THE SOUNDS OF CHIVALRY: LUTE SONG AND HARP SONG FOR SIR HENRY LEE
Andrew Taylor

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The Sounds of Chivalry: Lute Song and Harp Song for Sir Henry Lee

By ANDREW TAYLOR

FEW SONGS ARE MORE EVOCATIVE of the sophistication of the Elizabethan court than John Dowland's famous setting of *His Golden Locks Time Hath to Silver Turned*, which was first performed in 1590 when Sir Henry Lee retired as the Queen's champion and may well have been composed for the occasion. This elaborate court music could scarcely be further removed from the world of the ballad singer, the tavern minstrel, or the border balladeer. Yet while lute song commemorated the end of Lee's career, it was a short piece by a little-known harpist that celebrated its beginning. This second piece, a poem of thirty-six lines in awkward rhyming couplets praising the lords of "the north contre" in their battles against the Scots, is virtually unknown. It is preserved in a single manuscript, Oxford, Bodleian MS Ashmole 48, and was copied in about 1558, the same year that Lee saw his first military action in a raid on the Borders. Stylistically these two songs could not be further removed, yet both were performed in honor of the same man. Their conjunction illustrates something of the complexity of Tudor chivalry and the emotional power of music within it.

Sir Henry Lee was one the very few men who managed to retain Queen Elizabeth's favor all his life, and in large part he owed his favor to the annual tilts in honor of her accession to the throne. As Roy Strong observes, "If Sir Christopher Hatton [Captain of the Queen's guard] can be said to have danced his way into the Queen's favor, Lee may truly be said to have tilted his, for there remains a fundamental liaison

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between his festival and court careers."¹ The tilts involved far more than just a group of courtiers breaking spears against each other in a series of jousts; they were elaborate theatrical pieces, requiring special sets, and combining music, poetry, and disguising, all arranged according to a governing iconographic program, and Lee was author, director, and lead actor. Lee's tilts were, nonetheless, utterly subservient to royal authority, casting him always in the role of the Queen's abject servant. These "docile and flattering entertainments,"² pleased the Queen better than the more lavish but presumptuous pageant of Leceister at Kennilworth, as she made clear in a pointed snub. Lee's humility served him well, and his career culminated in his being awarded the Order of the Garter in 1597.³

The symbolism of the tilts and other Elizabethan chivalric rituals has been variously interpreted. Roy Strong sees in them "an anti-papal triumph" which opposed a pure Virgin Queen to the impure Pope of Rome.⁴ Frances Yates argues that chivalry provided a language of elevated conventions that was removed from current religious dispute, and served the erotic theatre with which Elizabeth was to bind her courtiers.⁵ Richard McCoy describes Elizabethan chivalry as "a continuing compromise between the Queen and her fractious aristocrats" and claims that the chivalric ceremonies were as much a celebration of their martial aspirations as they were a tribute to the Queen.⁶ Whether they were most expressive of royal or of aristocratic status, these rituals became a consuming passion for the courtiers, who pursued the ceremonial offices associated with them aggressively and

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⁶ McCoy, *Rites of Knighthood*, p. 18.
lavished money on ornate costumes and suits of tilting armour (see Plate 1).

The tilts, although far removed from the horrors of real war, were nevertheless vigorous and potentially dangerous. Thus in 1590, at the age of fifty-seven, Sir Henry thought it best to retire.\(^7\) Drawing on conventional chivalric narratives, he cast the story of his retirement in a language familiar from the Vulgate Arthurian tradition, Malory, and Ramon Lull’s *Book of the Ordre of Chyvalry*, widely available in Caxton’s translation, and assumed the role of a hermit.\(^8\) Like the Arthurian hermits, Lee would continue to act as a counsellor and arbiter of chivalric lore, sitting as a judge of the tilts for years to come.

Lee’s final tilt of 1590 is described in detail by Sir William Segar, the future Garter King of Arms (i.e., chief herald of England), in his *Honor Military and Civil* of 1602 and also in George Peele’s less reliable *Polhymnia* of 1590. The celebrations began with the actual tilting, in which Lee ran against the Earl of Cumberland. Segar says only that the two “performed their service in Armes,” but Peele evokes both the sight and sound:

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{Sir Henry Lea, redoubted man at Armes} \\
\text{Leades in the troopes, whom woorthie Cumberland} \\
\text{Thrice noble Earle, aucutred as became} \\
\text{So greate a Warriour and so good a Knight.} \\
\text{Encountred first, yclad in coate of steele,} \\
\text{And plumes and pendants al as white as Swanne,} \\
\text{And speare in rest, right readie to performe} \\
\text{What long’d unto the honour of the place.} \\
\text{Together went these Champions, horse and man,} \\
\text{Thundring along the Tytl, that at the shocke} \\
\text{The hollow gyring vault of heaven resoundes.} \\
\text{Six courses spent, and speares in shivers split.}\(^9\)
\end{align*}
\]

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\(^7\) Chambers establishes Lee’s probable birth date as March, 1533 (*Henry Lee*, p. 26); his reference to Lee as forty-seven at the Accession day tilt of 1590 (p. 135) is a slip that has caused others some confusion.

\(^8\) Yates believes Lull to have been Lee’s probable immediate source (*Astraea*, p. 106).

According to Segar, Lee and Cumberland then presented themselves before the Queen beneath her gallery window.

Her Maiesty beholding these armed Knights comming toward her, did suddenly heare a musicke so sweete and secret, as euery one thereat greatly marueiled. And hearkening to that excellent melodie, the earth as it were opening, there appeared a Pauilion, made of white Taffata, containing eight score elles, being in proportion like vnto the sacred Temple of the Virgins Vestall. This Temple seemed to consist upon pillars of Pourferry, arched like vnto a Church, within it were many lamps burning.

On this temple there appeared in letters of gold a Latin address to Elizabeth beginning “Piae, Potenti, Felicissimae virgini.” Segar then adds:

The musicke aforesayd, was accompanied with these verses, pronounced and sung by M Hales, her Maiesties seruant, a Gentleman in that Arte excellent, and for his voice both commendable and admirable.

My golden locks time hath to siluer turnd,  
(Oh time too swift, and swiftnes neuer ceasing)  
My youth gainst age, and age at youth hath spurnd.  
But spurnd in vaine, youth waineth by increasing.  
Beauty, strength, and youth, flowers fading beene,  
Duety, faith and loue, are roots and euer greene.

My helmet now shall make a hiue for Bees,  
And louers songs shall turn to holy Psalms:  
A man at Armes must now sit on his knees,  
And feed on pray’rs, that are old ages almes.  
And so from Court to Cottage I depart,  
My Saint is sure of mine unspotted hart.

And when I sadly sit in homely Cell,  
I’le teach my Swaines this Carrol for a song,  
Blest be the hearts that thinke my Souereigne well,  
Curs’d be the soules that thinke to doe her wrong.  
Goddesse, vouchsafe this aged man his right,  
To be your Beadsman now, that was your Knight.10

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Segar, unfortunately, offers no further information about the "excellent melodie" to which these words were sung or the manner of instrumentation that produced this "musicke so sweet and secret." The lyrics, however, are preserved with only slight alterations in John Dowland’s *First Booke of Songes or Ayres* of 1597 and it seems likely that it was the same music that was performed at the tilt and indeed that Dowland first composed the music for that particular occasion. As Diana Poulton argues, "it is hardly probable that [Dowland] would have chosen to reset a poem so closely linked with its own special occasion, an occasion moreover, which at the time of printing of *The First Booke of Songes* in 1597, would not yet have faded from people’s memories."\(^{11}\) Although Dowland was already well known, this would be the earliest surviving reference to a performance of a specific composition of his.

Robert Hales was one of the royal musicians and a lutenist; he was also a composer and one piece of his, *Eyes leave off your weeping*, survives, in Robert Dowland’s *A Musicall Banquet*.\(^{12}\) His performance of aristocratic verse is mentioned on another occasion; when Essex, afraid that he was losing the Queen’s favor to Southampton, "chose to evaporate his thoughts in a Sonnet (being his common way) to be sung before the Queene, (as it was) by one Hales, in whose voyce she took some pleasure."\(^{13}\)

While the singer can be identified with certainty, and the composer is most probably Dowland, there is more doubt about the authorship of the lyrics. They might be the work of George Peele, for they also appear, with no explanation of

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11 Diana Poulton, *John Dowland* (London, 1982) 2nd ed., p. 240. The same argument would tell against the suggestion of E. H. Fellowes in *English Madrigal Verse* that Hales might have been the composer.


their relation to the tilt, at the end of his *Polyhymnia*.\textsuperscript{14} There is a good possibility, however, that they are the work of Lee himself. Lee is credited with one piece in Robert Dowland’s *A Musicall Banquet* of 1610, *Farre from Triumphing Court*, which celebrates the visit of Queen Anne to his home. As Poulton argues, “[t]he exceedingly personal quality of this poem, both in the ideas themselves and in the manner of their expression, makes it ... unlikely that the stanzas were ghosted for Lee.”\textsuperscript{15} It closely resembles *Time Hath His Golden Locks* in meter, thought, and idiom and even repeats the image of golden locks turning to silver, although whether we should conclude from this that Lee was reusing his own material or plagiarizing that of others is an open question. Lee is believed to have composed speeches and verse for the Ascension Day tilts, but it is possible that on these or other occasions he called in poets to assist him, providing them with the central theme.\textsuperscript{16}

