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The *Journal* editors welcome for consideration articles pertaining to the viols and related instruments, their history, manufacture, performers, music, and related topics. Articles, correspondence, and materials for review should be sent to the Editor: Stuart Cheney, 3044 McFarlin Blvd., Dallas, TX 75205, or via e-mail to <scheney@mail.smu.edu>. Authors should consult the *Chicago Manual of Style*, 15th Edition, for matters of style. Articles and reviews should be submitted on disk specifying the computer and program used, or sent to the e-mail address above. Figures, diagrams, photographs, and music examples should be submitted separately as publication-ready digital image files or black-and-white glossy prints. Please consult the Editor if there is any question as to appropriate format, size, or resolution.

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## VIOLA DA GAMBA SOCIETY OF AMERICA

4440 Trieste Drive  
 Carlsbad, CA 92008  
 post@vdgsa.org  
 http://vdgsa.org

The Viola da Gamba Society of America is a not-for-profit national organization dedicated to the support of activities relating to the viola da gamba in the United States and abroad. Founded in 1962, the VdGSA is a society of players, builders, publishers, distributors, restorers, and others sharing a serious interest in music for viols and other early bowed string instruments. VdGSA members receive a quarterly newsletter and this annual journal, and have access to the many activities and valuable resources of the Society. The website provides additional information on the annual Conclave, instrument rentals, the microfilm lending library for researchers, and other offerings.

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## EDITORIAL NOTE

The articles and the research update that are published in this volume, and the editions reviewed here, demonstrate how productive 2005 was for the viol and related scholarly activity. Our articles both focus on English musical history during the seventeenth century, beginning with Martha Davidson's fruitful investigation of Samuel Pepys and his involvement with the viol during the 1660s, based on information mined from his remarkable diary. Ted Conner has made a study of dualities in the tonal centers, rhetoric, and ornamentation of English music during the late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries. And Ian Woodfield's bibliography of recent research again provides our readers with the most up-to-date publishing activities in our field.

The reviews concentrate on editions of English ensemble music that span the first half of the seventeenth century, from Wilbye (1598 and 1609) to Jenkins (1640s). Outside this grouping appears a new edition of mid-eighteenth-century German chamber trios with a viol part.

I thank each of the authors, reviewers, and readers for their excellent work on the present volume. In addition, the invaluable and dedicated work of Jean Seiler, David Dreyfuss, and George Houle assures the quality of the *Journal* and makes my job much easier and more joyful.

Stuart Cheney

## SAMUEL PEPYS AND THE VIOL

### Martha Davidson

As many modern writers on the seventeenth century have found, Samuel Pepys makes a very quotable guide to musical affairs in Restoration England. Predictable snippets from his diary turn up repeatedly in recent books and articles. While there are writings devoted exclusively to the subject of Pepys and music, none appears to look closely at his interest in the viola da gamba; in fact, one commentator treats all viol entries as subordinate to those on the violin.<sup>1</sup> On the contrary, I found (in pursuing a quixotic retirement project of excerpting all the music entries to make a diary within a diary of Pepys's musical life) that his involvement with the viol was rich and potentially relevant to modern viol enthusiasts.

An accomplished amateur musician, Pepys sang bass well enough to be invited to sit in with members of the Chapel Royal during services before the King. He also sang popular (sometimes bawdy) songs in taverns, pleasure gardens, and Thames boats, and he and his friends often sang psalms on Sunday afternoons. He played recorder, flageolet, lute, violin, and viol. He owned a spinet harpsichord and considered buying a chamber organ. He struggled again and again to understand music theory, and felt that he was on the verge of writing a simplified system that would benefit all learners. He went to performances, both private and public, and remarked on notable music heard at the theater and in church. He knew many of the important singers, players, and composers of his time.

A record of his musical activities can be found in the shorthand diary<sup>2</sup> that he kept between January 1660 and May 1669, and the

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<sup>1</sup>David G. Weiss, *Samuel Pepys, Curioso* (Pittsburgh: University of Pittsburgh Press, 1957), 71–77.

