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The Early History of The Lute

BY DIANA POULTON

THE PRINCIPLES OF MAKING A MUSICAL INSTRUMENT from some natural object such as a gourd or the shell of a tortoise over which a membrane is stretched with strings of animal gut or some vegetable fibre stretched over it, is of extreme antiquity. When a neck was added to which the strings were tied at the top so that by the placing of the fingers of the left hand on the strings alteration of pitch could be achieved, the ancestor of the lute came into being.

It is now generally agreed that the earliest iconographical record of instruments showing the characteristics of a lute appear on two Mesopotamian seals (British Library Nos. 28806 and 89096) which belong, stylistically, to the period of the Agade (ca. 2340-2198 B.C.).\(^1\) A Babylonian terracotta plaque and a figurine from the early second millenium also show lute players (British Museum Nos. 10843 and 118001).\(^2\) Joan Rimmer is of the opinion that "it is likely that the origins of the lute lie, not with the civilized peoples of Mesopotamia, but with the barbarian mountain people to the north-east of them."\(^3\) Some other experts in the archaeology of musical instruments hold different opinions on this subject and these are all set out by Harvey Turnbull.\(^4\) A later opinion is expressed by Dominique Collon of the British Museum and Anne Draffkorn Kilmer of the University of California, Berkeley,\(^5\) who write "There is nothing in the hair-style or dress of the figures, or in the personal name Ur-ur [inscribed on BM 28806] to support the view that the lute was introduced into Mesopotamia by highland foreigners."

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2 See Joan Rimmer, Ancient Musical Instruments of Western Asia in the British Museum (London, 1969), Pl. IV, a and b.
3 Rimmer, p. 22.
4 Turnbull, pp. 59-61.
They conclude that "The evidence of the Akkadian cylinder seals might tentatively be interpreted as an indication that the instrument was invented by temple musicians and therefore had a certain prestige—a point further emphasized by the textual evidence quoted below." This evidence comes from a Cuneiform text—a Sumerian royal hymn of King Shulgi of Ur (2094-2047 B.C.), from the text known as the Shulgi Hymn B. In a passage in this hymn, the Sumerian word gudi is used which, it is suggested by Benno Landsberger, could be translated as 'lute'.

On none of these representations already mentioned can details of the resonator be clearly seen, but the arm and hand positions of the playing figures show that it is small in relation to the long narrow neck. It is impossible to see by what means the strings are attached at the lower end, but on the Mesopotamian seals B.M. 28806 and 89096, two cords with tassels at their ends are represented hanging from the top of the neck. According to Turnbull, no more figures of lute players have been discovered that can be dated until after the end of the Third Dynasty of Ur (2111-2003 B.C.). He gives a list of those that have been found in various sites in the Ancient Near East.

Marie Therèse Barrelet, in *Figurines et Reliefs en terre cuite de la Mesopotamie antique* (Paris, 1961), shows illustrations of two reliefs and a figurine (Nos. 772, 773 and 774), all three probably from Tell Asmar. They are of uncertain date, but Nos. 772 and 773 are thought to be from ca. 2017-1763 B.C. It is suggested that the figure in No. 772 is holding a plectrum in the right hand.

During the Renaissance period, the legend was frequently repeated that the lute was invented by the god of music, Apollo, who while walking by the river Nile, found the shell of a dead tortoise and converted it into a lute—the common use of the word *testudo* being derived from this belief. That the Egyptians did, in fact, use

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6 Emesal Vocabulary II: 152, *Materialen zum Sumerischen Lexicon*, IV (Rome, 1956), p. 21. The whole passage from this hymn is given by Collon and Draffkorn Kilmer under the heading *Evidence for the lute from Cuneiform Texts*. The translation is by G.R. Castellino.

7 Turnbull discusses the different opinions of various writers concerning the use of the plectrum and the date at which it was introduced; see "The Origin of the Long-necked Lute," p. 65.
the shell of a tortoise for the soundbox of a small type of lute is demonstrated by an exhibit in the British Library, 104. 3817 in the Egyptian Rooms.8 The body of the shell is in good condition, but the edge is now badly damaged. One side shows a series of rectangular apertures cut in the shell to allow the free passage of the sound. The skin covering is fragmentary, but still bridges part of the hollow and stretches down the side to cover some of the apertures. The skin has traces of red paint.

Hans Hickmann's book contains a number of illustrations of the larger long-necked lute from wall paintings and reliefs.9 Two marvellously preserved instruments are also shown, one, Ex. 99, dating from the time of the XVIII Dynasty (1580-1320 B.C.), the other, Ex. 100, from the time of Queen Hatschepsut (1520-1484 B.C.). The first of these has an oval body, the second a more elongated shape. The long slender neck on this type of instrument was held in position by wooden bars inside the body and by passing through the skin stretched over the resonator, which acted as a soundboard. In Ex. 100 the neck can be seen to project beyond the lower end of the instrument forming a small knob to which the strings are attached. Many of the paintings and reliefs show two tassels hanging from the end of the neck, as in the Mesopotamian seals. On a relief from a Theban necropolis, dating from the XVIII Dynasty, a lute is shown on which one tassel hangs from the top of the neck, the other from some distance lower, showing that the two strings are tuned at a different pitch.10 A wall painting from the same source and period, now in the British Museum, shows two girls playing lutes on the necks of which frets can clearly be seen. In this case, a small string holder, perhaps made of ivory, is attached to the lower end of the neck stopping short of reaching the end of the body.11 Another wall painting from the same necropolis shows a lute from ca. 1500 B.C.

8 The description is as follows:
   Date: New Kingdom [1580-1090 B.C.]. Provenance unrecorded.
   Length: 41/8" x 10.5 cm; breadth: 35/16" x 8.4 cm; depth: 113/16 x 4.6 cm.
   Material of tortoiseshell and skin.

10 Hickmann, Ex. 7.
11 Hickmann, Ex. 39.
which has three cords hanging from the neck, only slightly spaced from each other. On still another wall painting from the same source, from the time of Ramses II (1298-1232 B.C.), a lute appears with three and possibly a fourth binding, although only two strings are actually depicted. The spacing between the bindings is far greater on the second of these than on the first.

That the short-necked lute had made its first appearance in Egypt during the period of the New Kingdom (1580-1090 B.C.) can be seen from a statuette of a man sitting cross-legged, holding an instrument. The pear-shaped body and the short, broad neck are quite distinctive. The provenance of the statuette, now in the Cairo Museum, is unknown. Another short-necked lute, from the XIX-XX Dynasty (1320-1085 B.C.), appears on a statuette of a seated woman musician also now in the Cairo Museum.

Higgins' and Winnington-Ingram's comprehensive study of the lute in Greece shows that the lyre was more frequently used in the Greek lands than the lute. Thirteen examples are listed and carefully described. In addition to those from the Greek mainland, others come from Cyprus and the Egyptian lands conquered by Alexander the Great in 332-331 B.C. The figure most commonly represented as playing the lute is that of the God Eros. Women are also shown and there is one example, from Memphis, possibly as late as the first century A.D., of a "grotesque dwarf."

Two types of instruments can be distinguished. Type A, of which there are only three examples, is more closely related to the long-necked lute, having the resonator and the neck clearly defined, although the neck is not as long as in the Egyptian examples. The authors describe the resonator as being "roughly spade-shaped," the lower end being straight. In none of these examples can the back of the instrument be seen. In Type B, to which all the other examples belong and which mostly date from within the third century B.C., the resonator tapers into the neck without any sharp demarcation.

12 Hickmann, Exx. 118 and 62.
13 Hickmann, Ex. 103.
14 Hickmann, Ex. 104.
In some ways the most informative example of this type is the figure of a woman, now in the Louvre. She sits on a rock and holds the lute high against her chest. The upper part of the short neck is missing although enough of the left hand remains to show where the neck would have ended. The instrument is small in relation to the figure and there is comparatively little difference between the width of the resonator and of the neck. In neither Type A nor Type B are tuning pegs shown, and the strings were probably bound into position by a method similar to that used on the Egyptian lutes. In four examples of Type B a small knob can be seen at the lower end of the body. The authors suggest that "it is possible that the strings were fastened at this knob before passing over the bridge to the neck." This method of fastening was probably inherited from the long-necked lute such as the one shown by Hickmann, previously mentioned. In more sophisticated instruments a form of bridge attached to the soundboard was introduced. Such a feature can be seen on the lute held by the woman shown by Higgins and Winnington-Ingram in Plate XVI, 3 and 4.

Evidence of the use of frets on the neck has been found by the authors in only one case, that of the figure of a girl, now in the British Museum, of which the provenance is unknown, but which probably dates from about 330-300 B.C.\textsuperscript{16} In some cases a plectrum is shown but, the authors point out, its use is not specifically associated with either of the two types.

The several different names which appear in the works of Greek writers and may have been used to indicate lutes are also discussed, and the authors conclude that the word pandoura is "virtually certain." However, James McKinnon, writing on the pandoura in The New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians (1980), expresses the opinion that the association of this word with the lute should be treated with caution. Another name, skindapsos, is also mentioned by Higgins and Winnington-Ingram as a possibility, and is furthermore a word that was used by at least one Greek writer of the fourth century B.C.

Although iconographical evidence makes it abundantly clear that music played an important part in the life of the early civilizations of

\textsuperscript{16} Plate XVI, 1 and 2.
the Orient, particularly in relation to religious ritual, little is known about the character of the music itself. Several experts, such as Sachs and Galpin, have put forward theories about pitch, based on the measurements of various surviving instruments and on whether a scale was pentatonic or heptatonic. Such calculations, though fascinating in themselves, bring us little nearer to a realization of the actual sound which reached the ears of the listener in those far-off days. Only a very few fragments of notated music have survived from this time, and the interpretation of these has been the subject of considerable discussion.

The Lute in Ancient Greece

With the coming of Greek civilization, information finally begins to be available from which experts have been able to draw certain conclusions. The great importance which music played in Greek life is demonstrated in many forms of pictorial art, and this importance was reflected in the theatre. Euripedes (ca. 485-406 B.C.) writes how it was employed to heighten emotional tension and to emphasize changes of mood by the use of different modes.17 These modes did not, however, consist of musical intervals as demonstrated by Pythagoras but, arranged in groups totalling four to eight notes, they included quarter and half tones, and tones of more than one size, some larger than those in use today, arranged in a variety of positions.18

Although monody was the basic characteristic of Greek music, the simultaneous sounding of two tones was not entirely excluded. The earliest departure from monody may have been singing in antiphony (in octaves) and heterophony, which may have resulted in the occasional sounding of harmonic intervals. According to Reese, "The playing round the fundamental line was probably not very free in Greek music—this definition was written with an advanced type of heterophony in mind—and the accompaniment doubtless duplicated the basic line much of the time."19 The use of the double

18 See Gustave Reese, Music in the Middle Ages (New York, 1941), pp. 20-53.
19 Reese, op. cit., p. 50.
pipe, *aulos*, also known to the Assyrians and Egyptians, and later to the Romans, suggests that some simple accompanying line could also be played on both instruments. Harp players are sometimes shown with both hands placed on strings at some distance apart, which suggests that more than one note is being played rather than that both are hands are being used to render the melody. Unfortunately, it is impossible to tell from the limited number of representations of lutes whether their music was entirely homophonic or whether any secondary line of accompaniment was used.

According to Haldane, the kithara "was pre-eminently the instrument of Appolline worship," with the aulos "being used to accompany the sacrifice and libation...and to ward off evil spirits..." The lute is not mentioned. The existence of only thirteen surviving representations, as listed by Higgins and Winnington-Ingram, compared with the number of representations of the harp, lyre, aulos, syrinx, bells, and trumpet, suggests that it may have played a less important part in Greek musical life, possibly only being played in intimate circumstances.

**The Lute in the Ancient Near East and Indian Subcontinent**

That the lute was known to Hebrews in Biblical times is not surprising considering the geographical position of their land and their close affinity with other Semitic peoples of the ancient Near East. Isaiah, in rebuking the people of Jerusalem, wrote: "And the harp [kinnor] and the lute [nebhel] and the tabret [topph] and the pipe [halil] and wine in their feasts, but they regard not the work of the Lord" (Isaiah, v. 12).

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21 See Haldane, op. cit.
During the early centuries of our own era, the use of the lute in widely-separated parts of the world becomes apparent. In 1954, Michael Prynne reported on a frieze from Airtram which he had seen in an exhibition in the Hermitage in Leningrad. According to the catalogue of the exhibition, it consists of a fragment of masonry which decorated a temple of the first century A.D. Three angel musicians are shown; the middle one holds an instrument of which Prynne gave the following description: "It clearly shows four strings attached to a lute-type bridge; the neck with its peg-box is missing but the posture of the musician leaves little doubt about its approximate size. The four C-holes are clearly shown and there is a small circular hole below the bridge. The player has a plectrum between her fingers."  

At about the same time, the short-necked lute can be traced to a region to the northwest of India where the existing culture had come under strong Hellenistic influence resulting in a mixed style generally known as Gandharan. A relief from this period shows a lute with a larger body than the Greek short-necked lute, and of an unusual shape—the outline, as seen from the front, being broken on each side by what Sachs describes as "a kind of barb."  

Claudie Marcel-Dubois suggests that this shape might possibly have been derived from that of an earlier instrument constructed from two gourds placed one above the other. The neck is shorter than the body and the right hand holds a plectrum. Marcel-Dubois is of the opinion that the position in which the player supports the lute with the right arm would allow sufficient freedom to the left hand (which, unfortunately, is destroyed in the relief) for the fingers to be used to stop the two strings.

Two other types of lutes are described and illustrated. The "ovoid" lute, which has a slightly bent peg-box and two lateral


24 Curt Sachs, *The History of Musical Instruments* (New York, 1940), Plate IX, B.

soundholes, is played without a plectrum. The left hand grasps the peg-box, suggesting that, in this case, the fingers are not used to stop, what appear to be, three strings. According to the author, the "ovoid" lute was not seen again until several hundred years after the Gandhara period, when it appeared in the South of India, at Amaravati. By this time it had undergone considerable development and had a longer neck than the Gandhara lute and five pegs. The fingers of the left hand were almost certainly used to stop the strings.

The third type was a long-necked instrument with a small, round body which appeared in the tenth century and continued to be used, in varying forms and under different names to the present day in India, Pakistan, Afghanistan, Turkey, Iran, Iraq, Algeria, Morocco, and as far east as China.

The Lute in Ancient Rome

Evidence for the lute in Roman society comes mainly from its appearance among groups of musicians shown in reliefs on sarcophagi from the second century A.D. onwards. Compared with the lyre, percussion and wind instruments, it appears to have enjoyed a very limited popularity. Although the lute may have been introduced into Rome after the conquest of the Hellenic kingdoms in the second century B.C., by the time these sarcophagi were made, considerable differences of design had developed and none of the examples resembles in detail either the Greek long- or short-necked lute. From the illustrations included in books that deal with the subject, it appears that the most common type was quite long in comparison with the figures that hold it. The resonator and the neck pass into each other without any demarcation, the breadth at the widest part being only slightly greater than that of the neck. Georg Kinsky shows an instrument of this kind, dating from the second

26 Marcel-Dubois, p. 89 and Pl. XIV, 2.
27 Marcel-Dubois, Pl. XIV, 3.
century A.D., now in the Louvre.\(^29\) Two women are holding it between them in an almost upright position. There are a number of strings but exactly how many is not clear. Among those shown by Günter Flieschauer is one from a sarcophagus dating from the third century A.D., now in the Lateran Museum, Rome, which has two lateral soundholes and four strings.\(^30\) Page 133 in Flieschauer, ex. 77, from a sarcophagus of ca. 340-360 A.D., now in St. Crisogono, Rome, shows a woman holding a lute, of which the details are extremely clear. It has a similar narrow, elongated shape but the rounded lower end is broken by a straight section. The four strings are tied to a bridge. On p. 133, ex. 78, on a sarcophagus from the middle of the third century A.D., now in the Lateran Museum, Rome, a boy is shown playing a similar instrument, except that the end is rounded. The four strings are attached to a bridge and, at the top of the neck, they are held in position on the front by what might possibly be pegs entering from behind. Two instruments from a sarcophagus p. 131, ex. 75 (in Flieschauer), dating from the end of the third century A.D., and now in the National Museum, Naples, are somewhat nearer the long-necked lute in the relationship between the neck and the resonator, although the neck is a little wider. The resonator is angular in shape and there is a clearer demarcation between it and the neck. At the upper end, and also on the instrument shown in ex. 77, there is a small inverted crescent. This may be purely decorative, or it may be part of a device to hold the strings. In every case, the lute is held in an almost upright position and it is clear that no plectrum is used. The left hand is placed on the strings, although, in some cases, in a clumsy position.

A third type appears on a limestone sarcophagus of a Roman musician of the second to third century A.D., now in the Museum at Arles.\(^31\) This shows a lute and a cithara and, between them, a book and a plectrum. The lute appears sideways on and has an extremely


deep, rounded body and a sharply delineated neck about equal in length to that of the body.

In Rome, music was credited with strong magical powers and played an important part in the ritual of sacrifice. The lute does not, however, appear to have been among the instruments associated with these ceremonies. It is known that many musicians came from abroad, especially from Greece, and performed in the homes of the wealthy and distinguished families. Possibly, the lute found its chief place in these more intimate occasions rather than in the theatre and other public displays. In Rome, too, music was counted as benefitting the amateur performer even, during the days of the Empire, up to the Emperors themselves. Knowledge of Nero's (37-68 A.D.) musical proclivities has, of course, come down to us in the story of his having played while Rome burned in 64 A.D., but literary sources make it clear that Caligula (12-41 A.D.), Hadrian (76-138 A.D.) and others were sufficiently expert in singing and playing solo instruments to compete in public with professional performers.

After the fall of the Western Roman Empire in 476 A.D., the history of the lute in Western Europe becomes obscure for some centuries. But with the transference of the center of power to Constantinople and the growth of the Byzantine Empire, it is not surprising to find evidence of its presence in these eastern territories. A seated male figure playing a lute appears in a mosaic floor in the Great Palace in Constantinople, possibly dating from earlier than 410 A.D.,32 while a woman, seated on a throne, playing a lute, is carved on a panel of an eleventh-century Byzantine ivory casket.33 Meanwhile, both written and pictorial evidence show that the lute continued its long course of development in the Near and Far East.

33 Now in the Hessisches Landsmuseum, Darmstadt.
The Lute in China

In China, the earliest references to the lute occur in two texts which have been carefully examined by Lawrence Picken. The following passages are quoted from his translations:

From Shih Ming (Explanations of Names) (Liu Hsi, ca. A.D. 200, not before 126 nor later than 270). "P'i-p'a: originally arose among Northern or Western barbarians; that which is played on horseback. Pushing the hand forwards is called p'i; pushing it backwards is called p'a. Depicts what happens when it is played; therefore used as name." From Feng Su T'ung (Meaning of Current Customs and Expressions) (Ying Chao, ca. A.D. 200). "P'i-p'a: That which musicians of recent times made; not known who. Forwards and backwards with the hand, p'i-p'a therefore used as name. Three 'feet' five 'inches' long [that is, about three feet long; not fifteen inches as stated by Moule] after the pattern of Heaven, Earth, Man and the Five Elements. Four strings figure Four Seasons."

After examining the origin of the word p'i-p'a and the movement it implies, Picken points out that no other instrument in use in China at that time demands the forward and backward movement of the hand so described. This fact, together with the

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37 R.H. van Gulik, in The Lore of the Chinese Lute (Tokyo, 1940), p. 146, gives a translation of fifty-four of the abbreviated signs, the chien-tzu, used to describe the exact movement of each finger in playing the zither. For example:
   2) T'o: the thumb of the right hand pulls the string outwards...
   3) Po (sometimes read as P'i): the thumb of the right hand pulls the string inwards (with the nail).

Although there is an outward and inward movement of the thumb described here and, subsequently, of all of the fingers, it does not involve the whole hand as would be the case if a plectrum were used.

This book is, in fact, about the zither, which van Gulik mistakenly translates as 'lute'. Nevertheless, it is a fascinating study, dealing not only with practical matters
description and size of the instrument along with the other pieces of information contained in the two quotations, leads Picken to the conclusion that the p’i-p’a was not indigenous to China, that its introduction was recent in the century, and that these characteristics are "not incompatible with the view that the p’i-p’a at its first appearance in China was a lute (though not necessarily a short lute)." He refers to a story told in the Liu Sung History of the fifth century, which has been quoted in support of the contention that the earliest p’i-p’a was not a lute. It runs as follows: "When the Emperor of Han sent the Wusun Princess to marry K’un-mi [Khan of the Wusun, a Central Asian people] being mindful of her thoughts and longings on the journey, he therefore ordered a craftsman to cut down [or modify] cheng and chu [two types of Chinese zither, the latter with a short neck or handle] and make music for horseback."

In the Liu Sung History, the source of this story is given as a poetical essay (fu) on the p’i-p’a by Fu Hsüan (A.D. 217-278), but fragments of the same fu go back to an earlier date, some perhaps even to the T’ung Tien (General Encyclopedia) the author being, in this case, Tu Yu, who died in 812 B.C.. Picken is, as far as is known, the first person to examine all the fragments with the early history of the p’i-p’a in mind and he has discovered that the older versions are more extended and give a description which can only be interpreted as referring to a lute. Picken takes the constructional points first. According to his translation we read: "Consider now that instrument: inside hollow, outside solid, an image of Heaven and Earth; the bowl round, the handle straight, in conformity with the Female and Male principles; twelve frets, chu matched with the [twelve] Pitch Pipes; four strings, figuring the Four Seasons."

Picken discusses the word chu and concludes that, although it is more usually applied to the movable bridges of the zither in use today, and on the ancient seh, it almost certainly, at that early date, conformed with the present use of the Sino-Japanese ideograph chu such as the technique of playing and the ancient notation, but also with Chinese philosophy and cosmology in relation to music.

38 Picken, "The Origin of the Short Lute," p. 34.
for the fixed frets of the *gahu-biwa* (a bass lute). He is still in doubt whether a short- or long-necked lute is indicated by these details but suggests that if some of the frets were placed on the soundboard it would be quite possible to accommodate the twelve frets on a short-necked instrument.

Many stories in the *Liu Sing History* may well have been invented to provide evidence of a Chinese origin for an instrument which attained a considerable popularity. What appears certain is that its presence in China was the result of the close contact with the nomadic peoples of Central and Western Asia and Northern India during the Han dynasty (206 B.C.-220 A.D.) and that—though writers such as Fu Hsuan admitted that the word *p'i-p'a* was of foreign origin—they wished to make it appear that the lute had been invented in China, had passed outside the Empire, and then returned with a foreign name.

R.H. van Gulik\(^40\) describes a zither in the Shosoin of Nara\(^41\) in Japan on which, on a space at the upper end of the soundboard, is a scene, inlaid in gold and silver, showing three men seated in front of a tree. The one in the center holds what van Gulik describes as a "mandolin-like instrument which by its round body with the broad band over it, may be identified as a *ch'in p'i-p'a*, a forerunner of the Japanese *biwa.*"\(^42\) The length of the straight neck is equal to that of the length of the body; there are four strings with four lateral pegs in a straight peg-box. At the opposite end the strings are held by a bridge placed on the soundboard. A large plectrum is held in the right hand of the player. Frets are shown on the soundboard as well as on the neck. When all the evidence has been examined van Gulik considers that the zither must have been made in China and is inclined to "ascribe it to, perhaps, the latter part of the Six Dynasties (220-588 A.D.)." He suggests that, since old instruments were preferred to new ones in China, the zither was already a valuable antique by the T'ang period and may have been taken by Chinese envoys to the Japanese court.

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\(^{41}\) The mid-eighth-century imperial treasure house.

\(^{42}\) van Gulik, *The Lore of the Chinese Lute*, Illustration VI. The "broad band" across the soundboard is, according to Picken, "comparable to the leather band on the *gaku-biwa*" that is, the later Japanese bass lute.
The earliest Chinese reference to a "bent-necked p‘i-p‘a," according to Picken's researches, is in the Sui History of 629. To prove that the "bent-necked p‘i-p‘a" was the ovoid lute, he quotes a passage from the Old T’ang History in the version completed about 760: "The other p‘i-p‘as are in shape full above, pointed below, neck bent, and rather large. Originally arose among Northern or Western barbarians. According to common tradition made in Han times." The inversion of the pear-shape accords with the position in which the ovoid lute is held in representations from the T’ang period.43

The Lute in Japan

A search through existing bibliographies suggests that less work has been done on the history of the lute in Japan and, so far, nothing appears to have been published which assembles information from early documents which can compare with the thorough investigation of the Chinese P‘i-p‘a made by Lawrence Picken. However, some details are given in an article on Japanese music in The New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians. Here it is stated that there are two kinds of biwa, the first of these having been brought from China in the late seventh century. This type has an ovoid body; the peg-box is turned back at a sharp angle, and it has four strings and four frets on the neck. It is sometimes called the kanbiwa, classing it with the Chinese p‘i-p‘a of the Han dynasty (206 B.C.-220-A.D.). The back is highly decorated and the parchment is glued to the soundboard. Five specimens of this type are preserved in the Shosoin.

The second type is thought to have been brought from Kyuiji, an ancient kingdom of Western China, where the prevailing culture was Buddhist. It is suggested, therefore, that it was brought to Japan at the time that Buddhism was introduced. The writer of this article points to the depiction of a similar lute on a bas-relief in the Buddhist temple at Amaravati in Southern India (ca. second century A.D.). It has five strings; five frets on the straight neck and a

slimmer body than the *kanwiba*. The single extant example of this type is preserved in the Shosoin. A drawing of this instrument appears in Fernald's article.44

The Arabic Lute

From all accounts it appears that the lute was widely used throughout the Arab world. Although the ancient civilizations of Babylonian and Assyrian times had gradually declined, traces of these early cultures were still found among the descendants of these Semitic peoples. Owing to economic and political causes during the second century A.D., a wave of migrations began to move northward from South Arabia, some of which eventually reached as far north as Babylonia and Syria.45 During these waves of migration, two important cities of Al-Hijaz, Mecca and Medina and the surrounding territory, came under the domination of clans moving from the south. Under the rule of the Qurish the city became the center of a brilliant culture unrivalled, at that time, in any other part of the Near East. Music flourished, and among the instruments mentioned in writings of the period, the *mishar*—the skin-bellied lute—is listed.

About the third century A.D., a group of Arab tribes, who had moved northward into Mesopotamia and settled in Iraq, eventually made Al-Hira, near the ancient town of Babylon, their chief city. Poetry and music blossomed and it was here that the *'ud*, the wooden-bellied lute, is thought to have been developed. In the sixth century A.D., it would seem, the wooden-bellied *'ud* replaced the skin-bellied *mishar* in Al-Hijaz.

Much of this writing stresses the great importance that music played in the lives of the peoples of both Arab and Semitic descent in all parts of the Near East but, after the death of the Prophet Muhammad (ca. 571-632), dissension arose as to whether the

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44 See H.E. Fernald, "Chinese Musical Instruments," p. 431, where it is described as "The Five Stringed Pi-p'a specimen in the Shosoin, Nara. Drawn from the Tokyo Shuko."

performance of, or listening to, music other than that involved in religious ritual and songs of war against the infidel were unlawful. Certain factions attempted to prove that Muhammad's words could be interpreted as supporting this contention. Much was written at the time and has been written since on this subject although, according to Henry George Farmer, no direct censure of music appears in the Qur'an. Even among those who lent general support to the idea that musical activity should be controlled, there were differences of opinion, some allowing that certain musical instruments were not objectionable while agreeing that all singing should be banned. Others insisted on a total ban on all secular music other than that of military music, which encouraged the warlike spirit among the soldiers.

So powerful were some of the opponents of music that, at the time of Harun al' Rashid (768-800), musicians were denied ordinary justice in the courts. The Imam al-Shafī, leader of one of the most powerful schools of orthodox Muslim thought, had laid it down that "the testimony of women that lament or sing is not admissible, because they are guilty of forbidden actions, in as much as the Prophet has prohibited those two species of noise." According to the laws of that period, there were certain classes of theft which were punishable by amputation of the hand. The Shafī'i school maintained that "the hand of the thief is not cut off according to the two disciples for stealing a duff, a tabl, or mizmar, because, in their opinion, these articles bear no price." The main reason for this opposition to music probably lay in music's deeply ingrained association with Pagan ideals among the Arabic peoples. In spite of the few powerful schools of thought that considered themselves to be truly orthodox, the power of music was too strong, and continued to play a part in the lives of the Islamic peoples.

After the death of Muhammad an interdict on music was maintained by the orthodox khalifs who were in power up to the year 661. Nevertheless, music, especially the art of singing, continued to be widely practiced and the names of some of the men and women who performed have been preserved in writing. These musicians

were, however, all from the servile classes and, in spite of their great popularity, some suffered harsh punishment, or even death. Others escaped persecution by being under the protection of powerful families. From this period too, we begin to learn the names of some of the singers who accompanied themselves on the mizhar or 'ud. There was Azza al-Maila who died ca. 705. She is said to have excelled in playing both the mizhar and the 'ud. There was also Hunain al-Hiri, a native of Al-Hira and a Christian who died ca. 718. He is reported to have been a first-rate performer on the 'ud, an excellent singer, and a composer of repute.

The continued use of musical instruments and especially the popularity of the lute can be seen from the decorations on silverware platters, bowls and vases, frescoes, and medallions, from Iran, Iraq, and Arabia from the sixth century onwards. Here, the typical ovoid shape can be seen with the body tapering into the short neck and in the sharply turned-back peg-box with four pegs. The four strings proceed upwards from a string holder on the lower end of the soundboard. In some cases a plectrum is seen clearly in the hand of the player.

In 661, the Umayyads seized power and the situation changed completely. They came from the Pagan aristocracy and retained their hold of the khalifate until 750. The capital was moved from Al-Medina to Damascus, and from there they extended the Muslim empire to China in the east and to the west as far as the Atlantic. Under their rule a great resurgence of the arts, including music, came about. Musicians were no longer treated as outcasts. The nobility, and even some of the khalifs themselves, expressed openly their love of music and in some cases studied and became proficient performers and composers. Al-Walid II (734-744) is known to have been a performer on the 'ud and, during his reign, music became enormously popular and large sums of money were spent on famous musicians and singers.

Contact between the Arabs of the peninsula and the descendants of those who had migrated to the north appears to have been fairly consistently maintained, with well-known musicians travelling between these distant regions. It is thought possible that the Arabs of Iraq and Persia possessed the Pythagorean scale, while those of Al-Hijaz still used an entirely different musical system, although its pre-
cise character remains unknown. When Al-Nadr ibn al-Harith brought the 'ud from Iraq towards the end of the sixth century, it is possible that melodies in the Pythagorean system may have been heard for the first time in Al-Hijaz. Other musicians, after hearing the music of Persia and returning to Arabia, appear to have grafted some characteristics of Persian music upon the indigenous modes and to have brought about some stylistic changes. Among them was the alteration to the tuning of the 'ud the old tuning having been C-D-G-a, while the new tuning was A-D-G-c.

During the first period of the Abbasid dynasty (750-847), the cultivation of art, literature, and the study of science rose to a level never before attained. A new capital was founded at Baghdad and became famous for its intellectual life. The splendour of its palaces and other buildings was legendary and intellectuals were attracted from all over the Eastern world. The name of Harun-al-Rashid (786-809) became known throughout the East and was to pass into the west through many translations of the Thousand and One Nights, the best known in England being that of Sir Richard Burton (1821-1890). Among the instruments, the 'ud continued to flourish, and was played not only by professional musicians but by all ranks of society, including members of the families of the kalifs themselves. Its principal use appears to have been as an accompaniment to the voice, and there are accounts of entertainments at court at which as many as a hundred singing girls took part, accompanying themselves on the 'ud.

Although it is thought possible that some polyphonic system may have existed at this period, no evidence has yet come to light as to how such a system worked. From all accounts, it appears that music was entirely homophonic, the 'ud following the voice either at the unison or the octave, the only divergence being that the voice was expected to work in heterophony. As with Pythagorean and Chinese musical systems, a powerful interrelation between celestial and terrestrial music was thought to have existed with the seven notes of the scale corresponding with the planets. In the case of the

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48 An expurgated version was published by Lady Burton, after her husband's death, under the title Arabian Nights.
The four strings, four pegs, and four frets were related to the twelve signs of the zodiac. 49

Meanwhile, under the Umayyads, the empire had expanded even to the extent of establishing the Muslim presence in Western Europe. At this time the Iberian peninsula had a mixed population consisting of African tribes, Celts from over the Pyrenees, Phoenicians, Greeks, Carthaginians, and Romans. From 415 A.D. the peninsula came under Visigothic control with elective kingship. In 710 some disaffected groups with the intention of overwhelming the elected king, Roderick, sought help from the Barbars of North Africa who, after stiff resistance, had eventually been conquered and converted to the Islamic faith. In 711 an army of 7000 men, under the command of Tariq-ibn-Viyad, crossed the straits of Gibraltar and, meeting with little resistance, made their way as far northward as Cordoba. A second invasion followed in 712, this time under the command of Musa-ibn-Nusayr, the general who had been responsible for the conquest of the North African coast. In 714 the two armies then subdued the rest of the peninsula with the exception of the Asturias, where resistance was never abandoned. They then pressed even further to the North.

While the reign of the Umayyads continued, governors were appointed and the province then became known as Al-Andaluz. In 775, however, when the Abbasids seized power, the last survivor of the Umayyad family, Abd al-Rahman, fled to Andaluz where he met with sufficient support to enter Cordoba, the capital where, in 756, as Abd al-Rahman I, he was proclaimed sultan. He did much to pacify the many different warlike factions within the country, and it was during his reign that Al-Andaluz set out on a path that was to lead to the zenith of its glory in the reign of Abd al-Rahman III (912-61). In spite of his heavy political commitments, Abd al-Rahman I appears to have had time for the enjoyment of music and he is known to have delighted in the performance of his singing girl 'Afza, who accompanied herself on the 'ud.

It has, of course, been realized by specialists in many departments of learning that Arabic civilization had at the time of the

49 Farmer, A History of Arabian Music, p. 110, refers to Al-Kindi, where these theories are dealt with at length.
conquest of Al-Andaluz, reached a stage of development unknown in any part of Western Europe. As Farmer remarks, "It was the cynosure of every eye beyond its confines...Art, science and letters rose to an eminence unheard of since the days of Grecian splendour."\textsuperscript{50}

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An Intabulation for Contrabass Lute?

