index par **Robert Spencer**. Genève, 1987. 1 volume in-4 d'environ 300 pages, broché. ISBN 2-8266-0808-8 FS 250.–

The sole surviving copy of Michelagnolo Galilei's Primo Libro d'Intavolatura di Liuto, *a book of Italian dances, dedicated to Maximilian, Duke of Bavaria, bears the signature of Albertus Werl, the compiler of the present collection. The manuscript, which was originally bound together with Galilei's book, contains over 250 pieces in French tablature (among them many unica) and can be regarded as one of the earliest sources of French lute music employing the various tunings in use during the first half of the 17th century. In his preface Galilei warns us that it contains harshness and dissonances which are not (the result of) typographical errors, for he has checked the text with great care.*

MERSENNE, Marin. – **Harmonicorum Libri XII.** In quibus agitur de sonorum natura, causis, et effectibus: De Consonantiis, Dissonantiis, Rationibus, Generibus, Modis, Cantibus, Compositione, orbisque totius Harmonicis Instrumentis. Editio Aucta. Réimpression de l'édition de Paris, 1648. Genève, 1973. 1 volume in-4 de 378 pages, broché. ISBN 2-8266-0268-X FS 180.–

Complementary to the Harmonie universelle, *this work contains a great number of precise details not to be found in Mersenne's major work.*

GAULTIER, Denys. – **La Rhétorique des Dieux.** Fac-similé du ms. du Cabinet des Estampes, Berlin, 78 C 12, ca. 1650. Genève, 1987. Introduction de **François Lesure**. Index. Petit in-4 de 304 pages, broché. ISBN 2-8266-0033-8 FS 170.–

Beautiful manuscript executed in 1650-1655 for a rich connoisseur, Anne de Chambré. It contains twelve Suites, divided into fifty-six pieces for lute, as well as engravings by Abraham Bosse and Eustache Le Sueur, with portraits, including the compositors' by Robert Nanteuil.