<sup>2</sup>Samuel Pepys, *The Diary of Samuel Pepys: A New and Complete Transcription*, edited by Robert Latham and William Matthews, 11 vols.

whole diary deserves reading for its view of the life of London, the Royal Navy, and the court, as well as for its astonishingly frank record of the personal thoughts and affairs of one early modern man. By concentrating on the entries dealing with the viol one can follow the waxing and waning of Pepys's musical enthusiasms, his determination to practice one instrument or another, and his contacts with court musicians and instrument makers.

### **Background**

Before looking at Pepys's comments on the viola da gamba, a very brief account of his life and times may be in order. Samuel Pepys was born in London, in 1633. His father was a tailor, and the family had connections in rural Cambridgeshire, where his uncle was still living at the beginning of the diary. Samuel was educated in London and at Cambridge. His first positions were as clerk in the Office of the Exchequer and as secretary and agent to his cousin Edward Mountagu (who became the first Earl of Sandwich in June 1660, a reward for his part in the triumphant return of Charles II to England and the throne). In the summer of 1660 Mountagu helped Pepys become Clerk of the Acts to the Navy Board.

In 1655 Pepys had married Elizabeth St. Michel, the daughter of a Huguenot exile. At the time the diary opens they were living in lodgings near Whitehall, but later they moved to a house maintained by the Navy Board near the Tower of London. The marriage was stormy; Pepys loved Elizabeth but gave her many occasions for jealousy, and she disappointed him as well. One of the fascinations of the diary is its depiction of this troubled relationship. Elizabeth died in November 1669 of an illness perhaps contracted during a two-month continental tour with Pepys and her brother Balty.

When Pepys started to keep his diary Oliver Cromwell had been dead for two years, and it was clear that Cromwell's son Richard had no aptitude for government. A strong party developed in favor of the return of the monarchy, and Pepys, in spite of his

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(London: Bell, 1970–1983). (Published in the United States by the University of California Press, and later [1995] distributed here in paperback by Harper Collins.) This edition with its extensive notes and commentary is the chief source for my article.

earlier Puritan sympathies (he had been an enthusiastic sixteen-year-old spectator at the beheading of Charles I in 1649) joined his patron Mountagu in promoting the King's cause. From then on he was loyal to the Stuarts, although critical of their private lives, and worked assiduously to make sure that the Crown was honestly served by his colleagues at the Navy Board and by the contractors who supplied the Navy. Pepys's great period of activity as a naval reformer began four years after he ended the diary out of concern for his eyesight. He left the Navy Board for the Admiralty in 1673, and his government service ended in 1689, just following the deposition of James II. He died in 1703, after a retirement filled with good works and bibliophilic activities.<sup>3</sup>

Little is known about Pepys's education in music. There was music in the family. His father played bass viol, as did his younger brother, and a virginal was left at his father's death.<sup>4</sup> A country cousin, a miller whose mill had been destroyed by wind, was obliged to fiddle for a living and begged a violin from Pepys.<sup>5</sup> A young cousin, Theophila ("The") Turner, played harpsichord, and had an instrument built for her when she was nine years old in 1661.<sup>6</sup> Pepys himself was educated at the Huntingdon School where Oliver Cromwell and Pepys's patron Edward Mountagu had been scholars, and then at St. Paul's School in London, but there is no record of musical training in the curricula of these schools in the 1640s. He obtained scholarships to Magdalene College, Cambridge, where he studied from 1651 until he took his B.A. in 1654. Music at Cambridge was apparently extracurricular

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<sup>3</sup> Accounts of Pepys's life are widely available, from encyclopedia articles to the introduction in the *Diary* and to full-length biographical studies by Ollard and by Tomalin. See Richard Ollard, *Pepys: A Biography* (New York: Holt Rinehart & Winston, 1975), and Claire Tomalin, *Samuel Pepys: The Unequalled Self* (New York: Knopf, 2002). A good description by Robert Latham of Pepys's book collecting and the making of his library, now at Magdalene College, Cambridge, is at <http://www.magd.cam.ac.uk/pepys/latham.html>. [2006, January 21]

<sup>4</sup> *Diary*, 10:259

<sup>5</sup> *Diary*, May 8, 1661.