By David Nutter

The largest member of the lute family, the great bass or contrabass lute, is documented in German and Italian sources. Though its literature remains largely speculative, it is not until the beginning of the seventeenth century that its tuning and dimensions can be documented. An early reference to the instrument appears in the 1566 inventory of Raymond Fugger's collection where two of the five large lutes ("grosse Lautten") listed are specified as contrabass instruments.1 Michael Praetorius relates that the octave great bass lute ("Gross Octav Bass Laut") was tuned in G, an octave lower than the "ordinary chorist or alto lute" ("Recht Chorist oder Alt Laute"). 2 The earliest extant contrabass lute, by Michael Hartung (Michielle Harton), was built at Padua in 1602, and is preserved in the Germanisches Nationalmuseum, Nuremberg. Its dimensions are impressive: seven (originally eight) double-strung courses and a string length of just over a yard (93.8 cms). Two slightly later exemplars show that the Harton instrument is not unique for its period.3


3 The dimensions of the Hartung instrument are given in Ernst Pohlman, Laute, Theorbe, Chitarrone, 5th edn. (Bremen, 1982), p. 330. See also Ian Harwood, "Lute, §4: History," The New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians (London, 1980), XI: 348-49 for an illustration of different lute sizes to scale, including the Hartung instrument. Robert Lundberg kindly informs me that Harton's contrabass appears to have been an eight-course instrument before the original holes in the bridge were plugged and redrilled by F. Hellwig about 1968; two of the 16 original pegs are not now used. Lundberg also notes the survival of contrabass lutes by Magno Stegher (ca.
The survival of the contrabass well into the early decades of the seventeenth century suggests that it had not been superseded entirely by the chitarrone, an instrument of comparable bass extension. In contrast to the chitarrone, the contrabass is distinguished by its capacity for sonorities placed entirely in the lower octave. As the largest member of the Renaissance lute family, it occupies a position analogous to that of the lowest pitched instrument in Italian viol consorts. Banchieri's "concerto di quattro viole da gamba" (Conclusioni nel suono dell'organo, 1609) consists of tenor in G playing the superius (quarta viola in soprano), two basses in D playing alto and tenor parts (viola mezzana da gamba) and great bass in G (violone da gamba); this latter corresponds to Praetorius's contrabass lute tuning. Banchieri also gives tunings for seven-course lutes in G (liuto) and D (liuto grosso), a 13-course chitarrone in G, and a violone in contrabasso tuned an octave below the bass. Both Praetorius and Banchieri use "contrabasso" to describe an instrument tuned an octave lower than the alto or tenor of the same family, "against" or beneath the bass.

While large lutes were clearly abundant, and a contrabass may lurk among the "liuti grandi" attested by 16th century inventories, its participation in consorts of variously-sized lutes leaves much to the imagination. In this regard, published sources are less than illuminating. Pacoloni's dances for lute trio call for instruments pitched respectively a 4th and a 5th lower than the superius (A-E-D or G-D-C tunings); and Adriaenssens's arrangements of SATB vocal works for four lutes call for G-F-D-C tunings at written vocal

1620, Museo Civico, Bologna) and Andrea Harton (ca. 1630, Shrine to Music Museum, Vermillion, South Dakota).

4 Intabulations of vocal works for bass lute include Bossinensis' two volumes of frottole (1509 and 1511) and the Willaert intabulations of Verdelot's madrigals (1536). Of the hundreds of lutes remaining in Lucas Maler's workshop at the time of his death in 1552, "liuti grandi" outnumber "liuti piccoli" by a ratio of nearly two to one; one box contained a set of eight large lutes ("una cassa veneziana con 8 liuti grandi novi dentro"); see Lodovico Frati, "Liutisti e liutai a Bologna," Rivista musicale italiana, XXVI (1919), pp. 109-10. Italian viol tunings suggest a similar taste for low sonorities; see Ian Woodfield, The Early History of the Viol (Cambridge, 1984), pp. 140-54.
pitch.\textsuperscript{5} If the contrabass were to double another instrument at the lower octave, then there would be little need to notate its music (compare the violone "literature"). The picture is given a slightly different twist by Alessandro Piccinini who describes the use of very large lutes ("liuti grandissimi"), restrung at a higher pitch but with the first course tuned down an octave, playing ensemble dance music in combination with small lutes, and of the fine sonority thus achieved. He further remarks that bass lutes restrung with the top two courses at the lower octave were ideally suited to accompany the solo voice, the end result of this evolutionary process being the chitarrone.\textsuperscript{6} If, as Piccinini claims, the bass lute was too low-pitched to accompany the voice satisfactorily (he is speaking of monody), then the even lower tuning of the contrabass implicitly excludes it from the same role.

But in the preceding century one anonymous lutenist at the Accademia Filarmonica of Verona evidently thought differently. An unbound sheet containing the vocal superius and lute intabulation of a setting of Petrarch's sonnet "Quel rossignuol" (Canz., CCCXI) is nowadays tucked into the back of a tenor partbook of the academy's Ms. 223, a set of three partbooks containing mostly ensemble intabulations of vocal music.\textsuperscript{7} The sonnet's octet, "Quel rossignuol," is written on the recto and the sextet, "O che liève," on the verso of an oblong sheet of paper measuring 28 x 21.5 cms ruled with six staves of five lines; the lute intabulation has an added sixth line (recto: below; verso: above) drawn by hand.

The music on the recto, "Quel rossignuol," is by Baldassare Donato, a singer at St. Mark's Basilica, Venice. Donato's six-voice

\textsuperscript{5} Giovanni Pacoloni, Tribus testudinibus ludenda carmina (Louvain, 1564; facs. edn., Geneva, 1981); Emanuel Adriænssen, Pratum musicum (Antwerp, 1584; facs. edn., Buren, 1977).


\textsuperscript{7} The contents of Ms. 223 are listed in Giuseppe Turrini, "Catalogo descrittivo dei manoscritti musicali antichi della Società Accademia Filarmonica di Verona" Atti dell'Accademia di Agricoltura, Scienze e Lettere di Verona, 5th ser., XV (1937), 177-194 (offprint: Verona, 1937). Turrini lists "O che liève" but apparently did not recognize the recto contains the first part of "Quel rossignuol." I am preparing a study of the contents of Ms. 223.
setting was first published in his *Il primo libro d’i madregali a cinque et a sei voci con tre dialoghi a sette* (Venice: Antonio Gardane, 1553), a print reissued by Plinio Pietrasanta (Venice, 1557) and again by Gardano in 1560.\(^8\) Though composers of the period, especially Venetian disciples of Willaert like Donato, customarily set sonnets in two parts, "O che lieve" does not appear in Donato’s book of madrigals. Its omission from the first impression appears deliberate, for neither does it appear in subsequent reissues. Moreover, had Donato composed "O che lieve," the Pietrasanta edition, which claims its contents to be newly corrected and revised, would have offered the composer a timely opportunity to complete his setting of the sonnet. Though Donato’s authorship of the Verona version cannot be proved or disproved, one possibility is that "O che lieve" is not by Donato himself, but by another composer, possibly a pupil. Fledgling composers often made their musical debut with one or more works of their own in a madrigal book of their mentor in composition. Indeed, a precise analogy to the present case can be cited: Andrea Gabrieli’s setting of the octet of Petrarch’s sonnet "In nobil sangue" to which his nephew and pupil Giovanni added the concluding sextet, "Amor s’è in lei."\(^9\)

Because "O che lieve" completes what Donato left in abeyance, a similarly reciprocal master-pupil situation may pertain here. The master-pupil hypothesis presupposes finding an isolated setting of "O che lieve" for six voices by a composer known to have been a student of Donato, or at least familiar with his music. Given the setting’s preservation in a uniquely Veronese source, one may suspect a member of the Accademia Filarmonica to have been its composer. All but one of these criteria—the suspected setting is now lost—can be met. A six-part setting of "O che lieve [è] ingannar chi s’assecura" appears listed among the "Madrigalli et motetti a. 6." inventoried in the alto partbook of the set of manuscript partbooks containing most of what remains of the Veronese composer

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\(^8\) The contents of these prints is listed in François Lesure and Claudio Sartori, eds., *Il Nuovo Vogel. Bibliografia della musica italiana vocale profana pubblicata dal 1500 al 1700* (Pomezia, 1977), pp. 558-559.

Agostino Bonzanino’s musical legacy, Accademia Filarmonica Ms. 221.10 Bonzanino was a member of the Accademia Filarmonica since its foundation in 1543, and from 1555 to his death in 1560 the academy’s musical director and resident composer.11 "O che lieve," as with most works listed under the rubric "in carte" (i.e., unbound) in Ms. 221’s index, no longer survives. Significantly, there is no mention of a setting of the sonnet’s opening octet, "Quel rossignuol." If it is odd that Donato chose not to complete his setting of Petrarch’s sonnet, then it is odder still that Bonzanino set only its sextet.

Supposing Bonzanino to have been the composer of "O che lieve," his chances for contact with Donato, both in Venice and Verona, seem likely in the extreme. Bonzanino appears to have spent the years 1549-55 in Venice, absenting himself from the academy, as he described it, in order to conduct "his own affairs" ("per le sue facende").12 Though what these affairs may have been is unspecified, that Bonzanino may have studied with Donato and, at his teacher’s suggestion, composed his own continuation is a hypothesis lacking substantiation. There is no doubt, however, that Donato’s music was known and performed in Verona. His seven-voice setting of Petrarch’s dialogue sonnet, "Liete e penose" (Canz., CCXXII), appears in Ms. 223, the printed source, Donato’s Primo libro of 1553, the same as for "Quel rossignuol."13 The Accademia Filarmonica nowadays owns incomplete copies of the 1553 Gardano edition (shelfmarks 48 and 190 III) and the 1557 Pietrasanta edition (shelfmark 49). Shelfmark 48 has the initials "D B D" written within a ribbon festoon on the spine of the cardboard binding; Turrini’s suggested resolution "Donum Baldessarisi Donati"

10 Turrini, “Catalogo,” p. 209
12 Turrini, L’Accademia Filarmonica, p. 80.
13 Ms. 223, Soprano partbook, fols. 14v-15, G-lute; Tenor partbook, fols. 16v-17, G-lute; for a modern edition after the 1557 print including the tablature from Ms. 223, see David Nutter, "The Italian Polyphonic Dialogue of the Sixteenth Century" (Ph.D. diss., University of Nottingham, 1977), vol. II, p. 6.
seems plausible. A closer relationship with the Venetian composer can be suggested. The 1585 inventory shows that the academy once owned a manuscript copy of a five-voice mass by Donato, specifically one of a number of masses from four to twelve voices by major north Italian composers (Pordenon, Ingegneri, Merulo, Croce, Asola, Bellavere) with which the academy celebrated on 1 May the anniversary of its foundation. Neither this nor any other mass by Donato, printed or in manuscript, survives. Donato’s May Day mass, the unique property of the academy, was therefore in all likelihood a gift or commission.

None of this can prove Bonzanino’s authorship. And what survives of "O che lieve" does not help much. So far as can be determined from the superius and lute intabulation, "O che lieve" continues in a similar style to "Quel rossignuol." Its ambitus corresponds to the low clef combination of "Quel rossignuol" and modally the two works are compatible. "O che lieve" is however not without its awkward moments. The melodic line strangely skews phrases and the text setting seems at times clumsy. Unlike Donato’s madrigal, only rarely do the lower voices share motifs with the superius. Other infelicities (perhaps the fault of the intabulator) include a wrongly-placed second inversion chord (m. 50), instances of doubling the superius at the lower octave (m. 22), and undisguised parallel octaves (mm. 42–43). The part writing and texture lack definition to the extent that the original number of voices must remain in doubt. In sum, this is more likely to be a student work than

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15 Turrini, L’Accademia Filarmonica, p. 188, inventory of 1585: “Messe scritto a mano cantate el di p[rim]o di Maggio...Messa di Baldissera Donato à voci, 5, in 4°." The academy was the recipient of masses on numerous occasions which, once examined and approved, became its private domain: "Essendo stata presentata all compagna da Giovanni Corona una Messa in Musica, furono eletti per far giudizio sopra di essa...e fu approvata dalla compagna il 14 detto [March, 1571]” (Verona, Archivio di stato, Archivio Dionisi 430: Sommario degli'Attì del Accademia Filarmonica, unpaginated). See Turrini, L’Accademia Filarmonica, p. 188 "Messa di Gio: Corona a voci 8. coperta turchina in foglio," listed among the May Day masses, and ibid., p. 169 for the academy’s payment of ten corone to the composer at the end of April, 1571. No masses by Corona survive.
that of an accomplished master and it is with this supposition that our case must rest.

The intabulation for "Quel rossignuol" and "O che lieve" joins head to torso, thus preserving the literary integrity of Petrarch's poem. At pitch, the lute intabulation for alto instrument tuned in A reproduces the voice parts an octave higher than written, placing the superius in the middle of the texture. Octave transposition is not intolerable—Dowland's four-voice airs are often performed this way—though here it diminishes the lyricism of the top voice and makes nonsense of Donato's part-writing for six voices. The spacing problem could be resolved by playing the intabulation on a bass lute tuned in D and singing the superius (transposed down a fifth) an octave higher. This produces the correct spacings but ignores the possibility that the intabulation may have been the lute part for an ensemble performance of the madrigal (or concerto; that is, with other singers and/or instruments taking part). If this were the case, why not simply intabulate the music for bass lute in the first place? The low tessitura of Donato's madrigal fits perfectly well at written vocal pitch on bass lute, and a precisely analogous intabulation of a similar work exists to prove it. Ms. 223 contains intabulations for lutes pitched in E and D for Willaert's six-part "Rompi de l'empio cor," a work sharing the same combination of clefs as "Quel rossignuol," stylistically its direct parallel and Donato's presumed model (Ex. 1).  

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Example 1
Adrian Willaert, "Rompi de l’empio cor," (RISM 154116, p. 10, measures 1-5)

For their ensemble lute concerti the Veronese "filarmonici" chose instruments for the music. In the context of their known practices, "Quel rossignuol" clearly emerges as an anomaly and I find it hard to resist the conclusion that the intabulation is for the great bass lute. The academy owned one instrument of this size, listed as follows in the inventory of 1585: "two sets of lutes, one of four and the other of five with a contrabass; in all, nine lutes [kept] in the cupboard beneath the singing books" ("Liuti due copie, una di 4, l’altra di cinque con un contrabasso in tutti liuti nell’armar sotto i libri da cantar n° 9"). Internal evidence, that of the intabulation itself, would tend to confirm the conclusion. The frequent open-course doubling at the octave of the bass line (mm. 11-15; 29-31) and the occasional oscillation between bass note and its lower octave (mm. 17-18), is a feature largely absent from other intabulations of

17 Turrini, L’Accademia Filarmonica, p. 187.
vocal music; here, of course, considering the large size of the instrument, it makes perfect sense. The intabulation usually reproduces at any given moment four of the five lower voices, preserving intact the basso while drawing freely but deliberately upon the alto, tenor, quinto and sesto parts. Imitative passages are carefully respected, though voices come and go in fuller sections. I have tried to show this in my transcription rather than allowing the tablature to create a wholly new polyphony that—perforce—condenses Donato's original voice-leading (the intabulator's F# in measure 52, producing a double-leading note cadence and cross-relationship with the sesto were it to be sung, is not so rare as one might think; Willaert's intabulations of Verdelot's madrigals show similar progressions). I have adopted of necessity the latter procedure for "O che lieve" since the original voices are lacking (for the sake of comparison, the transcription of the lute part is at written pitch).

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18 See Bernard Thomas, ed., Intavolatura de li Madrigali di Verdelotto da Cantare et Sonare nel Lauto 1536 (London Pro Musica Edition, 1980, pp. 2-3. Donato's madrigal has been edited from the "revised and corrected" 1557 Pietrasanta edition complete in the Biblioteca estense, Modena, the text slightly modernized and the original spelling observed with the exception of ramenti for rammenti.
Quel rossignuol

Quel rossignuol, che si soave
Quel rossignuol, che si sove
Quel rossignuol, che si soa...

Petrarch

Baldassare Donato
Quel ros-si-gnoul, che si soa-ve pia-gne
Quel ros-si-gnoul, che si soa-ve pia-gne For-se suoi fi-
Quel ros-si-gnoul, che si soa-ve pia-
Quel ros-si-gnoul, che si soa-ve pia-
Quel ros-si-gnoul, che si soa-ve pia-
Quel ros-si-gnoul, che si soa-ve pia-
Quel ros-si-gnoul, che si soa-ve pia-
Quel ros-si-gnoul, che si soa-ve pia-
sua cara consorte, Di dolcezza emp'el cie
sua cara consorte, Di dolcezza emp'el cie-
sua cara consorte, Di dolcezza emp'el cie-
sua cara consorte, Di dolcezza emp'el cie-
cielo, le campagne
lo e le campagne
lo e le campagne
lo, e le campagne Con tante note
lo, e le campagne Con tante note
cielo, e le campagne con tante note
cielo, e le campagne
Con tante note si pie·to·se, e scor·

Con tante note si pie·to·se, e scor·

Con tante note si pie·to·se, e scor·
E mi rammen-te, e mi rammen-
gne, E mi rammen-te la mia du-ra sor-te,
E mi rammen-te la mia du-ra sor-
E mi rammen-te la mia du-ra
E mi rammen-te, e mi rammen-
E mi rammen-te e mi rammen-
E mi rammen-te, e mi rammen-
E mi rammen-te, e mi rammen-

ho, ch'al- tri che me non ho di cui mi lagne,
tri che me non ho di cui mi lagne, di cui mi lagne,
ch'al-tri che me non ho di cui mi lagne,
ho, ch'al- tri che me non ho di
ho di cui mi lagne, Ché'n
Ch'al-tri che me non ho di cui mi lagne
ho, ch'al-tri che me non ho di cui mi lagne,
gnas-se morte.

dee non cre-de-
vio re-gnas-
se morte.

te, re-gnas-
se morte.

te, ch'èn dee non cre-de-
vio re-gnas-
se morte.

gnas-se morte, re-
gnas-se morte.

te, ch'èn dee non cre-de-
vio re-gnas-
se morte.
O che lieve

O che lie- vè in- gan- nar chi s'as- se- cu- ra, O che

lie- vè in- gan- nar chi s'as- se- cu- ra, chi s'as- se- cu- ra!

Quei duo bei lu- mi as- sa- i più che'l sol chia- ri
Chi pensò mai vedere far terra, vedere far terra oscura?

Hor conosco che mia ferarventura vuol, che

mia ferarventura vuol vuol che vivendo e lagrima-
do e lagrando impare
Come nulla qua giù
del ta e du ra,
Come nulla qua giù del ta e du ra.
del ta del ta e du ra.
"The Highest Key of Passion": Inexpressibility and Metaphors of Self in John Dowland's The First Booke of Songes or Ayres

BY DANIEL T. FISCHLIN

This essay studies the manner in which the poets of the English air use metaphor in order to signify self. It is by means of trope that self, defined by flux and instability—what Thomas M. Greene has called "flexibility"—is described and given meaning. Ben Jonson epitomizes the Renaissance view that language represents an "Image of...of the mind," and therefore of self: "Language most shewes a man: speake that I may see thee. It springs out of the most retired, and inmost parts of us, and is the Image of the Parent of it, the mind. No glasse renders a mans forme, or likenesse, so true as his speech. Nay, it is likened to a man; and as we consider feature, and composition in a man; so words in Language: in the greatnesse, aptnesse, sound, structure, and harmony of it." For the purposes of this study metaphor may be understood as a means to achieve a fictive self-projection in a conventional language. In turn, such a fictive self-projection constructs the private and unknowable self within the conventions of the community in which the poet participates.

As a focus for its study of how metaphorical language is allied with self-representation this essay uses John Dowland's The First

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2 Ben Jonson, Discoveries, in Works, eds. C. H. Herford and Percy and Evelyn Simpson, vol. VIII (London, 1947), p. 625. I do not mean to suggest that for Jonson language and poems or poetry are, necessarily, synonymous. However, song entails a form of speech that "shewes" or construes self through verbal, and sometimes non-verbal, pronouncement or incantation. Thus, it is a form of "speak[ing]" that, in the contexts of this essay, represents a particular linguistic construction, however fictional, of the self experience.
Booke of Songes or Ayres (1597), though other relevant lute song texts are also cited. In discussing the metaphors of self in this songbook, the word "self" does not refer to the composer's self, nor necessarily to the poet's self, but to the representation of self that the language of the poem expresses. Each song in Dowland's first book elaborates a particular vision of self through characteristic and consistent metaphoric, logical, and thematic concerns. The poems used in Dowland's book have as a common theme the "thoughts" and "complaints" of the voice the poet assumes as it seeks self-projection, primarily in the conventional love situation of the Petrarchan lover. They provide, in their consistent focus on the self of the lover ("the hidden anguish of my flesh"), and in their recognition of the deceitful nature of the passionate experiences which define self ("loue is sweetest seased with suspect"), ample opportunity for the study of metaphors of self in the work of the foremost lute song composer, and in the genre as a whole.

Though the Dowland songbook does not appear to be as organized literarily as other lute songbooks, this is not to say that the poems were organized as in an Elizabethan miscellany or that they were chosen randomly by the composer, his publisher, or his patrons. It may most certainly be argued, however, that the poems in Dowland's songbook, as suggested by the brief listing of their topoi above, their obvious courtly contexts, their stylistic coherence, and their two known authors (the "minor" court poets, Fulke Greville and Sir Henry Lee[?]), are representative of general lyric trends at the close of the sixteenth century, as well as of the more specific literary characteristics of the airs. These facts, combined with the significant popularity of the songbook itself—it went through six printings from 1597 to 1613—justify the use of the book as the focal point for a study of metaphors of self in the lyrics of the English air.

4 Ibid., p. 71.
The organization of tropes in the lyrics from the airs provides an approximation of that imagined self or pose of self which the voice of the poem represents, insofar as language is capable of expressing it. "Language" is, as Jonson notes, a "likenesse" of self, which is represented in as "true" a fashion as it can be. Yet implicit within such self-representation is a subversion which destabilizes the reader's experience of the air's voice and allows the voice to exist in a state of flux. Intrinsic to Jonson's notions about poetry is the fictive quality of the poem: "For, the Fable and Fiction is (as it were) the forme and Soule of any Poeticall worke, or Poeme ...A Poeme, as I have told you, is the worke of the Poet; the end, and fruit of his labour, and studye. Poesy is his skill, or crafte of making: the very Fiction it selfe, the reason, or forme of the worke. And these three voices differ, as the thing done, the doing, and the doer; the thing fain'd, the faining, and the fainer: so the Poeme, the Poesy, and the Poet." Poetry, a craft and a skill, is also a fiction, and that fiction defines the "forme of the worke." The apparent inconsistency in Jonson's thought between language as most showing a man and poetry as being a fiction or a feigning is of fundamental importance to the understanding of the lute song texts, balanced as they are between self-production and self-subversion.

What Jonson seems to be suggesting is that self, as represented by the language of the poem, is also a fiction. The likeness which language provides of "mans forme" in the "forme of the worke" is fictive because poetry is a "Fiction it selfe." The self is a function of language that renders a fictional "likeness," a tropological creation that parallels the sense of identity. It is in this sense that the self becomes a metaphysical abstraction rooted in a fictive linguistic experience. The experience of language "most shewes a man" but cannot show him or her completely; self may be approximated fictively, but may never be expressed fully by language. The creation in musico-poetic form of that fiction—the approximation of the self which may never be expressed fully—is one of the significant aesthetic achievements of the English air.

The air's aesthetic is rooted in a culture founded on dissimulative thought and duplicitous appearance: "Life is a Poets

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The power of the word to approximate self is subverted throughout the lute song texts by the admission of the word's inadequacy "I see that woords will breede no better good;"8 "For looks and sighs true loue can best expresse, / And he whose wordes his passions might can tell / Dooth more in wordes then in true loue excell;"9 "I say no more because I lou'd her."10 In brief, a dual strategy may be noted in the air's aesthetic, whereby a fictive self is approximated in language, while that language is itself revealed as inadequate to the task of expression.

The concept of self in the airs, so dependent on tropological schemes that are recognized explicitly as insufficient, is rooted, as I have already suggested, in a specific cultural context. That cultural context is itself understood metaphorically by both its participants and its observers. Stephen Greenblatt states that "both particular cultures and the observers of these cultures [are]...drawn to a metaphorical grasp of reality."11 Greenblatt suggests that self-fashioning is "the cultural system of meanings that creates specific individuals by governing the passage from abstract potential to concrete historical embodiment. Literature functions within this system in three interlocking ways: as a manifestation of the concrete behavior of its particular author, as itself the expression of the codes by which behavior is shaped, and as a reflection upon those codes.\"12 Greenblatt also lists a number of conditions "common to most instances of self-fashioning,"13 of which four most concern my argument with regard to metaphor and self in the air. First, "Self-fashioning...involves submission to an absolute power or authority situated at least partially outside the self." Second, "Self-fashioning is achieved in relation to something perceived as alien, strange, or hostile. This threatening Other—heretic, savage, witch, fable / & al her daies are lies."7

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7 Ibid., p. 128.
8 Ibid., p. 105.
9 Ibid., p. 137.
10 Ibid., p. 120.
12 Ibid., pp. 3-4.
13 Ibid., p. 9. I do not mean to suggest here that Greenblatt's "conditions for self-fashioning" are, or are meant to be, formulaic: they are not.
adultress, traitor, Antichrist—must be discovered or invented in order to be attacked and destroyed." Third, "If both the authority and the alien are located outside the self, they are at the same time experienced as inward necessities, so that both submission and destruction are always already internalized." Fourth, "Self-fashioning is always, though not exclusively, in language." Greenblatt's summary of his conditions also suggests that "any achieved identity always contains within itself the signs of its own subversion or loss." These conditions, as will be shown in my discussion of "Vnquiet thoughts," occur throughout those airs in which some form of self-definition is present.

The Aristotelian definition of metaphor as operative "midway between the unintelligible and the commonplace" and as a trope "which most produces knowledge" is a locus classicus for the Renaissance understanding of metaphor. Quintilian's notion of metaphor as the "most beautiful of tropes," in that it accomplishes "the supremely difficult task of providing a name for everything," is of similar importance. Both conceptions of metaphor help to indicate its relation to self in the English air. Aristotle's definition seems to indicate that metaphoric knowledge is, at best, only an approximate experience—an experience that attempts to reconcile the commonplace with the unintelligible in order to attain some degree of knowledge. Metaphor, in the Aristotelian conception, operates between a reality that is expressible and one that is not, and thus produces a knowledge that is as close to an approximation of the unintelligible as is possible. Similarly, when Quintilian states that metaphor can provide a "name for everything," he is suggesting—in the long tradition of the belief that a thing's essence resides precisely in its name—that by naming something one may get closer to expressing its essential nature, even if such an essence is presumed to exist. Hence, Quintilian's definition implies that metaphor is the most appropriate means when attempting "the supremely difficult

14 Ibid., p. 9.
15 For some suggestive material that connects the lute songs with courtly self-presentation, see Doughtie, Lyrics, pp. 458, 466.
17 Ibid., p. 66; emphasis mine.
task" of naming things that are too subtle for words—or inexpressible. In their use of metaphorical self-representation the airs ask how one may express or know the inexpressible and unknowable. Thus, the poet asks in Song X of Thomas Ford's *Musicke of Sundrie Kindes* (1607), "How shall I then describe my loue, when all mens skilfull arte / is Far inferior to her worth, to prays ye th'unworthiest parte."18 Furthermore, as mentioned earlier, the texts to the airs problematize the very nature of linguistic discourse by consistently reiterating its inadequacies: "Words are but trifles ... / and passe away as puffs of winde"19 and "Thinke you to seduce me so with words that haue no meaning."20 In summary, the metaphorical language evident in the airs may be said to approximate the self-experience even while the inadequacies of linguistic representation are clearly acknowledged.

Poems may be seen as personal representations of a sense of historicity, for all poetic language—metaphor included—has an historical context. Poetry is a measure of the imaginative interaction between historical circumstance and notions of self, between public contexts and private fictions. The poet is balanced between the constraints of social convention and an opposing sense of individuality, between the private and the public, and between the illusion of self and how that state is expressed.

In Sidney's *Defence of Poesie* the relationship between historical and poetic "fact" is discussed, and the former is presented as clearly inferior to the latter:

Manie times he [the historian] must tell events, whereof he can yeeld no cause, and if he do, it must be poetically. For that a fained example hath as much force to teach, as a true example (for as for to moove, it is cleare, since the fained may be tuned to the highest key of passion)...So then the best of the Historian is subiect to the Poet, for whatsoever action or faction, whatsoever counsaile, pollicie, or warre, stratageme, the Historian is bounde to recite, that may the Poet if hee list

18 Doughtie, *Lyrics*, 278.
19 Ibid., p. 59.
20 Ibid., p. 339.
with his imitation make his owne; bewtifying it both for further teaching, and more delighting as it please him.  

Sidney makes several points, of which two are important to my argument. The first is that the "fained," by which he means poetry, may approximate the "highest key of passion," namely, those extreme dispositions, affections, or emotions which are a function of the self. Feigning through trope has the potential to "moove" the audience to the "highest key of passion"—itself an approximate metaphor for the metaphysical and physiological states signified by "passion." The second significant statement is that the historian is subject to the poet, who through imitative procedure (and bound only by licentia poetarum) can counterfeit the elements which constitute history (action, faction, policy, war, strategem). Poetry subjects and exceeds history through its capacity to invent causes for events which "yeeld no cause." The relationship delineated by Sidney between metaphoric language as the literary strategy of approximate self-revelation and the feigning that moves one to the highest passions defines the lute song texts with regard to their representations of self through metaphor.

As the expression of self through trope breaks the confines of historicity, so it also subverts poetic and social conventions. George Puttenham's putative comments on figures of speech such as allegory, enigma, irony, and metaphor emphasize the transgressive elements in such figures. The figures are transgressive because they permit multiple levels of discourse that extend beyond the "limits of common utterance," a situation in which metaphor causes an "inversion of sense by transport:"

As figures be the instruments of ornament in euery language, so be they also in a sorte abuses or rather trespasses in speach, because they passe the ordinary limits of common vtterance, and be occupied of purpose to deceive the eare and also the minde, drawing it from plainesse and simplicitie to a certain doublenesse, whereby our talke is the more guilefull &

abusing, for what els is your Metaphor but an inversion of sense by transport.22

Puttenham's sense of these figures as capable of deceiving "the eare and also the minde" suggests the linguistic basis of the notion of self-deceptive self-fashioning. Although his perspective, like Sidney's, emphasizes the effect of language on the audience, the implication is that the speaker's own intentions are being subverted—that is, that using a figure such as metaphor draws the speaker's mind away from simplicity to a "certain doublenesse." Such doubleness, in turn, leads to the guile and abuse that are the listener's or the reader's experience of such "talke."

The notions of doubleness and duplicity are of importance to any understanding of the lyric tradition in English poetry, including the poetry of the air. The particular preoccupation of the Renaissance mind with doubleness and duplicity arises, in part, from the individual's sense of entrapment by the demands of convention and uniformity. Puttenham's description of figures like metaphor as "abuses" and "trespasses in speach" emphasizes the duplicitous subversion of the norm. Though he does not explicitly state that the function of tropes is to free the writer's self from conventionalizing forces, his argument that such tropes transgress the "ordinary limits" of language has implications with regard to how the self is represented in language. The transgression of the "ordinary limits of common utterance" allows the fictive self to assert its "doublenesse," its "guilefull & abusing" nature.

Thomas Hobbes's definition of the "person," in "The First Part" of Leviathan ("Of Man"), establishes an opposition between what he terms the "natural" and the "artificial" person:

A person, is he, whose words or actions are considered, either as his own, or as representing the words or actions of another man, or of any other thing, to whom they are attributed, whether truly or by fiction...When they are considered as his own, then he is called a natural person: and when they are considered as representing the words and actions of another, then is he a feigned or artificial person ... The word person is Latin...as persona in Latin signifies the disguise, or outward

appearance of a man, counterfeited on the stage; and sometimes more particularly that part of it, which disguiseth the face, as a mask or vizard...So that a person, is the same that an actor is, both on the stage and in common conversation; and to personate, is to act, or represent himself, or another.23

Hobbes's definition, with its notions of feigning and counterfeiting, of artifice and disguise, is relevant to the relationship between metaphor and self in Renaissance texts, especially those of the air with their sophisticated representations of a fictive "voice." Doubleness and ambiguity of self-representation occur throughout the texts, which posit a self that changes while remaining, paradoxically, constant. This situation is evident in Song III, from Dowland's first book, which compares the speaker's delight in the beloved with the waxing and waning of the moon. Two examples from the poem demonstrate this comparison based on a notion of selves that are both constant and inconstant: "mount loue vnto the moone in clearest night, / and say as she doth in the heavens mooue / in earth so wanes & waxeth my delight" and, "And you my thoughts that some mistrust do carry, / If for mistrust my mistrisse do you blame, / Say though you alter, yet you do not vary, / As she doth change, and yet remaine the same."24 In the latter example, the thoughts which define self are mistrustful of the beloved, a tacit admission that the love the poet feels for the beloved is indeed "sweetest seased with suspect."25 Such an attitude would clearly lead to the dual sensation of alteration and constancy. The constructed voice of the poem appears to be trapped in the constant fluctuation of its conflicting perceptions of the beloved.