Whether or not Lee and Dowland actually collaborated in the composition of *Time Hath His Golden Locks*, the performance of 1590 would have brought together in symbolic association the musical refinement of the one and the aristocratic culture of the other. Although Dowland’s works, disseminated by print, eventually reached a much broader audience, they were marketed in part on their aristocratic associations, as the elaborate dedications to Sir George Carey in *The First Booke of Songes or Ayres* and Lady Lucy, countess of Bedford, in *The Second Booke of Songes or Ayres* make clear.\textsuperscript{17} These were songs that aristocrats and gentlefolk would sing; conversely, to be truly gentle, one

needed to be able to sing them. Musical ability was a social grace, like dancing, hunting, or tilting, and to play and appreciate such music was a mark of social status and spiritual refinement. Roger Ascham in his *Scholemaster* (1570) specifies these as the accomplishments of a courtly gentleman:

Therefore, to ride cumlie: to run faire at the tilte or ring: to plaie at all weapones: to shote faire in bow, or surelie in gon: vaut [vault] lustely: to runne: to leape: to wrestle: to swimme: To daunce cumlie: to sing, and playe of instrumentes cunnyngly ... be not only cumlie and decent, but also verie necessarie, for a Courtlie Ientleman to vse.\(^{18}\)

The same set of associations occur in what Segar claims was a letter of the French ambassador which had been intercepted:

I was (quoth he) one day by Sir Christopher Hatton Captaine of her Maiesties guard inuited to Eltham, an house of the Queenes, whereof he was the guardian: At which time I heard and saw three things that in all my trauel of France, Italy, and Spaine, I neuer heard or saw the like. The first was a consort of musicke, so excellent and sweet as cannot be expressed. The second a course at a Bucke with the best and most beautifull Greyhounds that euer I did behold. And the third a man of Armes excellently mounted, richly armed, and indeed the most accomplished Cavaliero I had euer seene. This knight was called Sir Henry Lea, who that day (accompanied with other Gentlemen of the Court) onely to doe me honour, vouchsafed at my returne to Greenwich to breake certaine Lances: which action was performed with great dexterity and commendation.\(^{19}\)

Given this social symbolism, it was altogether fitting that the retirement tilt, a central rite of knighthood, should be accompanied by courtly song.

The ability to appreciate courtly music and play on the lute was more than just a social grace, it was a reflection of inner harmony and nobility of soul, the mark of one in tune with the universe—which had not yet become a dead

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\(^{19}\) Honor *Military and Civil*, p. 200.
metaphor. Dowland writes in his dedication to the countess of Bedford: “the whole frame of Nature, is nothing but Harmonie, as wel in soules, as bodies,” and admonishes her that she will be “vnthankful to Nature herselfe,” if she does not love and defend “that Art,” i.e. music, which has given her “so well tuned a mind.”

20 It is entirely appropriate, therefore, that Nicholas Hilliard should paint Queen Elizabeth playing on the lute (Plate 2). Without an equal display of athletic and martial accomplishments, however, the male courtier would open himself to charges of effeminacy. Ascham, for example, while he praises music in The Scholemaster, in his Toxophilus (1571), warns that music has “quicklye of men made women, and thus lutinge and singinge take awaye a manlye stomacke, which should enter and peerce deepe and harde studye.”

21 Joseph Swetman, in his The Arraignment of Lewd, Idle, Froward, and Unconstant Women, similarly associates the lute with the sweet music suitable for women: “For a man delights in arms, & in hearing the rattling drums, but a woman loves to heare sweet musick on the Lute, Cittern, or Bandora: a man rejoyceth to march among the murthered carkasses, but a woman to dance on a silken carpet.”

22 It is this unspoken concern that may lie behind Segar’s and Peele’s repeated juxtapositioning of refined music and manly prowess, of dogs and horses and tilting with song and dance. For those who had made the vault of heaven resound with the thunder of the tiltyard, the plaintive strains of the lute or the sweet voice of the singer were a commendable pleasure.

Sir Henry’s memory was preserved in another song as well. For that song we must turn from the tilting fields of

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21 Toxophilus, the Schole, or Partitions of Shooting (London, 1571), f. 7v. For further examples of this attitude, see Linda Phyllis Austern, “‘Alluring the Auditorie to Effeminacie’: Music and the Idea of the Feminine in Early Modern England,” Music & Letters 74 (1993), pp. 343-54.
Plate 2: MINIATURE OF ELIZABETH I PLAYING THE LUTE; NICHOLAS HILLIARD C. 1580
Woodstock to the Anglo-Scottish Borders, where, in the spring of 1558, Sir Henry first proved himself in battle. The Borderlands between Scotland and England remained in a state of anarchy throughout the later Middle Ages and into the sixteenth century until Elizabeth’s triumph over Mary finally brought peace. George MacDonald Fraser, himself a Borderer, writes that the ordeal “reached its peak in the sixteenth century, when great numbers of the people inhabiting the frontier territory (the old Border marches) lived by despoiling each other, when the great Border tribes, both English and Scottish, feuded continuously among themselves, when robbery and blackmail were everyday professions, when raiding, arson, kidnapping, murder and extortion were an important part of the social system.”

In the last year of the reign of Bloody Mary the Borders were more than usually troubled. The marriage of Mary Queen of Scots to the Dauphin in 1548 strengthened the “auld alliance,” and the French officers who came over urged the Scots to a more sustained attack; there had been heavy fighting in 1557, when the French lieutenant in Scotland, Henri D’Oysel, fortified Eyemouth in defiance of the peace treaty of 1550, and in 1558 the English Privy Council prepared for a full-scale invasion, calling on all lords with extensive holdings in the north to martial their forces and proceed to the Borders. On the 19th of January 1558 the Privy Council issued specific orders for the reinforcement of the garrison at Berwick, the fortress that was the key to the English military presence on the eastern Marches. Among the many knights detailed to Berwick was Sir Henry Lee, who was appointed to lead three hundred men. Others mentioned in the list include Sir William Stanley, who was appointed to lead the same number, and the military engineer Sir Richard Lee (no direct relation to Henry). Richard Lee’s previous duties had included supervising the defences of Calais, and he was now appointed to bring sixty men to supervise the

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defences at Berwick. All were directed to be there by 10 February at the latest.24

From Berwick the English proceeded to launch a series of raids into Scottish territory, which, according to the custom of Border warfare, were devoted primarily to pillaging, and above all to cattle rustling, rather than to any specific strategic goal. It was in one of these raids that Lee had his first taste of war and displayed his courage, holding the English infantry together when they were about to break. According to George Ridpath:

About Whitsunday, Sir Henry Percy, brother to the Earl of Northumberland, and Sir George Bowes, marshal of Berwick, having under them some bands of the garrison of that place, and some other of the forces stationed on the borders, amounting in the whole to seven or eight hundred horse, and two thousand foot, made an inroad into the county of Mers. There they burnt Dunse and Langton, and were returning homeward with a great booty of cattle, when the Scottish forces that lay at Kelso, and other places, near the march, consisting of two thousand horse and three bands of foot, came up with them at Swinton. The Scottish foot, trusting to the superior number of their horse, made a bold charge on the infantry of the English, who were obliged to give way, and in danger of being distressed by a failure in their gun-powder; a great part of which had been rendered useless by the moisture of a foggy morning. But they were restored to order, and kept on their ground by the bravery of Sir Henry Lee, captain Read, and other officers. By this means, the English horse had an opportunity of giving a charge to the Scottish, who being too much detached from their infantry, were soon broken and put to flight. In consequence of this, the Scottish foot, among whom were some Frenchmen, were overpowered by the superior numbers of the English, and were all either slain or taken prisoners.25

For Lee, it was the beginning of a distinguished career.

It is this action, I believe, that lies behind the tribute paid to Sir Henry Lee in a short poem that has hitherto attracted no attention and exists without title or attribution in only one manuscript. The poem or song, which we may entitle “Within the North Country,” is little more than a list of names and it runs to a mere thirty-six lines:

\begin{verbatim}
Within the north country
Many noble men there be;
Ye shall well understand;
There is the earl of Westmorland,
The Queen’s lieutenant
A noble man & a valiant.
Then there is the earl of Cumberland
& the earl of Northumberland
& Sir Harry Percy his brother,
As good a man as an other,
He is and hardy knight,
& hath oft put the Scots to flight.
There is my lord Ivars and my lord Dacars,
With all their partakers
Noble men & stout
I do put you out of doubt
If the Scots once look out
They will rap them on the snout
For northern men will fight
Both by day & night
Their enemies when [they may]
As a hawk upon her prey
There is also sir Harry Lee,
Which dare both fight and fray,
Whether it be night or day,
I dare be bold to say,
He will not run away;
He is both hardy & free.
There is also sir Richard Lee,
Which is both wary & wise,
& of politic device.
All these well do I know;
Yet is there many more,
The which I cannot name,
That be men of mickle fame.
God save the earl of Shrewsbury.
\end{verbatim}

\textit{(Ashmole 48, f. 101; spelling modernized)}
The account is not implausible. There are other contemporary examples of lords extending a loose patronage to minstrels who were not actually part of their household. Help-ales were a common means of raising funds in an emergency. The details Sheale gives of the peddling business correspond to what is known about the industry, including its dependence on extensive credit. One sad note even suggests the end of the story. In his diary the merchant-taylor Henry Machyn records that “The v day of June dyd hange ym-selff be-syd London stone (blank) ... lle a harper, the servand of the yerle of Darbe.”