<sup>6</sup> *Diary*, February 26, 1661. (She is identified in a note to Pepys's first entry: *Diary*, January 1, 1660, 1:3f.)

for Pepys; he mentions a Cambridge musical friend and a violin-playing acquaintance in the diary.<sup>7</sup>

### Practicing

In the diary Pepys often recorded his practice sessions; for example, on February 4, 1660, he wrote: “In the morning at my lute an hour and so to my office,” and on February 8: “A little practice on my flagelette, and afterwards walking in my yard.” The most extended periods of viol practice occurred in 1663, before and after his new instrument had been delivered. On most evenings from the second of July to the fifteenth he played a little by himself: “To supper and then to a little vial and to bed.” In early September, after the new viol had come, he played daily.

1 September. Up pretty betimes; and after a little at my Viall, to my office...

3 September. Up betimes, and for an hour at my viall, before my people rise...

4 September. Up betimes, and an hour at my viall; and then abroad by water to White-hall...

5 September. Up betimes and to my vyall awhile; and so to the office...

7 September. Up pretty betimes and a while to my vyall...

8 September. Up and to my vyall a while...

9 September. Up by break-a-day and then to my Vyall a while...

11 September. ...And at 6 a-clock up and a while to my vyall, and then to the office...

Pepys also used the viol or lute to help him learn a song or compose a bass line. “A great while at my Viall and voice, learning to sing *Fly boy, fly boy* without book.”<sup>8</sup> “Before I went to church I

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<sup>7</sup> *Diary*, June 26, 1662, October 8, 1667; Tomalin, *Samuel Pepys*, 18–40. The pages in Tomalin describe Pepys’s education in general. Music at Cambridge is referred to on pages 39 and 40.

<sup>8</sup> *Diary*, February 18, 1660, 1:59f. The song, printed in Playford’s *Select ayres and dialogues* (1659), was by Simon Ives. MacDonald Emslie, who was responsible for the music notes in the Latham and Matthews edition of the *Diary*, was assiduous in tracing references to music and musicians in Pepys’s text. His work is one of the great resources of the edition.



sang *Orpheus Hymne* to my vial.”<sup>9</sup> “And so home and tried to make a piece by my ears and vial to *I wonder what the grave, &c;*; and so to supper and to bed.”<sup>10</sup> “And so away home, and for saving my eyes, at my chamber all the evening, pricking down some things and trying some conclusions upon my vial, in order to the inventing a better theory of Musique then hath yet been abroad; and I think verily I shall do it.”<sup>11</sup> “We by our coach home; and after sitting an hour thruming upon my vial and singing, I to bed.”<sup>12</sup>

In February 1664 he reported: “And so, they being gone—I to my vyall a little, which I have not done some months I think before.”<sup>13</sup> Three weeks earlier the professional musician Thomas Mallard, a viol player and composer who once served Oliver Cromwell,<sup>14</sup> had brought Pepys a song set to the lyra viol and had played Pepys’s new bass, “the first Maister that ever touched her yet, and she proves very well and will be, I think, an admirable instrument.”<sup>15</sup>

### Pepys’s Viol

The story of the making of Pepys’s viol may soon be told in full.<sup>16</sup> In April of 1663 he was still undecided about ordering one: “...This morning Mr. Hunt the instrument-maker brought me home a Basse-viall to see whether I like it, which I do not very well; besides, I am under a doubt whether I had best buy one yet or

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<sup>9</sup> *Diary*, March 4, 1660. The song was a setting of the words, “O king of heaven and hell...” by Henry Lawes, from *Second book of ayres and dialogues* (1655); *Diary*, 1:76 n.