The airs, paradoxically, use a highly conventional and decorous metaphoric language to "passe the ordinary limits of common utterance" and thus to function in the midworld of Aristotelian invention between the commonplace and the inexpressible. Numerous poems from the airs contain highly condensed metaphoric orderings, usually portraying conventional antithetical

24 Doughtie, Lyrics, pp. 70-71.
25 Ibid., p. 71.
states. These orderings produce a tropological and symbolic framework upon which the emotional and cognitive contents of the poems rest. As such, the airs, in some cases, fall into a literary tradition that extends back to the Pythagorean contraries described by Aristotle in his *Metaphysica*:

...the Pythagoreans had delineated a series of ten contraries in corresponding pairs: "Limit and the Unlimited, Odd and Even, Unity and Plurality, Right and Left, Male and Female, Rest and Motion, Straight and Crooked, Light and Darkness, Good and Evil, Square and Oblong." A pair of contraries placed in opposition, however, do not submit to synthesis.²⁶

A particularly good example of such an air is Song V from John Dowland's *The Second Booke of Songs or Ayres* (1600). The poem is virtually composed of a listing of antitheses that function as metaphors for the opposition between life and death. These antitheses include day / darkness, heaven / earth, heaven / hell, mirth / mourning, night / day, darkness / light, and sun / night:

MOurne, mourne, day is with darknesse fled,
what heauen then gouernes earth,
ô none, but hell in heauens stead,
choaks with his mistes our mirth.
MOurne, mourne, looke now for no more day
nor night, but that from hell,
Then all must as they may
in darkenesse learne to dwell.
But yet this change, must needes change our delight,
that thus the Sunne should harbour with the night.²⁷

The poem describes nightfall, a state that prompts the poet to consider "what heauen...gouernes earth" when "day is with darknesse fled." Nightfall causes a change from the mirth and delight (note the pun in [de]light) of day to the mournful state of

²⁶ Cited in S. K. Heninger, Jr.'s *Touches of Sweet Harmony: Pythagorean Cosmology and Renaissance Poetics* (San Marino, Calif., 1974), pp. 149-50. Heninger notes that the list of contraries was often reproduced (p. 195, note 10).
"darkness"—a standard Renaissance metaphor for death, as is exemplified in Claudio's statement, in Measure for Measure, that "I will encounter darkness as a bride." The contrary states of day and night, mirth and mourning, are thus metaphors for the underlying contraries of the poem, life and death, as is confirmed by the opposition of the eschatological states of heaven and hell in the second and third lines. The poem makes the association between the natural opposition of day and night, and the eschatological opposition of heaven and hell—that is, spiritual life and spiritual death. The movement of the poem is circular; the poem begins and ends with the central opposition between day and night, an opposition which metaphorically generates the poem's contemplative focus on the antithetical experiences of joy and sorrow, life and death. The contemplative focus of the poem is related to the notion of inexpressibility. The phrase, "in darknesse learne to dwell," implies a state of death, the ultimate metaphor for what is unknowable and inexpressible.

To learn to dwell in darkness entails accepting the daily cycle in which the "Sunne...harbour[s] with the night." Such acceptance would seem to include the acceptance of eventual death, as well as the acceptance of the contrary emotional experiences of mirth and sorrow.

The expression of socially subversive and anti-courtly tendencies, of disillusionment and betrayal by the cultural institutions in which the poet participates, is another strategy employing states of contrariety and ambiguity. Social ambiguities are reflected in the relationship between self and metaphor. To express subversive criticism of a society by which one feels betrayed is to assert the primacy of the self in a language that is dissimulative and polysemous, that is, the language of metaphor. An example of such subversive criticism is Sir John Davies'

29 A similar phrase occurs in another lute song lyric set by both John Dowland and John Coprario: "In darknesse let mee dwell." See Song III, in John Coprario's Funeral Teares (1606), and Dowland's setting, in Song X from Robert Dowland's A Musicall Banquet (1610). Also see Song II in Dowland's The Second Booke of Songs or Ayres (1600), stanza five, line one: "Harke you shadowes that in darcknesse dwell;" Doughtie, Lyrics, p. 101.
epigrammatic description of "The Courtier," set to music by John Maynard as song I in The XII. Wonders of the World (1611):

Long haue I liude in Court, yet learn'd not all this while,
To sell poore suters smoake, nor where I hate to smile:
Superiours to adore, Inferiours to despise:
To flie from such as fall, to follow such as rise,
To cloake a poore desire vnder a rich aray,
Nor to aspire by vice though t'were the quicker way.\textsuperscript{30}

The various speakers in Davies' poems—"The Deuine," "The Souldiour," The Lawyer," etc.—follow the same general strategy: they name the common faults associated with their position, occupation, or condition, and then deny them. The poems originated as verses on the reverse of fruit or cheese trenchers to be read by guests at a dinner party "for the amusement of the company."\textsuperscript{31}

Hence, at one level of reading, it may be argued that "The Courtier" is no more critical of courtiers than a "Gridiron" show is of politicians. Even if one were to argue for this position, however, such an argument would nonetheless reinforce the dissimulative nature of the code of social and political conduct at the poem's core: the poet pretends to be subversive in a context that is socially and politically harmless. Whether the poet is truly subversive or is pretending to be subversive, the fact remains that the central strategy on which the poem is based is dissimulative. The poem asserts that the speaker of the poem has not "learn'd" or internalized the deceitful code of conduct prevalent at court, though doubtless the speaker has "learn'd" the code in the sense of understanding its reliance on duplicity and "cloak[ing]." Thus, the poet "knows" the code but, if we believe what he says, does not live by it. The ostensible rejection of the values of those who flee from "such as fall" to "follow such as rise," and those who "cloake a poore desire vnnder a rich aray," is also an affirmation of the values of the poet, that is, the fictive pose which the language of the poem shows us. The poet describes a series of states antithetical to his own, and, in

\textsuperscript{30} Ibid., p. 381.
\textsuperscript{31} See Doughtie's notes on the origins of this songbook in Lyrics, pp. 596-97.
so doing, implicitly privileges his own fictive pose, his myth of integrity over the myth of courtly values.

Such a strategy is common throughout the lute song texts, whether applied to the subversion of courtly values or to the subversion of the conventional language of Petrarchism. Douglas L. Peterson states:

During the last decades of the century...and particularly in the nineties, there is evidence of widespread and deep dissatisfaction with the Court as cultural and social center and with the literature most representative of its values. The voice of the disillusioned courtier is still heard—in Ralegh's poems and to a lesser extent in Fulke Greville—but the new voices are of those (Southwell, Nashe, Hall, Donne, Marston, Jonson) who have never entertained any sympathy for the Court. Instead of expressing disillusionment with an institution which they once accepted but which has betrayed them, they either urge rejection of the world as well as of the Court for the sake of Christian devotion, or they mock the vices and follies of a society dominated by the Court. Both critics, the defender of Christian devotion and the satirist of a court-ridden society, are united in their opposition to the love poetry of the Court. It is sophistical, it is an affectation, it is "Italianate," and it celebrates the passions of the body.\textsuperscript{32}

The irony is that the subversion of corrupt courtly values and of affected Petrarchism is evident throughout the lute song texts, which are so closely allied to the courtly tradition through their performance context, through the aristocratic patrons who supported the composers and poets by whom the genre was created, and, finally, through the musico-poetic characteristics which separate the genre from more popular folk-traditions. Indeed, Peterson subsequently recognizes the relationship between the subversive style of "plain speaking" and the influence of the lute-song poets:

\begin{quote}
The old convention of plain speaking still occurs in Ralegh and occasionally in Greville, Shakespeare, Donne, and Jonson; but even in its most severe form, for instance in Ralegh's "The Passionate Man's Pilgrimage," \textit{it reflects the influences of the}
\end{quote}

poets and songwriters of the court circle. The new and more common version of the plain style often uses tropes, schemes, and rhythms of the eloquent tradition and frequently adopts the structures inherent in the courtly pledge, complaint, and plea. It is no longer so narrowly committed to the summary statement or to the language of homely metaphor and folk adage; and it may use techniques of extended metaphor that were first introduced into English verse by the Petrarchans.33

The techniques of extended metaphor evident in the lute song tradition, especially in its metaphors of self, indicate a genre of lyric devoted to the attempt to define an ambiguous and disquieted sense of self. That is, the sense of self, because of its ambiguous and fluctuating nature, requires techniques of extended metaphor to represent its ambiguities and fluctuations. The first poem in Dowland's first book, "Vnquiet thoughts your civill slaughter stint," and indeed the other poems in the songbook, may be read in terms of the disquiet caused by the ambiguous sense of self in its private and public dimensions. Dowland's preface to the songbook, addressed "To the courteous Reader," sets the tone for the poem, a tone which is maintained throughout most of the songbook's twenty other poems:

How hard an enterprise it is in this skilfull and curious age to commit our priuate labours to the publike view, mine owne disabilitie, and others hard successe doe too well assure me: and were it not for that loue I beare to the true louers of musicke, I had concealde these my first fruits, which how they will thrue with your taste I know not, howsoever the greater part of them might haue been ripe inough by their age. The Courtly judgement I hope will not be seuere against them, being it selfe a party, and those sweet springs of humanity (I mean our two famous Universitie) will entertain them for his sake, whome they haue already grac't, and as it were enfranchised in the ingenuous profession of Musicke, which from my childhoode I have euer ayme ... 34

33 Ibid., 355-56; emphasis mine.
34 Doughtie, Lyrics , p. 67.
These remarks reveal both how difficult Dowland found it to rationalize publication and to please his public, though they must be viewed in light of many other such apologies, which were common concessions to gentlemanly sprezzatura. The comments also suggest that the opposition between the private self and the public persona is a factor in Dowland's work. The distinction between "private labour" and "publike view" seems to privilege the private self as the source of the creative endeavour; the difficult enterprise is in the revealing of private or concealed "labours" to the public, not only because of the "skill" which must be displayed, but because that revelation ends the "concealment" which privileges self over society. In the context of the songbook as a whole, moreover, the standard appeal for courtly and academic favour, from those who perhaps commissioned or supplied him with texts, appears somewhat disingenuous, especially given the many texts which focus on "feigned" experience, on dissimulative behaviour, on betrayal, and ultimately, in the last poem by Greville, on a devastating argument against Petrarchan and courtly convention ("Ioue as well the foster can, / As can the mighty Noble-man").

It is not surprising then, in turning to the first poem in the book, to be confronted with the initial line, "Vnquiet thoughts your ciuill slaughter stint." The opposition evident in this line delineates the private self of the "[u]nquiet thoughts"—thoughts struggling to be break free from repression, and, ultimately, to articulate the "passions of desire" which cause the poet's disquiet. The poem is primarily a love poem and has its roots in a modified Petrarchism ("How shall I then gaze on my mistresse eies?"); however, another related reading exists in terms of the poem's metaphoric organization, its notions of self, and the personal situation which I think it marks:

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35 Ibid., p. 83; Greville's poem is discussed more completely in the concluding pages of this essay.
VNquiet thoughts your ciuill slaughter stint,
& wrap your wrongs within a pensiue hart:
And you my tongue that macks my mouth a mint,
& stamps my thoughts to coyne them words by arte:
Be still for if you euer doo the like,
Ile cut the string that macks the hammer strike.

But what can staie my thoughts they may not start,
Or put my tongue in durance for to dye?
When as these eies the keyes of mouth and harte
Open the locke where all my loue doth lye;
Ile seale them vp within their lids for euer,
So thoughts & words and looks shall dye together.

How shall I then gaze on my mistresse eies?
My thoughts must haue some vent els hart wil break,
My tongue would rust as in my mouth it lies
If eyes and thoughts were free and that not speake.
Speake then and tell the passions of desire
Which turns mine eies to floods, my thoughts to fire.36

The poem uses various metaphors to achieve its culmination in the
injunction to "tell the passions of desire"—a trope, like Sidney's
"highest key of passion," of indefinite self-approximation. The
poem's initial line indicates the struggle for self-control evident in
the poet. The tropes in this line ("[u]nquiet thoughts" as a metaphor
for the individual and the solipsistic self; "ciuill slaughter" as a
metaphor for the discord, inner strife, and "civil war" among his
thoughts) are crucial to an understanding of the poem as it
transforms itself from a poem of self-admonitory struggle to stint the
"[u]nquiet" that is disruptive (stanzas one and two) of the poet's
"quiet," to a poem that particularizes a state of Petrarchan angst
when it asks the question (stanza three), "How shall I then gaze on
my mistresse eies?"

The significant transformation which occurs in the poem is the
movement from self-containment and internal strife towards the

36 Ibid., pp. 69-70.
recognition of the social reality of the Other, that which the self seeks to convince of its passion. The self-invocation to "speake" with which the poem concludes is not surprising, especially given the fact that self-apostrophe persists to the end of the poem; the desire to communicate passion and desire (however uncommunicable) is, in such a context, the desire to speak with the Other—that which reflects, ultimately, the passions of an intangible and disquieted self. The Petrarchan imagery of the third stanza (the flooded eyes and fiery thoughts) conventionalizes the state of "unquiet" which the poet experiences, while nonetheless asserting the primacy of the self's experience of desire and the disquiet which is disruptive of the poet's personal psychic economy. That is, the tropes of the poem shift the reader from the focus on the poet's disquiet and his attempt to repress speech, to a focus on the cause of his disquiet and his capacity to "tell the passions of desire." The poem moves from personal strife within the single "body politic" of the poet, a body in severe danger of fragmentation, to the possibility of public speech, which will relieve the repression and allow the poet a certain contact with the mistress from whom he is separated. The dangers of "[u]nquiet thoughts" that result in "ciuill slaughter" are enacted in the first two stanzas of the poem. The admonition to "speake" is the admonition to enact the public over the private, expression over repression. "Vnquiet thoughts" (as opposed to quiet thoughts) are dangerous because they represent the desire and passion which disquiet the poet; they are a metaphor for emotions and thoughts that are profound and, ultimately, inexpressible. Thus, the poem never explicitly states the "passions of desire," but leaves the lover unspoken, poised on the brink of speech through the metaphors of self which it invokes in its final line ("mine eies to floods, my thoghts to fire"). In William Stirling's MS, NLS Advocates' MS 5.2.14 (c. 1639), fol. 19 (treble only), 37 "cruell" substitutes for "ciuill," a substitution which conforms more clearly with the conventional language at the poem's end. The variant, however, does not negate the more general movement of the poem through its subversive metaphors for the self whose "tongue [is] in durance" to the contemplation of release which occurs in the final

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37 Cf. Doughtie's note in Lyrics, p. 455.
self-injunction in the last couplet. The couplet reveals the lover imploring himself to speak and giving way to the passionate forces he has repressed. The poet changes from a position of repressed unquiet and internal strife to a liminal state in which the contemplation of outer-directed speech is about to give way to self-apostrophe: "Speak then and tell the passions of desire."

Study of the metaphoric organization of "Unquiet thoughts" reveals some of the ways in which its metaphors are linked with the "self" of the poem. As I have stated, the dynamic movement of the poem is from the inner to the outer, from tension to release, from a state of antinomy and opposition to a state in which self-restraint gives way to a resolution to speak. The first stanza uses the language of civil strife, minting, treasury, and finance to highlight the nature of the dilemma described between thought in its private and public dimensions. The "Unquiet thoughts" which hint at subversion are repressed because they are wrong; they must be constrained in the "pensive hart." The "pensive hart" is a metaphor for a state of reflective calm which the poet desires, as opposed to the state of "civill slaughter" or personal strife to which he is led by his "Unquiet." The rest of the first stanza elaborates the difficult conceit of the thought coined by the tongue into words through the medium of "arte," with its double meaning of "skill" and "artistic expression."

The subversive drive of the stanza (initiated in its first line by the recognition of the unquiet thoughts which generate the civil slaughter) is heightened by the admonition to the tongue (speaker of unquiet thoughts) to be still and the chilling threat (if the tongue is not silent) to "cut the string that mak's the hammer strike." The passage verges on the Metaphysical technique defined by Dr. Johnson in his Lives of the Poets as the yoking "by violence together" of "the most heterogenous ideas." The metaphor of the string and the hammer is derived from the coining process but it functions also in the realm of musical allusion, in which the

breaking (the "cutting") of the string signifies disharmony and disquiet. The musical string is a common Renaissance metaphor for the "heartstring" which sustains the heart in its place. (Kent's pitting, "Break, heart, I prithee break!", in the final scene of King Lear is a reference to the heartstring breaking, a metaphor for personal collapse, social disorder, extreme sorrow, and, ultimately, death.) The metaphor of the string has, then, a specific association with selfhood, for it is the heart which, in Burton's words, "is the seat and fountain of life, of heat, of spirits, of pulse and respiration, the sun of our body, the king and sole commander of it, the seat and organ of all passions and affections. Primum vivens, ultimum moriens, it lives first and dies last in all creatures."

The first stanza of "Vnquiet thoughts" indicates a state of individual disruption, a psychomachia between the impulse to release disquiet and the repressive desire to control that impulse. This reading of the stanza—and I hasten to underline the hypothetical nature of what follows—would seem to coincide with Dowland's personal situation (seeking career advancement and being stymied)—a situation which would give rise, quite naturally, to "[u]nquiet thoughts" and to bitterness at the power structures inhibiting his progress at court. In any case, the poem's first stanza describes a conflict between subversive process ("[u]nquiet thoughts" and "civill slaughter") and the forces of conformity; the metaphors of the stanza function to reveal this conflict, however obliquely.

The second stanza of the poem clearly indicates for the first time (in line ten, more than halfway through the eighteen-line poem) that its central topos is in fact love. The seeming reluctance of the poet to disclose this fact, evident in the tropes of repression scattered through the poem ("Be still," "what can staie my thoughts," "my tongue in durance," etc.), is related to the dialectic of the poem between the self and the Other who causes the poet to feel disruptive

40 Just as the breaking of the lute in Heywood's A Woman Killed With Kindness (V.iii., pp. 70-73) signifies Anne's "inward grief [which] No tongue can utter" [V. iii., pp. 78-79].
41 Shakespeare, Complete Works, V. iii, p. 313.
passion. The poem moves from the opposition between self-focus through disruptive thought and its repression, to the "passions of desire," in which the poet's voice is freed to speak but does not. The subversive impulse inherent in the poem, which is closely tied to the forms of repression and confinement described in stanzas one and two, is iterated at the end of stanza two: "So thoughts & words and looks shall dye together." After the initial questions with regard to what can control thought ("staie my thoughts") or silence the voice ("my tongue in durance"), the poem goes on to show the self-destructive danger of repression; to seal the poet's eyes forever and thus to deny thoughts, words, and looks, is to abrogate life in favour of repression. That repression is all the more threatening from the poetic point of view because it is linguistic, and language is the very means by which the poet may approximate "the passions of desire." The theme of the poem may be love, but it is a love that is intrinsically narcissistic, repressed, and self-regarding—inner- and not outer-directed.

Love, as the emerging thematic concern of the poem, moves the poem from the inner-directedness of the poet's unquiet thoughts to an outer-directedness. By using the conventional and decorous language of Petrarchan love, the poet moves the poem from its original terms of conflict to a more traditional, but nonetheless subversive, theme. That is, the originally indefinite motif of conflict is contained and focused through the love motif that predominates in the second half of the poem. Love is subversive because it creates "[u]nquiet" through the inexpressible passions which it generates; it is also paradoxical, in that the self is undermined yet affirmed through the love-passions which it feels. The mistress of the third stanza is described in terms of the poet's possession of her ("my mistresse eies") and in terms of his possible reactions to her. As is traditional in Renaissance lyrics, this mistress remains anonymous, and her lack of identity frees her in the reader's mind to become symbolic both of the poet's self-regard and of the unquiet state caused by "the passions of desire."

The judicious ordering of metaphor in the poem is evident as the poem moves through a series of self-revelatory motifs. From the dominant metaphor of the imaginative mint that is threatened with destruction in stanza one, to the metaphors for self-containment in
stanza two ("keyes," "locke"), to the corporeal metaphors in stanza three ("tongue would rust," "eies to floods," and "thoghts to fire"), the poem describes a self in progressive stages of conflict. The conflicting states are highlighted by the metaphors of destruction and containment. The principle of conflict is epitomized in stanza two, lines ten and eleven, in which the metaphors of opposition are directly apposed in the first foot of each line:

Open ...
Ile seale ...

The trochaic inversion in foot one of line ten, followed by the spondee in foot one of line eleven, draws metrical attention, by virtue of the different stress patterns in the first feet of the lines, to the opposition of freedom and containment. The musical setting reinforces this opposition, particularly through the rhythmic values given the text in lines ten and eleven. The word "Open" is set to two quarter notes beginning on the second beat of the bar. The setting emphasizes the movement from "Open[ing]," that is, from freedom, to "the lock," which is set to two half notes, thus placing a more emphatic stress on the concept of containment. Furthermore, line eleven's first foot, "Ile seale," is set, again on the second beat of the bar, to another two half notes, thus further emphasizing the "seale[ing] ... vp" of the poet's "thoughts & words and looks."

The resolution of the opposition between freedom and containment occurs in stanza three in the form of a release from the destructive and limiting forces described in the earlier stanzas. The metaphors in the poem fashion fictive states of suffering and confusion, antithesis and subversion, and, ultimately, a self who, in stanza three, finally becomes capable, if not of speech, at least of the decision to speak. In the course of the poem the reader is led from metaphors of materiality to metaphors of elemental regeneration and revelation through fire and water ("eies to floods," "thoghts to

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43 "Ile seale" may, of course, be read as an iamb. However, the melodic context—two half notes that do not occur on the beat (thus indicating equal stress) and which fall a descending major third—would seem to suggest the spondee as the more likely reading.
fire"). Yet the self-recognition on which the speaker of the poem verges as he is about to speak is a delusion. The recognition of self which speech implies is an impossible experience which the poem cannot contain or represent. This is evident in the fact that the poet never actually "tell[s] the passions of desire." The denomination of self through speech is merely hinted at as a possibility, a potential upon whose threshold the poem can leave the poet—and the reader.

The movement of the metaphoric constructs in the poem creates a shift of the poem's focus from the self of the speaker burdened with "[u]nquiet" to the mistress who causes the disquiet. The poem has several important and related topoi, of which two are of interest to my argument. The first is the conflict which love precipitates between the inner (private) and outer (public) selves; the second is an elaboration of the inner conflict. The two topoi are linked through the central figure of the poet struggling to control and to repress his disquiet. The metaphoric movement culminates in the liminal resolution proposed in the final couplet. In that couplet the repressed voice of the poem is moved to the threshold of speech. The ironic paradox which inheres in this poem is that action and speech, although never really achieved, dispel those very states of unquietness and self-confinement which determine self. To have "[u]nquiet thoughts" is to have a disquieting self-awareness, whereas to act is to forget that awareness, or to substitute for that awareness "the passions of desire." The metaphors in the poem confirm this substitution. The poem moves from disquieted self-awareness to the invocation of ecstatic action, freed from the impediment of that awareness; and that motion is facilitated by the metaphoric structure of the poem.

In discussing inexpressibility as related to "le beau" and "négation," Paul Valéry states, "Inexpressibility" signifies, not that there are no means of expression, but that all such means are incapable of restoring what inspired them, and that we have the feeling that this incapacity or «irrationality» is a true property of that by which it was caused. The principal property of this beautiful scene is that it generates the feeling that it is impossible to express
the scene adequately in words" [translation mine]. "Vnquiet thoughts" exemplifies a situation like that of Valéry's "beau tableau," in which the object of one's gaze (the beautiful mistress or painting) generates the feeling that it remains incapable of being adequately expressed by trope. Valéry is arguing that things seem inexpressible not because there are no adequate means of expression but because the expressions (words) cannot bring back (can only stand in for) the thing itself; the "incapacity" of words to restore "what inspired them" is felt as "a true property of that by which it was caused." In actual poetic practice, however, it does not make any difference whether language is really adequate in some ontological sense or only seems to be; either way, since words cannot bring back (make present again) the thing-in-itself, the impression we have of their being inadequate remains.

In such a context, if one accepts the proposition that love of the Other is a function of self-love, then it becomes clear that the self which seeks to express love and fails is also seeking to express self and failing. The metaphors of silence and muteness in stanzas one and two of the poem reinforce the topos of inexpressibility, in that they describe the intense frustration of one trapped in the silence of the inexpressible. Again Valéry has a useful comment in this regard: "Now, if one wishes to produce a similar effect [inexpressibility] through THAT WHICH SPEAKS,—through language,—or if one feels because of language, a similar effect, it is necessary that language be employed to produce that which causes muteness, to express a silence" [translation mine]. Language is used to produce that which renders one mute—a paradox that neutralizes the admonition to "speake" in "Vnquiet thoughts." The poet who asks how he shall gaze on his mistress's eyes, and who answers through metaphor, implicitly acknowledges that the passion which he

44 Paul Valéry, Oeuvres, ed. Jean Hytier (Mayenne, 1968), vol. 1, p. 374. "Inexprimabilité" signifie, non qu'il n'y ait pas des expressions, mais que toutes les expressions sont incapables de restituer ce qui les excite, et que nous avons le sentiment de cette incapacité ou irrationalité comme de véritables propriétés de la chose-cause. La propriété cardinale de ce beau tableau est d'exciter le sentiment de ne pouvoir en finir avec lui par un système d'expressions."

45 Ibid., p. 374. "Or, si l'on veut produire un tel effet au moyen de CE QUI DIT,—du langage,—ou si l'on ressent, causé par le langage, un tel effet, il faut que le langage s'emploie à produire ce qui rend muet, exprime un mutisme."
experiences as self is made tangible only in the approximate experience of language. The topoi of internal discord and intense though repressed—muted—passion, in effect elaborate the underlying topos of the poem, that of inexpressibility. The metaphors of mute eloquence (unquiet thoughts, the "staie[ng]" of thought, the tongue in "durance," the dying of thought and word) reflect the attempt to regain the presence of the beloved's "eies," the attempt to speak the inexpressible passion of desire.

The fact that we are dealing with a lute song adds a further dimension to the issue of inexpressibility. The irony of the voice that speaks disquiet, tells of passion, and yet is trapped by the fictive self-representation incurred by the use of metaphor, is further emphasized by the performance context of the airs. That context presumes an active speaker / singer who mediates between the fictive self-representation which the poem makes and the performance presentation, in which the singer assumes the guise of the poet's voice as it is interactively recreated in the singer's voice. The result is that self-representation involves a series of poses that reflect, through the combination of metaphor, music, and performance, the difficulty in expressing the self's passions and desires.

Before discussing metaphors of self in other lute song texts, I wish to make one last suggestion for understanding the figure of the mistress in the songbooks and, particularly, in "Vnquiet thoughts." As we have seen, the metaphorical structure of "Vnquiet thoughts" is dependent on the figure of the "mistresse" who is a metaphor for the struggle between repression and expression which occurs in the poem. The songbooks contain numerous examples of the situation described in "Vnquiet thoughts," in which the figure of the mistress functions, in effect, as a metonym for the inexpressibility topos.46 That is, the mistress-trope itself functions as a metaphor for, and an

46 Some examples include: Song VII, "Downe, downe, proud minde," and Song II, "Truth-trying Time" in William Corkine's The Second Booke of Ayres (1612), Song V "Led by a strong desire" from Robert Jones's The First Booke of Songs or Ayres (1600), and Song VII "What is beauty but a breath?" from Thomas Greaves's Songs of sundrie kindes (1604). In all of these, the mistress remains a metonymy for that which cannot be known and the reader / listener is, in Jones's "Led by a strong desire" enjoined to "Thinke not by prying care / To picke loues secrets out" (Doughtie, Lyrics, p. 121).
enactment of, the inexpressible emotional longings of the self constructed by the poet. The power that the mistress evokes in "Vnquiet thoughts" is the power of inspiration to passion, to love, to freedom from disquiet and repression, and, in the first line of stanza 3, the power to deny and subvert the death that repression inevitably signals to the self.

A psychoanalytic reading, however, would note that "repression" also signals an inner conflict and dynamic tension through which psychic renewal may be accomplished. The beloved provides a self-revelatory speculum to the lover; her much sought-after presence generates the passions which cause the poet to undergo disquiet and self-examination. The disquiet and self-examination are what lead to an enlightened perception of self, to the potential to speak and to "tell the passions of desire." The poet's passionate desires turn his thoughts, in the last line of the poem, to the flame that symbolizes an inexpressible passion ("my thoughts to fire"), a standard Renaissance trope for passionate experience: "For love is a perpetual flux, angor animi [mental anguish], a warfare, militat omnis amans [every lover is in the wars], a grievous wound is love still, and a lover's heart is Cupid's quiver, a consuming fire (Accede ad hanc, ignem, etc.), an inextinguishable fire."47 Burton's use of such tropes as "perpetual flux" and "inextinguishable fire" indicates the ineffable qualities which characterize the experience of passion; and that inexpressible experience of passion as flux, consumption, warfare ("civill slaughter"), and, ultimately, of fire, is what governs the literary strategy of "Vnquiet thoughts."

In "Vnquiet thoughts," the matrix of self-fashioning discussed earlier in relation to Greenblatt is evident. There is a submission to an authority exterior to the self (the mistress's eyes); thus self-fashioning is achieved in relation to the sense of the "invented" Other which dominates the poem. In addition, both the sense of Otherness and the sense of submission to an inner authority are internalized as "inward necessities," metonymized in the tropes of "[u]nquiet thoughts" and the "passions of desire." Finally, implicit within the poem's logical structures are a self-questioning ("How shall I then gaze on my mistresse eies?") and self-subversion ("My

47 Burton, The Anatomy, iii, p. 149.
tongue would rust”) which contribute to the fictive identity of the poem's voice. That private identity, defined by the "[u]nquiet thoughts," is vulnerable to its own subversion and loss when speech, the public expression of passion, becomes possible. Thus Greenblatt's conditions for self-fashioning are met, largely as a result of the poem's metaphoric shift of focus from inner strife and repression to passionate desire and expression.

Fundamental to the air's processes of self-fashioning is the use of metaphors which permit multiplicity, ambiguity, and antinomious meaning. Another rhetorical figure which contributes to these same effects is prosopopoeia. This figure, which gives "a voice to that which does not speak," effectively displaces the sense of self by "giving presence to that which is absent."48 The lute song texts use prosopopoeia to represent an absent speaker, and thus develop a vision of self that is based on a recognition of its illusive, fictive, and inexpressible nature. Metaphor also causes a displacement as well as a condensation. A metaphor reverses the situation by functioning as an illusory presence that leads to the absence of that which it represents. The two figures may be seen as different aspects of a related literary strategy which leads to the disintegration of the illusion of a specific and knowable self in the air.

The fictive selves or voices evident throughout the airs' texts result from experiences transmuted by trope into an expression of the self's intangibility. This is a conventional Renaissance psychological procedure49 and is apparent in the personal ethos described in Castiglione's Il Cortegiano, and discussed in Wayne A. Rebhorn's Courtly Performances. Such an ethos is underpinned by the

49 See Puttenham's remarks on prosopopoeia in The Arte of English Poesie's third book "Of Ornament": "But if ye wil faine any person with such features, qualities & conditions, or if ye wil attribute any humane quality, as reason or speech to dombe creatures or other insensible things, & do study (as one may say) to give them a humane person, it is not Prosopographia, but Prosopopeia, because it is by the way of fiction, ... whereby much moralitie is taught" (p. 239).
conviction that no man can really distinguish appearances from realities absolutely, understand others and their motives with complete clarity, or totally free his perceptions from the bias of personal perspective ... At one point when asked how one separates true love from that which is feigned, the Magnifico replies... "This I do not know, because nowadays men are so cunning that they make no end of false demonstrations and sometimes weep when they can hardly keep from laughing'... Even in such a neutral matter as simple recollection of the past, there is no escape from the limitation and subjectivism of personal perspective, no hope for absolute clarity and completeness of vision." 50

The assumption that the self is a constant flux of conflicting perceptions is evident throughout the lute song texts, as in the lines previously cited from song III of Dowland's first book.

The lute song texts consistently suggest this fluctuating experience by subverting social or personal decorum through parody or tropological procedure. The anti-courtly lyrics of Greville, as well as a number of anonymous lyrics scattered through the Dowland songbooks, are representative of the subversion of social and personal decorum which occurs in the air. One of the most blatant examples of an anonymous air that is anti-courtly is Song VIII in William Corkine's *The Second Booke of Ayres* (1612). The poem focuses on the threat of corruption to "faire Maides" who become involved with "Musky Courtiers." The poem also subverts the sense of self as a "true" representation:

BEware faire Maides of Musky Courtiers oathes,  
Take heede what gifts and favours you receiue,  
Let not the fading glosse of Silken Clothes,  
Dazell your vertues, or your fame bereaue.  
For loose but once the hould you haue of Grace,  
Who will regard your fortune, or your face?

2 Each greedy hand will strive to catch the Flower,
When none regards the stalk it grows upon:\nEach nature seeks the Fruit still to devour,
And leave the Tree to fall or stand alone.
Yet this advise (faire Creatures) take of mee,
Let none take Fruit vnlesse he take the Tree.

3 Beleeue no othes, nor much protesting men,
Credit no vowes, nor their bewayling songs:
Let Courtiers sweare, forswere, and sweare againe,
Their hearts doe live tenne regions from their tongues.
For, when with othes they make thy heart to trembling,
Beleeue them least, for then they most dissemble.

4 Beware least Caesar doe corrupt thy minde,
And fond Ambition sell thy modestie:
Say though a King thou euer courteous finde,
He cannot pardon thine impuritie.
Beginne with King, to Subject thou wilt fall,
From Lord to Lackey, and at last to all.51

The anti-courtliness in the poem is based on the recognition of the
courtier's dissimulation and deceit, and is spoken by a self-
parodying voice which is openly critical of courtly duplicity and
corruption. The poem interweaves its social critique with the
affirmation of values which are being undermined by courtiers
whose "hearts doe live tenne regions from their tongues." Those
values include virtue, grace and modesty, all of which are
challenged by the "greedy hand[s] which strive to catch the Flower."
The personal decorum of the poetic voice of the poem is opposed to
the social decorum which that voice criticizes. Yet the blatant advice
which the poem presents in stanza three—"Beleeue no othes, nor
much protesting men, / Credit no vowes, nor their bewayling
songs"—also contributes to the underlying sense that the "advise"
which the poet offers is itself to be regarded somewhat sceptically

51 Ibid., pp. 391-92.
Thus, the poem subverts both social decorum and the personal decorum which exposes it.

Song IIII from Dowland's first book not only reveals a self-fashioning rooted in its use of prosopopoieia and the inexpressibility topos, but also exemplifies the subtle correspondences to be found among the lyrics from Dowland's first book:52

IF my complaints could passions move,
or make love see wherein I suffer wrong:
my passions weare enough to prove,
that my despayrs had gouerned me to long,
O love I liue and dye in thee
thy griefe in my deepe sighes still speaks,
thy wounds do freshly bleed in mee
my hart for thy vnkindnes breakes,
yet thou doest hope when I despaire,
and when I hope thou makst me hope in vaine.
Thou saist thou canst my harmes repaire,
yet for redresse thou letst me still complaine.