The manuscript, which is unruled and written in hands that often degenerate into scrawls, is a humble production and would not have been suitable for sale or formal presentation. For the most part it consists of copies of ballads that also appear in broadside; the only songs in it that are at all personal are those associated with Sheale, such as a speech of thanks for dinner containing the memorable line “Both mutton & veille / Ys good for Rycharde Sheill.” There is thus a strong *prima facie* case that this manuscript belonged to Richard Sheale. If it did not, it almost certainly belonged to someone who knew him.

Any attempt to resolve this question would obviously require a detailed discussion of the manuscript, beginning by distinguishing the various hands so that the original core,

31 James Whaton, lord Russell’s minstrel, examined in Norwich in 1555 on the charge that his apprentices had sung songs against the mass, may be one example. See Peter Galloway, ed. _Norwich, 1540–1642, Records of Early English Drama_ (Toronto, 1984), pp. 34-5.
which may contain Sheale's work, could be distinguished from later additions such as those of Christopher Curtis. It is, however, worth mentioning the only real objection that has been raised to attributing the manuscript to Sheale, since it touches on the same question addressed here: what would Sheale's aristocratic patrons have enjoyed hearing? According to Hyder Rollins, a "minstrel of Sheale's type could not possibly have sung more than two or three of the poems contained in the MS," either because they were too elevated ("Imagine him singing poems by Lord Surrey and George Gasgoinel") or because they were too common:

[H]e was dependent for food, money, and lodging on the good will of hearers, who were usually, one judges, like his patron Lord Strange, persons of rank; and it is hardly credible that Sheale hoped to gain this reward by singing these ballads which every ballad-singer in England, with the modest hope of selling his broadsided for a penny each, was singing free.36

There is no doubt of the sophistication of Sheale's patrons or of their taste for court music. Henry Stanley, who served as Elizabeth's ambassador to the Netherlands, was a lavish patron of the arts and Dowland dedicated two pieces, a march and a galliard, to his son, Ferdinando.37 But this does not make Rollin's argument convincing. Quite apart from the questionable assumption that aristocrats could not enjoy more popular music, to which we shall return, Rollins argument rests on the premise that if the manuscript had been Sheale's, he would necessarily have performed all its contents, or at least a large part of its contents, before his most elevated patrons. This is not how minstrels worked. As the moralist

35 All previous discussion appears to have been based on the edition of Thomas Wright, Songs and Ballads Chiefly of the Reign of William and Mary (London: Roxburghe Club, 1860). Wright's transcriptions are generally accurate, but he fails to distinguish the various hands and silently omits items, such as a recipe for jam and a Latin deed, that do not fit his theory that this was a minstrel's songbook.
37 Poulton, pp. 157-8.
Thomas Lovell complains, minstrels select their songs, as "companies do crave":

For filthies they have filthy songs;
For some lascivious rhymes;
For honest, good; for sobre, grave
Songs; so they watch their times. 38

In fact, the presence of so many ballads in Ashmole 48 is a further reason for associating the manuscript with Sheale. It would be surprising if a minstrel, whose wife was a pedlar and who was thus required to visit London regularly, did not eventually find himself involved in the ballad trade in some way. Moreover, as Tessa Watt notes, the long descriptive title at the beginning of the elegy for Countess Margaret, one of Sheale's compositions, strongly suggests that it was printed for the ballad market, which would make Sheale a ballad composer and thus increase the probability that he was also a ballad singer. 39

No name is attached to "In the North Country," but it seems most likely that Sheale is its author. Stylistically it is close to his lament or to the speech of thanks which includes his name; the awkward couplets and such tag phrases "I do put you out of doubt," "I dare be bold to say," and "All thes well do I knowe" are all characteristic of Sheale's work, and Sheale makes extensive use of the rhyme "name: fame," which also occurs in "In the North Country." Furthermore, whether Ashmole 48 was Sheale's personal songbook or just copied by someone who had a special interest in him, its original core consists, for the most part, either of broadside ballads or of occasional pieces associated with Sheale but does not include any likely examples of occasional pieces by other minstrels.

39 Tessa Watt, Cheap Print and Popular Piety, 1550-1640 (Cambridge, 1991), p. 20. Watt nevertheless supports Rollins in his contention that the manuscript did not belong to Sheale, pp. 17 and 19.
This combination of material would appear to reflect Sheale’s dual existence, as he moved between the world of the London printing presses and printed broadsides and that of the near-feudal retinues of the great northern lords whom he served as a singer of praise or *gestour.*

Sheale might have sung the praises of those lords who really were of the north country on any number of occasions in his travels, but there does not seem to have been any likelihood that Sir Richard Lee and Sir Henry Lee ever became household names in Cheshire or Lancashire, the land of Sheale’s patrons, nor does there seem to have been any other likely occasion for Sheale to sing before the two knights except when they were at Berwick. Sir Richard and Sir Henry were not related, despite their names, and as far as I know had no further contact. Could Sheale have been at Berwick that summer? I have not been able to trace his movements, but it would at least have made some sense for him to follow the troops north. Sheale must already have been in the habit of visiting the Stanleys in their homes at Lathom and Knowsley, for even if he had acquired the details of Countess Margaret’s funeral second-hand and from a distance, his chances of establishing a connection with the Earl of Derby would have been much greater in the north than in London. While Sheale’s wife worked a limited beat in the area around Tamworth, Sheale would appear to have been far more of a traveller. Furthermore, in 1558 both Sheale’s chief patrons were in the Borders. Lord Strange was ordered to Berwick at the same time as Sir Henry and Sir Richard Lee. Edward, Earl of Derby was also with the northern lords, for he was appointed captain of the vanguard to serve against the Scots on May 30, 1557 and may have continued there, or in the north, until recalled to court on October 16, 1558. If Sheale were to play the role of feudal *gestour* or herald/minstrel, it

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would have been incumbent upon him to follow his patron to the wars, and his financial difficulties might have furnished an added incentive to do so.

None of this, however, explains how the jolting lines of "In the North Country" could have had any appeal to sophisticated courtiers like Lord Strange or Sir Henry Lee. If we assume that "in the North Country" is a minstrel's composition, this would simply confirm the notion that by this point minstrelsy was utterly degraded. The near-doggerel lines would justify George Puttenham's famous sneer at "blind harpers or such like tauerne minstrels that giue a fit of mirth for a groat", and their repertory of "stories of old time" or Robert Laneham's reference to "a ridiculouous deuise of an auncient minstrell & hiz song" in his account of the entertainments provided for the Queen at Kennilworth in 1575.41

Under the right circumstances, however, a harper's performance could still conjure up visions of a golden age of chivalric valor. Even Puttenham claims that he wrote "a little brief Romance or historicall ditty in the English tong of the Isle of great Britaine in short and long meetres, and by breaches or divisions to be more commodiously song to the harpe in places of assembly, where the company shalbe desirous to heare of old adventures and valiaunces of noble knights in times past, as are those of king Arthur and his knights of the round table, Sir Beuys of Southampton, Guy of Warwicke and others like."42 Most telling of all, Sir Philip Sidney proclaimed that he could thrill to a blind crowder's rendition of The Hunting of the Cheviot:

Certainly I must confesse mine owne barbarousnesse, I never heard the old Song of Percy and Duglas, that I founde not my hearte

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mooved more then with a Trumpet; and yet is it sung but by some blinde Crowder, with no rougher voyce then rude style.\textsuperscript{43}

It is this famous ballad that may hold the key to understanding the emotional force of “In the North Country.” What Sidney had heard, it is generally assumed, was a broadside, probably one that resembled the surviving broadside version generally known as \textit{Chevy Chase}. The ballad survives in two other versions, however, each one dating from the sixteenth century and each one preserved in a single manuscript: one, \textit{The Battle of Otterburn} in British Library MS Cotton Cleopatra C. IV, and the other, \textit{The Hunting of the Cheviot} in Ashmole 48. The latter, which begins “erse owt off Northombarlonde and a vowe to God mayd he / That he wolde hunt in the mowntayns off Chyviat within days iii,” bears Sheale’s name (or signature, if we accept that Sheale is indeed the manuscript’s main scribe). This does not indicate that Sheale composed the poem, which on linguistic grounds belongs to the Border regions and had probably been in circulation for a long time, but it does suggest that Sheale incorporated it into his repertory.\textsuperscript{44} If Sheale were indeed on the Borders in 1558, then he would surely have sung \textit{The Hunting of the Cheviot} while he was there. It is possible to see the two pieces working together, the old ballad evoking an ancient tradition that is to be emulated, while the minstrel’s list of current heroes shows that those who do so will become part of this tradition in their turn.