<sup>10</sup> *Diary*, November 30, 1667. From the poem “Resolved to love” by Abraham Cowley; *Diary*, 8:555 n.

<sup>11</sup> *Diary*, March 20, 1668.

<sup>12</sup> *Diary*, April 12, 1669.

<sup>13</sup> *Diary*, February 16, 1664.

<sup>14</sup> *Diary*, 10:239.

<sup>15</sup> *Diary*, January 23, 1664.

<sup>16</sup> Benjamin Hebbert, of St Cross College, Oxford, is preparing his doctoral dissertation on the London music trade in the late seventeenth century, and he has a great deal of information about the instrument makers and dealers of Pepys’s time, explicating, among other affairs, the complicated relationship between Mr. Hunt and Mr. Wise.

no—because of spoiling my present mind and love to business...”<sup>17</sup> The actual maker was Wise of Bishopsgate Street,<sup>18</sup> and when the viol was finished Pepys paid Hunt<sup>19</sup> £3 “besides the carving, which I paid this day 10s for to the Carver.”<sup>20</sup> On July 17 Pepys had taken John Creed, Navy colleague and fellow servant of Mountagu, to see the viol. Dietrich Stoeffken was there, playing, and Pepys wrote: “I heard the famous Mr. Stefkens play admirably well, and yet I find it as it is always, I over-expected. I took him to the taverne and find him a temperate sober man, at least he seems so to me. I commit the direction of my vial to him.”<sup>21</sup> Pepys’s disappointment is surprising, for Stoeffken’s reputation was redoubtable. Constantijn Huygens, who considered himself the best violist in the Netherlands until Stoeffken arrived there, felt unworthy to pull off his boots. Stoeffken had been in the service of Charles I, and at the Restoration returned to England to the royal establishment. He and John Jenkins held each other in mutual esteem.<sup>22</sup>

Mr. Hunt had assured Pepys that he had “as good a Theorbo, vial and viallin as is in England,”<sup>23</sup> and perhaps on the strength of this assertion Pepys was able to criticize Creed’s instrument: “...to Mr. Creeds chamber; and after drinking some Chocolate and playing on the vyall, Mr. Mallard being there, upon Creeds new vyall, which proves me-thinks much worse than mine.”<sup>24</sup>

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<sup>17</sup> *Diary*, April 17, 1663. Pepys was trying to keep a resolution to renounce pleasures in favor of greater application to his work.

<sup>18</sup> *Diary*, July 16, 1663. Bishopsgate Street was a busy thoroughfare full of tradesmen’s shops, taverns, and inns. *Diary*, 10:31. Theophila Turner’s harpsichord maker worked there, as did many other instrument makers.

<sup>19</sup> *Diary*, August 20, 21, 1663.

<sup>20</sup> *Diary*, August 21, 1663. This refers to the carving of the head for the pegbox.

<sup>21</sup> *Diary*, July 17, 1663.

<sup>22</sup> Andrew Ashbee and David Lasocki, eds., *A Biographical Dictionary of English Court Musicians, 1485–1714*, 2 vols. (Aldershot: Ashgate, 1998), 2:1049–52.

<sup>23</sup> *Diary*, August 21, 1663.

<sup>24</sup> *Diary*, February 26, 1664.