Can love be rich and yet I want,
Is love my judge and yet am I condemn'd?
Thou plenty hast, yet me dost scant,
Thou made a god, and yet thy power contemn'd.
That I do liue it is thy power,
That I desire it is thy worth,
If love doth make mens liues too sowe
Let me not love, nor liue henceforth:
Die shall my hopes, but not my faith,
That you that of my fall may hearers be
May here despaire, which truly saith,
I was more true to love, then love to me.53

52 See also the correspondence between Songs II and XXI, both with texts by Fulke Greville, in the same songbook.
53 Doughtie, Lyrics, pp. 71-72.
"If my complaints" corresponds with "Vnquiet thoughts" in some of its topoi, its subversive procedures, its implied elaboration of the mistress as goddess, its underlying eroticism, its reliance on paradox, and its metaphoric ordering. Like "Vnquiet thoughts," the poem begins in interiority and self-directed reflection and moves at its end to an outer-directed expression, which is here aimed at the poem's imagined audience: "That you that of my fall may hearers be / May here desnaire." Both poems generalize a particular emotional experience through the choice of a comprehensive metaphor for that experience. Like "Vnquiet thoughts," too, "If my complaints" explores the nature of impassioned speech. "If my complaints," however, examines a state of being subsequent to that expressed in "Vnquiet thoughts," which ends with the adjuration to speak "the passions of desire." Here the passions are eloquent from the start and desire to "mooue" Love to "see wherein I suffer wrong." Speech in the form of passionate complaints does not move passions in the Other; nor does it make the beloved any more aware of or sensitive to the inner state of the lover's suffering ("wherein I suffer wrong"). Yet the lover's rejection is also a form of self-negation, as is exemplified in the subtle impotence of his conditional formulation: "If my complaints could passions mooue." The complaint of the passions makes apparent the predominant topos of the poem, the inexpressible nature of the lover's desire for Love. The inexpressibility of the lover's desire results from the use of the paradox which opposes the plentitude of the experience of Love with the lover's lack: "Can loue be ritch and yet I want." Love is such an overwhelming experience of richness that the unrequited lover cannot but be ever-lacking in the expression of his experience of it.

By the fifth line of "If my complaints," we have reached the nexus of the metaphoric experience of despair, for the poem uses the antinomies of life and death to project its inexpressible disquiet: "O loue I liue and dye in thee." The sexual pun in the line is furthered by the clinamen, the swerve or displacement, which now occurs, as the I / thee antinomy is transformed in the poet's experience of self

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54 The poem may be read, at its primary level of signification, as being addressed to the god of love. However, on a secondary level of signification the poem also implicitly addresses the mistress as a goddess; that is, "loue" functions as a metonymy, in this case, for the beloved.
through Love: Love's experience of grief becomes his; Love's wounds bleed in him. The clinamen is from internally derived approximations of self ("my complaints," "my passions") to the use of Love itself as a metaphysical state that is interiorized in order to approximate self; the lover transmutes Love into a metaphor for his emotional state—thus the logic of the line, "O loue I liue and dye in thee." The first stanza expresses the appropriation of feeling through empathy by the lover from Love itself, and by extension from the object of his passion; it also expresses the desired sexual favours through the standard language of sexual metaphor (griefe, deepe sighes, wounds). The antithetical states of the lover and Love ("yet thou doest hope when I despaire") are reinforced through repetition, lines 6 through 12 reiterating the hopeless doubleness of the situation. These contrary states function as a metaphor for the antinomious emotions of the poet's persona. His suffering is initiated by conflict, and his experience of life is intensified through his suffering. The paradox which ends stanza one reinforces the lover's complaints as a means of redressing his despair; Love says it can heal his wounds ("my harms repaire"), yet Love lets him plead for redress, a pleading which causes him to remain unsatisfied. The irony is that the promised expiation (the "repaire") of suffering causes a form of despairing recognition (the "complaint") that self-fulfillment is contingent on the figure of Love, in whom the poet "liue[s] and dye[s]."

The second stanza of the poem enumerates several commonplace paradoxes with regard to love: it is a simultaneous experience of richness and of want, of abundance and of lack, of innocence and of guilt, and of divinity glorified and despised. These antinomies, couched in metathoric terms, further develop the notion of the inexpressible, for the paradox, like the Aristotelian conception of metaphor, signifies a state of being that is always in peril from and destabilized by its antithesis. The fictive speaker of the poem arrives, by the process of syllogism and paradox, at the realization that self is determined through the power of the Other ("That I do liue it is thy power"); this definition of selfhood confirms the inexpressible nature of any self-conception. If one defines oneself by others' powers, and if one only knows of desire through the value and worth attributed to Otherness, how does one ever arrive at
a tangible and pure knowledge of the self unobstructed by others' values or attributes? The answer is given through the qualified renunciation which occurs in the last lines of the poem, a renunciation of Love and therefore of life ("Let me not loue, nor liue henceforth"). To evade Love because it "doth make mens liues too sowre" is to evade life in its doubleness, paradox, and subversion. And, short of suicide, such evasion is of course impossible. In Castiglione's *Il Cortegiano*, Pietro Bembo clearly states that life is defined by paradox and states of being that are anomalous, a principle that is at the core of the Renaissance ethos which the lute song texts represent: "...negli animi nostri sono tante latebre e tanti recessi, che impossibil è che prudenzia umana possa conoscer quelle simulazioni, che dentro nascose vi sono. [...]there are so many dark turns in our minds and so many recesses that it is not possible for human discernment to know the simulations that are latent there."]^{55}

The act of renunciation of life and love which occurs in stanza 2 ("Let me not loue, nor liue henceforth"), however attractive in a nihilistic sense, is also an affirmation of a love that is inextinguishable, and this explains the paradox of the line: "Die shall my hopes, but not my faith." The related concepts of hope and faith are invoked in order to affirm the paradox in which hope is said to die yet faith is said to remain. The faith results from the belief that the addressees of the poem (the "hearers" of his "fall") will heed and be "moove[d]" by the poem's final paradoxical utterance, the commonplace that "I was more true to loue, then loue to me." The poet clearly attempts to "mooue" the passions by the pose of love-despair, which he elaborates through the metaphors which describe his dual experience of love in terms of both life and death. The poet creates for his "hearers" a fiction of self and of truth based on the self's immutable faith in Love as evinced in the martyrdom, the "fall," which the poet experiences.

The final lines further distance the poem's voice from the phantasm of self. The reader is enjoined to "here despaire," and it is despair, as a metaphor for the poet's self, which states the poem's final fiction—namely, that the poet is more constant to love than

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love is to the poet. "Here" punningly signifies both the verb "to hear" (to hear despair) and the adverb of place (to despair here). The difficulty of the final line is a function of this rhetorical conflation and displacement. In a sense, the poet's identity becomes a function of the emotional state which he describes through metaphor. The invocation of the abstract notion that the emotional state of "love" can remain true to any one person or thing is a necessary delusion which the poet must have in order to validate the experience which he attempts to project. What better strategy to express the inexpressible profundity of emotional despair and commitment than through a comparison which validates that commitment over the abstract notion to which it is compared (in this case, love)? This point is missed if one simply reads "love" as a metonymy for the beloved, a reading which reduces the poem's import to self-pity and self-delusion rather than the inexpressibility of the love experience.

Song XIII conforms in several ways with the two other songs which I have examined from this songbook:

AL ye whom loue or fortune hath betraide,
All ye that dreame of blisse but liue in greif,
Al ye whose hopes are euermore delaid,
Al ye whose sighes or sicknes wants releife:
Lend eares and teares to me most haples man,
that sings my sorrowes like the dying Swanne.

Care that consumes the heart with inward paine,
Paine that presents sad care in outward vew,
Both tyrant like enforce me to complaine,
But still in vaine, for none my plaints will rue,
Teares, sighes, and ceaseles cries alone I spend,
My woe wants comfort, and my sorrow end.56

The poem universalizes a particular perception based on the experiences of betrayal, grief, delayed or deferred hope, and unrelieved sickness and melancholy. In this sense, it may be an indirect expression not only of Dowland's career frustrations but of

56 Doughtie, Lyrics, p. 78.
his tendency to melancholy. This tendency has been noted by, among others, Diana Poulton, who states: "...Dowland suffered from periods of intense melancholy...he describes himself as 'Infoelice Inglese'; and the motto he chooses for his first book of songs, *Nec prosunt domino, quae prosunt omnibus artes*—The Arts which help all mankind cannot help their master—comes strangely from a man whose music was beginning to echo round Europe."57

The emotional states described in the first four lines, and centered on a brooding sort of melancholia, are counterbalanced by the anaphoric repetition of the "Al ye," which emphasizes the shared experience of those emotions. Thus, as in most successful lyrics, there is a strong underlying sense of the particularity of the experience which underlies the poem, while at the same time a movement in the poem's tropological structure indicates the shared nature of the experience.

The rhetorical category into which the poem falls is that of the emotional appeal or exhortation, as is evident in the rhetorical figures of exhortation which define the poem's tone. These figures include *exuscitatio*, an "emotional utterance that moves hearers to like feelings," and *pathopoeia*, "which more generally entails arousing passion or emotion."58 The poem's hortatory rhetoric links it with other texts in Dowland's first songbook, in which the thematic concerns of betrayal in both love and fortune, of unfulfilled expectations, and of the search to alleviate the grief of the speaker, are evident. The poem pairs betrayal in love and betrayal in fortune as different sources of the same experience, and we may take this pairing as an indication of the relatedness of the two concepts in the mind of the speaker. Though they are distinct kinds of betrayal, they are linked nonetheless by their effect, the causing of pain and grief.

The central simile of the poem's first stanza (the dying swan) is a simile of self, for it compares the "haples man" who sings his "sorrowes" with the "dying Swanne" singing its swansong. The comparison of self to dying swan underlines the poet's notion that sorrow is an interfusion of "inward paine" and "outward vew." In this case, the "outward vew" is a self-representation of sorrow ("sad

57 Poulton, *Dowland*, p. 78.
care") that is likened to the ineffable song of a dying bird. The notion that "none my plains will rue" ambiguously suggests that the act of lamentation is "in vaine" because that lamentation cannot be understood, except by the solitary self ("and ceaseles cries alone I spend"), or simply because nobody cares.

The final poem of the songbook, "Away with these selfe louing lads" by Fulke Greville, recapitulates the general thematic concerns to be found in the songbook, while parodying the self-involved lamentations by which it has been preceded. The restatement followed by the parodying of the songbook's thematic concerns would seem to indicate a larger literary organization, perhaps loosely based on the familiar pattern in Renaissance lyric of assertion followed by subversion, a pattern that is followed, as we have seen, in John Davies' trencher board poems. "Away with these selfe louing lads" is a useful poem for understanding the degree to which the lute song texts seek self-affirmation yet deny that the self is indeed affirmable or expressible:

Away with these selfe louing lads,
whom Cupids arrowe neuer glads:
Away poore soules that sigh & weepe
in loue of them that lie & sleepe,
For Cupid is a medooe god,
& forceth none to kisse the rod.

2

God Cupids shaft like destinie,
Doth either good or ill decree:
Desert is borne out of his bow,
Reward vpon his feet doth go,
What fooles are they that haue not knowne
That loue likes no lawes but his owne?

3

My songs they be of Cynthiais praise,
I weare her rings on hollidaies,
On euery tree I write her name,
And euery day I reade the same:
Where honor, Cupids riuall is,
Where miracles are seene of his:

4

If Cinthia craue her ring of me,
I blot her name out of the tree,
If doubt do darken things held deere,
Then well fare nothing once a yeere:
For many run, but one must win,
Fooles only hedge the Cuckoo in.

5

The worth that worthinesse should moue
Is loue, which is the bowe of loue,
And loue as well the foster can,
As can the mighty Noble-man:
Sweet Saint, tis true you worthie be,
Yet without loue nought worth to me.59

The first stanza of the poem is a rejection of the Petrarchan ethos, in which unrequited love causes states of intense melancholy and grief. The stanza scorns the "selfe louing lads," the narcissists who are too self-involved to be struck by Cupid's arrow, those who are incapable of making falling in love an occasion of happiness, and the "poore soules" who remain unrequited in their love of those who "lie & sleepe." The anti-Petrarchan notion that Cupid "forceth none to kisse the rod" implies that none must submit to love's duplicities, that is, the self-love and rejection described in the first four lines of the stanza. The mythological figure of Cupid and the symbol of the rod of chastisement, which conflates both sexual and political imagery (phallus and sceptre), suggest the interplay which exists between an Arcadian world of pastoral retreat, free from coercion,

59 Doughtie, *Lyrics*, pp. 82-83.
and a world in which indeed one is forced to "kisse the rod." The stanza also suggests a certain fatalism about lovers' destinies: either one is fated to love or not; love is a state that one cannot force upon oneself or others. Love, in the legal metaphor of the second stanza, "likes no lawes but his owne," and thus the quality of one's love experience is preordained by Cupid's arrows, which "either good or ill decree."

The poem satirizes, particularly in stanza two, the fatuousness of any attempt to assert independence from love—"God Cupids shaft like destinie, / Doth either good or ill decree"—a fact which seems to call into question the speaker's own assertions of a certain kind of independence from love later on in the poem. Furthermore, the simile of the "shaft like destinie" suggests that the quality of the Cupidean love experience surpasses the "fooles"—the unsatisfied narcissists and the melancholics made to suffer by an indifferent love-object—who do not understand that "loue likes no lawes but his owne." The insouciant tone may be contrasted with the serious diction evident in the poem. "Honor" is differentiated from Cupidean arbitrariness ("Cupids shaft.../ Doth either good or ill decree"), and "worth" is the crucial word in the poem's movement towards its moralistic closure in the final stanza. The "Sweet Saint," mentioned in the final couplet of the poem, is found to "worthie be" with the precondition that "without loue [she is] nought worthy to me." In short, the poem is an anti-Petrarchan statement that validates the poet's moral conception of love as "worth" over the fools who do not know or understand the laws of love. In this sense, the poem satirizes and subverts the many traditional Petrarchan protestations of love which occur throughout the other twenty airs in the songbook, and its placement as the final air would seem to suggest that such a subversion of pose and counterfeit experience leads to a more realistic grasp of the love experience.

The third and fourth stanzas, in which Cynthia figures prominently (as opposed to Cupid in the first two stanzas), move the poem out of myth and theory, and into an experience of love in which, as previously mentioned, honour is opposed to false Cupid's love ("Where honor, Cupids rivall is"). Honour's rival, Cupid, is false in being arbitrary ("doth either good or ill decree") like destiny. The stanzas subvert the notion of the lover as enslaved to the
beloved, for they suggest that honour, defined as Cupid's "rival," is a more potent force, a force that creates the "miracles" by which the lover's rejection or deception by the beloved may be overcome. If Cynthia desires the return of her ring, symbolizing the rejection of the lover, then the lover can efface her name from the trees, symbolizing her effacement from his memory. If she deceives, as is implied in the line "If doubt do darken things held deere," then she can be renounced as irrecoverably lost ("Then well fare nothing once a yeere"). The implication of the final lines of stanza four is that any attempt to restrain the beloved, symbolized as the Cuckoo, is destined to failure. Thus the poem proposes a wise cynicism in which the beloved's spurning of the lover is met with an active retaliatory response (he writes her off, literally, by blotting her name from the tree), a response based on the futility of attempting to control the destiny of "Cupids shaft." The passive responses of lamentation and melancholia to rejection or falsehood are abjured in favour of an active and vital response that is rooted in a very different pose of self. That self-image is intrinsically subversive, in that it undermines the conventional Petrarchan pose of the passive and unrequited lover by portraying an active lover who is capable of retaliation and of moral pronouncement ("The worth that worthinesse should moue / is loue.

The fifth and final stanza with its central figure of the "Sweet Saint" completes the syncretic movement of the poem, in which the mythological, the anti-Petrarchan, and the underlying Calvinisitic

60 See Morris Palmer Tilley's A Dictionary of the Proverbs in England in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries (Ann Arbor, 1950), N335, p. 508: "1659 How. Eng. Prov., p. 18: Well fare nothing once a year; For then he is not subject to plundering. 1678 Ray, p. 182: Fair fall nothing once by the year. *It may sometimes be better to have nothing then something. So said the poor man, who in a bitter snowy morning could lie still in his warm bed, when as his neighbours who had sheep and other cattel, were fain to get up betimes and abroad, to look after and secure them."

61 See Doughtie's note on the cuckoo in Lyrics, 469, in which he suggests an allusion to a jest-book tale describing a failed attempt by the "men of Gotam" to trap a cuckoo, in order to be able to hear its song all year. Stanza four of the Greville poem also seems to make a punning allusion to cuckoldry, that is, to the fate of a "fool" who marries someone who does not love him.
morality\textsuperscript{62} ("The worth that worthinesse should moue / is loue") of Greville's views on the love experience are superimposed within the context of a subversion of the courtly ideal. The use of place\textsuperscript{63} in the fifth stanza on the words "worth" and "love," like Shakespeare's notorious sonnet 135 with its repeated versions of "Will," draws the reader into a consideration of the way in which the two concepts are connected. Love is a form of worth that awakens ("moves") worthiness—or virtue. Love is also self-generating and its own best creation; it is its own bow (as opposed to Cupid's), a fact that reinforces the definition of true love as the worth that worthiness begets. The image of the "bowe of loue" is ambiguous, for "bow" may signify not only the archer's implement that arbitrarily distributes "deserts," but also the domination of self by desire, as when Touchstone states in \textit{As You Like It}: "As the ox hath his bow, sir, the horse his curb, and the falcon her bells, so man hath his desires."\textsuperscript{64} Thus, the nature of the love experience is once again determined by a metaphor which displaces meaning, which signifies ambiguously. Love may be a force that arises out of itself; or it may be a submission to a self-directing and self-generating passion; or it may be both.

The third and fourth lines of the fifth stanza heighten the tone of satirical commentary by arguing that the experience of love transcends all social distinctions. This is an important aspect of the

\textsuperscript{62} I do not mean to imply that the poem is wholly based on Calvinistic morality, but merely to suggest that it seems to have elements—"the worth that worthinesse should moue"—which associate it indirectly with such an ethical stance. See C. S. Lewis's comment on Greville's Calvinism in \textit{English Literature in the Sixteenth Century Excluding Drama} (New York, 1944), pp. 524-25. The essence of Greville's position is neatly summarized in lines quoted by Lewis from poem XLV of \textit{Caelica}: "Where Wonder rules the heart / There Pleasure dies."

\textsuperscript{63} See Puttenham's description of place in \textit{The Arte}, pp. 201-02: "Yet haue ye one sorte of repetition, which we call the doublier, and is as the next before, a speedie iteration of one word, but with some little intermission by inserting one or two words betweene, as in a most excellent dittie written by Sir Walter Raleigh these two closing verses:

\begin{center}
Yet when I sawe my selfe to you was true,  
I loued my selfe, because my selfe loued you.
\end{center}

\textsuperscript{64} \textit{As You Like It}, III. iii. 69-70; from Shakespeare, \textit{Complete Works}. The specific context of Touchstone's joke is that man's desires lead to restraint in the form of wedlock. The more general implication is that desire imposes restrictions on self.
poem's anti-courtliness, but it is also an important indication of the
primacy of self and personal experience in contrast with the
conventional Petrarchan pose, in which the self is subordinate to the
beloved Other. The "me" that occurs as the final word of the poem is
empowered by "worth" and "honor" (st. 3) to judge the "Sweet
Saint," or the beloved, as worthless to him if she is "without loue."
The self in love transcends social distinctions (between the forester
and the nobleman), which normally restrict self, and asserts its
power to reject even the worthy saint who "without loue [is] nought
worth to me." Yet there is an ambiguity as to who infuses the
relationship with worthy love: is it the lover or the beloved?
Greville's implication seems to be that both must experience the love
passion in order to achieve the reciprocation of worthiness or virtue
of which the poem speaks.

The recurrent image of the arrow is perhaps a metaphor not
only for the arbitrariness of the love experience, but also for the
desire of self to attain the Other. The Cupidean experience of love
which the arrow represents may be seen as the lover's love impulse
towards the beloved. The arrow is an instrument which unites a
subjective with an objective experience: the archer with the target,
the hunter with the hunted, the lover with the beloved, and the self
with the Other. The poem reveals a subjective sense of self defined
by the metaphor of the "bowe of loue." That self attempts to explain
to the object of its attention—the "you" in "Sweet Saint, tis true you
worthie be"—its moralistic knowledge of passion as related to
"worth." It is the worth of the beloved that, in turn, moves the
lover's "worthiness" to love. Yet the underlying topos of the poem
remains inexpressibility. For love—the "worth" that moves
"worthiness"—remains beyond the expressive parameters established by the poem: "loue likes no lawes but his owne."

Love, again in the last stanza, is defined as intangible and
ineffable—it creates its own laws, its ambiguous states of
submission and passionate flight, and so remains a mysterious
experience of selfhood. The metaphors of self-experience and self-
knowledge in the poem contribute to an asymptotic expression of the
inexpressible self. These metaphors are the means by which the
fictive experience of the poem can "moove" others, that is, create a
tuning of expression to the "highest key of passion." This is as true
in Greville's poem as in poems found earlier in Dowland's book, for despite its satirical and intellectual elements, this work attempts to construct an ethical response to narcissistic or self-indulgent lovers.

The metaphors of the poem help to create the fiction by which the reader may be "moved" to grasp the moral relationship of "worth" to "love." Sidney's trope of the "highest key of passion" approximates, through its use of the musical metaphor on "key," the power of feigned expression to move the reader through imitation of the passionate experiences which are intrinsic to self-definition and self-knowledge, however illusory any such self-definition or self-knowledge is. The poets of the lute song enact a literary strategy whose purpose is to "moove," to arouse the passions of the reader, through the experience of the poem. Their poems are tropological experiences that imitate passion, or, in Greville's poem, the moral understanding of passion, through words, which are nevertheless recognized as insufficient to the task of expressing passion.

BISHOP'S UNIVERSITY (CANADA)
Remarks on Gallot Sources: How Tablatures Differ

BY WALLACE J. RAVE

Symptomatic of the decline in France of interest in lute music during the last decades of the seventeenth century is the relative infrequency with which concordant versions of works by fin-de-siècle masters Charles Mouton and Jacques Gallot le vieux appear in manuscript. This is not only a matter of counting unica, although most Mouton pieces are unique to their sources, as is nearly half of Gallot's music. More striking is the relatively small number of sources that contain even their more widely-distributed works, as compared to the Gaultiers, the elder Dubut, Dufaut and even Pinel and Mésangeau. It is hard to believe this was a reflection on musical quality, although changing tastes must have played a considerable role. Whatever the reason, this circumstance does make more feasible the study of tablature variants in their music than would be the case in the daunting number of sources for the works of Denis Gaultier's, for example. This discussion will center on differing versions of works by Jacques Gallot le vieux which are found only in manuscripts.

There are relatively few major sources for the music of Jacques Gallot. Among the most accessible are the two manuscripts of Vaudry de Saizenay (Besançon, Bibl. municipal, 279152 and 279153, hereafter Saiz I and Saiz II, respectively), which are now available in a single facsimile volume.² Compiled over a number of years from about 1699 by Jean-Etienne Vaudry de Saizenay, they contain music for both lute and theorbo and constitute important sources for music of the Dubut family, Emond (Aymond, Hemond),

² Manuscrit Vaudry de Saizenay. Tablature de luth et de Théorbe (Geneva, 1980). The informative introduction by Claude Chauvel should be consulted. See also description of these sources and others in my dissertation, "Some Manuscripts of French Lute Music 1630-1700: An Introductory Study" (Ph.D diss. Univ. of Illinois, 1972); this contains typographical errors and a few judgements I no longer maintain, however.
Gallot and especially Robert de Visée. They are major sources of Visée’s theorbo music and the only sources known to me of his music for lute. Works in each were grouped together according to key and mode; Saiz I, for instance, opens with pieces in D-minor that are followed on p. 19 by works in C-major.

Each manuscript contains a "Table des pieces" apparently compiled after most or all of the works had been entered. It appears that in preparation for this task the contents were reviewed and additional remarks, attribution corrections and the like were entered on the table and on relevant pages. This activity may have taken place much later than most of the compilation, for at one point it is remarked, presumably by Saizenay himself, that a certain Visée piece is not found in the latter’s pièces de théorbo et de lute mise en partition…, which publication did not appear until 1716.

At first it appears that at least three persons made tablature entries in the two manuscripts. In Saiz II, to begin with, a rather "sprawling" hand first entered the pieces on pp. 1-6, then on pp. 14-19 apparently continued a series of works in A-minor which had been entered by someone else, then made other entries on pp. 22-24, 32, 36, 40-41, and 120-21, the last of these a Gallot work. In adhering to the organizational principle in the manuscripts (i.e. pieces grouped by key and mode) it appears that this sprawling hand made the earliest entries in Saiz II, placing clusters of works thus grouped at a number of separate points so as to allow further entries in those keys/modes later. Thus, it entered on p. 32 a C-minor piece (by Aymond) which was later surrounded by C-minor Mouton works entered by someone else. This accounts, too, for the series of works in A-minor later entered on pp. 114-120, which abut the Gallot work previously entered on pp. 120-121 by the sprawling hand, there simply being no room adjacent to earlier A-minor entries because of a C-major series already residing on p. 122ff.

Although the sprawling hand made only one entry in Saiz I, it is instructive, nevertheless. A Visée sarabande on p. 254 is followed by a "corrected" version of the eleventh measure entered by the sprawling hand, which may reveal the suggestion of a teacher, per-

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2 In the introduction, Chauvel asserts the presence of four hands but does not specify the locations of their respective entries.
haps Visée or Jacquesson, both noted by Saizenay as "mon maître" in the "Table des pieces" of *Saiz I*. But the sprawling hand is the least significant; two other scripts dominate, one rather broad in stroke, the other more concise in its notation. The broader hand made the initial entries in *Saiz I* and filled most of the early pages of both volumes. At the opening of *Saiz I* it preferred a "c" shape rather than a "r" shape, but later consistently employed the latter; at a few points, e.g., in a *double* on p. 38, both shapes occur. This is most likely the hand of Saizenay himself, as can be seen by comparing its entries with his signatures on a flyleaf in *Saiz II* and at the top of the first page of *Saiz I*, where it follows a tuning illustration. As a rule, the more concise script is so easily distinguishable that it appears to be the hand of a different individual. But its style suggests that, despite first impressions, it may well be the same hand as the broader script.

Determinations about who entered what are difficult to make, because the conventions and demands of tablature notation limit the variety of writing shapes; no matter who wrote it, a "/story" usually has its stem curving to the left, for instance. A comparison of p. 378 and p. 381 in *Saiz I*, both containing Visée pieces for theorbo, will illustrate the matter. The first is in the broader script, while p. 381 is more concisely notated. Both have "story" closed at the top (or nearly so), similar shapes for digits (especially critical are 4 and 5), and similar rhythmic signs (including dots that were placed higher than would be expected); in short, there is no distinction between the two in any respect, aside from the broader strokes on p. 378. One is also able to note the general similarity of the flourishes with which pieces are concluded, and how barlines consistently extend beyond the staves on both pages. That both pieces were supplied with abundant and similar performance indications, while not irrelevant, is of less significance in this instance. If it can be accepted that both entries were made by one person, then it follows that discrepancies in appearance between the broader and more concise scripts may be due to haste or the writing implement employed, but also may reflect a considerable gap in time, perhaps years, between the entries by the broader hand and in the later concise script. It is important not to infer from all this that these volumes present a homogeneous body of music. Discrepancies do exist, most discernably in the matter of per-
formance indications and *agrément*, and these are independent from all handwriting distinctions. Thus, while many works such as those discussed above possess abundant *agrément* signs and the like, other works exhibit little or nothing beyond the most common indications found in tablatures of the period.

Although it is clear that the concise script is later, how much later cannot be determined. Not only is it predominant in the latter pages in both manuscripts, but it made entries on pages already occupied by works entered in the broader script. Plausible explanations can be offered for apparent exception, such as the two works entered in the concise script on pp. 112-114. These follow a small cluster of works in the rarely encountered key of B-minor which was entered in the broader script, with a blank page separating the two groups. The piece on pp. 112-113 is the sole F-minor work in the manuscript. It precedes a work in F-major, which is in turn followed by additional works in the key, but which had been entered in the broader script. We can infer that— it being unlikely that other pieces in B-minor would ever surface—the scribe felt it would not be disorderly to enter the piece in F-minor at that point. The F-major piece, having perhaps become accessible at the same time, was simply entered next, conveniently adjacent to the F-major cluster previously entered.

What is more important, though, is the nature of the readings of the works entered. For instance, the two works on pp. 112-114, by vieux Gallot and Visée, respectively, differ markedly from the surrounding pieces entered in the broader script in the details of their performance indications. Taken together, they share a significant number of traits, such as right- and left-hand fingering, elaborate marking of sustains and slurs, and more frequent use of *agrément* signs.

Coupled with apparent differences in the handwriting style, such observations can assist in identifying works entered as a group or cluster, or even occasionally as a suite. This is not always the case, however. In the theorbo segment of *Saiz I*, most of the pieces were entered in the concise script, which is rather consistent in the manner in which it specifies performance information. However, the same appearance also marks some works entered in the broader script, as in three Visée works on pp. 306-307. Thus more signifi-
cant than determining which hand entered a given piece or cluster of works (though this can be of importance in many manuscripts) may be the question of the sources used for copying—or editing.

The extent that sources can vary in their readings can be illustrated by comparing manuscript versions of pieces that appear in the first print by Charles Mouton, issued sometime in the 1690s. A few of them are found in the Saizenay manuscripts, and some are in Barbe, another representative anthology of French lute music recently published in facsimile. Two small clusters of Mouton works in Saiz II (pp. 30-35 and 114-117; no Mouton works were entered into Saiz I) seem to be derived from the Mouton print; even though in each the pieces are all in the same key, neither cluster has works which are even adjacent in the print, much less in "proper" order. Yet except for a few details, the printed versions are adhered to faithfully, even maintaining Mouton's distinctive (but not unique) agrément symbols. This is striking, for while these are common enough shapes Mouton's meanings are different from usual practice. He specified that tremblement was marked "x" and that an appoggiatura from above could be written either "p" or "r". It is perhaps significant that there is no indication that these works were derived from Mouton's print; the manuscript owner's habit of entering corrections and explanatory remarks in the margins and index surely would have led him to note the derivation, had he known of it. It appears though, that the pieces were copied not from the print (they were entered in the broader script) but from manuscript copies of the print. This is suggested by some variants from the published texts, as well as by a curious series of interpolations into the Prelude on p.114 (Mouton's print p.1). Here, the letters "g" and "p" have been added under repeated bass notes, probably indicating grand and petit. They must signify either long and short, or the relative intensities with which the notes are to be struck. It is the sort of instruction that might stem from a teacher. Thus, the readings in Saiz II are almost certainly derived from but not copied directly from the print.

The Barbe versions of printed Mouton works present a different situation, in part because the manuscript does not distinguish be-

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3 Paris, Bibl. nat., Rés. 823; facsimile by Minkoff. 1976, as Manuscrit Barbe, pieces de luth. Named after the former owner (see the Introduction by Claude Chauvel) it apparently was compiled ca. 1685-95, or perhaps a bit earlier.
tween the "r," and "rₓ" found in the print, using only the former to cover both. This is not unusual; even *Mill,* a manuscript of ca. 1682-87 which mentions Mouton as the teacher of its compiler and which has readings very consistent with the Mouton prints, substitutes the comma for the "rₓ". But even aside from this, *Barbe* differs from the printed Mouton collections rather frequently. In the courante on p. 196 (first Mouton print, pp. 42-43, followed by a double which is not in *Barbe*) the discrepancy with the print is so great as to suggest they are really different works.

**Example 1**

*Courante de Mouton*

The second couplet, though, is substantially the same as the printed version, as is the opening of the piece. On occasion there seem to be omissions in the *Barbe* versions; the "canarye" on pp. 194-95 (first

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4) Paris, Bibl. nat., Rés. 823; facsimile by Minkoff, 1976, as *Manuscrit Milleran*...named after the initial owner. Regarding the date see my dissertation, pp. 264-65. Its readings of printed Mouton works are generally very close to the published versions. This, coupled with Milleran's reference to Mouton as his "maitre," suggests that the versions of the large number of his manuscript pieces in this source may provide more authentic readings than are found elsewhere—when they are complete. Otherwise, the frequency of incomplete notation and error indicate that *Mill* is not a very trustworthy source.
Mouton print pp. 38-39, "la libertine canarie") omits the sixth measure from the end, probably due to an oversight. And what appears in Barbe as the second couplet turns out to be only the consequent phrase of the print's first couplet. Other discrepancies occur: a melodic note in m. 47, for example, and the substitution of simpler playing positions than in the print. The Mouton courante on p. 128 (second print, pp. 26-27, with double) even has alternate versions of one measure (the print uses the first alternative) and differs with the print in the next measure.

This exercise has revealed that the few Mouton pieces in Saiz II, which include a "double de la Belle Homicide" not discussed, likely were derived from the first of his prints, while some Mouton works in Barbe deviate substantially from the printed versions. Although this may seem merely to be of academic interest, it suggests that the versions of non-printed Mouton works found in Barbe (there being none in the Saizenay tablatures, anyway) may not be preferable to readings found elsewhere, as, say, in Mill. Perhaps the Barbe readings are earlier versions of this music. But another reason for the discrepancies may lie in the nature of the manuscript itself, for it is marked by great uniformity in the presentation of its contents, a matter to be further considered below.

Readings of the music of Jacques Gallot in the Saizenay sources and in Barbe are yet more revealing. A glance at the modern table of contents given at the end of the facsimile will confirm that Gallot is one of the best represented composers in the Saizenay tablatures, outstripped only by Robert de Visée. But most of his works here are derived from the composer's print, *Pieces de luth*, 5 as indicated

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5 *Pieces de luth...par Jacques de Gallot...* Published in facsimile by Minkoff, 1978. The assertion by F. Lesure in the Introduction to the facsimile that the composer was a Jacques Gallot le jeune is clearly in error, as noted by Peter Danner in his review in this Journal (vol. XII [1979], p. 94), and by many others. The year of publication has been a matter of dispute (the print is undated); Lesure argues for the period 1684-85 as likely, although his position is not totally defensible. But since the appearance of my dissertation, at which time I was persuaded that the volume had appeared about 1673-75, I have come to accept, for a number of reasons, that the early 1680s is a more likely time for its publication.

Since this paper was completed there has appeared *Œuvres des Gallot*, ed. Monique Rollin (Paris, 1987), in which the admirable archival work done by Catherine Massip contributes evidence further supporting the later date; Massip suggests (p. xix) the years 1681-83 as the most likely period. I have not discerned any material
explicitly by annotations on p. 407 of Saiz I and p. 122 of Saiz II which, incidentally, specify the composer to have been Gallot le vieux. These works were entered in the more concise script and are distributed among the two manuscripts in a manner to be discussed below.