For the lords at Berwick \textit{The Hunting of the Cheviot} would have been a battle anthem. That summer, and for some years previously, Sir Henry Percy, the brother of the earl of Northumberland, was the foremost English captain, leading raids with a reckless courage that echoed that of his distant descendant, Sir Henry Percy of Otterburn. George Ridpath


\textsuperscript{44} The fullest account of these two ballads is Olof Arngart, \textit{Two English Border Ballads: The Battle of Otterburn, The Hunting of the Cheviot}. Acta Universitatis Lundensis: Sectio I Theologica Juridica Humaniora 18 (Lund, 1973).
notes that in the same engagement in which Lee fought so well, "Sir Henry Percy displayed great courage, and was well seconded by several of his officers and soldiers." This was but one of the dozens of raids in which Percy played a prominent role.

There was a remarkable continuity to this warfare. In the summer of 1558, Sir Henry Percy, was fighting over the same ground, with the same allies, against the same foe, and in the same way as his ancestor at Otterburn nearly two centuries before. The tactics had changed relatively little: battle was still waged with cavalry charge, and lance and bill; archery was still as effective as gunpowder; the forces were mustered by what was still in many respects a feudal levy. The same families had been fighting each other over the same land for nearly three centuries, so that the land itself became a roll-call of their ancestors. Eure's grandfather and Dacre's father had both been famous Border leaders, and when Dacre and Surrey defeated the Scots at Flodden there had been Stanleys with them. In these circumstances, The Hunting of the Cheviot was not just a thrilling ballad but the proclamation of the heroic lineage of the assembled company. This is what it meant to be a lord of the north country.

For a young knight fresh from his first battle it would have been an overwhelming honor to be included in this group. The list of northern lords, lines that now seem almost comic doggerel, would have been a roll-call of valor, linking him to Sir Harry Percy and all the other Border knights going back to Hotspur. It may be a further sign of how much this tradition meant to Lee that years later in his Garter coat of arms he attempted to trace a connection to a Lee of Cheshire, in effect restating his claim to be one of the lords of the north country. Chivalry for Lee and many other Elizabethan courtiers was not just the elaborate spectacle of the tiltyard; it was also the living and savage tradition of Border warfare.

45 Ridpath, Border-History, p. 590.
46 For the commemoration of this battle, see Ian F. Baird, ed. Scotch Feilde and Flodden Feilde: Two Flodden Poems (New York, 1982), esp. pp. xv-xxi.
47 Chambers, Sir Henry Lee, p. 263.
Given this dual experience, it is not impossible that the same man, who appreciated and may even have composed the graceful lyrics on his golden locks, once felt his heart, like Sidney's, moved more than with a trumpet by an older and less fashionable minstrelsy. His life had moved from harp song to lute song.

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On Dating the Lute Music in *La Rhétorique des dieux*: New Evidence from Watermarks

BY DAVID J. BUCH

More than a century after Oskar Fleischer's pioneering work on the French lute manuscript, *La Rhétorique des dieux*, a renewed interest in this important source during the 1980s placed its provenance and repertory in a new light. These issues were confronted in an article by Andreas Schlegel, which first offers select commentary on my earlier work on the manuscript, and then moves on to repertory, handwriting, and the lute manuscript tradition, ultimately arriving at different conclusions than myself and all other previous writers.

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1 I wish to thank Arthur Ness for his helpful comments and suggestions after reading an early draft of this article.


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While I cannot address here each point that Mr. Schlegel advances, it is urgent that his new hypothesis about the genesis of the manuscript be reviewed. His main points are these: he sees the lute music by Denis Gaultier in the *Rhétorique* as distantly removed from its mid-seventeenth-century origins, and he describes the manuscript as a peripheral source with no direct connection to Gaultier's own versions of his lute music or to the notational style of the repertory during its apex in the *grand siècle*. These views depart radically from received scholarly opinion and Schlegel's revisionary history has been reiterated in reviews of recent editions, even though it has not been subjected to close scrutiny. In this study, relevant aspects of the manuscript will be investigated. Through identification of the watermarks on the few paper pages of the manuscript and its binding, I hope to demonstrate that this new hypothesis should be viewed with considerable skepticism.

Almost all scholars prior to Schlegel agree that the creation of the *Rhétorique* took place sometime in the early 1650s, 1652 being the year most commonly accepted. The intriguing variety of elements in the manuscript includes the following:

1) Ink-wash drawings on heavy vellum, including eleven surviving illustrations of the modes that articulate the

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6 These illustrations depict the affections of the various modes with selected objects, musical instruments, gestures, and clothing worn by putti and other characters. According to the preface, the architectural orders shown in the background are also linked to these modes. For details, see Albert Pomme de Mitimonde, *L'Icônomographie musicale sous les Rois Bourbons: La Musique dans les arts plastiques (XVIIe-XVIIIe siècle)* (Paris, 1975), I, pp. 57-62, and my "Coordination of Text, Illustration, and Music in a Seventeenth-Century Manuscript," pp. 57-70.
twelve musical segments of the manuscript. (One illustration, the Sous-Mixolydien, is lost.)

2) Clasps and other decorative and symbolic silver ornaments on the covers.

3) Handwritten poetry and literary commentary, including prefatory matter and fanciful mythological and moralistic descriptions of some of the lute pieces.

4) Lute pieces by Denis Gaultier, the lutenist in whose honor the book is dedicated. These pieces are grouped into distinct sections by a kind of “quasi-modal” organization.

5) Twelve intercalated paper pages (the rest of the manuscript is vellum). Each page has a melodic formula (labeled accord) in handwritten tablature notation. These formulas are unique in the lute repertory. Unlike other accords, these do not show variant tunings. They do not correspond with the mode formulas inscribed into the illustrations of the modes, but loosely conform to the keys of Gaultier’s lute music. These pages are inserted after each of the mode illustrations, preceding each of the twelve musical sections of vellum tablature. They are not listed in the table of contents, and save for two of them, they are unnumbered. Thus they appear to be added after the creation of the manuscript’s prefatory materials and table of contents.

Such diverse materials present us with more questions than answers as to how this book attained its present form. Who was responsible for the creation of the manuscript? When were these components assembled? In what order did the work proceed? When was the music copied into the empty tablature staves? When was the manuscript assembled into its present binding? And what was the purpose of the twelve inserted paper pages with their accords? These questions cannot be answered with certainty, only with hypotheses. But not every hypothesis is equally convincing.

Several facts suggested to past scholars that the musical repertory was contemporary to the period of the manuscript’s creation, especially the existence of a detailed table of contents that specifies the titles and accurately fixes
the locations of most of the titled pieces. In addition the beautifully handwritten preface mentions both the table and its calligrapher. This preface certainly originated in the early stages of the manuscript’s creation.

Mr. Schlegel contrives two scenarios where the lute music is inscribed at a significantly later phase of the manuscript’s assembly by individuals who had no contact with the original creators. His reasons are based mostly on his belief that the unusually sparse tablatures of the Rhétorique are not consistent with contemporary notational practices. In both of his scenarios the twelve paper pages are created and inserted when the manuscript is bound in its present form, and he believes that these pages with their accords precede the inscription of the music. In his preferred scenario the two scribes copy the music into the manuscript after the present binding is completed. I believe the evidence presented below will show all of these hypotheses to be specious.

**Internal evidence**

Central to understanding the arguments about the dating of the manuscript is the unusual presence of two “mode” or “key” schemes in the manuscript. One is found on the ink-wash illustrations of the modes that articulate the book’s twelve sections. The mode names and musical formulas in mensural notation that are found in these illustrations, which certainly were created in the first phase of the manuscript’s genesis, conform to a popular mode system originating in the sixteenth-century, with the first mode (*Dorien*) beginning on C, the second (*Sous-Dorien*) on G, the third (*Phrygien*) on D, the fourth (*Sous-Phrygien*) on A, and so forth. (These will be designated henceforth as the

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7 Five of the titled pieces in the manuscript are found in variety of printed and manuscript sources of seventeenth-century music with identical titles. This suggests that these titles were known to some degree outside the small circle of individuals who created the book.

8 Zarlino (1558) originally followed the mode scheme of Glarean, with the Dorian on D, but later changed (1571) to the order found here. See my article
"mode formulas.") The set of twelve accords on the inserted paper pages more closely correspond to the actual keys of Gaultier's suites (see Table 1), although there are anomalies present. The mode formulas, the keys of the eleven musical groupings of Gaultier's pieces, and the accords, in fact, exhibit certain incongruities that have significance in accounting for the genesis of the manuscript.