### Musical Companions

Pepys had played with Mallard in January of 1660. "...Then I spent a little time with G. Vines and Maylard at Vines's at our vials..."<sup>25</sup> Another professional viol player of Pepys's acquaintance was the composer and theorist John Birchensha, from whom Pepys took composition lessons in January and February of 1662, firing him on February 27 after refusing to agree that his rules for composition were the "most perfect": "...this morning came Mr. Berchensha to me; and in our discourse, I finding that he cries up his rules for most perfect (though I do grant them to be very good, and the best I believe that ever yet were made) and that I could not persuade him to grant wherein they were somewhat lame, we fell to angry words, so that in a pet he flung out of my chamber and I never stopped him, being entended to have put him off today whether this had happened or no, because I think I have all the rules that he hath to give, and so there remains nothing but practice now to do me good—and it is not for me to continue with him at 5£ per mensem..."<sup>26</sup>

The "Mr. Hudson" with whom Pepys and his friend Vines once played "half-a-dozen things" on January 13, 1660, was either the violinist Richard Hudson or (his brother?) George, viol player and composer. Both men were in royal employment after the Restora-

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<sup>25</sup> *Diary*, January 4, 1660.

<sup>26</sup> *Diary*, February 27, 1662. Pepys's friend and fellow music lover, the diarist John Evelyn, wrote of Birchensha that he was "that rare artist who invented a mathematical way of composure very extraordinary: true as to the exact rules of art, but without much harmonie." (John Evelyn, *The Diary of John Evelyn*, edited by E. S. de Beer [Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1959], 462.) According to Christopher D. S. Field in *The New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians*, 20 vols. (London: Macmillan, 1980), 2:728, Birchensha represented a new rational and scientific approach to music. His place among contemporary theorists is indicated by the amount of space given him in Rebecca Herrisone, *Music Theory in Seventeenth-Century England* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000). Benjamin Wardhaugh tells the story of Birchensha's failure to impress the Royal Society with his skill as a practical musician (apparently he could not tune the two strings of the monochord Robert Hooke was attempting to use to demonstrate the frequency of different pitches). Wardhaugh's article appears in the online journal *The Owl*, #7. (<http://www.theowljournal.com>) [2006, January 20]. An excellent account of the changing approach to music in the late seventeenth century is in the article on "Music" by Richard Luckett in the *Companion* volume to the *Diary*. *Diary*, 10:258–82.

tion.<sup>27</sup> A special friend of Pepys was the organist of St. George's Chapel at Windsor, William Child, who also assisted the Mountagu household in musical affairs. "After all this he [Mountagu] called for the Fiddles and books, and we two and W. Howe and Mr. Childe did sing and play some psalmes of Will. Lawes and some songs."<sup>28</sup>

Pepys invited professional musicians to his own house to play: "...Thence I away home...and there find, as I expected, Mr. Caesar and little Pellam Humphrys, lately returned from France and is an absolute Monsieur, as full of form and confidence and vanity, and disparages everything and everybody's skill but his own. The truth is, everybody says he is very able; but to hear how he laughs at all the King's music here, as Blagrave and others, that they cannot keep time nor tune nor understand anything, and that Grebus the Frenchman, the King's Master of the Musique, how he understands nothing nor can play on any instrument and so cannot compose, and that he will give him a lift out of his place, and that he and the King are mighty great, and that he hath already spoke to the King of Grebus, would make a man piss. I had a good dinner for them, a venison pasty and some fowl, and after dinner we did play, he on the theorbo, Mr. Caesar on his French lute, and I on the viol, but made but mean music; nor do I see that this Frenchman doth so much wonders on the theorbo, but without question he is a good musician; but his vanity doth offend me..."<sup>29</sup>

There are many instances of viol playing with non-professional friends, sometimes at parties and in taverns. "...While we were drinking, in comes Mr. Day, a Carpenter in Westminster, to tell me that it was Shrove-tuesday and that I must go with him to their

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<sup>27</sup> *Diary*, January 13, 1660; Ashbee and Lasocki, *Dictionary*, 1:601–3.

<sup>28</sup> *Diary*, November 7, 1660. They were probably using Henry and William Lawes's *Choice Psalms Put into Musick for Three Voices* (1648); *Diary*, 1:285 n.