Inclusion within manuscripts of complete copies of published seventeenth century tablatures\(^6\) should not be astonishing. The costs of publication, difficulty of locating competent engravers and rudimentary means of distribution all may have contributed to the general inaccessibility of lute publications in Europe after 1640. But it may be that such copies were the result of teacher-student relationships; the manner in which the contents of the Gallot print were entered in the Saizenay tablatures lends support, I believe, to such a hypothesis, unprovable though it may be. Saiz I contains on pp. 407-420 the works in F\(^\#\)-minor from the beginning of the print, altering the original order only to avoid page turns and to place two shorter pieces on the same page. The pieces bear exact titles, and each is attributed to vieux Gallot. It bears remembering at this juncture that the remark on p. 407 noting that these all came from Gallot's livre gravé was added at a later time, in more miniscule handwriting. Then on p. 421 was entered another piece by vieux Gallot, in the same script and at the same time and later identified in the miniscule script as not being in Gallot's engraved print. This series, by the way, was entered at the very end of Saiz I, separate from other F\(^\#\)-minor works on pp. 202-214 and following the theo-

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\(^6\) Other seventeenth-century lute prints copied into manuscripts include:

- Denis Gautier, *Pieces de Luth* (ca. 1672): Prague, Hudebni Oddeleni Univ. knihovny, ms. ii Kk 84 (most works are unattributed);
rbo works. Thus, it is likely it was among the last entries in the source.

The remaining pieces from the Gallot publication were entered in *Saiz II* but in an order greatly differing from the print. Changes were sometimes the result of the same decisions operative in *Saiz I*, but other reasons are discernible as well. Although the series was started on p. 122 in the print's order, again isolated from other A-minor pieces in the manuscript, space ran out (the table of contents begins on p. 140) forcing the remaining works to be entered on pp. 98-110 following a cluster of unrelated pieces in D-minor. But the order of prints in the work is virtually ignored in this process. It is as if favored pieces were entered at the back, then those remaining were thrown together on pp. 98-110. This is reflected in the "Table des pieces," from which can be inferred that these entries were among the last made in *Saiz II*. The manuscript versions are accurate for the most part, with just a few omissions and additions of performance marks (sustains, simultaneities). A few errors in the print, usually rhythmic, are corrected, as is placement of a *petite reprise* sign in "Gavotte la Dauphine" (p. 411); the print (p. 16) placed it one beat too early. Not all mistakes in the print were corrected, though; the "Allemande depart de Mr. Emont" (p. 134) retains an extra eighth note in m. 18 (two sixteenths before the third beat are needed). The manuscript does have the name spelled "Aymond" instead of the print's rather unusual spelling.

Far more interesting is the situation regarding signs employed for *agrément*s. While a few were omitted doubtless through oversight, the manuscript correctly places the others and is consistent in their use. But not all are Gallot's signs. Both print and manuscript use the comma for *tremblement*, but where Gallot specified "rₗ" for *martellement* (mordent) the manuscripts have "r^" or "rₓ". This is not significant in itself although the inverted shape used in the print helps differentiate it from his sign for the *chute* (appoggiatura from below, a *port-de-voix*, given as ".lazy"). For this the manuscripts substitute "rₓ", by far the more common sign for this ornament but here placed following the letter instead of before. None of this disturbs playability; in fact, the player not acquainted with Gallot's instructions would find the Saizenay versions perfectly readable because the more familiar signs are used. Another modification, the
use of \( \frac{\theta}{\pi} \) instead of the print's \( \frac{\theta}{\pi} \) where the thumb is to strike both courses, was probably employed to improve visual clarity. Be that as it may, it is clear that some editing has taken place. It happens that it was also the concise hand that entered almost all of the theorbo works into Saiz I and, as noted earlier, many of the lute pieces added to both manuscripts from time to time. Whether for lute or theorbo, this material shares its notational appearance with the Gallot copies, though with the frequent addition of some left-hand fingering and barré indications; most significant in this regard is the employment of the same agrément signs. Almost all of the theorbo works are by Visée or are arrangements by him, and it cannot be without significance that these tablatures contain the only known Visée lute pieces, so far as I have been able to ascertain. The Visée connection becomes more important too, when it is recalled that in the table of contents of Saiz I a work is listed by Saizenay as "Courante de Mr. de Visée mon maitre, p. 70." Further, the agrément signs used for the Gallot print contents and so many other pieces here are exactly those employed by Visée in his guitar publications of 1682 and 1686.  

Although we have mentioned that both the broader and the neater scripts stem from the same individual, it is tempting to suggest that the concise script is the hand of Robert de Visée. In this connection, however, two further observations regarding the calligraphy in the Saizenay tablatures are pertinent. One is that the Saizenay signatures already mentioned seem to identify the manuscript's owner as the possessor of at least the broader script. The other concerns another entry found in the contents table of Saiz I; in reference to an "Allemande de la Moyne..." it adds, "...que j'ay transpose du theorbe." The work in question is in the neater hand, so if it is assumed that the first-person reference is to Saizenay himself then it is difficult to argue that someone other than him made the tablature entry—unless he did the "transposition," to be entered into the manuscript by someone else. But even if the identity of the neater script remains in question, it is likely that the modifications of the Gallot print contents stem from Visée.

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The above argument might still be of only academic interest were it not for the light it sheds on additional Gallot works located elsewhere in the Saizenay tablatures. Almost all are in the concise script, and most of these employ the same tablature traits to be found in other works entered in this script. As occasionally happens in manuscripts, a few works were entered more than once. Two such instances involve different versions of Gallot pieces later entered in the print-derived material. One, "La Dauphine Gavotte," appears by the broader script in Saiz I on p. 208 in a corrupt version, which is so noted by Saizenay in a later remark. It then reappears on p. 214 in the concise script, with deviations from the printed version: more sustains, new agrément placements, left-hand fingering, first and second couplet endings, barré indications, "r" instead of the print's "r*" and the omission of the petite reprise sign. In the other, a version of the print's "Allemande La belle Lucrece" appears on p. 213 in Saiz I, where it is named simply "La Lucrece Allemande." This, too, shows deviation from the printed version and its derivation entered later in the manuscript, including deletion, substitution and addition of agrément signs. Surprisingly, this version is in substantial agreement with a reading found in Mill (f 59'-60); both show the employment of more dotted rhythm than in the print and two more telling deviations, 1) a descending scalar bass figure in the first ending of the initial couplet (rhythmic notation is corrupt in Mill) and 2) the omission of the pitch D on the second beat of m. 15, leaving a C-sharp in the upper voice. At this spot the Gallot print and its Saizenay copy employ both pitches, the D as a chord member and the C-sharp as a pseudo suspension (it is a pitch repeated from the prior beat). The manuscript versions of Saiz I and Mill thus have the C-sharp as a melody pitch, thus deleting some of the harmonic pi-quancy so characteristic of Gallot's music.

It is clear that both of these manuscript entries were either derived from some "ur-version" of the work, perhaps pre-dating the version Gallot actually published, or else they represent a version "personalized" by another lutenist. While it may be too far-fetched to suggest him as the source of this "arrangement" it is noteworthy that the descending bass line idea in the Saiz I / Mill version—a trait I have not encountered otherwise in Gallot's printed and tablature music—frequently appears in lute and theorbo works of Visée.
The *Saiz I* version of "La belle Lucrece" further adds an eighth rest to the second ending, a nicety rare in tablatures of that time but common among works entered here in the concise script. It is no surprise that this entry employs the *agrément* signs (though placed differently) used in the copy of Gallot's print. Contrast this with the version of "La belle Lucrece" in *Barbe* (pp. 134-35).\(^8\) In comparison to the print the latter is less dotted, omits changing-tone ornamented approaches to downbeats and replaces the arpeggiated cadence chord at each couplet, ending with a half-note chord and single bass pitch. The discrepancy in pitch in m. 15 found in the *Saiz I / Mill* version appears in *Barbe*, too, and there are a few other pitch omissions and temporal shifts. In all, this version is simpler (at one point an open course is employed instead of a stop at a higher fret). On the other hand, *agrément* placement is closer to the print, although the symbols employed are consistent with the rest of *Barbe*'s repertory.

The several other printed Gallot pieces that appear in *Barbe* generally show the same tendencies. The penchant for simpler versions cannot be ascribed to the desire for playing facility, for many difficulties remain. Rather, these versions seem to be less polished and perhaps earlier versions of the printed works. In one instance, in fact, a couplet included in the print is absent in *Barbe*. (p. 47, "La Montespan;" print pp. 57-58, m. 20; a repeat sign was omitted as well, probably inadvertently).\(^9\)

To return to the Gallot works in the Saizenay tablatures, it appears that the readings in the concise script can be suspected of bearing the marks of an editor, likely Robert de Visée. For instance, recall that the series of print-derived Gallot works in *Saiz I* is followed directly by an non-printed piece, "Le Tombeau des Muses, Allemande du V. Gallot" (p. 421); only later did Saizenay note that it is not to be found in the print. One of many solemn, opulent

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\(^8\) Barbe never specifies *le vieux* or the like, but on two occasions (not four, as the facsimile editor asserts) indicated Gallot *le jeune*. Concordance study makes it clear that *Barbe* means the older man when "Gallot" alone is indicated, as far as can be determined.

\(^9\) It is worth pointing out that these and other printed Gallot works found in *Barbe* are grouped together with non-printed pieces by him into suites, but the order, and usually even the grouping, does not conform to any other source. This is the usual state of affairs among lute sources of the period.
tombeaux by this composer (such works emanated from him virtually at the drop of a coffin lid), not only does it exhibit the agréments and special thumb sign of the print-derived readings but also the full panoply of performance indications found in the Visée repertory and other works in the neater script, such as barré, left hand fingering, elaborate sustains, etc. In addition, there is an agrément sign that does not appear in the print-derived material, but is otherwise frequently encountered here, the asterisk, which Visée used in his guitar prints and called miolement (mewing, i.e., vibrato). Because this version was of a work that was never published, it can only be compared to other manuscript versions. For this we can turn first to a version in by far the most copious vieux Gallot source, Leip 14 (Leipzig, Bibl. der Stadt, ms. II 6 14).10

Leip 14 likely dates from near the end of the seventeenth century. It contains seventy-one pieces, all but a handful attributed either to vieux Gallot or simply to Gallot, with most of the latter revealed by concordance to be the older man's work as well. None appears in Gallot's print. Except for two pieces, an anonymous prelude on f. 35 (p. 59) and a vieux Gallot work at the end, the contents were entered by one hand. "Le Tombeau des Muses Françaises par Mr Gallot Vieux" appears on f. 31-32 (pp. 62-63) in a version that has many disagreements with the Saiz I reading. Most notable is that performance instructions are stripped to near the minimum (arpégé, a few sustains, agréments and right-hand fingering, with very infrequent left hand fingering). With one exception the agrément signs are only those of the Gallot print, although the sign for the mordent, a "v" following the letter, is inverted in Leip 14 so that its distinction from his sign for port-de-voix is only in its placement. The real exception is that the source also employs the more familiar sign for port-de-voix, "cj" (only the latter appears in this piece). It is hard to see any distinction between the two signs; perhaps the latter is to be more quickly executed. Whatever the case, Leip 14 seems not to have been intended as thorough in performance markings; barré indications appear even more rarely than left-hand fingering, for instance. But the absence of printed Gallot works and

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the general agreement with his print in matters of performance indications suggests that these versions, most of them unica, have undergone little or no modification by an editor or a teacher. Perhaps some (but surely not all) of these pieces would have been found in a second publication that was anticipated by Gallot, according to a remark at the end of his print. Indeed, Leip 14 may contain copies of a manuscript equivalent to a print, although notational inconsistencies, occasional errors, and omission—not to mention the inclusion of music by Emond, Dufaux, Dupres d'Angleterre and vieux Gautier—seem to preclude the possibility that it is itself such an equivalent.

Along with several other Gallot works in Leip 14, "Tombeau des Muses" also appears on pp. 30-31 of Prague 83 (Prague, Hudební Oddeleni Universitní knihovy, ms. II Kk 83). Although it contains only sixteen pieces, Prague 83 bears two intriguing remarks, both apparently by the hand responsible for tablature entries. The first reads, "commence le 16e de may par Gallot a Paris"; no year is given. The second is "Gallot, a paris au bas de la rue de tournon cul de sac de la rue des 4 vents." Heavier pen strokes suggest the latter remark was written at a different time.

But which Gallot? Active in Paris in the late seventeenth century were two lutenist Gallots, le vieux and le jeune, one the uncle of the other. Little is known of their lives or the date of compilation of this source. Perhaps, though, we can infer from examination of the manuscript itself. Nine works are attributed to vieux Gallot, one unique, the others all in Leip 14, some in other sources as well (but only two in the Saizenay tablatures). Two pieces are attributed to "Gallot J" and "Gallot le Jeune." In addition there is an anonymous sarabande which is by D'Olivet according to Saiz II (p. 96, but this may be a different setting of a timbre) and three arrangements of selections from Lully operas, the latest, a Gavotte on pp. 6-7, from Roland (1685). None of the pieces, of course, are found in the Gallot print. An untitled work on p. 10 attributed only to "Gallot" is by the younger man according to Barbe (p. 48, but in a greatly dif-

12 In her archival study in Œuvres des Gallot, Massip argues (p. xx) that another Gallot may also have been active at that time in Paris. In any case, her contribution to the CNRS Gallot edition constitutes the finest biographical summary about the musical Gallot family (or families?) to this time.
ferring version). It seems unlikely that Jacques Gallot would have referred to himself as *le vieux*; the younger man, though, would have been forced by priority to distinguish himself as *le jeune*—when he remembered to do so. Further, "Le Tombeau des Muses" is described in *Prague 83* as "Le Chef d'oeuvre de Mf Gallot v," a designation not likely to have been made by the composer himself. These observations persuade me that the source was written by the younger Gallot, as do certain features of the notation, such as the notation of appoggiaturas in this fashion on occasion: \( \text{\textcopyright} \) or \( \text{\textcopyright} \). Like *Saiz I*, *Prague 83* uses the asterisk for vibrato, a sign not found at all in *Leip 14*.

Aside from the more elaborate performance indications in the *Saiz I* version, the relationships among the three readings of "Le Tombeau des Muses" are characteristic of the seventeenth-century repertory as a whole. Frequent discrepancies in rhythm (e.g. two eighth notes in one, dotted-eighth and sixteenth in another) and in *arpégé* versus rhythmic separation are perhaps more apparent to the eye than to the ear. But often the first source will agree with the second in one detail, with the third in another and be opposed by both in yet another aspect. The content of m. 19 of "Tombeau des Muses" will serve to illustrate. The *Leip 14* version has the following:

**Example 2**

Gallot, "Tombeau des Muses": *Leip 14*

\[
\begin{array}{c}
\text{\textcopyright} \\
\end{array}
\]

The version in *Prague 83* sounds the D in the second half of the first beat an octave higher, thus only a semitone below the initial D# of the lowest part.

**Example 3**

Gallot, "Tombeau des Muses" *Prague 83*

\[
\begin{array}{c}
\text{\textcopyright} \\
\end{array}
\]
At first the Saiz I version is the same as Prague 83 but then the bass immediately descends to a B on the second beat, then to E and F# in succession, thus greatly altering the harmonic succession as it appears in Leip 14 and to some extent in Prague 83.

**Example 4**
Gallot, "Tombeau des Muses": Saiz I

Despite the notorious risks in employing stylistic discriminators, were I forced to choose on musical grounds I would opt for the Leip 14 version. In these weighty pieces the composer rarely passed up opportunities for appoggiaturas, as on the third beat. He generally preferred contrary motion with stepwise movement in the bass and hardly ever let a measure go by without at least one pitch sounded on the bass courses, all traits most evident in the Leip 14 version. Leip 14 provides characteristically more harmonic movement than do the other two versions of this piece as well.

There is no denying that each of these versions might represent different thoughts of the composer. Or someone else (Visée? Gallot le jeune?) may have engaged in some editing; marked as it is by baroque harmonic richness with suspensions and appoggiaturas, perhaps the elder Gallot's music sounded a bit too rich to the younger men, who were inclined to galant regularity. Both Prague 83 and Saiz I versions lack a striking dissonance found in the Leip 14 reading in m. 21, where the latter has as an acciaccatura dissonance the highest pitch on the third beat.

**Example 5**
Gallot, "Tombeau des Muses": Leip 14, m. 21
The specter of editing surfaces again in a comparison of the readings of "Allemande Tombeau de Mgr. le Prince de Conde" (the grand Condé, d. 1686) in Saiz I (pp. 112-13) and Leip 14 (f. 64'-66; pp. 28-30). True to form the Saiz I version (in the more precise hand) has the full complement of performance indications by now expected: agréments not contained in Leip 14 and a goodly number of additional discrepancies (e.g., the final measure), as can be seen in the comparison given in the Appendix. Examination of the Saiz I version will reveal the use of a technique seldom found in music for lute, except in tablatures, but common in works for guitar, the batterie or strum, in this case with the first finger. It is true that Gallot's works often require two courses to be struck with the first finger, but the Saiz I notation (e.g., m. 9) demands a downstroke over three courses. The technique, by the way, also appears in some of Visée's own pieces in the Saizenay tablatures, which is not surprising since a few of them had their origins as guitar works in his prints of 1682 and 1686.

The question of editing recurs again in reference to vieux Gallot's "L'Amant Malheureux" (Saiz I, pp. 60-61; Saiz II, pp. 120-121), but with a different twist. The version in Saiz II is in the sprawling hand while the reading in Saiz I was entered in the broader script. Surprisingly, they agree in most respects, so much so that it is tempting to view most of the few discrepancies as oversights. It seems likely that they both were copied from the same source, even though Saiz I uses the asterisk following the note to indicate vibrato while the other has a sharp before the note. The latter sign is also found in the Barbe version (pp. 36-37).

This piece reappears in later sources, usually German, as do others of his works.13 One of its other appearances is in London, British Library, Add. ms. 30387 (ca. 1717-1724), a manuscript best known for its repertory of works by Sylvius Leopold Weiss. In

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13 Surprisingly, "L'amant Malheureux" appears in neither Leip 14 nor Prague 83. It is included elsewhere, though, including Oxford, Bodleian Libr., Ms. Mus. Sch. G 617 (pp. 25-27, without attribution). Many Gallot pieces are to be found here and in its companion sources, G 616 and G 618, but their consideration would have added yet more intricacy to an already complex ad detailed discussion. Suffice it to say that these manuscripts generally have simpler readings than those under consideration.
fact, "L'Amant Malheureux" was included in the first volumes of the new Weiss edition, without mention of its Gallot origin (it is anonymous in the manuscript). This is not at all regrettable, however, for Weiss (presumably) greatly altered the original. Furthermore, he composed varied couplet repeats that go far beyond seventeenth-century practice in their departure from the originals. In short, this can be judged less a personalized edition or even an arrangement than a recomposition. Perhaps further investigation will reveal other instances of such a practice.

For much of the repertory it cannot be hoped that study will reveal "urtexts" or "authentic versions." It cannot be taken for granted that, despite assumptions to the contrary in more recent times, composers then concerned themselves invariably with finished, unalterable products. Perhaps they themselves prepared different versions for different students. While performance details such as agréments were stylistically essential, perhaps their precise location was not critical. Some variables found in manuscripts simply may imply performance flexibility not unrelated to the principles of notes inégales. And finally it may be that composers revised their works; Gallot may have incorporated use of the sign for vibrato at a time later than his print and the composition of the contents of Leip 14, for example.

For many lute works such as the Gallot unica on pp. 134-35 in Saiz I no alternative readings are available. Nonetheless, the study of manuscript variants often can lead to more informed judgements. For example, knowledge that the texts of non-printed Gallot works found in the Saizenay manuscripts likely reflect Visée's modifications does not necessarily mean that they should be judged somehow corrupt. Given the detailed performance instructions supplied, they can be useful in the same manner as modern editions, so long as they are viewed as editions.

It is important to recall that only a tiny minority of the seventeenth-century lute repertory was ever published in its time. As bibliographic control of manuscript sources approaches reality, studies of the sort attempted here should become more feasible. In

14 Silvius Leopold Weiss, Sämtliche Werke für Laute, ed. Douglas Alton Smith (Frankfurt, 1983), Band 1 (tablature), f. 66'-67; Band 3 (transcription), pp. 163-64.
turn, these can lead to more sensitive perception of style traits and performance values.
APPENDIX

"Allemande tombeau de Mgr. le Prince de Conde par mr. Gallot V."
(Upper staff=\textit{Leip} 14; lower staff=\textit{Saitz} I)
Melchior Neusidler: Intabulation and Transcription

BY CHARLES T. JACOBS

The music of Melchior Neusidler provides the occasion, perhaps unique in music history, in which a composer's work is presented in three different tablature notations.

Since true tablature,\(^1\) showing hand and finger position, in fact facilitates the performer's fingering, the Neusidler sources may help to show, through their agreement or disagreement with each other, to what extent a specific way of intabulating a particular composition might have been considered important.

Should the indication of course and fret remain constant in different notations, it may thereby be shown that the intabulation given is the composer's preferred way to notate his music, the best way, or the most practical—i.e., the easiest—way. Questions remain concerning how lute composers originally conceived their music. If it was directly composed on their instruments, did a colleague, an apprentice, or a family member write out the music from dictation? Or did the composer write out his music directly into tablature or some sort of score in mensural notation? To the extent that each symbol of German lute tablature indicates a separate pitch, it is possible that German lute composers, having no need for a mensural image of their music, could have written it out directly in tablature.

By "intabulation", I refer solely to the way in which a work is provided in tablature notation; by "transcription", the manner in which previously composed music (usually polyphonic vocal music) is arranged for instrumental performance and the transliteration of old notations into modern notation. In this article, the principal focus

is on published sources of Melchior Neusidler's music: his *Il primo libro [ed]* *Il secondo libro: Intabolatura di liuto* (Venice, 1566), in Italian tablature; Phalèse and Bellère's *Theatrum Musicum* (Louvain, 1571), in French tablature; and, Neusidler's *Tabulatura continens Praestantissimas et Selectissimas Quasque Cantiones* (Frankfurt an der Oder, 1573) in German tablature. The last-cited is in fact a republication, in German notation, of the 1566 Venetian source. Neusidler's 1574 *Teutsch Lautenbuch* (Strasbourg, 1574), in German lute tablature, also comes into consideration here for a work it shares with a Munich manuscript version, preserved in Italian tablature.

For this article, I have chosen a single work common to the 1566 and 1573 Neusidler sources and the *Theatrum*: the composer's transcription of Berchem's "O s'io potessi donna" (Example 1).\(^2\) Neusidler's transcription\(^3\) enlivens the beginning of the work by transforming Berchem's opening semibreve-long chord into a dactylic canzona francese pattern. Thereafter, the transcription is characterized by a virtual measure-by-measure encrustation of the original polyphony with runs, turns, cadential ornamentation, and similar glosses. At mm. 39 and 40, Neusidler inserts felicitous suspensions into the polyphony. The sonority of an augmented fifth or triad, not in the original music, appears at mm. 22 and 31. All in all, Neusidler's transcription constitutes a skillful and attractive treatment of the model.

Careful consideration of the three instrumental sources reveals that identical intabulation was used, despite the different types of notation employed in each; that is, the course and fret required, at least in this composition, do not vary from notation to notation. The practicality of German tablature, with a separate symbol for each fret, comes into question in such a comparison, but it apparently enjoyed sufficient popularity among German lutenists, or functioned for them (as previously mentioned) as an alternative to mensural

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3 *Il primo libro*, p. 2; *Theatrum*, fol. 55v; *Tabulatura*, fol. B2r.
notation, to ensure its continued use throughout the sixteenth century.

Does this uniformity in course and fret imply that the composer's intention was immutably expressed in the notation? In other words, does the specific indication of course and fret in the sources exclude other possibilities, including sustaining of lengthy notes and of ties required by the logic of the music or found in the original model but, in fact, impossible to realize as the music is intabulated? For example, expression, mm. 10-11, of the ties of the model, as also at mm. 34-35, is impeded, indeed, rendered impossible, by the intabulation of the three sources. And sustaining g' in the Altus, m. 12, as called for by the reading of the music in the model, is again not possible according to the way this passage is intabulated in the three sources. The sound of the pungent dissonance, m. 48, involving two forms (flat and natural) of a single note, which I believe Neusidler deliberately introduced into the music, cannot actually be produced with the intabulation the sources provide.

At mm. 8-9, the ties in the original madrigal, while not impeded by the intabulation, are only evident from reference to the original music. The polyphony of mm. 23-25, 28, 31, 41-44, 46 and 52 was or could only be clarified by reference to the madrigal. Indeed, if no model were available to serve in the reconstruction of the polyphony of transcriptions, would our modern transcriptions from the older notation inadvertently form an imposition on the music? Or would it be best to carry out the modern transcription as a simple arrangement, whose margins—regarding sustaining of notes—are determined by the most immediate limitations of the instrument as represented in the source intabulation?

There is no reason to believe, in my opinion, that in transcribing polyphony of other composers for their instruments, Renaissance lutenists would have been less concerned than their keyboard coun-

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4 This issue has been argued in my article cited in fn. 1 supra, and in my Miguel de Fuenllana: Orphénica Lyra (Seville, 1554) (Oxford, 1978), pp. xxxix-xliv.
5 In his review of my Fuenllana edition (cited in fn. 4 supra), in the Journal of the American Musicological Society, XXX (1980), p. 590, James Meadors provided a sample transcription (Ex. 3 therein), in which a canon in the model and cited by the Fuenllana source was broken; see my Fuenllana edition, pp. lx (esp. n. 2) and 412. This issue is not absent even in Bach's keyboard music: see my article cited in fn. 1 supra, nn. 63 and 64.
terparts with providing a faithful rendering of the polyphony. Why would they have been satisfied with an "arrangement", rather than a complete transcription? Should a modern editor substitute his subjective conception for the only objective evidence available—the composer's aural image of the original polyphony?

Perhaps the fact that the notation in the three sources is identical represents nothing more than a mechanical carry-over of the initial 1566 intabulation. On the other hand, the intabulation first given by the Venetian source may in fact be the only practical way, or the best way, to intabulate the music in question. That the music is unlikely, at least in the case of Phalèse & Bellère, to have been an unconsidered transferral (or transliteration) of the notation is clear at m. 5, where g' of the vocal original is indicated—a correction—in the Flemish edition, but not in the 1573 reprint.

A complete edition of Melchior Neusidler by the present writer, which will include comparisons of all the music notated in diverse notations, is in progress. From the various points made above, I am of the opinion that an edition, while taking into consideration limitations of any intabulation, must form a reconstruction, as ideally as possible, of the composer's imagined intentions—clearest, of course, when transcription of pre-existent music is involved.

Music MS 266 of the Bavarian State Library, Munich, contains music by Neusidler. On fol. 93v, there is a fantasia (Example 2), in Italian tablature, which is concordant to one in Neusidler's Teutsch Lautenbuch, fol. N2v, in German tablature. The work is a free polyphonic composition, beginning with points of imitation and containing a substantial section in triple meter. The Teutsch Lautenbuch version is somewhat more ornamented. To the extent that the two versions coincide musically, indications of course and fret are identical. MS 266 has been dated "ca. 1550-70," but it

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7 See Meadors's review cited in fn. 5 supra.
8 Example 2 provides the MS 266 reading of the work. The versions are identical in mm. 1-6, 11, 12, 17, 23, 29-31, 33, 34, 37, 39, 41, 44-46, 52 and 63; mm. 7, 16, 21, 47, 58, and 61 in each version are essentially the same. In mm. 7 and 8, flats, not in the MS version, appear in 1574. The single difference in intabulation, in m. 60—d' on beat 3, given as course 5, open, in the manuscript and course 4, fret 5, in 1574—may stem from the different reading of the measure in the sources.
seems impossible, in the light of current information on the manuscript, to suggest which version might be the earlier.

The same is true of a version of Melchior Neusidler's "Ricercar terzo," found, in a different scribal hand, in MS 266 (fol. 78r), and in the 1566 Primo libro (p. 36), both in Italian lute tablature. The same is true of a version of Melchior Neusidler's "Ricercar terzo," found, in a different scribal hand, in MS 266 (fol. 78r), and in the 1566 Primo libro (p. 36), both in Italian lute tablature. Fifteen measures of the Venetian publication's reading of the music is omitted from the MS 266 version, and there are errors as well as possible variants in the latter. But there are many points of coincidence between the two versions, sufficient to show that the manuscript and printed version are in essential agreement as to the use of course and fret.

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At m. 13, beat 3, an odd check-like symbol in the source was taken to represent a rest, rather than a tie; the reading of this measure in the Teutsch Lautenbuch does not clarify the situation here.

The change to triple meter is shown by C3 in 1574, "3" in the MS, the return to duple meter by 8 in both sources.


11 This composition, labelled a "fantasia," also appears, in French tablature, in Phalèse & Bellère's 1571 Theatrum (fol. 18v), which was not consulted for the present article.
Example 1:
M. Neusidler (1566.1, p. ii): O s'io potessi donna [Berchem]
\[= \text{G tuning} \quad \text{transcr. C. Jacobs}\]
Example 1 (continued)
Example 2:

I - J; G tuning

transcr. C. Jacobs
Example 2 (continued)
Texture in French Baroque Lute Music and Related Ensemble Repertories

BY DAVID J. BUCH

IN A RECENT STUDY ON THE TERMS style brisé and luthé, I questioned our understanding of the texture utilized by the seventeenth-century lutenist-composers who created a new French style in instrumental music. Although that study was mainly concerned with the historical use of these terms, a more comprehensive analysis of texture seems to be in order. Fortunately, new insights can be gained from two unexplored repertories of Baroque instrumental music: polyphonic ensemble dances by some of the same composers who forged the new lute style, and an ensemble repertory, based on original compositions for solo lute. In a way, the latter is the inverse of the sixteenth-century practice where lute pieces are made from original vocal and instrumental polyphony—a "reverse intabulation" process where a piece with a limited number of voices is expanded into a larger texture. An examination of these repertories reveals some likely compositional principles of the Baroque lute masters who developed a more modern concept of texture that has not yet been fully explained in twentieth-century scholarship.

Here we will first review some relevant aspects of French Baroque lute style. The second part of this study will offer analyses of the ensemble dances of the lutenist-composers, François de Chancy and Jacques, Sieur de Belleville, and trace the development of this intriguing repertory of lute dances fashioned into part music.


2 David Ledbetter, Harpsichord and Lute Music in 17th-Century France (Bloomington and Indianapolis, 1987), offers a valuable discussion of general musical style. See my review in the present issue of this Journal. Since Dr. Ledbetter has so admirably directed his discussion to relationships between lute and keyboard repertories, I will not discuss the evidence of textural concepts from the French keyboard sources here.
Finally, some conclusions will be offered as to how our understanding of Baroque lute style is informed by these cognate repertories.

**Melody:** French Baroque lute composers developed somewhat separate melodic styles for certain dance types. In general we find "spun out" lines of limited range (usually no more than an octave) with graceful dotted rhythms interspersed within a melody. Allemandes and pavanes feature these dotted rhythms more frequently (Ex. 1), while courantes chiefly use them to emphasize hemiola, placing a characteristic motive (e.g. a dotted eighth note followed by a sixteenth note) on an unaccented beat to begin the hemiola. Melodic contour is an individual matter. Robert Ballard, René Mesangeau, and Denis Gaultier prefer gradually rising and falling lines, while Germain Pinel and François Dufault compose in a more fragmented melodic style.

**Example 1:**
Mesangeau, Allemande (1638: p. 22)

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**Harmony:** The French Baroque lute repertory standardized the binary harmonic dance with its characteristic establishment of the tonic, modulation to a closely related key (most often the dominant or relative major) at the double bar, and return to the tonic key at the conclusion of the piece—the important harmonic foundation of eighteenth-century style. While this predictable harmonic framework (what we would today call "tonal") is at the basis of the French Baroque lute dance, we commonly find contrapuntal procedures
permeating the texture in a distinctly novel way that helps characterize the style.

**Counterpoint:** Contrapuntal style in French Baroque lute music employs several techniques, including both imitative and non-imitative writing. We often find a subtle and suggestive trace of contrapuntal style employed in both "pseudo-polyphony" and "gestural imitation." In the former we have a short episode where a two-voice texture seems to expand to three or four-voice polyphony only to revert to the original two-voice texture (see Ex. 1). This is one kind of "breaking-up" of the texture. Gestural imitation describes a technique where a motive is imitated only in "gesture," i.e., rhythm, interval, contour, ornament (Ex. 2), or a combination of these elements—a transformation of the sixteenth-century sciolta technique (non-exact imitation of a melodic idea).

Example 2:  
Dufault,  
Allemande (1631: p.25)

Seventeenth-century lutenist-composers handle texture with a degree of freedom unknown in sixteenth-century contrapuntal fantasies and ricercars. However we can find precedent for this approach in the intabulation techniques of earlier French Renaissance lutenists. According to Jean-Michel Vaccaro's study of sixteenth-century French lute music, these techniques include: 1) reduction in range to fit the lute; 2) interchange of voice parts; 3) ornamental passage work (or "divisions"); 4) displacement of octaves; 5) emphasis on polarized voices—upper and lower, specifically; 6) reduction of voices; 7) the occasional breaking of intervals and chords tending to weaken the polyphonic illusion in favor of a more idiomatic style with; 8) oblique or diagonal motion

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3 I am indebted to David Fuller for his suggestion of Zarlino's teaching of sciolta technique as a precedent for this type of imitation. See also James Haar, "Zarlino's Definition of Fugue and Imitation," *The Journal of the American Musicological Society*, XXIV (1971), pp. 226-54.
up or down the texture. All of these traits are in fact found in the idiomatic and decorative dimension of the new French Baroque lute style of the next century, albeit in different proportions and aimed towards different ends.

Daniel Heartz points to an incipient brisé element in early sixteenth-century lute dances. He characterizes this as a de-emphasis of linear aspects in favor of broken chords and free voice-leading within a homophonic texture. Like Vaccaro's "breaking-up" of intervals and chords in lute intabulations, Heartz's observations concern relatively brief episodes within a surrounding texture that is mostly linear. Sixteenth-century brises never pervade the texture to the degree reached in many seventeenth-century lute pieces (e.g., unmeasured preludes, and the works of Germain Pinel). We find the technique isolated in variations and doubles, supplementing the older division technique with a variation where two lines are divided into distinct ranges, alternating note by note. The technique is also integrated within the texture of a dance (see Ex. 3) around the same time (ca. 1600). We might call it "two-voice successive brisé."