**Table 1: Mode Formulas, Accords, and the Keys of Gaultier's Music**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>I. Mode Formulas on the Illustrations</th>
<th>II. Accords</th>
<th>III. Gaultier's Keys</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Dorien</td>
<td><img src="image" alt="D major" /></td>
<td>D major</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sous-Dorien</td>
<td><img src="image" alt="A major" /></td>
<td>A major</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Phrygien</td>
<td><img src="image" alt="F sharp minor" /></td>
<td>F sharp minor</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sous-Phrygien</td>
<td><img src="image" alt="F sharp minor" /></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lydien</td>
<td><img src="image" alt="No music" /></td>
<td>No music</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

"The Coordination of Text, Illustration, and Music in a Seventeenth-Century Manuscript," pp. 70-75, for an account of the theoretical tradition of modal grouping during this period, and a discussion of the source from which the Rhetorique's mode illustrations and mode formulas were derived, namely Antoine Parran, Traité de la musique théorique et pratique (Paris, 1639).
interval characteristic of a type of modal melody entirely foreign to the harmonic language of this repertory, and only consistent with the old mode system of the illustrations. If the accords preceded the copying of the music, as Schlegel suggests, inscribing this kind of cadential pattern here is nonsensical, since the luthistes composed no music with this kind of “modal” approach in this period. No such modal intervals are found in any of the other eleven accords, all of which have “tonal” music in their sections along with “tonal” cadential patterns of tonic–leading tone–tonic in their accords.\footnote{With the exception of the Sous-Ionien, which has no cadential pattern at all.}

Another revealing anomaly concerns the Sous-Aeolien section, where a prelude in A minor precedes two pieces in G minor, clearly a mistake on the part of the copyist of the music (a different tuning of the bass courses would be necessary and thus the prelude probably belongs to the following section in A minor). What could account for this incongruity? Well, the accord for the Sous-Aeolien also designates A, instead of the G that would have been consistent with the dual key pattern of most of the other musical sections in the manuscript. If the writer of the accords was relying on the first piece in each musical section in order to derive his “keys,” then this writer had an obvious source for his puzzling choice of A.

Let’s assume for the time being that the accords preceded the entry of the music. In the case of the Sous-Aeolien section one can imagine that the scribe looked at an error by the individual who notated the accord and then copied the prelude in A minor into the manuscript. This scribe then discovered the correct key (G minor) and then copied the other two pieces in the section. All well and good until we come to the Lydien section where we have the puzzling case of a single accord that unexpectedly conforms to the intervals of the mode in the illustration for no apparent reason. Perhaps there is a plausible explanation for this departure other than the one stated earlier. But if the
music’s scribe was relying on the accordes as a guide, why did he not include pieces in the key of E minor in the Lydien section, a key that Denis Gaultier especially favored? Why leave the section empty?

The internal evidence is clearly more consistent with the scenario in which the accordes come after the copying of the music. Now by demonstrating that the accordes originated in an early period, one would be inclined to conclude that the music must also have come from this same time or slightly before. The watermark evidence presented next will do just that.

**Watermarks**

There are, in fact, two different watermarks in the manuscript, and they represent a gap of perhaps as much as two centuries. One is found in the binding of the manuscript, a fleur-de-lis pattern of an incomplete watermark found on the flyleaf at the end of the book. Since just the top of the watermark is present, we can only make a general identification for this very popular pattern used by Dutch paper makers. This particular design corresponds to those found during a period that dates from the later eighteenth to the mid-nineteenth century. Here then is confirmation of the hypothesis of Jean Cordey, that the manuscript was rebound sometime in the nineteenth century.

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12 Both of Gaultier’s prints include sections in E minor. See Denis Gaultier, *Pièces de luth* ... (Paris, ca. 1669), pp. 50-65, and *Livre de tablature des pièces de luth*... (Paris, [1672]), pp. 82-87. Both volumes are available in a single facsimile edition (Geneva, 1975).

13 For examples of these watermarks, see Edward Heawood, *Monumenta Chartae Papyraceae* I, Watermarks (Hilversum, 1957), pp. 103-107, and plates 235-265.

14 See Jean Cordey’s article, in D. Gaultier, *La Rhétorique des dieux*, ed. André Tessier, I, pp. 7-14. Cordey notes that the table of contents, mentioned in the introduction of the manuscript as being at the end of the volume, has been relocated at the beginning of the book. Cordey surmises it was rebound in Germany during the nineteenth century, where black leather coverings of the type found on the Rhétorique were common, as were tables of contents placed at the beginning of tomes. Mariette’s description of the manuscript in the
The only other instance of a watermark is found on five of the manuscript's twelve inserted paper pages that were provided to show the twelve accords. This watermark is a single-handle pot pattern with two interior initials:

Pot à une anse patterns with initials come from French paper makers in middle France, Touraine, or Normandie. This pattern corresponds almost exactly to one found in a source from 1624. Only the letters B and C in the middle of the pot are reversed, a common variant. This early date confirms the supposition that these paper pages were created in the initial period of the manuscript when it was conceived as an encomium to Gaultier and a collection of his lute music, rather than during the subsequent period, when the lute had passed out of fashion and the book was regarded as an antiquarian object. The paper pages date from as much as 200 years before the paper in the present binding of the manuscript. The approximate dating of these watermarks makes Schlegel's scenarios very unlikely, and speaks against the supposition that the paper pages with the accords come from the same late date as the present binding.

Mr. Schlegel's scenarios seem to have been contrived to account for his assessment of the notational characteristics of

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15 See Alexandre Nicolai, Histoire des moulins à papier du sud-ouest de la France 1300-1800, II (Bordeaux, 1935), p. 89 and pl. cxiii, fig. 20.
the lute pieces, especially their lack of ornamentation, dotted rhythms, and performance signs like tenues. Such sparseness is unusual but not unique. I have pointed out in past writings that these austere readings are not without precedent, even in some of the pieces published in Denis Gaultier's own prints, as well as other printed and manuscript sources, e.g., Pierre Ballard's lute prints of 1631 and 1638.\(^{16}\) One lute manuscript not consulted by Schlegel, namely Albrecht Werl's lutebook of c. 1625-55— privately owned by Robert Spencer and published in facsimile by Minkoff—has tablatures with the kind of sparse notation that Schlegel finds stylistically inconsistent with this very period. Wallace Rave has also noted that some close manuscript concordances exist with pieces in the Rhétorique des dieux,\(^{17}\) although the sparseness of the tablature readings in the manuscript is not an especially common trait in the period. But this spare notation for the lute is equally rare in the eighteenth century, and it simply cannot be used as a persuasive argument for a late date of the musical component of the manuscript. (In fact, tablatures with few ornament signs are more commonly found in earlier sources than later ones.) Sparse tablatures may have been created for students with limited technical abilities or for more skilled players who preferred to include their own ornaments and realizations. The scribes of the Rhétorique may have notated the tablature in this austere fashion owing to the stated function of the manuscript as a precious object rather than a performing score. Why include all the performance

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indications when they will not be needed? A sixteen-page lute manuscript, discovered in 1991 (advertised for sale in Sotheby’s catalogue, Dec. 3-4, 1992), includes concordant readings of pieces from the Rhétorique in a hand very similar to one of the Rhétorique’s scribes. The tablature has a few more trill indications, but in most other respects, it is like the Rhétorique. While a full investigation of this manuscript and others like it is required before one can draw any conclusions, this discovery adds another piece of evidence demonstrating that tablatures similar to those in the Rhétorique indeed existed in this period.

The fact that these readings vary from those of Gaultier’s later two prints (c. 1669-1672) tells us nothing about the date of the music in the Rhétorique. The luthistes were not concerned with creating “definitive versions” of pieces for posterity, and pursuing the sources in order to identify the most unusual readings has little importance for the dating of pieces. Lutenists constantly revised their music, and the lute repertory is really a collection of “work-in-progress,” subject to continual change and significant variation within certain stylistic limits where improvisational elements were not uncommon.

Thus, the argument that the manuscript’s music does not conform to contemporary sources and thus should be considered from a late period, is not very convincing. The real anachronism here is the suggestion that the Rhétorique is a kind of retrospective monument—such monuments were not common until the nineteenth century. Therefore it is this notion of the music in the Rhétorique that does not conform to contemporary sources rather than the readings in the manuscript itself.

18 In a few isolated instances they attempted to publish authoritative versions, owing in part to concerns that their music was being grossly distorted by others.
19 Mr. Schegel’s notion that the Rhétorique has little importance for the transmission of Denis Gaultier’s music is also belied by the eight unica in the manuscript. These make the source essential for any study of Gaultier’s music and to a lesser degree, the history of the seventeenth-century French lute repertory.
Conclusion

In the final analysis, we are left once again with hypotheses. Many scenarios may be contrived to explain a puzzling situation, and like so many hypothetical constructs, they are almost impossible to disprove. Yet the weight of the evidence points in the direction of the views of past scholars. Both internal evidence and new information on the two different types of watermarks tend to confirm that the twelve paper pages with the accords were created sometime in the middle of the seventeenth century. Because the music seems likely to have been copied into the manuscript before those pages with the accords were inserted, one can infer the inclusion of the music at a date that closely corresponds to that of the musical repertory. The other watermark, which is located in the flyleaf, suggests that the rebinding of the manuscript in its present form likely occurred sometime in the nineteenth century when the other alterations to the book probably took place as well.20

THE UNIVERSITY OF NORTHERN IOWA

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20 Some changes exist in the location of certain materials in the manuscript when compared to the specifications of the table of contents. For details see my article "The Coordination of Text, Illustration, and Music in a Seventeenth-Century Manuscript."
Reviews


Erik S. Ryding's learned study exemplifies the movement toward understanding the specific nature and dimensions of musical humanism in England by way of lute-song composers still, surprisingly enough, a neglected area in literary criticism, historiography, and musicology. Using the literary and musical works of Thomas Campion and juxtaposing these against the musical and poetic work of brothers John and Samuel Daniel, Ryding has fashioned a comparative study with a striking breadth and command of both musical and literary texts, an exemplary critical methodology, and a series of insights based on close readings. The book will repay readers seeking to understand the broader literary and musical contexts in which the English lute-song vogue gained its unique historical and cultural position in late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries. In his prefatory comments Ryding suggests that “[t]he reader I have in mind is one interested in poetry and song but better acquainted with literature than music, though a musicologist might well find the discussions of humanist literary theory and practice enlightening” (ix). Though such modest claims typify Ryding's approach, the book may be usefully read for its observations on both musical and literary style and culture, observations marked by an exemplary attention to numerous examples drawn from the oeuvres of both Campion and the Daniels.