<sup>29</sup> *Diary*, November 15, 1667. "Caesar," William Smegergill, was the lute teacher of Pepys's young servant Tom Edwards, a boy who had been in the Chapel Royal until his voice changed. (*Diary*, December 14, 1664, and 10:399.) Thomas Blagrave was a wind and string player in the Chapel Royal and a particular friend of Pepys's. (Ashbee and Lasocki, *Dictionary*, 1:154–59.) The French composer Louis Grabu was made master of the King's Musick in 1665. He was dismissed following the passage of an anti-Catholic decree in 1673. (Ashbee and Lasocki, *Dictionary*, 1:502–5.)

yearly club upon this day, which I confess I had quite forgot. So I went to the Bell, where was Mr. 's Eglin, Veezy, Vincent a butcher, one more and Mr. Tanner, with whom I played upon a viall and he the viallin after dinner and were very merry, with a special good dinner—a leg of veal and bacon, two capons and sausages and fritters, with abundance of wine...<sup>30</sup> Pepys renewed acquaintance with a Cambridge friend over a session of duet-playing: "...comes Mr. Nicholson, my old fellow-student at Magdalen, and we played three or four things upon violin and Basse; and so parted..."<sup>31</sup> He played with his wife's maid: "And so home, troubled in my conscience at my being at a play. But at home I find Mercer playing on her Vyall, which is a pretty instrument and so I to the Vyall and singing till late and so to bed..."<sup>32</sup> He played violin to his younger brother John's bass viol: "...My brother and I did play, he the bass and I upon my viallin, which I have not seen out of the case now I think these three years or more, having lost the key and now forced to find an expedient to open it. Then to bed."<sup>33</sup>

One early sustained period of playing occurred on shipboard during the trip to Holland to bring back the King in the spring of 1660. Mountagu had invited Pepys to accompany him as his secretary, and Pepys's account of the expedition, the wonders of Holland, and the reception of the King upon their return to England is full of delights. Pepys and Will Howe, another servant of Mountagu, sang and played "trebles" or violins from the moment they left shore. Mountagu joined them; "...in the evening, the first time that we have had any sport, among the seamen; and indeed, there was extraordinary good sport after my Lord had done, playing at nine-pins. After that W. Howe and I went to play two Trebles in the great Cabbin below; which my Lord hearing, after supper he called for our instruments and played a set of Lock's, two trebles and a bass."<sup>34</sup> And that being done, he fell to singing of a song made upon the Rump, with which he pleased himself well, to

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<sup>30</sup> *Diary*, March 6, 1660.

<sup>31</sup> *Diary*, June 26, 1662.

<sup>32</sup> *Diary*, September 28, 1664.

<sup>33</sup> *Diary*, February 1, 1667.

<sup>34</sup> *Diary*, April 23, 1660. Probably pieces from "The Little Consort"; *Diary*, 1:114f.

the tune of *The Blacksmith*...”<sup>35</sup> “...After that to supper, where Tom Guy supped with us and we had very good laughing; and after that some Musique, where Mr. Pickering, beginning to play a bass part upon my viall, did it so like a fool that I was ashamed of him...”<sup>36</sup> “...This day came Mr. North (Sir Dudley North’s son) on board to spend a little time here, which my Lord was a little troubled at; but he seems to be a fine gentleman and at night did play his part exceeding well at first sight.”<sup>37</sup> “...All the afternoon at nine-pins. At night after supper, good Musique: My Lord, Mr. North, I and W. Howe.”<sup>38</sup> All was not serious consort music, however. “After supper my Lord called for the Lieutenant’s Gitterne, and with two Candlesticks with money in them for Symballs we made some barber’s Musique, with which my Lord was much pleased...”<sup>39</sup>

### Critical Ear

Several times Pepys mentions hearing others play the viol, not always with approbation. At Rochester he notes, “...we had, for my sake, two fiddles, the one a bass vial; on which he that played, played well some Lyra lessons, but both together made the worst musique that ever I heard...”<sup>40</sup> Another disappointing performance occurred at the Navy Victualler’s home after dinner: “...we got Mrs. Gauden and her sister to sing to a vial, on which Mr. Gaudens eldest son (a pretty man, but a simple one methinks)

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<sup>35</sup> *Diary*, April 23, 1660. “‘The Blacksmith’ was often used as a setting for ballads”; *Diary*, 1:114f. The “Rump” Parliament, remnant of the “Long” Parliament, had been called by General Monck to legitimize the return of the monarchy.