Example 3:
R. Ballard,
Courante (1631, p. 9)

Before reviewing the various types of textural "breaking" we might preface these remarks by noting that in most fine quality seventeenth-century lute music (and there is much that is trite in the repertory), brisure is a subtle characteristic that appears intermittently within a piece, most often coordinated with another significant musical element or event, creating an effective and sophisticated artistic result. Often brisé techniques are combined with hemiola (suggesting the syncopation of the dancing couples' interactive

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steps) or with sequence, creating a harmonic sense of drive to the 
cadence and a forward momentum in this musical and choreographic 
depiction of ritualized Baroque courtship. In the hands of the many 
average composers, the technique quickly becomes an affected man-
erism. In the hands of a master like Mesangeau, it is imparted with 
purpose, variety, and surprise.

Varieties of brisé: In the compositional style of French 
Baroque lute music we find various textural traits that might be de-
scribed as "broken." These include:

1) Two or (less commonly) three-voice "successive" brisé. This 
technique employs a continuing pitch alternation between two or 
three lines in different ranges. This occurs at various intervallal dis-
tances, both at a close (Ex. 3) and at a wider distance (Ex. 4). Most 
often in the form of a melody and accompanying line, this synco-
pated "fragmentation" of the linear aspect of a texture forms a kind 
"parlay of two partners" (perhaps a pantomimic musical suggestion 
of the dancers' counter-movements and choreography) that is char-
acteristic of the double technique in the early courante française and 
was often imitated by Italian composers of dance music.7 While the 
Italians in fact had their own techniques for breaking chords, these 
were improvised repetitive chord patterns—arpeggios—rather than 
the characteristic French "broken" texture.8

Example 4:
Gaultier, [Courante] La Rhétorique des dieux, No. 30.

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7 For example, see Michele Pesenti, Il secondo libro delle correnti alla Francese per 
sonar nel clavicembalo, et altrì stromenti, con alcune spezzate a tre (Venice, 1630).

8 The two styles of arpeggiation are differentiated by François Couperin in L'art de 
toucher le clavecin (Paris, 1716-17), p. 33, and briefly discussed in Buch, "Some 
Additional Remarks on Style brisé," p. 220.
2) Broken chords (3-6 voices). These appear usually as a device to expand the texture in broad gestures (Ex. 5) and more rarely as occasional repeated arpeggio patterns in the Italian lute style.

Example 5:
Gaultier, [Sarabande]
La Rhétorique des dieux, No. 28.

3) Intermittent, episodic fluidity in texture. Two-, three-, or four-voice texture seems to appear and disappear in a changing musical fabric (Ex. 1). Melodic and accompanying roles shift from one voice to another. Inner lines occasionally emerge to resolve an upper voice (Ex. 6).

Example 6:
D. Gaultier, [Double to Courant]
La Rhétorique des dieux, No. 25a.

4) Resolving a note of a line in a new register (octave displacement) (Ex. 7).

Example 7:
D. Gaultier, Sarabande, Pièces de luth, p. 32-33.
5) Occasional occurrence of literal or gestural imitations.

All of these procedures are rarely present in a single piece and most often only a few of these devices are introduced. Behind the decoration is usually a sixteenth-century dance genre in a predictable form and harmonic direction into which is woven passages of literal and gestural imitation, coordinated with the decorative elements for an effective musical discourse. In many cases these techniques contribute to the impression that pieces have a thicker, more contrapuntal texture than in actuality, suggesting that a more complex texture was in the mind of the composer before he skillfully reduced it, "breaking" simultaneous, vertical aspects at important points.

II

I have characterized the texture of French Baroque lute dances as "an artful construction based on a somewhat imaginary but clear polyphonic composition that has been reduced in range, texture and completeness of voice leading in order to be idiomatic to the lute...a 'platonic pure form,' the model might be reconstructed in score."9 This view presents the lute style as a continuation of the sixteenth-century intabulation procedures but applied to contemporary instrumental part music. The presence of lute intabulations of polyphonic dance and vocal music in both early and late repertories (e.g., transcriptions of Lully's music) confirms the lutenists' continuing interest in intabulation procedures.

The participation of the first generation of Baroque lutenist-composers in ballet productions and the concordances between the lute and ballet repertories establish a significant connection. This is reinforced by the prevalence of two-part textures in the ballet repertory, the addition of inner voices and polyphonic realizations to that texture by the performer and arrangers, and the use of double varia-

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tion techniques—all common to the French lute art.¹⁰ While many sections of lute dances are conceived in a two-part texture, inner lines are freely invented as chordal "filling" and short, imitative gestures, recalling earlier improvised "filling-in" of a texture by the continuo player who supplied the harmonic background (often the lutenist).¹¹ Evidence of these procedures is found in the ensemble repertories examined below, where we encounter fuller realizations of textures that are only implied in lute tablature.

Perhaps some of these "platonic polyphonic models" have survived in the ensemble music of the first generation of Baroque lutenists and in the extensive ensemble arrangements of original lute dances. This latter repertory spans the entire period in which Baroque French lute music flourished, from the earliest examples of sixteenth-century courantes françaises (e.g., Perrichon’s famous Courante) to the last generation of luthistes (e.g., Jacques Gallot, 1684) and the German subsummation of the French lute art by Gumprecht, Reusner and Strobel.

**Ensemble dances by the luthistes.** Ensemble dances by the lutenist-composers of the French Baroque have been neglected in modern scholarship. Beginning early in the century with the publication of Nicolas Vallet’s *Le Mont Parnasse,*¹² ensemble music continued to be offered by the lutenists. We know that many were actively involved in composing and arranging the ensemble music for ballets de cour and for other significant occasions. Some early examples of this music survive in the famous Philidor collection compiled for Louis XIV.¹³

¹⁰ Buch, "The Influence of the Ballet," pp. 104-7, provides the documentation of these similarities and citations on the participation of some of the lutenists involved in ballets de cour.

¹¹ I have suggested the precedence of continuo realization in the development of the French lute style in Buch, "Style brisé," pp. 60-61.


¹³ Today housed in Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, Rés. F. 494, Rés. F. 496. A few pieces are found in other sources as well. The collection *Suites des danses pour les violons et hautbois qui se jouent ordinairement aux bals chez le Roy* (Paris, s.d., [RISM 1699?] in the same library (Vim 7 S-870) has three Courantes by François de
A comparison of the surviving ensemble pieces with the lute repertory is illuminating. Melodies are remarkably similar. Most are freely "spun out," with the distinct features of lute allemandes and courantes. Example 8 shows the first half of two Courantes by François de Chancy, one for violin and the other for lute. Both begin with an anacrusis leading to a half note. Both utilize the characteristic dotted-note motive on unaccented beats to stress the hemiola and both end almost identically. Melodic style in allemandes show similarities in range, contour, and motive (e.g., compare Ex. 9 with Ex. 1).

Example 8:
Chancy, Courantes for lute (top) and violin.

The binary Allemandes by Chancy in the Philidor collection, volume 1 (Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, Rés. F. 494, pp. 42-5), offer us an opportunity to contrast the fuller texture of ensemble compositions for five voices with the new lute style (which this composer helped to forge). The imitative opening of the Allemande on p. 44 recalls that of lute allemandes with both literal and "gestural" imitation (see Ex. 9). This "gestural" imitation is even more prominent in the opening of Chancy's Allemande on p. 42 (see

Chancy (only the first violin part survives). One of the Allemandes in Rés. F. 494 and two versions of a Serenade, all by Jacques de Belleville, are found in Uppsala, University Library (see Jaroslav John Steven Mrácek, "Seventeenth-Century Instrumental Dances in Uppsala, University Library IMhs 409: A Transcription and Study," Ph.D diss., Indiana University, 1965, I, 46-9, 184-5; II, 75-7, 233-37). A variant of the Serenade is found in the famous Cassel manuscript. See Jules Écorcheville, Vingt suites d'orchestre du XVIIe siècle français (Paris, 1906), II, p. 198. The Cassel manuscript also contains ensemble versions of lute pieces by Germain Pinel (see below)

14 Suites des dances pour les violons et hautbois, p. 4.
15 This courante is found in Tablature de luth des différents auteurs sur les accords nouveau (Paris, 1631), pp. 35-5.
Ex. 10). Each presentation of the subject is slightly different in contour and rhythm. The second strain treats an initial motive similarly. A stretto-like treatment of short motives is used to create a drive to the final cadence in both Allemandes, a device also found in lute allemandes even with their more limited texture.

Example 9:
Chancy, Allemande
Example 10:
Chancy, Allemande
Example 11: Belleville, Allemande
The Allemande by Jacques de Belleville (on p. 111 of Rés. F. 494) warrants close inspection. The first strain is transcribed in Ex. 11. The "subject," marked "s" here, is heard first in the upper voice and imitated in the next measure in the lowest voice, but the rhythm and intervals have been slightly changed in the technique I have called "gestural imitation." In the following two measures sixteenth-note motives seem to recall the subject in a vague manner. In the eighth measure another motive (labelled 2s) is also subjected to gestural imitation. When the motive is repeated in the upper voice the intervallic relationship is altered, although it is still an ascending gesture (2s1). In the following two measures the motive reverts back to the stepwise motion of the first occurrence but the dotted rhythm has been deleted (2s2). This motive also appears in the second strain and is treated similarly.

The contrapuntal style of Belleville and Chancy is also apparent in other ensemble dances of the time. Free imitative openings (most frequently in the outer voices) at the octave, unison, and fifth, and even a "pseudo style brisé, have been observed in contemporary en-

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16 The opening three measures of the second line (from the top) are clearly not correct in Rés. F. 494. The first measure has only three beats and all three measures present pitches that are incompatible with the other four lines, even in transposition. This suggests that this opening section of the line is from an entirely different piece. Philidor may have merely copied this error from the source(s) at his disposal. I have used the Uppsala University Library IMhs 409 version to supply these missing measures. The version is markedly different than that in Rés. F. 494, and the reliability of either reading must be questioned. These may represent two distinctly different versions by the composer himself or "variant" arrangements of some lost original version for lute (or other media). The latter seems most likely since the outer voices in the two readings are almost identical. The practice of writing only the upper and lower voice was almost the rule for the ballet repertory and these readings may be "fleshed-out" versions of a two-voice original setting. Such a two-voice binary piece by Belleville is preserved in the second Philidor volume, one devoted to music from the ballets de cour, Paris, Bibl. Nat, Rés. F. 496, v. II, p. 146: an Entrée from the Ballet de la Reine of 1618. The piece, reproduced in Appendix I, is remarkably like the outer voices of the Allemande in Ex. 11. One may note the similarities in the opening four measures. In the case of the two Allemandes by Chancy, I believe it is more probable that these represent Chancy's own work—he was a far better-known composer whose vocal and instrumental music enjoyed wide dissemination and remained in print in the eighteenth century.
semble dances. The Serenade by Belleville in the Uppsala University Library manuscript IMhs 409 is similar to the allemandes in Rés. F. 494, with regard to melodic style and extended passages of free ("gestural") imitation.

**Ensemble arrangements of lute dances.** The surprisingly extensive body of original lute dances expanded into ensemble pieces provides us with our most intriguing repertory for the purpose of comparison. The repertory traverses almost the entire Baroque period, from the late sixteenth century through the early eighteenth century.

The ensemble repertory most closely related to lute music is the small body of French Baroque lute duets made from original lute solo works through the addition of a newly composed second part, what the French called a *contrepartie*. In most cases the result is the establishment or reinforcement of a voice between the upper and lower voices, creating a kind of "trio texture" and enhancing the already chordal nature of the harmonies by adding thirds and sixths. (The style differs from that of contemporary Italian trio sonatas in that there is far less literal imitation and extended passages in parallel thirds and sixths.)

While contrapuntal realizations of implied melodic lines in the original solo are common, interjections of entirely new melodic lines also enhance the impression of contrapuntal complexity (Ex. 12). This clarifies an essential element of style—a texture intentionally free from rigid voice-leading and full linear continuity. Although this

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17 See Mrácek, "Seventeenth-Century Instrumental Dances," I, pp. 160-78. The author defines this pseudo-style *brisé* as a "disintegrating, highly excited, continuous movement found in keyboard and lute works of the Baroque period." The solo example offered is three measures of an allemande in which "the rhythm in each of the voices achieves a certain independent and agitated style in which the restrictions imposed by a regular beat seem momentarily suspended through the use of syncopations, tied-notes, and a constant eighth-note movement." This is a novel definition of *style brisé* and it has little to do with related terms and concepts as they were used in the period (or, for that matter, today). Many dances in these manuscripts and prints are anonymous and may have, in fact, been composed by the *luthistes*, or perhaps they are expanded versions of lute originals. Until a complete catalogue of this repertory is available, our discussion of this repertory is limited to pieces that bear attribution.

18 The example is taken from the opening of a Sarabande (no. 20) and *contrepartie* by one of the lutenists named Bocquet. See André Souris and Monique Rollin, ed., *Œuvres de Bocquet* (Paris, 1972).
element has often been attributed to the idiomatic limitations of the lute, it seems to be more a matter of style than a product of restriction.

Example 12:

Bocquet, Sarabande and Contrepartie

At least one very well-known late sixteenth-century courante française for lute was arranged for various ensembles. Perrichon's famous Courante is found in three versions in Michael Praetorius's *Terpsichore*, one for four voices and two for five voices.19 A comparison of the former with the lute setting preserved in the Lord Herbert of Cherbury Lute Manuscript 20 reveals that the outer voices were retained in their essentials, although in a manner similar to Renaissance paraphrase techniques employed to decorate and modify a cantus firmus. In Example 13 the notes of the lute version are indicated by asterisks. Inner voices have little contrapuntal function and contribute mainly to the chordal aspect. The lute version is printed below the ensemble arrangement. Praetorius's two other versions realize the piece similarly.

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20 Cambridge, Fitzwilliam Museum, Music MS 689 (Lord Herbert of Cherbury's Lute-Book), fol. 30. In this transcription the key has been changed from F-minor to A-minor for the purpose of comparison with the ensemble version in A-minor.
Example 13:
Perichon, Courante, measures 1-12.
One might raise questions about the origins of the lute version and the difficulty of finding a reliable "authentic" reading for it. This tune may in fact be a timbre, rather than an original work. Yet this should not diminish the value of our observations. Since the lute version has little more than a two-voice texture, and since these two voices are preserved in their essentials in the various lute and ensemble readings, we have a good if somewhat general picture of this piece. We should still interpret the basic chordal accompaniment offered by the supplied inner voices as indicating that a simpler concept of texture for lute dances prevailed at this early stage of the Baroque period.

Another example of a possible early lute courante arranged for ensemble is found in the Dutch print t'Uitnemen Kabinet of 1646, where a "Courante Goutier" is preserved (Example 14). This is a typical early seventeenth-century courante with a double variation of only the second strain. The clear opening melodic motive and lack of hemiola as a result of dotted motives on unaccented beats (except for cadences) suggest that this Courante is of early seventeenth-century vintage, not unlike the many similar lute courantes by "Gaultier" in the Lord Herbert Lute-Book (we have no indication of which Gaultier this is).

Example 14:
Courante Goutier, measures 1-6.

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We may want to consider these arrangements as a continuation of the *timbre* principle in which well-known tunes are found in various settings, vocal as well as instrumental.\(^2\) This is not an unconvincing characterization of this very fluid musical tradition, where pieces enjoy a "lifetime" of changes, even in multiple versions by the lutenist-composer who composed the work.

Pierre Dubut (le père) figures prominently among the first generation Baroque lute masters who created the "classical" suite and explored the *nouveaux accords*. Along with Bouvier, he is among the first to compose pieces in the D-minor * accord*, the tuning that would become standard for Baroque lute music. One of his pieces (No. 40 in the modern edition),\(^2\) alternatively titled a Courante, Sarabande, and Chaconne, is found in a contemporary transcription for * timpanon* and one for three trumpets.\(^4\) A comparison of this latter version with its "expanded" texture and the lute reading is illuminating (Ex. 15). Like Praetorius's settings of Perrichon's Courante, the arranger has filled in chordal harmonies. Like contemporary * contreparties*, we find short phrases harmonized in parallel thirds (mm. 1, 4, 8, etc.), as well as brief motives added to enhance the independence of lines and the contrapuntal effect (mm. 15, 20, 24, and 27). At some points voices are omitted and elsewhere lines are rewritten to accommodate "trumpet fifths" and similar idiomatic effects (e.g., mm. 19, 22-23).

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\(^2\) Frequently we find courantes bearing what look to be song titles, and some of these can be identified as vocal pieces. The Lord Herbert Book preserves several. For details, see André Verchaly, *Airs de cour pour voix et luth (1603-1643)* (Paris, 1961), xxxiii-xxxiv. One of Pierre Dubut's best known courantes (no. 38 in Monique Rollin and Jean-Michel Vaccaro, eds., * Œuvres des Dubut* [Paris, 1979], xxxviii-xxxix) is found as the basis for an *Aria*, "So ist es denn geschehn" in Adam Krieger, * Neun Arien...* (Dresden, 1676 [RISM K2438]), and in transcription for keyboard and for viola da gamba.

\(^4\) * Œuvres des Dubut*, no. 40.

\(^2\) Paris, BN, Rés. 921, pp. 242-43, "Chaconne de lut de Mr. dubut."
Example 15:
Dubut, Chaconne (or Sarabande), measures 1-25.
Mid-century lute style is also represented in ensemble transcription, viz., in the adaption of Germain Pinel's *La Belle Courante* in the Cassel manuscript. Example 16 offers a comparison of the lute version with the ensemble arrangement (the lute reading is transcribed a whole step lower to better compare it with the ensemble version). Chords are reinforced at important beats, especially at those that stress hemiola, e.g., mm. 2, 4, 8, 10, etc. Inner lines are added to enhance the contrapuntal effect, e.g., mm. 5-6, 13-14, 19-21, 24-25, in greater quantity than in the trumpet version of Dubut's piece. The upper line is altered at mm. 10-12, 23, with notes changed and deleted—the "paraphrase" technique described earlier.

German musicians were among the first to take the French repertory and develop it in their own particular manner (we first see this in Praetorius's realizations of French pieces in *Terpsichore*). Later lutenists like Valentin Strobel, Johann Gumprecht, and Esaias Reusner adopted the mid-century French lute genres and styles of masters like Denis Gaultier and Germain Pinel.

Almost simultaneously, ensemble versions of the German lutenists' repertory appeared in print. Johann Ernst Rieck's *Neuer Allemanden, Giques, Balletten, Couranten, Sarabanden, und Gavotten* (1658) includes works by himself, Jean Mercure (a French lutenist active in England and often cited as John Mercure), Strobel, and Gumprecht, all arranged for two and three string parts and figured bass. The four works by Mercure form a suite for two violins and *basso continuo* (an Allemande marked "adagio," a Courante, a Sarabande, and a Gigue marked "allegro") in B flat. The lute versions of the Allemande, Courante, and Gigue have been found in German and English sources. They are in the same key and a comparison reveals procedures similar to those that we found in the transcriptions of the Courantes by Pinel and Dubut. Chords are reinforced, parallel thirds added, and an inner line is included.

26 Johann Ernst Rieck, *Neuer Allemanden, Giques, Balletten, Couranten, Sarabanden, und Gavotten*... (Strasbourg and Frankfurt, 1658) [RISM 1658].
27 See Monique Rollin and Jean-Michel Vaccaro, eds., *Œuvres des Mercure* (Paris, 1977), nos. 4, 12, 26, and Appendix, nos. 1, 2.
Example 16: Pinel, Courante, measures 1-23.
Example 17: Mercure, Allemande
that enhances the contrapuntal effect (the Allemande has a fully developed inner voice that is only implied in the lute version—Ex. 17). Imitation is of the "gestural" variety and all voices participate (Ex. 17, m. 2).

The Courante offers us an example of a contrapuntal inner voice being fully realized from a line only implied in the lute original. This line fills in harmony, highlights important melodic motives of the upper voice by moving in parallel thirds, and provides free imitation (Ex. 18). The two imitative episodes we encounter in the Gigue are actually added measures that conclude both strains rather than derived material from the existing lute music. The Sarabande has some literal imitation that would warrant comparison with a lute version if it is ever found.

I have not been able to locate any lute versions of the works that Rieck included by Strobel and Gumprecht. In some cases we find the kind of literal and gestural imitation that would make a comparison with lute readings informative (Ex. 19). In any event, these German "realizations" show the degree of polyphonic treatment that an original lute composition can absorb. Voices are more independent than in Praetorius's arrangements, perhaps in part owing to the pseudo-polyphony and gestural imitation of the new Baroque lute style. The Germans seem to further develop techniques found in earlier French arrangements and contreparties.

Johann Georg Stanley arranged the lute pieces by Esaias Reusner in a 1668 print, Musicalische Taffelerlustigung. He transcribed these for violin, two violas, and Continuus, ordering them by key into ten suites (a, C, d, F, Bb, g, G, e, D, A). The four-voice texture allows the realization of Reusner's implied harmony and polyphony. Example 20 shows the lute original from Reusner's

\[28 \text{Musicalische Taffelerlustigung, bestehend in allerhand Paduanen, Allemanden, Couranten, Sarabanden, Gavotten, Balletten, und Giguen, von Esaias Reusner...in 4 Stimmen gebracht also das dieselben nach Frantzösischer Art auf Violen füglich können gebraucht werden (Brieg, 1668) [RISM R1217].}\]
Example 18:
Mercure, Courante
Example 19:

(a) Gumprecht, Sarabande

(b) Strobel, Allemande

print of the previous year, placed above the ensemble version from the Stanley print. The arranger has altered the upper voice, slightly "paraphrasing" the original melody. The anacrusis in the original is a single note, while in the ensemble version all four voices participate, immediately drawing the attention of the listener to the fuller texture. Melodic gestures are realized in inner voices (mm. 25-26), recalling the sudden emergence of a line in an inner voice as I described earlier as a part of the brisé effect (Ex. 6). Thirds and sixths reinforce important melodic motives and hemiola.

29 Esaias Reusner, Delitice Testudinis...(s.l., 1667) [RISM R1214], p. 13.
30 Reusner's concepts of French dance texture are also more fully realized in his own ensemble music (violin, two violas, and basso continuo) printed in his Musikalische Gesellschaftsergetzung bestehend in Sonaten, Allemanden, Couranten, Sarabanden, Gavotten, und Giguen...(Brieg, 1670) [RISM R1218].
Example 20:
Reusner, Courante
This tradition ends in the eighteenth century with a print including lute works arranged for ensemble, *Suites faciles pour 1 flute ou 1 violon & 1 Basse Continuë.* These arrangements of both anonymous and attributed pieces are really simplifications of the lute originals rather than amplifications of texture. In many cases two voices will be combined into one melody line (the upper voice) while the continuo line and figures supply harmony (e.g., the *Tombeau de L’Enclos* by Denis Gaultier).

What conclusions might we draw from these observations? First, textures were more fluid than in the sixteenth century, perhaps in part to better adapt music to more varied performing media. Also, the lutenists had a particularly free approach to imitation that was retained in their ensemble writing as part of a general compositional style and *not* as a result of the limitations of the lute. However, voices that are merely implied in the tablature might be more fully realized, first in expanding the vertical, chordal aspect of the texture and later with more complex contrapuntal techniques, including imitation, both literal and "gestural."

Finally, one might consider many lute dances as reductions of more expansive textures that were conceived during the compositional process. Appendix II presents the opening section of Denis Gaultier's unique *Fantaisies* from his *Livre de tablature* in a four-stave realization of the original lute solo. We see an older, more consistent approach to voice leading with the free imitation that is indigenous to French lute style. While this piece demonstrates Gaultier's contrapuntal mastery, the following piece in the print, a

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31 *Suites faciles pour 1 flute ou 1 violon & 1 basse continuë de la composition de Messieurs Dufau, L’Enclos, Pinel, Lully, Bruynings, Le Frevre & autres habiles Maîtres avec les agréments marquez en faveur de ceux qui commencent à apprendre* (Amsterdam, [1703]), preserved in the Durham Cathedral Library, R. II. 69. We can identify at least three of the twenty-six anonymous dances as arrangements of lute pieces. The Sarabande on p. 4 is an arrangement of no. 21 in *Œuvres des Bocquet*. The Sarabande on p. 9 is either by Mesangeau or Ennemond Gaultier (see André Souris and Monique Rollin, eds., *Œuvres du Vieux Gautier* [Paris, 1966], no. 43 and the *étude des concordances*), and the Courante, "La Belle Homicide" is by Denis Gaultier. I suspect that many of the other anonymous pieces are also based on lute originals. (The print mistakenly attributes Denis Gaultier's "Tombeau de L'Enclos" to Henri de Lenclos, misunderstanding the meaning of the de in the title.)

Gigue, reveals Gaultier's skill in manipulating texture for a suggestive and subtle effect. Appendix III presents most of this Gigue transcribed in four staves. Laid out in this manner, we see a thin texture with large gaping areas, seemingly ready to be filled in by harmonically and contrapuntally conceived voices (exactly as it might have been if it were transcribed for ensemble by a contemporary). Voices enter and exit freely (e.g., the lower line in mm. 10-12 and mm. 18-21), leaving long periods where previously established voices are not heard.

Imagining a thicker texture in pieces like the Gigue not only occurred to contemporary musicians but served them in arranging similar works for ensemble. Gaultier's "testament" to his contrapuntal art in his Fantaisies firmly establishes his ability to conceive of these more complicated textural relationships and suggests that his works in a thinner but highly fluid texture were in fact composed with a fuller kind of musical architecture in mind as a point of reference for skillful reduction.

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33 Denis Gaultier, *Livre de tablature*, pp. 22-23.
Appendix I:
Belleville, Entrée

Appendix II:
Denis Gaultier, Fantasies (Livre de Tablature, pp. 20-21) measures 1-20.
Appendix II (continued)

Denis Gaultier, Gigue (Livre de tablature, pp. 22-23), measures 1-15.

Appendix III:

Denis Gaultier, Gigue (Livre de tablature, pp. 22-23), measures 1-15.
REVIEWS OF BOOKS


DANCE RHYTHMS OF THE FRENCH BAROQUE is divided into two sections, "Features of the Dance Rhythms" and "Rhythmic Characteristics of Fifteen Dance Types." These are preceded by an introduction describing the court balls of Louis XIV, the model for the rest of civilized Europe. The book concludes with an epilogue presenting six complete dance songs. The opening section includes chapters on "Reason and the Passions"; dance rhythms in Arbeau, early guitar sources, and Mersenne; rhetoric; various aspects of la belle danse; articulation and rhythmic ornamentation; and a summary. Each of the chapters on single dances in Part II opens with a brief history of the dance, followed by Arbeau's dance motions and step rhythms, guitar rhythms, rhythmic movement (including such matters as unequal notes), metrical proportions, rhythmic subjects, dance motions and step rhythms of belle danse choreographies, tempos and effects, and bowing patterns for violins and viols. Two bibliographies give seven pages of primary sources and four of secondary materials. The musical examples are abundant and elegantly presented.

With all these virtues, Dance Rhythms of the French Baroque is surely a "good" book. But, like the pasquinade on Louis XV, one is tempted to ask, "but for what?" Despite the subtitle, the book does not seem precisely addressed to any particular audience—dancers, instrumentalists, singers, dance or music historians—although it contains material of potential value to all of these. Rarely is this information summarized in a form that the reader can carry away easily. The work opens with a methodological inconsistency: the authors note that there is little surviving music for ballroom dances, therefore they employ mostly music from operas and ballets. On the other hand, their choice of choreographies to this music focuses on "chiefly the simplest and most common steps of the ballroom choreographies" (p. xiii).

An initial survey of the surviving materials of French dance between Arbeau and Feuillet would reveal what has survived and how much if lost—there are no surviving original dramatic choreographies of Lully, for example. (Those who saw the Favier dances presented at the 1988 meeting of the American Musicological Society in Baltimore had a taste of the richness of what has perished from the history of French dance.) The authors stretch the discussion of
dance in Marin Mersenne's *Harmonie Universelle* to bridge this historical gap. Mersenne describes dance rhythms in a cumbersome and derivative terminology based on Classical metres, most of them only textbook examples (*choreobacchius*, *molossus*, *hegemeole*). Even Mersenne's correspondent Giovanni Battista Doni, who yielded to no one is his classicising zeal, wrote to Mersenne in May, 1636: "As to the examples of dances that you put in your book and the Rhythmic designations that you add to them, I find many difficulties, nor does it seem to me that they all fit." In any case, what does a twentieth-century dancer or musician gain from the application of a scholastic terminology published in 1636 to music of the later seventeenth century, such as Lully and d'Anglebert, and to choreographies of the eighteenth century?

Occasionally the authors do summarize their conclusions, as in the list of standard rhythms and structures of the dance songs of the French Baroque on p. 78, whose context suggests that it is intended to assist instrumentalists in articulating dance music. In summarizing musical developments after the death of Lully, they state that "French composers used rhythmic movements far less often and less prominently;...[in] the final years of the *grand siècle*...the musical measure had replaced rhythmic movements as the chief building block of dance music" (p. 52). This is clearly an important point—indeed, a central hinge of their presentation—but its significance is not amplified.

Rhetorical terminology is currently fashionable in discussing seventeenth- and eighteenth-century music (although the authors do not cite the *locri classici* and most intellectually rigorous examples of this treatment, Warren Kirkendale's "Ciceronians versus Aristotelians on the Ricercar as Exordium," *Journal of the American Musicological Society* 32 [1979] and Ursula Kirkendale's "The Sources for Bach's *Musical Offering*: The *Institutio oratoria* of Quintillian," *Journal of the American Musicological Society* 33 [1980]). The authors of *Dance Rhythms* have developed an extraordinarily inclusive model for analyzing their materials in textual, musical and choreographic terms. In some of their examples, the rhetorical analysis does indeed correspond with both music and text; in others, with only one or neither. (On p. 89 the music and text seem to be chastised for this unsatisfactory behavior.) The observation on p. 45 that the usual "mismatch of textual units and rhythmic movements continued as a structural principle in the dance songs of the *grand siècle*" represents an insight that would provide the basis for a much more subtle approach to the relations among text, musical phrase, and dance phrase in the dance song. Sometimes the analysis seems to overweight, even where it does not contradict, the rather frail structures to which it is applied. Like all serious analysis, however, it has the salutary effect of focusing the readers' attention on the musico/choreographic fact and sharpening their perceptions of it. Any dancer or musician should emerge from reading these chapters with an heightened sensitivity to the various levels
of rhythmic activity and the richness of declamation in French music of the grand siècle.

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FOR THE MODERN LUTENIST, the importance of learning to play continuo cannot be overemphasized. For those with professional aspirations, ask around and you will find that only a few players do not depend upon continuo playing for at least part of their livelihood. In addition, continuo teaches the player harmonic theory, counterpoint, improvisation, transposition and many other skills that transform the lutenist from being just a player to a well-rounded musician.

Yet, until now, the lutenist looking for practical information on continuo playing had to rely on what could be gleaned from historical sources. By far the most information survives in tutors for keyboard instruments, which can be helpful in learning the rudiments of accompaniment but become frustrating when one tries to imitate keyboard style on the lute. Unfortunately, continuo treatises are rare and consist of little more than chord charts in tablature with little or no explanation. The most informative source is the small corpus of songs with accompaniments realized in lute or theorbo tablature; but even here, the information is often confusing and seems enigmatic. Because of these problems, original sources should not be the starting point for a beginning student of continuo playing, and this is where Nigel North's book has found its niche: as a modern tutor for lute-family instruments based upon historically-informed performance. Yet, this "treatise" faces the same problem that confronted writers on the topic 300 years ago: how does one write precisely about an art that is largely improvised? North meets this challenge with varying degrees of success. While one could ask for more in certain sections of the book, overall he provides the practical advice of a player who has refined this art in performance for many years and has a genuine concern for pedagogy.

The book is divided into five parts, covering: 1) the historical background of the instruments and their repertory; 2) basic harmony and style; 3) accompaniment using lute and archlute; 4) accompaniment using the theorbo; 5) musical examples. Part One, entitled "The Theorbo, Chitarrone and Archlute," covers a wide variety of topics including instrumental nomenclature, historical sketches
of the instruments, some brief advice on choosing an instrument, stringing, use of right-hand fingernails, and appropriate repertoires for the instruments. North's discussion of terminology should be quite useful to those who are still confused by such questions as what is an English theorbo or how is an archlute different from a theorbo. This has always been a confusing topic, and North handles it concisely, supplementing his text with many tuning charts and scaled drawings of the various instruments. He makes a strong case for three main types of continuo lutes: theorbo in A (first and second courses down the octave); archlute in G (old lute tuning); and, English theorbo in G (first course only down the octave).

While the discussion of instruments goes into sufficient depth for this type of study, the remainder of Part One does not. The second chapter, "Practical Advice," takes up less than four pages, with many topics such as "Choice of Wood" and "Right-Hand Position" given only a single sentence. North states that thumb-out position was normal for theorbo and archlute; but what advice would he give to the renaissance lute player who plays thumb-under? Should he stay with his technique, learn to accommodate both techniques, or sacrifice one for the other? Furthermore, North makes no mention of placing the little finger of the right hand on or behind the bridge—a hand position that is well documented in iconographical and literary sources. I would have welcomed some speculation as to the viability of this position and its effect on the sound of the instrument. The following chapter on appropriate repertory might also have been augmented. It seems ironic that perhaps most important repertory for theorbo accompaniment—seventeenth-century Italian solo song—is allotted a mere four lines of text, and that Italian opera gets barely five. A discussion of what music is appropriate for lutes and theorbo is too important to warrant such a general statement as "Alessandro Scarlatti also used theorbo" (p. 21) without further clarification as to how, how many, and where.