Beginning his study with a cautionary note on the notion of musical humanism, tracing its early use in 1906 from Paul-Marie Masson, in which it referred to “German and French settings of quantitative verse that were rhythmically governed by the long and short syllables of the texts” (ix), through D. P. Walker's, Claude Palisca's, and Don Harrán's more recent work, Ryding maintains that he “would now perhaps avoid it
[the term, musical humanism] altogether since it suggests a unified musico-philosophical movement that never existed” (x), a fact of which Ryding’s study provides ample evidence.

The study is itself divided into three parts, each with distinctive chapter headings. The first addresses musical humanism and measured verse in Germany, France, Italy, and England, a discussion that describes the slow rise of monody as an exemplary musical form of textual setting in those countries. Building from his discussion of English humanism exemplified in the clash between the respective musico-poetic values of both Campion and the Daniels, the second part of Ryding’s study addresses questions of polemic and song, with detailed discussions of Campion’s and Samuel Daniel’s theoretical treatises on poetic invention, Observations in the Art of English Poesie (1602, but entered in the Stationers’ Register in 1591) and Defence of Ryme (1603), respectively. These two texts bear an antagonistic and polemical relationship to each other and, in many senses, define the mutative shape of English musical humanism as exemplified in the lute-songs written by Campion and Samuel Daniel’s brother, John. Ryding argues that:

Campion was the last Elizabethan to make a serious attempt to establish rules for quantitative verse in English. Samuel Daniel soon afterward defended his mother tongue and the Middle Ages; moreover while respecting Greece and Rome, he rejected the tyranny that overzealous classicists threatened to impose on modern literature. The struggle between these two forces—the ancient versus the modern, the classical versus the nonclassical— is evident in most of the writings of Daniel and Campion. (80)

In fact, these literary polemics had aesthetic consequences for musical composition, style, and performance.

The third part of this study examines issues relating to eros and the medieval notion of *fin’amors*. Ryding defines the latter concept in the following manner:

Though it did not have one fixed meaning, the term is linked to certain recurring poetic themes. Maurice Valency writes: “The adjective *fin, fis*, from Latin *fides*, had the sense of faithful, honest,
The expression *fin amor*, frequently rendered as honest love, pure love, perfect love, or, after Gaston Paris, courtly love, is very well translated as true love....” Not mere lust (though lust may play a part in it), *fin’amors* is an ennobling desire. The “true lover”—remaining faithful to the beloved, even when faced with rebuffs, rumors, social and logistical impediments—seeks for “mercy” from a beautiful lady who can command him as she will. (151)

The relevancy of *fin’amors* to the lute-song tradition may be located in the shifting versions of erotic expression to be found in the lute-songs, torn as they were between more “allegorized and mystified” (154) depictions of eros that represented a putatively medieval aesthetic, and the more explicit conventions of classical (which is to say Latin and Greek) versions of eros.

Here again, Ryding’s description of the competing traditions of classicism and medievalism that defined the mixed aesthetic practices of Elizabethan musico-poetics, is exemplary and illuminating. Without any false *pudeur*, Ryding directly addresses the erotic sub-texts that shape both Campion’s and the Daniels’ musico-poetic practice:

The anomalous “Pois En Raimons ni Truc Malecs,” often attributed to Arnaut Daniel, satirizes some kind of noncoital sexual practice (metaphorically described as “blowing a horn”). That modern editors are not wholly in agreement about the act in question reminds us that medieval erotic poets often allegorized and mystified their descriptions of love-making. In contrast, the descriptions that classical poems give us of carnal desire and sexual activity—coitus, fellatio, sodomy—leave no room for doubt. (154)

The importance of this historical conflict between different forms of erotic expression insofar as it relates to lute-song poetics and aesthetics is not to be underestimated. And Ryding does not. In a wonderfully focussed examination of Samuel Daniel’s sonnet sequence, *Delia* (1592), and Thomas Campion’s lyric poetry, Ryding sets out the nature of this conflict, arguing, on the one hand, that the “lyrics in *Delia* belong not to a classical but to a medieval tradition, albeit filtered through the Italian and French Renaissance” (155), while on the other hand, “Campion’s sensual verse often has
antecedents in classical poetry, and I suspect that Campion himself felt that his writing about ‘love’s pleasure’ represented a move in the direction of antiquity and away from the Middle Ages” (154).

Indeed, in the case of Campion, Ryding’s observation that his “art lies in its self-concealment: for in naturalizing his ancient themes, Campion disguises the very classicism that he deftly incorporates into his songs” (194), is well-taken and indicative of the degree to which the concealed cultural contexts that lie behind this sort of art song need to be recuperated in order to arrive at a more informed performance practice. Similarly, Ryding’s conclusions regarding John Daniel’s aesthetic are noteworthy, for Daniel “did not ... deliberately choose to flout the neoclassicists. He simply enjoyed what the madrigalists did with words; he admired how the contrapuntists manipulated their musical motives, and with great skill he composed works that combined the playfulness of the madrigal, the polyphonic seriousness of the motet, and the verbal clarity of the lute-song” (196).

The title of the study is derived from a notorious song in Campion’s oeuvre, the only song in which Campion attempts musique mesurée, and a song based on quantitative Sapphic meter, “Come, let us sound,” from A Booke of Ayres (1601, also authored by Philip Rosseter). In the anonymous prefatory comments to the reader in that work, Campion, who in all probability wrote the commentary, makes his associations with a classical humanist tradition explicit, and seems to take especial pains to single out “Come, let us sound” for attention: “The Lyricke Poets among the Greekes and Latines were first inventers of Ayres, tying themselves strictly to the number and value of their sillables, of which sort, you shall find here onely one song in Saphicke verse; the rest are after the fascion of the time, eare-pleasing rimes without Arte” (cited in Ryding, 95). Clearly the idealized notion of the “Ayre” involves the lyric aesthetics of classical Greek and Latin authors, it being somewhat anomalous in this polemical context, that of the twenty-one songs Campion wrote for A
Booke of Ayres, only one actually met the requirements of this ideal.

The problems facing Campion included imposing a quantitative form of verse on a language that was clearly accentual-syllabic, not to mention recuperating the actual performance practice of classical lyric poetry, both unattainable goals. Ryding points out that “musical humanists on the continent had already found two techniques—one based on poetic meter, the other on dramatic expression—for classicizing music in modern times” (104). The actual praxis of classicizing, however, involved what oftentimes amounted to a token effort in the face of the enormous pressures of cultural convention and expectation to which a composer or poet had to accede in order to be “eare-pleasing.” Here, Ryding’s discussion of “Come, let us sound” is a model of clarity, providing the appropriate cultural contexts for understanding the aesthetic decisions Campion appears to have made:

The problem Campion constantly faced was that he, like other neoclassicists of the Renaissance, had inherited a set of linguistic and musical conventions (and basic building materials) deriving ultimately from nonclassical sources—usually from the despised Middle Ages. Lyric poetry in the vernacular overwhelmingly required rhyme [against which Campion was theoretically opposed, though most of his poetry observes this convention]; secular love songs made generous use of advanced counterpoint and of word-painting. Campion was not an antique Roman. He could hardly abandon elements that in large part defined contemporary music and poetry, however much he might berate such elements in his more contentious moods. (104)

In such a context, the appeal in the opening stanza of “Come, let us sound,” is particularlyplaintive, evoking an idealized notion of how music reflects the harmonious frame of the cosmos as fashioned by the “Author of number”:

Come, let us sound with melody the praises
Of the kings king, th’omnipotent creator,
Author of number, that hath all the world in
Harmonie framed. (cited in Ryding, 104)
The lines encapsulate a complex world view (similar in many respects to John Dryden’s perhaps better known lyric, “A Song for St. Cecilia’s Day,” [1687]) that marks the difficulty posed when trying to periodize or define musical humanism as a form of neoclassicism. While obviously linking these lines to the neoclassical notion of proportion (“What musick can there be when there is no proportion observed?”; Campion, cited in Ryding, 104) and of quantitative meter as a manifestation of that proportion, the lines also articulate a world view that has affinities with Medieval theological and philosophical thought, Ryding citing both Augustine’s De musica and Boethius’ De institutione musica as intertextual contexts for the lines. Thus, even in the lute-song in which Campion purports to present classical Greek and Latin values, he cannot free himself from more contemporary influences.