<sup>36</sup> *Diary*, April 26, 1660.

<sup>37</sup> *Diary*, May 2, 1660. This was Charles North, Roger’s older brother and heir to Sir Dudley’s estate. In describing the musical life of his grandfather’s house, Roger wrote, “He played on that antiquated instrument called the treble-viol, now abrogated wholly by the use of the violin, and not only his eldest son, my father, who for the most part resided with him, played, but *his* eldest son Charles, and younger son, the Lord Keeper, most exquisitely and judiciously...” Roger North, *Autobiography* (London: Nutt, 1887), 69.

<sup>38</sup> *Diary*, May 5, 1660.

<sup>39</sup> *Diary*, June 5, 1660.

<sup>40</sup> *Diary*, April 10, 1661.

played—but very poorly and the Musique bad, but yet I commended it. Only, I do find that the ladies have been taught to sing and do sing well now, but that the vial puts them out. I took the vial and played some things from one of their books, Lyra-lessons, which they seemed to like well...<sup>41</sup> He heard professional players in the Chapel Royal: "...Thence to White-hall chapel, where sermon almost done and I hear Captain Cookes new Musique; this the first day of having Vialls and other Instruments to play a Symphony between every verse of the Anthem; but the Musique more full then it was the last Sunday, and very fine it is..."<sup>42</sup>

Among women players Elizabeth Pepys's companion Mercer has already been mentioned. Pepys also heard his sister-in-law play: "...Hither we sent for her [Elizabeth's] sister's Viall, upon which she plays pretty well for a girl, but my expectation is much deceived in her, not only for that but in her spirit, she being I perceive a very subtle, witty jade and one that will give her husband trouble enough, as little as she is..."<sup>43</sup> He was much more impressed by the playing of a Navy merchant supplier's wife: "...after supper Mrs. Jaggard did at my entreaty play on the vyall; but so well as I did not think any woman in England could, and but few Maisters; I must confess it did mightily surprize me, though I knew heretofore that she could play, but little thought so well..."<sup>44</sup>

### The Music

It is hard to be sure what music Pepys and his companions played on their viols; the diary indicates Locke, as we have seen, and perhaps some of Henry and William Lawes's psalm settings:

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<sup>41</sup> *Diary*, July 25, 1663.

<sup>42</sup> *Diary*, September 14, 1662. Here is a case where "vials" may also refer to the violin family. Evelyn didn't hear a symphony anthem until December 21. "One of his Majesties Chaplains preached; after which, instead of the antient grave and solemn wind musique accompanying the organ was introduced a consort of 24 violins betweene every pause, after the French fantastical light way, better suiting a Tavern or Play-house than a Church; this was the first time of change, & now we no more heard the cornet, which gave life to the organ, that instrument quite left off in which the English were so skillful." Evelyn, *Diary of John Evelyn*, 449.

<sup>43</sup> *Diary*, February 17, 1663.

<sup>44</sup> *Diary*, February 19, 1664.