Part Two, "Harmony and Figures," covers the rudiments of figured bass accompaniment. North begins with an explanation of simple chords and their various inversions (plus the most commonly encountered figures), and then goes on to the more complicated seventh chords and dissonances caused by suspensions. A second chapter deals with cadences, basic harmonic sequences, quick bass lines, passing notes in the bass line, and rests. All this is presented simply and concisely with musical examples in staff notation voiced for lute or archlute. Such simplicity may benefit the absolute beginner, but at times the situation is oversimplified. For example, in discussing bass lines that move upwards by leaps of a third, North states that according to Gasparini, "if the first note is a 5/3 chord then the second must be a 6," (p. 49) and "similarly, if the second chord is 5/3 the first must be a 6" (p. 50). This may certainly be true for Gasparini and his time, but in the early seventeenth century such rules do not apply strictly, and both chords could be 5/3 depending on various harmonic
and/or rhythmic factors. The section on harmonic sequences presents only a part of the possible ascending and descending sequences that a player is likely to encounter. For instance, Examples 69 and 70 (pp. 48-49) show proper voice-leading when the bass line ascends and then descends by a semitone. No mention is made of when the movement is by a whole tone. While the voice-leading can be the same for both sequences, the student is left to figure it out for himself. In the next section on descending sequences, no mention is made at all of the inverse—the bass line descending and then ascending by either a whole tone or semitone. Obviously, there are so many sequential possibilities once one gets past simple two-note sequences that not every one can be included. But many more than North describes were deemed important enough to be included in historical sources, and the modern student deserves the same amount of detail. More information on these matters is included in Peter Williams' Figured Bass Accompaniment (Edinburgh, 1970) or F. T. Arnold's The Art of Accompaniment from a Thorough-Bass (New York, 1965), the former being a modern treatise for keyboard players, and the latter a compilation of historical treatises translated into English with annotations. For the lutenist/theorbist, however, North's book is the obvious place to start with the other two books as supplements.

In these chapters (and, indeed, throughout the book), North uses modern terminology to describe inversions. While this may make baroque "harmony" easily understandable to the beginner, inversion thinking is foreign to seventeenth-century music theory. (The first treatise to use this terminology was Rameau's Traité de l'Harmonie of 1722.) It seems to me important a student understand that a bass note figured with a '6' was its own type of chord—not the first inversion (a subtype) of another chord. North does, in fact, recognize this in Part Three by separating his chord charts for root-position and six chords. The hope is that the player react immediately to the figures without having to take the time and analyze the root and determine the inversion. Does our modern musical training necessarily dictate that we must learn old music using modern theory and terminology? Why not approach old music on its own terms? Since the bulk of the music a lutenist is ever likely to accompany will be from the seventeenth century, the use of eighteenth-century terminology seems hard to justify.

What follows in the next chapter of Part Two is a discussion of the heart and soul of accompaniment—style. Topics covered here include chord voicing, doubling and omitting notes from the chord, playing with other continuo instruments, arpeggiating, spreading and strumming chords, accompanying recitative, and proper use of ornamentation. These are the topics that most writers (both past and present) avoid, advising the student to go listen to an experienced player. North refuses to sidestep these issues, and provides the student with sound and tasteful suggestions (at the risk of looking back in ten years to find those ideas out of fashion!).

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The Third Part, "First Practical Steps," concerns the practical application of Part Two on the 10-course lute and the archlute. North begins with chord charts in tablature very much like those found in seventeenth-century French theorbo treatises and English song manuscripts. North, however, thoughtfully divides the chords into "sliding shapes," which have no open strings and can therefore be moved up and down the fingerboard, and "non-sliding shapes," which contain open strings. He also marks the most useful shapes with a star. Curiously, North has chosen not to give charts for simple 6/4 chords (although he gives charts for second inversion seventh chords), that "these [simple 6/4 chords] are very easily found by taking any 5/3 shape and playing the dominant in the bass" (p. 125). This reflects the "second-class" status of inverted chords in modern harmony, the faults of which have been discussed above. As a way of easing the student into using the chords, a set of exercises is provided in which the most common ground-bass patterns are introduced for the student to play each pattern in all possible keys and their relative minors, composing (or improvising) a treble part to each ground.

The following chapter consists of exercises and musical extracts drawn largely from the treatises of Francesco Gasparini (L'armonico pratico al cimbalo, 1708) and Nicola Matteis (The False Consonances of Music, 1682), which are designed to help the student develop what North terms "a good sense of key," which means knowing when the music is modulating from one key to another. This is a very important topic, "particularly when playing from a partbook without a score to guide us" (p. 134) or when the bass line is completely unfigured. The Rule of the Octave is a crucial part of this concept yet North makes only passing reference to it, assuming that the student will have understood enough from Chapters Five and Eleven to apply the Rule to the examples. Almost all of the examples in this and the previous chapter have a blank staff in score with the bass to allow the sketching of melodic ideas by the student, making Part Three somewhat of a workbook.

The theorbo receives separate treatment in Part Four. Charts such as those previously given for the lute are presented here for the theorbo, with the suggestion that one apply the chord shapes to all ground-bass patterns from Part Three (only the Bergamasca is included here). The "sense of key" examples are not repeated here with the expectation that the student will be diligent enough to return to Parts Two and Three and repeat those examples with the theorbo in hand. Instead, North presents a number of solo pieces in the hope that they will "demonstrate the most common chord shapes and give some practice in the use of the basses" (p. 164). While the study of solo pieces is undoubtedly beneficial, why include solos here but not in the previous part for lute and archlute? Furthermore, North gives little guidance as to what is "continuo-like" in his examples. For instance, in discussing the "Toccata arpeggiata" by Kapsberger, North devotes his discussion to arpeggiating "in the Italian manner." He de-
scribes various plucking patterns for the right hand and suggests that each bar of the toccata should include four measured arpeggiated chords. He fails to mention that the sign for arpeggiation •/ used in this solo is also found in Kapsberger’s songs with theorbo accompaniments in tablature; and the important question is not what plucking pattern should be used, but whether the patterns are measured and/or repeated. With one exception, all of North’s solo examples focus on either arpeggiation or ornamentation. Only the example by John Wilson for English theorbo shows a basic continuo style with only modest ornamentation that is very much like the style of his written-out song accompaniments. Chapter Eleven presents exercises from original sources that give the student a much clearer view as to what type of ornamentation is appropriate and how much should be used in continuo playing. These examples from the Modena “Cadenze finali” manuscript for theorbo (Modena, Biblioteca Estense Ms G. 239), the Euing manuscript, and Mace’s Musick’s Monument, both for English theorbo, seem the most helpful. North gives only a few examples from each of these sources due to space considerations. Unfortunately for those wishing to study these sources in detail, only Mace is available in modern facsimile edition.

In Part Five, complete pieces are given, and in many ways this is the most interesting and useful part of the book. First is a selection of five songs with original realized accompaniments for theorbo by Castaldi, Corradi, Kapsberger, Wilson, and an anonymous song from Lady Ann Blount’s Song Book. Kapsberger’s songs are probably the best examples we have of how to accompany monody on the theorbo, but North’s edition is marred by several wrong chords (m. 26, beat 4 and m. 47 beat 3) and several errors in the transcription of Kapsberger’s characteristic sixteenth-note triplets (m. 62, beats 3 & 4 and m. 78, beats 3 & 4). This is followed by six songs and two instrumental ensemble pieces with written-out realizations by North for theorbo, lute, archlute, English theorbo, and D-minor lute. If the adage “a picture is worth a thousand words” can be applied to music, then substitute "tablature accompaniment" for "picture." This is the best possible summation North can offer to the student, and what separates these accompaniments from the historical ones is that North notates as much as possible, including arpeggios, slurs, ornaments, melodies, bass line transpositions and right-hand fingerings. Finally, there is a selection of complete pieces in various national styles and song types without realizations, but with editorial suggestions to guide the student in constructing his own.

Continuo Playing on the Lute, Archlute and Theorbo is intended not for the beginner but for the lutenist who has reached at least an intermediate level of technique and can read staff notation fluently. Given this practical intent, only minor attention has been paid to documenting historical fact, thus limiting its use for those who seek this kind of information. While endnotes, a select music list and a bibliography are included, the formatting of the bibliography is diffi-
cult to read, the entries do not follow standard bibliographic form, and it is very poorly proofed. On the other hand, an abundance of musical examples in staff notation and tablature increase the value of this book for students, and French tablature is used exclusively. The many examples from keyboard sources are wisely transposed to keys more suitable for the lute.

In summary, North's book is an introduction to a complex and important topic, and strives to touch on every aspect of accompaniment. It combines the formats of both treatise and practical workbook, presenting the best of historical sources along with sound advice from the author's personal experience as a performer and teacher. Yet the scope of the book is the very source of its weakness. One could not treat every topic in sufficient depth without expanding the book tremendously. Taken simply for what it is, this is a book every lutenist should own. Only when one considers what the book might have been does one feel any sense of disappointment.

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Students of both the harpsichord and the lute in the grand siècle have long awaited a modern study on these repertories, having only limited secondary sources dating from early in this century that are rife with outdated notions. David Ledbetter's new book makes a noteworthy first effort to redress this limitation. This book is actually a digest of the author's more detailed doctoral dissertation (University of Oxford, 1985), a thesis highly recommended for the scholar who prefers greater documentation. As a condensation of that dissertation, this is both concise and attractive. It is well written and offers musical examples for all major points in the text.

Professor Ledbetter, a keyboard player, seems to have focused his research on the confluence between the repertories for the lute and for the harpsichord (I am told that he learned to play the lute in order to better understand that relationship). But this teleology is a limitation and it permeates the book. Both repertories certainly warrant full-length studies, and especially in the case of the lute, a more complete treatment is necessary. In any event, we have here a uniquely qualified perspective of both lutenist and harpsichordist, and we are fortunate that Dr. Ledbetter's research is now available.
The book has three large sections: 1) the instruments, their social status, and relevant commentaries from the period; 2) features of the lute and keyboard styles; 3) the relationship of the two repertories. A list of Baroque lute tunings is included among the appendices. While the bibliography is up-to-date, the list of primary sources is significantly shorter than that in the dissertation, and is directed toward the question of the relationship of these two repertories rather than an exhaustive look at either repertory.

Although the material on the lute repertory is limited, and the discussion of the harpsichordists reduced from that in his thesis, this is the first serious attempt at a chronology of musical style for both instruments. This aspect is perhaps the most significant by-product of the work and deserves commendation for its ambition and breadth. Dr. Ledbetter is at his best when discussing the complex of elements that influenced the keyboard genres (especially the influence of Froberger and elements other than the lute) and the transformation of luthé features in the wider context of keyboard style. Since the lute repertory lacks the kind of catalogue that Bruce Gustafson provided for the keyboard repertory, the author's observations on lute music should be regarded with caution as well as keen interest. A few flaws mar his effort and I will point out some in the hope that the next edition will include revisions.

Undoubtedly the most enigmatic early source of the period is François de Chancy's Tablature de mandore (Paris: Ballard, 1629), which David Fuller has cited as providing the earliest datable examples of Baroque "classical" suites and many of the standard movements. Certainly the author had access to Fuller's article "Suite" in the New Grove Dictionary. Perhaps Dr. Ledbetter has omitted this source because it is written for a mandore and not a lute. Yet Mersenne calls this instrument a "diminutif lut," and Chancy's similar lute suites were included in Ballard's 1631 print for lute in the nouveaux accords, discussed in detail by the author. Many remarkably mature qualities distinguish Chancy's suites for mandore and a discussion of this music belongs here, since Dr. Ledbetter has stressed works of historical importance and apparent innovation.

The characterization of Robert Ballard as an innovative lutenist-composer is not persuasive. In fact we have courantes with the same stylistic traits that appear to have been written at least a decade before Ballard's pieces were printed, and examples of much more effective and "progressive" pieces by Ballard's contemporaries are easily found. Nor do I find the view of Mesangeau's five courantes in Prague 18 quite accurate. Other sources preserve similar courantes in the period, and these dull pieces hardly convey the sense of what is to come in Pierre Ballard's selection of Mesangeau's remarkable pieces in the 1631 and 1638 prints.

This brings me to a significant observation and suggestion for a second edition. We are never told which are the chefs-d'œuvre of the repertory or what pieces have artistic significance and why. Instead, the author directs us to ele-
ments of historical importance and "innovation." While this is a valid goal, it yields a less than inspiring kind of description, and a precious few compelling, critical insights on the style. (Several of these are presented in David Ledbetter, "Aspects of 17c French Lute Style Reflected in the Works of the 'Clavecinists'," in The Lute xxii [1982], pp. 55-67.)

Perhaps this is related to the lack of material on the context in which this music was performed. While Dr. Ledbetter offers us some valuable citations on the social placement of the instruments, he never tells us about what experiences the music celebrates and to what sensibility it is directed. Who were the people who listened to the new French styles and how did their perceptions inform this music? Much of this information is in fact available in modern French literary scholarship and I expect that a young scholar like David Ledbetter might soon focus his considerable intelligence on that question. Many musicians still cannot develop a strong attachment to these repertories simply because they lack the necessary understanding of the world to which this music spoke.

But perhaps I am asking for too much at this point. A book ought to be judged on how it fulfills the task its author has undertaken. In this regard one can only reproach Professor Ledbetter on a few points. For the rest, we must count ourselves lucky to have his musicological interests directed toward these matters, and I strongly recommend his first book to the readers of this Journal.

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Reviews of Music


The volume published by RISM dedicated to the tablatures for the lute and related instruments (RISM B VII), edited by Wolfgang Boetticher, indicated the existence of sixty-three Italian manuscripts of lute tablature when published in 1978. Today we know of 100, a number that corresponds roughly to the number of printed Italian tablatures listed in Brown's Instrumental Music Printed Before 1600: A Bibliography and other sources. Most of the manuscripts are concentrated in the period bridging the late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries. Rare indeed are those from an earlier time: only about thirty tablatures exist dating from the years 1480-1580. Of the sixteenth-century sources, the manuscript known as the "Siena Lute Book," presented now for the first time in a facsimile edition by Éditions Minkoff of Geneva, and edited by Arthur Ness, is of particular importance. Scholars of the lute have known of this codex for some time, but it would be best to review here its history and contents.

Franz Eduard Gehring, a former professor at the University of Vienna, was probably instrumental in the discovery of the volume. The inscription he left on its frontispiece, "Altitalienische Lautentabulatur gefunden in Siena 1863. F.G.," testifies to a Sienese provenance. In 1880, the manuscript was put up for sale along with the rest of Gehring's music library, and in 1887 it was found at an antiquary in Berlin. The last reliable notice we have of the manuscript records its entrance into the collection of the Gemeentemuseum, The Hague, where it is now to be found under the shelf mark 28.B.39.

With good reason, Ness considers the manuscript "a major source for the study and performance of Italian lute music of the High Renaissance," not only for the abundance of compositions it contains, but for the reputation of the authors and their choice of works. Many of the readings in the manuscript are unica or more authoritative versions than those found in other sources. In the Minkoff facsimile, Ness limits himself to a brief preface, which is enriched by a table of contents, a partial list of concordances, and an index of composers. Despite the brevity of the preface, it is possible to use for an analysis of the manuscript an
extended study by the same author contained in the published acts of the 1986
lute symposium in Utrecht.1

Ness correctly subdivides the contents into three sections from a chronological
point of view: the first containing concordances from 1529 (Attaingnant) to
the generation of Alberto da Ripa and Francesco da Milano; the second dominated
by Neapolitan lutenists (Severino, Dentice) and probably some local authors (the
Sienese Andrea Feliciani); the third supposedly containing contaminations of a
new proto-baroque Roman style, with *Tochate* for a 7-course instrument (the rest
of the book requires only 6 courses) by possibly another Sienese lutenist, "Amidio" (Amadeo) Moretti. In reality, these "toccatas" are simple technical ex-
ercises.

We agree to a Sienese origin of the manuscript, considering, in addition,
the abundant testimony to the fortunes of the lute in sixteenth century Siena.2
What seems dubious is the date proposed by Ness as "during the late 1580s or
early 90s" with subsequent additions by Moretti which "add a 17th-century
 element to the manuscript." Given that the codex appears as an elegant edition
compiled by a single copyist, without cancellations or insertions by other hands,
the handwriting provides few clues in the dating, which, in any case, could
probably be moved ahead to after 1595, the year of the death of Feliciani and of
the nomination of his successor, Francesco Bianciardi, as *maestro di capella* of
the cathedral of Siena. Also dead at this time would be the other authors named
in the anthology, although precise biographical information is missing for most
of them, such as Moretti and Vindella.3 This would perhaps help to explain the
chief enigma in this manuscript: the use of initials to indicate authors of works.
On folio 41 we find "del Libro di F.B." (regrettfully, this indication was cut out
of the facsimile!). If the initials refer to Francesco Bianciardi, there could be a

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1 Arthur J. Ness, "The Siena Lute Book and its Arrangements of Vocal and

2 See Dinko Fabris, "Tre composizioni per liuto di Claudio Saracini e la tradizione del
liuto a Siena tra Cinque e Seicento," *Il flauto dolce*, 16 (1987), pp. 14-25, in which a
dozen lutenists from Siena are cited.

3 Ness rightly connects this "Amidio Moretti" with the famous Sienese ceter player,
Amadeo Moretti, cited in Rinaldo Morrocchi, *La musica a Siena* (Siena, 1886). There
is no information about Pineta, while the "Aluigi Vindella" could be related to the
lutenist from Treviso, Francesco Vindella, author of a lute book published in Venice
in 1546. A letter of Andrea Calmo before 1557 refers to an "Alvise da Treviso" as a
celebrated lutenist (see Le lettere di Messer Andrea Calmo, vol. III. Ed. V. Rossi
[Torino, 1888], p. 295). The *fantasia* on fol. 70r corresponds to a toccata in the
manuscript Perugia, Archivio di Stato, p. 60 and to the *Toccata detta il Morone* in the
manuscript Paris, Bibl. Nat. Rés. Vmd. 29, fol. 5 (see Victor Coelho, "The
Manuscript Sources of Seventeenth-Century Italian Lute Music: A *Catalogue
Raisonné*, Ph.D diss., University of California, Los Angeles, [1989]).
direct relationship between this composer and the copyist engaged to compile this anthology, which was certainly not designed for an amateur.

Thus, the other authors whose names are hidden behind initials might also have been alive: "G.P." (which, according to Ness, could correspond to Pineta, an author whose name appears elsewhere in the same source but whose first name is not given, or Giulio dal Pestrino, i.e. Barbeta; to these we add the Brescian Giuliano Paratico or Giovan Paolo Paladino) and "B.M." (who is also cited in Vicenzo Galilei's Fronimo as a "gentiluomo fiorentino," although the same piece appears attributed to Lorenzini in Robert Dowland's book of 1610. Eliminating Bernardo Monzino on chronological grounds, we can propose a new hypothesis for the owner of these initials: a certain Paolo Biemme "che suona il liuto" who was in the service of Cardinal Aldobrandini in 1594). Obviously, all of these hypotheses fall if one proposes to see in the initials the names of members of the Sienese aristocracy who, as happens in other sources of the period, may not have desired to appear openly in the anthology (and there is no lack of noble Sienese lutenists whose names correspond to the initials, such as Fabio Bonsignori, for "F.B.").

Ness then points out a five-fold division of the manuscript by genre, following the order: 1) fantasias and ricercars (fols. 1-34v); 2) additional fantasias (from the "Libro di F.B."); fols. 41-47v); 3) intabulations of French chansons (fols. 47v-58); 4) various late compositions, including the toccatas for 7-course lute (fols. 58v-76); 5) dances (fols. 112v-113v only).

The first impression is that pure instrumental composition, such as the fantasias and ricercars of the preceding generation, predominates, a characteristic that would also seem to exclude an amateur orientation for the collection (there are only three dances at the end). As for the composers, we have the unusual presence of Alberto da Ripa in an Italian source (and such a late one), and versions of works by Francesco da Milano, many of which were used as the authoritative versions for Ness's 1970 critical edition of Francesco's works. Francesco's student, Perino Fiorentino, is represented by five unica, which can be added to the few known printed works of this composer. Another little mystery is the "Francesco da Parigi," who is attributed in this manuscript with works by both Francesco da Milano and Alberto da Ripa, all of which is complicated by the fact that there are books of villanellas à 3 from the 1570s "Intavolate dal Magnifico M. Francesco Parise, Musico in Roma." Was this musician perhaps a specialist in intabulating works by other composers? Even a "Monzino" manages here to appropriate a work by Francesco, but this might be

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justified in the case of Bernardo Monzino, who was probably a brother of "Il divino" Milanese.5

As for the composers of the central section, Fabrizio Dentice and Giulio and Gioan Antonio Severino, Ness rightly observes a connection between this source and the other important manuscript source of the same period, ex-Berlin, Preußische Staatsbibliothek 40032, now in Kraków, probably copied in Naples in the last years of the sixteenth century. We can add that there existed close ties between Naples and Siena throughout the century and that even the symbol of the siren—the watermark image on the paper used for the Siena manuscript—is closely associated with Naples. The date of Fabrizio Dentice's death, recently identified as 1581, allows us to set back the date of the flowering of the "Neapolitan School" of lutenists, already mentioned by Le Roy in 1575. By extension, we may well propose Dentice as the most important Italian maestro of the generation following Francesco da Milano (as is evident in the structure of the Siena Lute Book). If Dentice was really the teacher of Lorenzini at Parma, his influence would thus extend as far as the beginning of the new Roman style of the early seventeenth century. In this sense, there exist parallels in the structures as well as the repertoires of other lute manuscripts, such as the Cavalcanti Lute Book in Brussels or the monumental Hainhofer book in Wolfenbüttel, along with, of course, Besard's Thesaurus Harmonicus.

The closest connection to Siena so far, however, can be found with a manuscript which has been cited in the literature for some time. In 1990, I visited the Dolmetsch Foundation Library in Haslemere, Great Britain, to study the manuscript Ms II C. 23, an Italian lute source whose contents have remained largely unknown due to the difficulty in obtaining a microfilm reproduction of it. Known as the "Medici Lute Book" because of the Medici coat-of-arms that appears on the first folio, the manuscript originally contained around seventy-two folios, of which only sixteen remain. The format, dating, repertory and above all the paleography, are similar enough to Siena to suspect that the Haslemere manuscript has the same origin and was probably copied by the same hand, though not with the same precision, given the many obvious errors left uncorrected. The twenty-two pieces in the manuscript consist of eight fantasias (not arranged by tone as in Siena), five intabulations of vocal models ("Nasce la pena mia," "Vestiva i colli," etc.) and two untitled pieces that are most likely intabulations of vocal models, and dances ("Pavanna," "Passamezo del giorgio" [="Zorzy" in Brown], two gagliarde and one corrente). The strongest evidence of a direct rapport with Siena derives from the very interesting presence of a "Patisia di m. Andrea Felitiani" found in Siena (fol. 61), and of another anony-

5 Franco Pavan, whom I thank for this and other useful information, is studying these relationships in the family of Francesco Canova for his thesis at the University of Milan.
mous fantasia that is also found in *Siena* (fol. 41). Also similar to *Siena* is the presence of two famous fantasias by Francesco da Milano (Ness nos. 33 and 34 ["la compagna"], the latter copied out twice in the manuscript) and containing—with respect to no. 33—variant readings from the printed version. A later hand (ca. 1620-1630?) has added two dances, of which the first corresponds faithfully to the "Corrente" (by Andrea Falconieri?) from the manuscript Perugia, Archivio di Stato, p. 19 (rpt. Florence, 1988), which is yet another important connection in addition to that cited in note 3 above.

The Haslemere manuscript, therefore, is of significant importance not only as a companion to the "Siena Lute Book," but as its completion. It helps to compensate for the total absence in *Siena* of intabulations of Italian vocal models or sacred music, as well as dances, with the exception of the three works that close *Siena*, of which the last is concordant to a gagliarda by Donino Garsi in the "Dusiacki Lute Book" fol. 59v (entitled "La messa pace" in other sources; see V. Coelho, "The Manuscript Sources of Seventeenth-Century Italian Lute Music"). There may exist, of course, other manuscripts or fragments originating from within the circle of these two manuscripts, but a reconstruction of these relations must still await the results of a complete catalogue of the entire corpus of lute music preserved in manuscript, for which progress is now underway.

With astute intuition, Ness also recognizes in a large number of the Siena pieces, particularly those attributed to Giulio Segni (which have concordances in Giovan Maria da Crema's print of 1548), the intabulating of "ensemble ricercars."

An exceptional element that Ness only touches upon, and that, in our opinion, renders the manuscript even more important, is the modal ordering of the fantasias and ricercars. In this connection, the only studies conducted to date concern the tonal cycles of Italian keyboard or part-music between 1560 and the end of the century. It is not by chance that the name of Fabrizio Dentice always appears associated, even in non-lute sources, with this ordering by mode, which, to some extent, can also be observed in Besard.6

In his Utrecht article, Ness concentrates his attention on the technique of intabulating vocal works—all French chansons, which is another anomalous element for an Italian source—and the derivation of the vocal models, a task made all the more difficult by the deficient language skills of the Siena copyist. The intabulation of vocal music is receiving ever more international attention as a subject for research. Thus, we can now evaluate with greater ease the importance and abundance of this repertory, present as it is in nearly all Italian lute books. An examination of the affinity among arrangements of the works included in var-

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6 We intend to discuss, in this *Journal*, some unknown compositions by Dentice which have recently come to light.
ious sources, therefore, further demonstrates the importance of the Siena manuscript, which is not just an anthology, but a true monument to the art of the lute in the Italian Renaissance.

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(Translated from the Italian by Paul Beier and Victor Coelho)

The Königsberg Manuscript: A Record of Provincial Lutenists in Lithuania.


The Königberg manuscript was originally housed in the Preußisches Staatsarchiv in Berlin as Manuscripta A 116 fol. and was thought to have been destroyed in World War II. It was recently rediscovered in Lithuania, in the library of the Lithuanian Academy of Science, where it was lodged in 1949.1 It contains a large collection of solo and ensemble music, mainly for lute, by German, Netherlands, French and English composers (Lachrimae not excepted), a surprisingly large proportion of which has concordances in other sources. There is also a large section of psalm settings modelled originally on Ambrosius Lobwasser's Psalter des Königlichen Propheten Davids (Leipzig, 1573), interspersed with gaps which were no doubt intended to have been filled eventually. Though considerably smaller, it is similar in date and content to the Thysius manuscript,2 which also has a large section of psalm settings.

In addition to the photographic facsimile produced from a microfilm, this publication contains a table of contents, a study of the manuscript and its context, and notes on scribes, notation, instruments, dates and provenance.

The Introductory text covers a great deal of material, mostly in the area of the history of the port and its musical culture. This is a welcome departure from many facsimile introductions, and the myths about compilation surrounding this

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1 The history of its loss and subsequent rediscovery is given on p.12 of the Introduction.
manuscript could only be adequately dispelled by such extensive research. The introduction begins with a study of the context of the manuscript, and examines some 100 years of the history of Königsberg, now Kaliningrad on the Gulf of Danzig, charting the rise of the port as a cultural centre. The manuscript was apparently copied here, and the first paragraphs give a picture of the traffic of musicians through the city as well as across the continent from this base. Table 1 (a list of professional lutenists at the Königsberg Court) no doubt contains names which may easily have been associated with the compilation of this manuscript, and is an invaluable reference which will no doubt be borne in mind by every scholar exploring lute music of the European mainland in the years surrounding 1600. Stobaeus of Königsberg, with whom this manuscript has often been linked, appears to have been only a minor scribe, and apparently not one of the original owners. As the editors point out, his commonplace book has very few pieces in common with this manuscript, and the two appear to have been copied some years apart.

Compared with printed lute collections in Europe and the Low Countries at the beginning of the seventeenth-century, this collection of music concentrates heavily on simple, short dance forms, ignoring the more virtuosic Preludes and Fantasias, apparently considered so essential to the compiler of a printed collection. For a repertory of this size coming from Europe, it is surprising to find only one Fantasia and three Passamezzo settings.

The collection begins with short and fairly simple pieces which become even more terse on f.11v. After some longer English dances, where the manuscript appears to have had an English scribe, the section of psalm settings begins on f.43. By folio 53v, the copying has once again returned to the recording of dances, mostly Pavans, Galliards, Branles and Courants. There is a great deal of repetition throughout the manuscript, suggesting that it had a number of owners or compilers who probably ignored the work of previous scribes, and also that the manuscript was not intended as a collection in the style

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4 P.14, final paragraph.
5 Particularly Jean Baptiste Besard, Thesaurus Harmonicus (Cologne 1603) and Novus Partus (Augsburg 1617), Joachim van den Hove, Florida (Utrecht 1601) and Delitiae Musicae (Utrecht 1612), Georg Fuhrmann, Testudo Gallo-Germanica (Nürnberg 1615), Elias Mertel, Hortus Musicalis (Strasbourg 1615), Nicolas Vallet Le Secret des Muses (Amsterdam 1516 and 1616) and Johan Daniel Mylius, Thesaurus Gratiarum (Frankfurt 1622). All these collections begin with a short collection of fantasias, and also always contain a large number of passamezzo settings, generally placed before the section of dances.
6 Fantasia by John Hoskins, No.229 f.64v.
7 Nos.233 (f.65), 234 (f.65v) and 272a-73 (ff.76-77v).
of, for instance, Lord Herbert of Cherbury's lute book. A glance at the number of cross-references in the inventory confirms this idea. Most lutenists would be surprised not to find a copy of the apparently ubiquitous Lachrimae in any source of more than about twenty pieces from this date, and this source is no exception. This version of the piece is clearly recognisable as a slightly varied version of the more familiar published account. As well as this, there are several more pieces of high quality, none of them lengthy, and mostly in reasonably simple versions, suggesting that none of the scribes involved here would have been considered a virtuoso. Works of many of the accepted masters of the time; Georg Fuhrmann, Charles Bocquet, Laurencini, Julien Perrichon, Jean Baptiste Besard, Diomedes Cato, Jacob Reys, Jacques Polonois, Montbuysson and Albertus Dlugoraj are conspicuous by their absence, though the compilers do not appear to have been entirely provincial in their tastes.

Part two of the context study, headed "The Manuscript" does not contain some of the information one would expect to find under such a heading. The Dimensions, Quiring, Watermarks and Binding are not recorded anywhere in this introduction. In fact the true size of the manuscript is unknown to the editors, and has been assumed from a set of photocopies sent with the microfilm from which the facsimile was reproduced. This information is essential, but is only to be found on the final page of the book, where it is also noted that the facsimile has been reproduced at 89% of this assumed original size. The editors have opted for a large typeface for the introductory matter, but the reduced size of the facsimile makes the tablature just small enough to be difficult to read in places, particularly from a music stand.

It is accepted that the principal purpose of a facsimile introduction is to furnish the scholar, or other user, with information which he could otherwise only obtain by going to the manuscript itself. In this edition, that information is largely lacking, as the editors have been unable to examine the manuscript personally, hence enigmatic remarks such as "...assuming that the present gatherings of the manuscript are original...". This also means that the

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8 Cambridge, Fitzwilliam Museum, Ms.689. Compiled over about thirty years by Edward, Lord Herbert of Cherbury, this manuscript contains representative music of a high quality from all over the continent.
9 No.94 on f.24v.
11 Robert Ballard, Caspar and Valentin Haussmann, Johannes Groh, Hans Leo Hassler, Mercure d'Orléans, Melchior and Conrad Newsidler, and Valentin Strobel all appear in some form.
12 See p.15.
The first refoliation was probably made to exclude blank folios, but its date is unknown, and the subsequent correction back to the original foliation is similarly undated.


"...Assuming that the present gatherings of the manuscript are original...."

P.13.

In the Margaret Board Lute Book (idem) and the Folger-Dowland MS (Washington, Folger-Shakespeare Library, Ms.1610.1).

For Example: Henry Sampson (The Sampson Lute Book), Margaret Board (The Margaret Board Lute Book), Jane Pickeringe (GB-Lbl Eg.2046) Edward, Lord Herbert

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173
There has always been difficulty in describing in words the different flagging systems used in lute manuscripts. One solution which is often used now, and which works well, is to use the term coined by Georg Leopold Fuhrmann. In his 1615 publication *Testudo Gallo-Germanica*, Fuhrmann includes in his introductory matter a table of equivalences for the two types of lute tablature flagging which he refers to as *Mensura Gallica* (using mensural note heads and stems) and *Mensura Germanica* (using the "grid system" or stems and beams only). The editors discuss these terms, and others, on p.17 of the introduction, which makes it all the more surprising that they are not employed as a substitute for some of the rather confused terminology apparent in the second paragraph of p.14, and much of the lengthy discussion on pp.16 and 17. Terms such as "club-like"\(^{19}\) are probably unavoidable unless the publisher is prepared to use graphics or photographs in the text. In a context such as the discussion of the various scribes, where description of shapes is seminal, I suspect that the insertion of some samples from the manuscript would have saved the editors a great deal of work.

On page 16 of the introduction, there is a discussion of Notation and Instruments, in which the editors describe the tuning of the instruments in letter names rather than by intervals. It has long been accepted that the pitch names normally employed are nominal, and probably had very little fixed-pitch meaning to the player. However, the tunings are far easier to visualize aurally when discussed in this way, and the result is far more musical than the mathematical equivalent of 4-4-3-4-4. It does seem odd to separate this discussion from that of the scribes themselves, since the two are so intimately linked. The work involved in identifying both scribes and instruments has been extensive, and drawing the two sections together would provide backup evidence for the separation of scribes from each other, as well as giving us a clearer picture of the standard of the player and type of lute each was using.

The Inventory is extensive, concentrating mainly on central European printed and manuscript sources, although much of the music also appears in the later English sources such as the Margaret Board Lute Book,\(^{20}\) and the Cherbury Lute Book.\(^{21}\) Once again, it is lacking information in some important areas and the editorial policy has not always been strictly followed. For example, the abbreviation 'n.t.' (no title) is used in some places to indicate the absence of a title in a source, but not in others, and some cognate titles are recorded whilst others are not. The use of the German letter 'ß' is rather variable, and is

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of Cherbury (GB-Cfm Mus.Ms.689), Johan Thysius (The Thysius Lute Book) and many more. See Appendix for expanded references to these lute books.

\(^{19}\) P.14
\(^{20}\) idem.
\(^{21}\) idem.
frequently substituted with 'ss', whilst the abbreviation 'r' for 'recto' is sometimes used, and sometimes omitted.

The manner in which the readings of the titles are displayed on the page is also variable. The Inventory entry for No.1 reads Orlando / Treble / Consorte and reference to the relevant facsimile page shows that the editor has indicated the scribe moving down to a new line by the use of the oblique stroke. This is standard practice in non-musical paleography when editing a literary text, and in use by many editors when transcribing a lengthy title page or similar text. This policy is followed for Nos.1-8 and thereafter discarded, and the oblique stroke used only to indicate that parts of the ascription/title are written on different parts of the page,22 a more common usage in the discussion of music manuscripts. There is no explanation in the prefatory paragraph to explain either its use or non-use.