By contrast, Ryding’s discussion of John Daniel’s lute-song book, Songs for the Lute Viol and Voice (1606), makes the case for an aesthetic that had freed itself from restrictive and illusive historical ties to a classical ideal. Ryding suggests that “[o]f all the Elizabethan and Jacobean lute-songs,” Daniel’s

... are the most skillful in their use of complex, imitative polyphony. They assimilate elements of the ayre, the dance, the consort song, and—perhaps most significant for us—the madrigal. I say “most significant” because, as we have seen, the madrigal had come under fire from extreme classicists in the latter years of the sixteenth century; it allowed counterpoint to garble the text and employed word-painting to picture forth individual words and phrases. Neither technique had a classical precedent; both had dubious connections with “modern” (to us, medieval or early Renaissance) practices. (124)

Ryding provides a number of close readings that show the extent to which Daniel’s compositional practice differs from Campion’s. For example, the eighth song of this collection, with lyrics by Samuel Daniel, in which “[John] Daniel uses a remarkable cross relation (an a-flat in the accompaniment sounds against an a-natural in the voice)” (136), is cited as an example of how Daniel, by contrast with Campion, “calls attention to the harmonious interworking of the voices—sung and played—through constant motivic manipulation” (137).
By way of similar readings of both literary and musical devices, Ryding proposes Daniel as an exemplar of an aesthetic practice contrary to that of Campion's, a contrary that in a sense defines the conflicted nature of English musical humanism as it is represented in the lute-song. Thus, Daniel is primarily seen as a polyphonic composer, who uses text as a "source of musical inspiration" (143), thus contravening and undermining Campion's aesthetic in which music is subordinate to its textual referent.

In sum, this is a well-wrought book about an obscure area in need of further informed and interdisciplinary scrutiny. Especially noteworthy is Ryding's comparative methodology, which demonstrates how a judicious intermingling of distinctive disciplinary approaches produces work that provides useful insights in both disciplines. The lesson learned, once again, is the importance of seemingly marginal genres of literature and music that nonetheless have a measure of historical significance, if only for their role in defining the fluidity with which generic conventions intermingle, dissolve, and recompose themselves. The lute-song, as such a genre, receives its just reward in this study.

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FOR THE NEWEST VOLUME IN its publication series of music by French lutenist-composers the CNRS has stepped outside its customary parameters, issuing works by a foreign musician, Johann Gumprecht, who was born in Germany near Nuremberg about 1610. He was, however, a resident of Strasbourg virtually all his adult life until his death in 1697. His compositions show a strong affinity for the stylistic mainstream of French lute music of the time, his music often sharing space with works by notable French masters. This
welcome edition makes available music of considerable interest and attractiveness.

In their admirable *recherches biographiques* the editors relate several discoveries, not the least of which is information regarding Gumprecht's status as a resident of his adopted city. It appears that he achieved high standing in the political life of Strasbourg, representing the corporation of tanners and serving on city councils and the like over an extended period. This material success may be attributed to his university background at Basel and to his association with important Strasbourg families. It seems justifiable to suspect that Gumprecht did not earn his living in music, especially in view of his considerable wealth at the time of his death not to mention the absence of his name from lists of professional musicians. Yet there is evidence that he was a lute teacher as was his son J. Gumprecht II (1645-1722). According to the editors the younger Gumprecht seems not to have been a composer.

Fewer than fifty compositions for solo lute by Gumprecht are known. Except for a few unmeasured preludes, a gigue and three gavottes, they consist of allemandes, courantes, and sarabandes, the most frequently encountered genres in the *style brisé*. Six works reappear in the duet format in one manuscript and there exist two dances in tablature for *angélique*, a hybrid lute characterized by diatonically tuned courses, for which lute versions have yet to surface. Besides an arrangement for *angélique* and two others for keyboard, the edition includes extraordinary versions for continuo and two treble instruments of seven Gumprecht pieces edited and published in 1658 by the Strasbourg organist Johann Ernst Rieck.

Works by Gumprecht began appearing in manuscripts dating from the middle of the seventeenth century. Most sources for his compositions are of German origin but they also contain considerable quantities of works by French masters. Indeed, in some manuscripts the French repertory far exceeds that by German masters. The only other German whose music consistently appears in these same manuscripts is
Heinrich Strobel, also of Strasbourg. Both Gumprecht and Strobel were grouped stylistically with French composer-lutenists. For instance, in the list of admired lutenists which fronts his lute music collection of the 1680s, the Parisian René Milleran mentions four Germans: Krempurg of Warsaw, Reusner of Brandenburg, Strobel, and “Comprecht” (a French adaptation of the name Gumprecht). As closely allied to French style and repertory as Gumprecht was, there does not appear to be clear evidence that he had much personal contact with those in Parisian circles. His musical output is neither so large nor so widely disseminated as that of many of his French contemporaries. Little by him would be known were the three principal sources for his work lost.

The music in this edition is accompanied by commentary about the composer’s style and by the usual apparatus of scholarly editions: list of sources, tables of concordances, tunings, and performance indications. The order in which the transcriptions are presented has been determined by genre (i.e., preludes, allemandes, followed by courantes and then others), and grouped according to keys and sources from which the transcribed versions have been derived. Performers, however, will find useful a table that classifies the volume’s musical contents by keys and sources thus allowing the identification of works which in their manuscript sources are found clustered together in suites.

The visual presentation of this volume is superb. All notation—transcription and tablature—could not, I believe, be of much greater readability. The consistency of appearance is characteristic of computerized production, and while the attractiveness of hand-engraved printing is lost, the enhanced clarity more than compensates for the loss. Performers will not have to squint irritably at visual ambiguities, run-together symbols, and the like. Consistent spacing contributes much to clarity and the relative sizes of the musical symbols is ideal.

During a spot check I discerned no outright errors in the tablature and none in the transcription. An apparent error at the end of m. 7 of piece no. 17, which has an extra eighth-note in transcription, seems rather to reflect the occasional
reluctance on the part of the editors to suggest solutions for rhythmic ambiguities encountered in the tablature.

It is rather discouraging, though, to have to report that the editors still have adhered closely to some of the questionable presentation and transcription practices established decades ago. For instance, performers will still have to struggle with numerous page turns, perhaps all of which could have been avoided by re-ordering the successions of compositions. Allemandes nos. 8 and 9 (and the double of the latter), for example, could have preceded rather than followed the single-page transcription of no. 7, thus obviating three page turns including one within the double of no. 9. And while transcription can never satisfactorily account for all musical factors, the abundance of inconsistencies in these pages is exasperating. There are potentially misleading indicators, especially for those incapable of evaluating staff notation by comparison with tablature. At one point pitches are sustained past the point of any contextual (especially harmonic) justification or performability. At another, they are cut short despite being both easily sustained in performance and musically desirable. Recurrent tablature events are transcribed differently. Thus in piece no. 15, m. 4 of the transcription has a C sustained long past the point of musical reason (it would sound against a minor triad on g), whereas in the couplet’s varied repeat it is restricted to the duration of its harmonic relevance. Another minor issue lies in the manner of notating agrément; sometimes an ornamental pitch (as in the duet no. 48, lute 1, m. 10) is indicated on the staff, instead of the usual replication of the symbol used in the tablature. In the CNRS volumes generally there has been minimal attention paid to the significance and interpretation of agréments and other conventional performance symbols.

Other minor concerns aside, this volume collects music that many will find worth pursuing, including those for whom the appeal of style brisé may be less than irresistible. Gumprecht’s style shows consistent features that distinguish it slightly from the French mainstream. The relatively full texture, including melodic use of parallel thirds, and the
motivic clarity, often involving a tetrachord scale or the melodic figure \( f e f d \), are noted in the editors' commentaries. They have also discerned in his harmony a wealth of dissonant-interval content and the effective use of deceptive cadences. It may be further noted that Gumprecht's music has a strong continuity in its part-writing, which contrasts with the subtle ambiguities of much contemporaneous French music for lute. This continuity complements a sense of harmonic progression that is almost Italianate in its clear directionality. Those performers searching for an alternative repertory in this style will take considerable delight in the contents of this volume.

WALLACE RAVE
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The court air constituted the primary form of secular musical expression in France for several decades between the contrapuntal chansons of the sixteenth century and the belated arrival of opera. While other parts of Europe were advancing the art of the instrumental ensemble and enthusiastically adopting the new Italian invention, *dramma per musica* (opera), the air for solo voice or for several concerted voices and lute held virtually unchallenged sway in France. Yet, to judge from modern publications and recordings, among significant cultural manifestations of the period between the wars of religion and the personal reign of Louis XIV, this delicate vocal art is arguably the least known.

Of course, the air de cour has not been entirely ignored by modern scholarship. The still indispensable, seminal study by Théodore Girold appeared in 1921, and has been reprinted by Minkoff. Following that lead, the undisputed authority a generation ago was André Verchaly, whose informed articles and monumental edition, *Airs de Cour pour voix et luth, 1608-1643* (Paris: Heugel, 1961), stand as
landmarks. When, at his death, the full-scale study he had promised in 1948 remained unrealized, the mantle fell to Georgie Durosoir, who benefitted from full access to his papers in her project. The resulting synthesis is an indispensable tool for students of seventeenth-century French music and music publishing, as well as of the relations among music, its texts, and the society that produced them.