Another inconsistency in policy relates to the reading of the word Ejusdem in the manuscript. At first it is either omitted23 or replaced with the words it represents. No.109 reads Ejusdem Bass. in the original, and this appears as "Intradae Hasleri primae Bass." in the Inventory. In other words, rather than transcribing the word "ejusdem" the editor has given the title to which it refers. This is misleading, since it suggests that the scribe wrote only Bass, and the editor has identified the music as the second part of a duet. A more desirable solution would be to transcribe the title exactly: Ejusdem Bass and add [Intradae Hasleri primae] etc. In fact, the editor has also reached the conclusion that his headings should represent more accurately what the scribe wrote: piece No.112 is transcribed Ejusdem Int. Hass. Disc. and No.193 as Alia ejusdem Basis.

In this inventory, a familiar title, "Mall Sims", has inexplicably become "Moll Sims". There is no apparent reason for this change from past practice. The Oxford Dictionary of English Etymology24 describes Mall or Moll as interchangeable short forms of Mary. However, more to the point are the readings in sources for Mall Sims, without exception, those that offer a title spell Mall with an 'a':25

Compared to the Boethius Press publications, the visual impact of this edition is professional but slightly fussy. The Boethius facsimiles may look "home made," but they are at least uniform, and most importantly they are

22 For example, No.188, although this is actually also a misreading, since the two parts of the title should be reversed.

23 No.36.

24 The Oxford Dictionary of English Etymology. Ed. C.T.Onions (Oxford, 1966/rpt. 1985) "moll (sl.) prostitute, female paramour, XVII. Appellative use of Moll, pet form of MARY; cf. MOLLY, MAWKIN. ¶ Mall or Moll Cupurse was the familiar nickname of a notorious woman Mary Frith, in the first half of XVII."

25 See No. 24 in the list of Addenda and Corrigenda.
accurate. The Königsberg typesetter has over-used his range of fonts: the title page alone shows an alarming eight typefaces. This profusion results in any number of unfortunate mistakes elsewhere in the formatting. In table 2 of the introduction the typesetter has given under the heading of "Genres" at least two different fonts for the small italics, and the folio numbers for the "blank" folios appear to have been printed at the wrong pitch, though this is intentional. In addition, on page 72 of the facsimile, the folio number (11v) at the top of the page is decidedly skewed. By themselves, these points would be merely irritating, but serious textual problems begin to arise when confusion over fonts causes inaccuracies to appear in the textual parts of the inventory. In the inventory the writing which appears in the manuscript is reproduced in italics, and any commentary uses roman type. Problems arise on page 31, where the word Final given in italics for both pieces 206a and 207a should not be italicized at all. Both these pieces are untitled (or n.t.) and such a procedure is misleading.

In fact, much of the inventory needs to be re-checked, and a list of addenda and corrigenda is appended to this review. There are various forms of misreadings for the ascriptions in the manuscript, such as Allemand for Almande, Elisabeths Jones Galliard for Elizabeths Jones Galliarde, (both in clear modern italic) or fictitious additions such as m r Jo hn Jonson for m r Jonson, and 4ta apropos of nothing after Intrada. Hass. NB. The order of some of the words is reversed, and some words are omitted altogether. References to pages or folios in other manuscripts and also cross references within the inventory are erratic and unreliable. No.196 refers the reader to No.120, which should be No.121, No.32 refers to the Thysius MS but gives no page reference, and some references give only editorial piece numbers, without folios, making the concordances extremely difficult to locate.

Some of the placings selected for editorial information in the body of the facsimile are awkward and easily missed: The information that ff.8v-11r are omitted is printed sideways on f.8r, before the omission, but the information about the omission of ff.19r-19v is printed after, on f.20r. Having omitted some

26 P.15
27 Misreadings are not limited only to the Königsberg manuscript ascriptions, but also appear in the lists of concordances and cognates.
28 No.123.
29 No.223.
30 No.226.
31 No.110.
32 Nos.44, 188, 225 (in the concordances), and 254.
33 Nos.2, 148, 233.
34 Nos.86 and 214. Very few scribes or printers numbered their pieces, and those that did are usually unreliable.
pages which do not contain tablature, other pages are reproduced for no apparent reason: 17r is printed to keep the sequence of pages in correct relation in the openings, but 17v and 18r are also printed, though they contain no tablature, apart from some showthrough on f.18r from 18v. No reason is given for omitting all the other blank folios, while printing these. The inventory lists all these pages as blank, but in fact they are not—they are ruled but otherwise unused. Only f.67v is "blank," or nearly so, as the scribe has already started to rule it by marking out the block for his staves. We have no way of discovering which of the so-called "blank" pages is ruled, blocked-out, or truly blank.

The practice of differentiating between cognates and concordances in inventories has long been recommended, and is applied for the first time in this facsimile, although a definition of precisely what the editors recognise as cognate as opposed to concordant would be useful. It is possible that not all scholars would agree, for instance, with the conclusion which appears to have been reached here, that a reading which is identical in every respect except for transposition is a cognate. It is very unusual for two sources to give an exactly similar reading of any piece, and the point where the line can be drawn between minor variants or a significantly different version needs to be clearly defined at some point. I hope that once these terms have been defined, the practice of differentiating between the two will be followed in future inventories as an essential part of the research.

Up until now, the search for concordances to the music in a new source has relied upon two things: the memory of a small number of people who play through the music and, one hopes, recognize pieces which they have played before, and the catalogues of scholars such as Rudén and Lumsden. In fact, when looking at lute music which may be English, Lumsden is the only catalogue available, and the passing of time has rendered it partially obsolete. Most of the readings of ascriptions are inaccurate, and there are omissions and repetitions which can be misleading. In addition, many of the European printed sources from the years around 1600 have not been adequately catalogued or searched, and so one is thrown back once again on the memory of a small number of initiates. Normal practice, when a new source comes to light, is to send photographs or microfilms of the manuscript to as many people as

35 It may be that the facsimile represents a precise reproduction of the contents of the microfilm sent from Vilnius. If so, this fact should be recorded at some point.
possible, in the hope that between them they will find all the concordances. Even when this has been done, new cognates, particularly in sources for other instruments, are continually coming to light. It appears from the inventory that this manuscript probably did not receive an adequate circulation before publication, rendering the list of concordances very incomplete. To add to the problems inherent in identifying the cognates/concordances, the lists given for the known pieces are often inadequate, using enigmatic short-cuts such as: "etc., etc., etc." See...for other sources", or "many cognate setting listed in..." the last two necessitating a heap of other literature for reference which makes it impossible, by reading the inventory, to gain a quick overall picture of the range of cross-fertilization among sources, and would find many interested but uncommitted parties giving up. I have no objection to searching secondary literature for information about tunes, harmonic patterns or text, (and the inventory is rich in references to these) but surely cognate/concordance lists should contain precisely that information to forestall unnecessary research on the part of the reader.

The bibliography and indexes once again provide the reader with information not always found in facsimiles, and are useful, though again containing errors: the three Dublin manuscripts, *Ballet*, 'Ballet' and *Dallis* are misnumbered. *Ballet* and 'Ballet' should be MS 408, whilst *Dallis* is MS 410, not *vice versa*. "Haslemere" is misspelled 'Haselmer', Pickering, Robinson 1609, Kopp 1906, Haussmann 1598, and Edwards 1977 are omitted, and the order of the second part of the Bibliography is not entirely alphabetical.

The pages of the facsimile are cluttered with added numbers. The foliation is necessary, but the publisher's pagination is also carried through from the introduction, although no reference is made to it elsewhere, making it redundant. The numbers beside the pieces are useful in locating them quickly in the inventory, or would have been if they were all there. Nos. 7, 37a, 37b, 40a, 71a, 207a, 272a, 274 and 275 are missing, and the omission of 272a, has resulted in the misplacement of 273 beside the piece which should be 272a.

38 See Appendix for addenda.
39 No.94. Also "many other settings" (Nos. 8, 32 and 135), "etc." (Nos. 136, 189, 204 and 249), "numerous other sources" (No.226), "many others in both English and Continental sources" (No. 17), "many settings in English and continental sources" No. 31, "For some other cognates, see..." (No. 42), "and elsewhere" (No. 196), and "Many cognates in English and continental sources." (No.227)
40 No.105.
41 Edwards 1977 is cited erroneously as "Warwick 1977" in the inventory entries for nos.31 and 121. These are listed in the Appendix below.
42 Simpson, Claude...misplaced.
This facsimile brings to light a manuscript which would be out of reach to most scholars and players. The practice of publishing some facsimiles without any introductory matter can be frustrating to the scholar and, though this commentary is lacking in some essential information, that which the editors do provide represents a great deal of completely new research, dispelling some of the myths about a manuscript which has been a "ghost" for many years. Apart from the size, the reproduction of the facsimile itself is good and the photographs are clear and well defined. The Inventory, as with most facsimile inventories will be added to by those who use it for many years, as more information comes to light about the repertory.

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43 It was originally believed to have been written by Georgius Steinwick of Kneipfhof c. 1640, and subsequently though to have been copied by a single (English?) hand after 1650. Page 12 of the introduction deals with these misconceptions.
APPENDIX: ADDENDA AND CORRIGENDA

I. Inventory

In the following table, any information given is either a correction or addition to the original text. (Emendations are given in the first instance, and are followed by addenda.) Many of the readings of the original text suffer from misprints or misreadings, and these titles are reproduced in full.\textsuperscript{44} I have corrected punctuation as well as spelling, and recorded capitalization in all sources precisely as it stands.\textsuperscript{45} Bibliographical references supplementary to those given in the facsimile are given below in section III. The abbreviations f. or p. (folio or page) are taken as understood.

A vertical slash in the folio number indicates the position of that piece on the page, a vertical slash within the text of the ascription indicates that the information following the slash is positioned on a different part of the page (e.g.: at the beginning of the piece and after the final bar).

No. Title/Notes

1 \textit{Orlando Treble Consorte.} [slashes omitted as this editorial procedure is not followed elsewhere. See No.25] Thysius MS 399 'Orlando'.
Fuhrmann 1615 47 'Subplementum folii. E. M. A. / Orlandus furiosus.'
Hove 1601 106v 'Ortuna Englesæ'. [sic]\textsuperscript{46} Other Cogs for lute: Bautzen 50/2 'Orlandus'; 'Ballet' 111/2 'Orlando'; Board 1/3 'Orlando'; CUL D2 55v/3 'Orlando Sleepeth J: D'; Mynshall 5v/3 '1597 orlando furiosoe'; Bautzen 50/1 'Pauna Orlandj'; Montbussyson 23v/2 'Orlando Furioso'
2 \textit{Pandora / Orlando. Pandora.}
3 Thysius MS 484 'Allemande Monsr'.

\textsuperscript{44} It is possible that many of the misreadings in the English sources were caused by using David Lumsden's catalogue (Lumsden, 1954) rather than the original sources, as many of Lumsden's readings are corrupt.

\textsuperscript{45} Printed sources, for instance, display some titles with a decorated capital, followed by a capital second letter in the normal type. This is recorded exactly as (for example) "GAlliard."

\textsuperscript{46} See n. 44, above.
Cogs for lute: Hove 1601 108v 'Almande Monsieur. [index:] Almande Monsieur.:'
Hove 1601 99v 'Almande Monsieur. [index:] Almande Monsieur.:'
CUL D2 33v-34/1;
CUL D3 35v;
CUL D4 12 'Mounseirs Almayne';
CUL D5 70v/2-71/1;
CUL D9 38v-40;
CUL D9 47;
CUL D9 53v;
Add.3056 15v-17 'Mounsiers Almayne by John Daniell';
Add.3056 44v-46 'Mounsiers Almayne D. B.';
Wickhambrook 17/2 'mounsiers almane';
Genoa 139v-140 'Almande Monsieur Johan. Douland. Angl.';
Folger 13 'mounsiers Almaine';
Marsh 18 'Mownser.';
Doweland 1610 27-28v;
Schele 147/2-148/1;
Mynshall 10/2 'Mounsiers Allman [index:] Mounsiers allmen';
Weld 14v/2-15 'Mounsiers almaine';
Euing 19v;
Add.2764(2) 12v/2
4
Fuhrmann 1615 171 'Courante / COurante 14.'
Other Cons: Cherbury 27/1 'Courante Perrichon';
Dresden 297 92;
CUL D9 75 'Mathias';
15117 2v/1 'Curranto';
de Bellis No.24;
Beckmann 9v-10 'Courant';
Bautzen 18/1 'Courant';
Haslemere 12v-13 'Courante';
Board 29/1 'Corranto';
By Julien Perrichon
8
Thysius MS 509 'allemande Nonette.'
Cons: Schele 25-28/1 'Del Excellentissimo Musico Jano
Dulando. Andegau, Anno 1614. 22 Jun.;'
Besard 1603 131v-132 'ALlemande Vne ieune fillette.';
Bautzen 18/2 'Vne Jeune fillette';
Vallet 1615 43-44 'Une Jeune fillette';
Cherbury 23v-25 'La ieune fillette mr Daniel';
Montburysson 11v-12 'Ballet.';
Pickeringe 30v-31/1;
Other Cog: Hove 1612 57 'Ultima Parte Joachimus van den Hove';
Adriaenssen 1584 88/2 'ALmande Nonnette.';

181
Besard 1617 4 'Vne Jeune fillette TESTVDO MINOR. I.B.B.'
Waissel 1573 (Not (1573))

Hove 1612 55 not 54.
Other Cons: Haslemere 228-231 'Bergamasco';
Schele 10/2-11 'Bargamasco di Gioan Battista Domenichio';
Hove 1617 55 'Bargamasca Giovanni Battista Domenichio';
Herholder 28/2-31v/1 'Bergamasca';
Vallet 1615 41-42 'Les pantalons';
Fuhrmann 182/2-184/1 'Pergamasco V. S. / Pergamasco.'

Besard 1603 156 'COurante'
Other Cons: BL, Add.38539 26v/2-27/1 'Corant';
Cherbury 30/2;
Cherbury 33/1;
Besard 1603 156/2 'COurante';
CUL D9 56v/1 'Currant';
Haslemere 178v-179 'Le Testame[n]t de Perichon'

Other Cogs: BL, Add.38539 18v/2-19/1 'Corant';
Vallet 1615 82 'La durette';
Montbuysson 65v/1 'Coureatte de la durette' [sic]

Hove 1601 102v 'COurante."

Hove 1612 59 'Ballet Englese Incerte'
Other Cogs: Montbuysson 59v-60/1 'Ballett angloys';
Pickeringe 26v-27 'Mall Symes';
Folger 15v 'Mall: Symes';
6402 2/1 'Dumesai';
Add.3056 43/2 'Mall Symms';
CUL D9 62v/2-63 'Mall Sims';
Vallet 1615 92 'Mal Simmes bal Anglois';
Montbuysson 4/2 'Paduana.;'
BL, Add.38539 9v/2-10/1 'Mall Simmes';
Mynshall 11v '[index:] Mall Simmes'
Hove 1612 59/1 'Ballet Englese Incerte [index:] Ballet,'

John Dowland: Poulton 1982, No.70
Other Settings: BL, Add.31392 25 'Jolly Robbin';
Ballet 27 'Bonny Sweet Robin';
CUL D2 66/3 'Robin';
Board 12v/2 'Bony Sweete Robin / Bony Sweete Robyn';
Euing 46v-47 'Robin hood[e] p[er] Mr Ascur[e];
Robinson 1603 18v/1 'RObin is to the greenwood gone.';
Add.3056 32v 'Robin galliard.,'
Euing 31/2;
Fuhrmann 114-115/1 'Galliarda J. D. 6. / GAlliarda.6.';
CUL D9 29v-30 'Robin Jo Dowland';
Pickeringe 22v 'Sweet Robyne'
CUL D3 11 'Robin is to the Greenwood gone.';
'Ballet' 113/2 'Robin hood is to the greenwood gone.';
Add.2764(2) 12/3 [Robin] <Hoo< (deleted);
CUL N6 19v-20/1

Warwick 1977 should probably read Edwards 1977, but is not expanded in the bibliography. For reference, see the bibliography section below.

cog: Lodge 12v/1 'Labeckae:'
Marsh 264
Ballet 46 'A galliard for two Lutes after Laveche'
Pickeringe 4v/1 'Lauecheo gallyerde for ii lutes by Johnson'
Wickhambrook 16/1
Ballet 47 [inv] 'A Galliard for two Lute[s] after Laveche'
Brogyntyn 29/2 'The Galliard to Laueche'
Pickeringe 4/2 'Lauecheo Gallyerde for ii lutes by johnsone'
Wickhambrook 16/2 [inv]
Mynshall 12 'Laueche pavin [index:] Lauecho pavin'
Sampson 9v 'Laueche pavinn[e]'
38539 7 'Lauecho Pavin'
Weld 2v/1 'Pauane Lauecha'
Vilnius 7 'Pavan Laveche'
Dallis 85/2
Pickeringe 4/1 'the Pauecheo for ii lutes Johnstone'
Wickhambrook 14/2
Folger 12 'Lauecha pavin mr Johnson'
Schel 143-144/1
Wickhambrook 15v/1
CUL D3 61v 'Laveccio'
Brogyntyn 28/2-29/1 'Laueche pauen'
Wickhambrook 15v/2 [inv]
Ballet 45 [inv] 'Lavecho for two Lutes'
Dd.2.11 36v-37/1

Thysius MS 185v/2

for 'Dolmetsch' substitute 'Haslemere'
Trinity 125/2-124/1 'Corranto:' Probably by Robert Ballard


Ejusdem Das mein betrübtest hertz.

Totes Tantz.

Nörmiger 1598 is a manuscript source, not printed as it appears to be from this citation.

Gahr lustisch I st spazierenenge n
Bas. Kahn auch ein trauriges hertz.

Fuhrmann 1615 180 'Subplementum. / Lieb kan alles überwinden.'

Sol sich den ihr Lieb so scharen. V. H.
53 Jungfraw wolt und mit mir eine Tantzein thun. V H
54 Ach hebe ich die sö. V H.
55 Holdselihe bild. V. H.
56 Idem Alio mo do
60 Other Cogs: Sampson 11v/2 '3 lo: wilobies welcom hom. / by
Jho Dowland';
Folger 9v/1 'Jo dowlande';
Pickeringe 33v/1 'My lord willoughbies welcom home by Mr byrde';
Robinson 1603 20v-21 'MY Lord Willobies welcome home.';
Vallet 1615 47-48 'Soet Robbert';
CUL D2 58v/2 'My L Willoughby Tune J D';
CUL D5 28v 'F: C';
CUL D2 14v/1;
Euing 38/2;
Mynshall 1/2 'My lord wilobie [index:] my lord wilobies welcom
home';
Pickeringe 25/3 'My lord willobes welcome home by John dowland';
Wickhambrook 12/2 'my lo: willobes tune Jhone Doulande'
61 Mitt Lust Von wenige s Tages
63 Holborne 1599
64 Bey mir mein Herz. alio mo do
65 Behuet dich Godt. V. H.
69 Wie werd mir das gesch
70 Ich frag zu meinem bulen
71 Frische auff me[n] Hertz sey wohlgenüt[h] [trimmed or worn away]
72 Jungfraw euewr schoe[n] Gestalt / Courente Ende auch ein Tantz
73 Die sonne scheint auff der kalten froms. NB
74 ach war mein hertz
76 Polnischer Tantz
77 Polnischer Tantz.
80 Galliard per. Mr. Jonson
Mynshall 12v 'Dowlands galliard'
Vilnius 20v/1 'Galiard per. Mr Jonson.'
CUL N 11 'Galliard Ro Johnson'
Folger 22 'Johnson gallyard'
BL Add.38539 16v/1 'Mr Johnsons gallyard'
Weld MS 15v/2-16 'My Lady Mildemays delighte'
81 Hove 1601 106 'ORlando Chanson Englesæ'
82 Galliarda Frisce
83 Galliarda Doulandij Disc.
Marsh MS 381 'My ladie Richis galliard'
Other Cons: CUL D5 9/1 'J. D.';
CUL D9 91v;
Marsh 190 [first six bars only];
Mynshall 8/3 'Doulands Bells';
Per Brahe 25v-26/1 'Galiard Englese';
Pickeringe 18/2 'My Ladie Riches galyerd';
Schele 146/2-147/1 'My Lady Riches Galliard';
Weld 5/1 'Galiard Mr Dowland';
Dowland 1610 25 'The Right Honourable the Lady Rich, her Galliard.
Galliard. 5 / John Dowland, Batcheler of Musick.';
Title of Marsh 381 should read: 'My ladie Riches galliard'

Galliard(a) Doulandi Bass.
Galliard. alle lust undt freud
Galliard Dolland Alius.
Gailliarda. Anglosa Disc.
Hove 1612 66 (not 68)
Stobaeus 43v/2-44/1
Drexel 90
Vallet 1615 35 (Not No.31) 'Gaillard Angloise'

Galliarda Frisco Bass
Gall Angl.
Other Con: Hove 1601 101/2 'Galliarde.'

CUL D2 49v 'Squiers Galliard'
CUL D2 71v 'Squiers Galliard'
Ballet MS 15 'Squires Galliard'
Thysius 27v 'Squyres. Gallarde'

Johan Dowlandi Gailliard

Lachrijme
Fuhrmann 1615 60-1 'Pavana Lachrimæ V[alentin] S[trobel] / Pavana sexta'

Hove 1601 94 'Pauana Lachrime.'
'Ballet' MS 95 'the sinkapace galliarde'
COURANT Jacobi Praetorij:-

Pavanne despagne.

Fortune Angloise.

Psalm: 103. Nu prieß

Intradae Hasleri primae Disc.

Eijusde m Bass.

Intrada. Hass. NB con. No.134 Mall Sims

Intrada Hasleri 4ta Bass.

Fuhrmann 1615 131 'Intrata. J. L. H. 1. / INtrata 1.


Fuhrmann 1615 133 'Intrata J. L. H. / INtrata3.' [sic]
Aliud alle Lust undt freud.

Intradae Hasleri 6ta Dis.

Intradae Hasleri 4ta Tenor

Hasleri Intra[ae] sexae Tenor.

Paduana Philippi.


selnigers Consorte.

Monsieure Almande triplici modo.

2d us modus / 2. Variatio
tertius modus. / 3. Variatio

Lavecche Pavin.

Sequitur pavin of od Crochets [No suggestion through abbreviation that a second d is intended in "od"]

Greene fieses [sic]

The Frogg Galliard. 2plici modo. / 1.

2d us modus of 9dm / 2. Varia tio.

'Ballet' MS 111 'The Earle of Darbyes Caraunta'

Lute Cons: Bautzen 69/2 'Intrada';

Board 8/2 'Maske / The french kinges Maske';

CUL D2 61v/2 'King's Maske';

Montbuysson 3v/1 'Ballet'

Ach Nachbaur Rolandt.

Roigniores Gailliarde / NB


Other Cogs: Vallet 1615 93 'Chanson angloise';

Pickeringe 24/4 'A Toye';

Ballet 29/1 'for the viol way. / Barrow foster dreame' [lyra viol]

Ich habe meine sache Gott heimgestellet.

These numbers should be reversed in order in the index to correspond with their order on the manuscript page.

Ich habe meine sache Gott heimgestellet.

Psalm: 5. O Herr dein ohren zu Psalm: 64.


Psalm: 16. Bewahr mich Herr:

Psalm: 18. O Herr der du mir macht


Psalm: 27. Der Herr mein Liecht ist:


Psalm: 35. ficht wie der meine


Psalm: 37. Erzürne dich nicht.

Psalm: 44. Herr Gott wir han.

Psalm: 49. Hört zu Ihr völcker.

Psalm: 52. Wass thust dit dich.
Psalm 58. Sagt mir die Ihr Eüch.
Psalm 50. Gott der über die Gotter
Psalm 60. Gott der du vns verstossen.
Psalm 61. Thu Herr mein geschrey.
Psalm 65. Aus Zion dir. / Item Psalm 72.
Psalm 73. fürwar Gott sich mildt:
Psalm 80. Anhor du Hirtt:
Psalm 81. Singt mit freyer:
Psalm 84. O Gott der du ein Heerfürst:
Psalm 92. Eß ist ein billig dinge.
Psalm 99. Der Herr herschent thutt:
Psalm 117. Den Herren:
Psalm 134. O Ihr Knecht des Herren.
Psalm 143. Erhör o Herr mein bitt vundt flehen:
Auß mein gesang / Haussmhanes
Fuhrmann 1615 178 'Subplementum. / Auff mein Gesang vnd mach dich ring.'
NB / Jigge of Cooper
CUL D2 87 'The flatt pauen / Jo Johnson'
Other cogs: Ballet 18 'The flat Paven';
Dallis 92/1;
Euing 8v;
Mynshall 4v 'the flate pauiane [index:] The flatt pauion'
Folio number for Nürnberg unknown
Other Con: BL, Add.38539 27v/2-28/1 'A Corant'
Besard 1603 161v (not 161v-162) 'VOlta Mercurij'
Frisch auff herz liebes Töchterlein
Folio number for Prague MS unknown
Haslemere MS 148v-149 'Intrada anglicana'
Other Cogs: Hove 1601 106v/2 'CHanson Englesæ [index:] Chanson Englesa.';
Haslemere MS 148v-149 'Intrada anglicana';
Vallet 1615 91 'Branle d'lrlande';
Montbuysson 24/1 'Inglesa';
BL Add.38539 7v/2-8/1 'the Lord Souches Maske';
CUL D4 3v;
CUL D9 88/1;
Mynshall 7v/2 'my lord Southes maske [index:] my lord souches maske';
Folger 8/2 'Souch his march'
Courant.
CUL D9 81v n.t.
Chipass:  
Other Cog: No. 86  
n.t. Final  
[continuous with No.207]  
Galliarda.  
Pavan. Fran:  
Brand:  
Dennemarckischer Auffzugh  
Wie unmenscheliche Traurigkeit  
faustus Dannitz.  
CUL D2 60v/1 (not 61) 'Lushers Allmaine'  
CUL D5 75 (not 75v) 'Lushiers Allmaine'  
Euing MS 20 n.t.  
Praeludium John Hoskins.  
Elizabeths Iones Galliardre p er Rychard Sellowes  
A Gailliarde John Hoskins.  
[three words, all obscure] Pavan Division. Galliarde.  
Willoughby MS 28-29 'The galiard to the paven / Mr Johnson'  
Other Cons: Board 7v/1 'Delyght Gally / Delight Gally';  
Weld 4/2 'The galiard to yt';  
Marsh 166;  
Pickeringe 32/2 'Delight galyerd by Mr Johnsonn';  
Wickhambrook 10/2 'the galiard to delight'  
The queenes treble p er m r Jonson.  
CUL D3 4-3v 'A dum[p]'  
Other Cons: BL, Add.38539 4v-5/1 'A treable';  
Folger 6v-7/1 'The Queenes Treble';  
Pickeringe 8v/2-9/1 'A Treble';  
Schele 138-139 'Treble';  
Ground: Bergamasca, Brogyntyn 7/1 'The grounde to A treble sett by Mr. John Johnsonn';  
Pickeringe 9/2 'the grounde to the treble before'  
For Pickering MS, read Pickeringe.  
Concordances: D3 20v-21 'Johnsons Delight [index:] Johnsons Delight.';  
Cogs. Solo versions: Folger 14v-15 'Delight pavin Jo: Johnsonn';  
'Ballet' 92-94/1 'Delight paven Jo Jonson';  
Board 6v-7/1 'Delyght pavan / Delgyht Pauin Mr Jo: Johnsonn';  
DalIs 84-85/1;  
Marsh 164-165/1;  
Mynshall 7v/1 'Jonesons delite pauian [index:] Jonesons delitte pauion';  
Willoughby 25v-27v 'A paven to delight / Mr Johnsonn';  
Wickhambrook [9v-]10/1 'Jhonsons delighte' [fragment];  
Weld 3v-4/1 'Pauane Delight Mr Johnsonn'
Duet version: Brogyntyn 13/1 'Deligh[t] Pauen
Consort versions: Board 14v-15 Delyght Treble / Delight treble /
Delyghte Pavin for Consorte Jo: Johnson
CUL D3 59v-60 'Delight Pauen'

NB / The marrigolde pauane p ex mr. Jonson.
Hove 1601 82 'ALio Galliarde.'

Fantasia John Hoskins.

Con; Thysius 397 'Bargamasca.'

Mathiae Dess Röm: Kaisers aufzugh in Frankfurdt geschehen

Passamezo / Amicus amico mapis necessarius quam ignis Et aqua.

Passamezo:-

Foccató

Hove 1612 59 'Ballet Englese Incerte'

Cogs: Hove 1612 59/2 'Ballet Englese Incerte [index:] Ballet,';
Fuhrmann 80/2 'Subplementum. / Chorea Anglicia.'; Add.2764(2)10v;
Besard 1603 139v 'Chorea Anglicana Doolandi';
CUL D2 48/3 'Allmaine J Dowland';
Folger 11v 'the Lady Laitons Almane Jo doulande';
Mynshall 10/1 'The Sedrepetis Lamentation / Dowlands allman [index:] Dowlands allman';
Schele 145/2-146/1 'Almayne Doulant.;' Weld 5/3 'Almayne Dowland';
Wickhambrook 17/3 'ane alman[e]'

Cog: Cherbury 29/1 'Courante';
CUL D9 more likely cognate than concordant

Con: Beckmann 2v-3 'Intrada'

Noct Brandle <Omia[?]>

Groß ach vnd wehe

Bargamisco by Giovanni Battista Domenicho

Spanioletta

Wass mein Gott will.

Gelobet seistu Jesu Christ

Von Himmel hoch da kom ich herr.

Nun Kom der Heyden Heylandt.

&c. In dulci Jubilo

Puer nat[us] in &c.

Hilff Gott daß mir gelinge &c

Erhalt uns her

Nun last vnß Gott des Herren &c:

Herr Christ der Einige Gottes Sohn

Vatter vnser im Himmel, reich.

Auß meines Hertz[ns] grunde [trimmed]

Ich ruffe zu dir Herr Jesu Christ

Wo Gott der Herr nicht bei vnß helt.

Psalms. 42. / Wie nach Einen, waß er qualle
267 Mein hütter vndt mein Hirtte Psalm. 23.
269 Wo Gott der Herr nicht bei vns helt.
270 Psalmus 130.

II. Facsimile

Missing piece numbers:
No.7 (halfway down 2r)
No.37a and
No.37b (both between Nos.37 and 38 on 11v)
No.40a (between Nos.40 and 41 on 12r)
No.71a (between Nos.71 and 72 on 16r)
No.114 (Initium) is actually the beginning of No.113, as indicated by the little pointing finger drawn by the scribe, therefore 114 should not exist.
No.273 in the facsimile is actually 272a in the index, and
No.273 is missing from the top of 77r, as is
No.274 (second line of 77v)

III. Bibliographical References

1. Manuscripts.

6402 British Library, Add.6402
15117 British Library, Add.15117, the Swarland Book of lute songs, facsimile edition, Garland
Add.2764(2) Cambridge University Library, Add.2764(2), fragments bound up together.
Add.3056 Cambridge University Library, Add.3056, the so-called 'Cozens' Lute Book
Anonymous Fragments discovered recently by Margaret Bent, whereabouts unattainable, in private ownership.
Beckmann Sweden, Skoklosters Castle Ms.B
Board London, Robert Spencer Library, Margaret Board Lute Book.
Facsimile edition Boethius Press, Leeds 1976
Cherbury Cambridge, Fitzwilliam Museum, Mus.Ms.689, Lord Herbert of Cherbury's Lute Book
CUL D4 Cambridge, University Library, MS Dd.4.22
CUL N6 Cambridge, University Library, MS Nn.6.36
Dresden Dresden, Sächsische Landesbibliothek, Handschiftenabteilung, MS M.297 (1603).
Folger Washington, Folger Shakespeare Library, Ms.1610.1, "Dowland" MS.

Genoa Genoa, Biblioteca universitaria Ms.M.VIII.24, manuscript additions to a copy of Besard 1603.

Haslemere. Haslemere, the Dolmetsch Library, MS II.B.1. (Haslemere misspelled in original.

Herholder Austria, Vienna, Archiv für Niederösterreich Riehe A.Nr.26.


Per Brahe Sweden, Skoklosters Castle PB.fil.172


Trumbull Cambridge, Trinity College Library, Ms.0.16.2

Trumbull At the time of writing, this manuscript is due to be sold by auction.

Welde. The John Welde Lute Book is actually the Dorothy Weld Lute Book Wickhambrook Yale, University Library, School of Music Special Collection Ma.21.632 (c.1595), Wickhambrook Lute Book.

2. Printed Books

Barley, William. A New Book of Tabliature ... for the Lute and Orpharion (London 1596).

Besard, Jean-Baptiste. Novus Partus (Augsburg 1617).


Haussmann, Valentin. Neue artige und liebliche Tänze (Nürnberg 1598)

Kopp, 1906?

Robinson, Thomas. The Schoole of Musicke (London 1603).


I have been unable to examine the following sources mentioned in the inventory: Browne, Chilesotti, Cologne MS, Danzig 1 & 2, de Bellis MS, Dlugoraj' MS, Eijserst, Fabritius, FVB, Hainhofer MSS, Haussmann 1594, 1598 [not listed in the bibliography] 1599, 1600, 1602 and 1603, Holmes MSS, Lechner 1590, Mencken 1601, Morley 1599, Naples MS, Naucrerus, Newsidler 1574, Nörniger 1598, Nürnberg MS, Osander 1586, Phalèse & Bellère 1574, Playford 1651, Praetorius 1612, Prague, Robinson 1609, Rosseter 1609, Rude 1601, Schermar MSS, Schmall, Starter 1621, Stobaeus MS, Waissel 1573 and 1592, Widmann 1622.
To the Editor of the *Journal,*

In my article, "The Consent of Speaking Harmony": The Literary Aesthetics of the English Air* (this *Journal, XIX* [1986]), a few sentences appear which should be corrected to read as follows:

1. (pp. 31-32): 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 independently of the music in order to understand better the particular aesthetic approach which the late song poets take towards expression.

2. (pp. 56-57): Such knowledge and understanding may help explain why the art of the air's well-tuned words still causes "amazement" and "Delightes the sences, captiuates the braines; / Wrapping the soule in contemplation, / With sweetest musickes delectation."

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