Besides bringing to fulfillment Verchaly’s ambitious enterprise, Mme. Durosoir has broadened the base of inquiry, focusing not only on the works for solo voice and lute, but on the polyphonic air (“l’air à 4 ou 5 voix”) not inappropriately, since the same tunes regularly appeared in both formats. Durosoir considers them closely related manifestations of the same genre. The multi-voiced versions, which reflected and continued the Renaissance tradition of the polyphonic chanson, could usually claim precedence, but it was the air for voice and lute that constituted a novelty more in keeping with Baroque styles and tastes. The first “tablatures pour chant et luth viennent combler à la fois une attente et une lacune ....

La neutralité de l’instrument polarise sur la seule voix l’attention de l’auditeur; c’est donc dans la partie vocale qu’il faudra recenser toutes les richesse de la composition.” (“[The first] tablatures for voice and lute satisfy a need and fill a gap. The neutral character of the instrument focuses the listener’s attention on the voice itself; it is thus in the vocal part that we find the compositional riches” [134].) Both forms virtually disappeared with the advent of the figured bass in the 1640s, a “tournant esthétique” that facilitated keyboard accompaniment to vocal performance. From that time on, the house of Ballard published almost exclusively dancing and drinking songs.

Durosoir’s study ostensibly spans the final decades of one century and the first half of the next, an “époque qui vise à la simplification du contrepoint et à la mise en valeur du texte poétique” (“[a] period that sought to simplify counterpoint and set the poetic text in the place of honor” [156]). The first part of the book (four chapters and a conclusion) is devoted to the times of Henri III and Henri IV; the second (six
chapters plus a conclusion), to the last years of Henry IV, the regency, and the reign of Louis XIII. Each of the two parts begins by sketching in the social, political, and artistic situations of the time. In fact, since only two isolated collections prior to 1600 even carried the name “air” in their titles, not until the publication of Pierre Guédron’s first *Recueil d’Airs de Cour* (1602) may the vogue of the genre be said to begin. The first section’s discussion of the polyphonic collections in the three decades before Guédron (Ch. II), then, serves as background to the main topic. For those interested in publishing practices of the period, Durosoir’s fourth chapter presents a powerful indictment of Pierre and Robert Ballard, “imprimeurs du Roy pour la Musique,” whose narrowly focused, monopolistic hegemony delayed for decades the arrival in France of musical movements that were already established elsewhere in Europe.

Four composers dominate the air de cour: Guédron, France’s first important Baroque composer (fl. 1603-1620; Ch. III); Gabriel Bataille, who transcribed and published several hundred polyphonic airs for solo voice and lute between 1608 and 1615 under the generic title *Airs de différents auteurs mis en tablature de luth* (Ch. IV); Antoine Boesset, who succeeded to the official position of Guédron in 1621 and continued the Bataille collection (Ch. VII); and Étienne Moulinié, composer to the court of Gaston d’Orléans (Ch. VIII). These masters established and defined a peculiarly French vocal art comparable to, but quite distinct from the English lute song tradition of Campion and Dowland. If anything is missing from this exhaustive study it is the insight that could result from comparison between the air de cour and contemporaneous song practices in other countries.

A chapter on interpretation (Ch. X) briefly summarizes the thorny question of the “non-dit,” or non-notated ornamentation, accompaniment, and the expression of the passions. Ornamentation is discussed throughout in the context of musical analyses of the various collections (see, for example, 140-46). “L’air, dans sa formule ouvragée, ornémentée, est l’œuvre du chanteur bien plus que de l’auteur
de musique” (“The air, in its highly wrought, ornamented form, is the creation of the singer much more than of the composer.” [135]). Musicians will find interest in an anthology [is this mentioned by Durosoir or is it an appendix?] of forty-three polyphonic airs de cour from this period, some of which are available in versions for voice and lute in modern editions, such as that of Verchaly or the 15-volume Minkoff reprint of *Airs de différents auteurs* (Genève, 1980-85). Of note as well for musicians are the many musical illustrations accompanying the text, along with a chronology of air de cour collections, various other lists and tables distributed passim, and a generous selection of contemporary engravings and sample pages. An index of proper names facilitates search.

Students of the literature will turn with profit to the discussion of poets who contributed verses for musical setting, from Ronsard through to Saint-Amant, not to mention Malherbe and his circle. After cursory discussion of themes and subjects common to the airs, much of the analysis focuses on technical matters such as meter, rhyme, and strophic schemes, the sorts of considerations of most immediate concern in the musical setting of a text.

As a comprehensive reassessment of the entire life span of the French court air, this project required that the author integrate a significant body of work that had long been essentially ignored into the culture and history of a century only too well known. If the results of Durosoir’s study have not the seismic impact of the “discovery” of the Baroque, they do nuance our understanding of the years from 1600 to 1643, confirming the close link between the new vocal aesthetic and the prosodic reforms’ formal rigor. The latter included insistence on caesuras (or metrical pauses), the careful observance of strophic forms, clarity through the avoidance of learned or foreign words, inversions, and complex or unfamiliar metaphors, and harmony through the avoidance of strings of monosyllables, of hiatus, and all jarring sound combinations instigated by Malherbe and his followers.
Not all aspects of the vocal music of the period could be covered, even in as complete and extensive a study as this. The airs and récits that figured so importantly in the court ballets, for example, merit a separate study, if only for the diversity of their subject matter, the relief they offer from the stifling love conceits of most lyrics. "En effet, porteurs de connotations d’ordre dramatique, ils se distinguent des textes de la poésie courants. Ils évoquent des situations pittoresques inconcevables dans l’air de cour proprement dit" ("In fact, since they [récits] carry dramatic implications, they stand apart from the general run of poetic texts. They can evoke visual situations that would be inconceivable in the normal air de cour." [130]). Durosoir concludes by asking whether the artists who wrote and performed in this ultra-refined genre were "créateurs" or "producteurs" (335-37). Clearly, they were both at once as was Molière in the theatre. Like any performance skill, theirs was an evanescent art, and recovery of their achievements, insofar as it is even partially possible, requires an ability to reconstruct from sketchy clues—the scores, contemporary comments of Mersenne, Bacilly, and so forth, and the rare transcription of an ornamented melody as actually performed by one of the masters that Durosoir examines—the ephemeral reality of a style.

Why do the texts to court airs so rarely reflect political or social events, Malherbe’s verses in support of Henry IV’s passion for Charlotte de Montmorency being a notable exception (130)? As Durosoir rightly points out, the air is a courtly divertissement, in which weighty cares have no legitimate place. Other genres might aim satirical barbs at the mighty. The air, even when circumstantial, sought to offer respite from the cares of the world. Although the author systematically catalogues literary themes along with metrical and rhyme schemes, she rarely finds much good to say about the poetry, which is qualified as conventional at best, at worst, redolent of a “redoutable banalité” ("fearsome banality"). She also notes, for example, Moulinié’s penchant for “le décor naturel” ("Paisible et ténébreuse nuit"; “Rochers affreux,” and so forth, 267) conventionalized sentiment with regard to
nature. Once again we encounter the conflict between purely literary values and the qualities required of text-for-music. Whether the author of the text be a Molière, a Ronsard, or a Shakespeare, the poet who lends his verses to music must be resigned to seeing them undervalued. A text that shares in the signifying power of music must allow the music to say things, express emotions that lie beyond the signifying power of words. The paradox is that often the more general the emotional situation, the more powerfully specific may be the song’s effect.

Perhaps the only way the air de cour could receive the thorough-going, definitive study that Verchaly envisioned was through the scholarly focus of a doctoral thesis, which is how Durosoir’s book began. The lively writing here is a pleasure to read and the work is thoroughly researched, unstinting in detail, and chock-a-block with textual citations and analyzed musical examples. In this magisterial study of a neglected art form that once delighted French courtly society, the reader may gain new insights into a complex century.

LOUIS E. AULD

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Communications

To the Editor of the *Journal*:

After almost twenty years of publishing early music, the family business Boethius Press was put into voluntary liquidation in February 1992. As you know, Boethius Press had done notable pioneering work on facsimiles of early manuscripts and prints, and under the honorary editorship of distinguished musicologists, had become well-known for producing working facsimiles to the highest standards of reliability and excellence. Perhaps best known were the Boethius Press lute music facsimiles edited by Robert Spencer. Following its work on facsimiles, the Press had been asked to publish transcriptions and editions and did so. A backlist of about sixty titles had been created by 1991 and some time before liquidation became likely, friends of the Press purchased the entire stock of specialist music for preservation. The stock was left with the proprietors of Boethius Press to be managed for the new owners and when the company was put into liquidation these stocks were saved. They are now available once again, distributed by Severinus Press from the address below. The Boethius Press's honorary editors have all agreed to continue to supervise the Severinus music series, and Severinus has resumed publishing in the same tradition of high standards as Boethius. Our first completely new publication is Gordon Callon’s *Nicholas Lanier: The Complete Works*, now available as a section sewn paperback with laminated covers. Dr. Callon’s edition will be followed by a reprint of *Jane Pickering's Lute Book*, for which Robert Spencer has revised his introductory study. I trust this brings your readers up to date on matters related to our business and we look forward to any inquiries they may have regarding our publications.

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