“...we sang some psalms of Mr. Lawes and played some Symphonys between till night...”<sup>45</sup> Pepys often stopped at John Playford’s shop in the Temple. “...This day I bought the book of country-dances against my wife’s woman Gosnell comes, who dances finely. And there meeting Mr. Playford, he did give me his Latin Songs of Mr. Deerings, which he lately printed....”<sup>46</sup> Pepys may have ordered a copy of Playford’s *Musicks recreation on the lyra viol* (1652) or *Musicks recreation on the viol, lyra way* (1661) when he wrote “...and after dinner by water to the temple and there took my Lyra vial book, bound up with blank paper for new lessons.”<sup>47</sup> Pepys and his singing friends found Ravenscroft’s four-part psalms “most admirable music” in November, 1664; by mid-December they were not so pleased. “It is a little strange how these psalms of Ravenscroft, after two or three times singing, prove but the same again, though good—no diversity appearing at all almost.”<sup>48</sup> Pepys knew the organist and composer John Hingeston well enough to get him to write a bass to the song “Beauty Decreed,”<sup>49</sup> but the diary does not indicate whether he knew or played Hingeston’s consort music. He heard Mountagu and Christopher Gibbons play a fancy of the latter’s. “After dinner...to musique; they played a good Fancy, to which my Lord is fallen again and says he cannot endure a merry tune—which is a strange turn of his humour, after he hath for two or three years flung off the practice of Fancies and played only fiddlers tunes.”<sup>50</sup> There are in the diary many references to dance tunes and to songs with bass accompaniment.

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<sup>45</sup> *Diary*, December 14, 1662. The symphonies are not identified, 3:28 n. As seen earlier, Pepys, with Mountagu, Howe, and Childe, had sung and played psalms of W. Lawes, and since many of the psalms are set for two trebles, bass, and continuo, four men might find them more satisfactory to play than to sing.

<sup>46</sup> *Diary*, November 22, 1662. The dance books were probably versions of *The Dancing Master* published by Playford. The Dering was *Cantica Sacra* (1662). *Diary*, 3:263f. Playford’s shop was in the Inner Temple, site of one of the Inns of Court. (*Diary*, 10:337 and 430. *New Grove*, 15:1–3.)

<sup>47</sup> *Diary*, May 23, 1663; 4:152f.

<sup>48</sup> *Diary*, November 27, 1664, December 11, 1664.

<sup>49</sup> *Diary*, December 19, 1666.

<sup>50</sup> *Diary*, May 27, 1663.



Pepys said more than once that he preferred vocal music (with words set to be clearly understood in the singing) to all other. "...[T]o the post office to hear some Instrument Musique of Mr. Berchenshaws... I must confess, whether it be that I hear it but seldom, or that really voices is better, but so it is, that I found no pleasure at all in it, and methought two voices were worth twenty of it..."<sup>51</sup>

Two months later he returned to hear a new invention, a mechanical viol: "...Thence to the Musique-meeting at the post office, where I was once before... And the new instrument was brought, called the Arched Viall—where, being tuned with Lutestrings and played on with Kees like an Organ—a piece of Parchment is always kept moving; and the strings, which by the keys are pressed down upon it, are grated, in imitation of a bow, by the parchment; and so it is intended to resemble severall vyalls played on with one bow—but so basely and harshly, that it will never do. But after three hours' stay, it could not be fixt in tune; and so they were fain to go to some other Musique of instruments, which I am grown quite out of love with, and so I... home to my office..."<sup>52</sup>

"...and so I to the Chapel and there stayed (it being allhollows day) and heard a fine anthemne, made by Pelham (who is come over) in France, of which there was great expectation, and ended is a very good piece of Musique, but still I cannot call the Anthem anything but Instrumentall music with the Voice, for nothing is made of the words at all."<sup>53</sup>

Unlike Evelyn, Pepys was a practical musician. His comments on music heard and music shared almost always include references

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<sup>51</sup> *Diary*, August 10, 1664. There was a banqueting house behind the Post Office at the junction of Threadneedle Street and Cornhill, 5:238f. Christopher Field characterizes Birchensha's fantasia suites and airs for violin(s), viol, and organ as Lawesian, in a "crude, jagged, declamatory style." *New Grove*, 2:728.

<sup>52</sup> *Diary*, October 5, 1664. Evelyn was also at this meeting. He wrote, "There was brought a new-invented instrument of music, being a harpsichord with gut-strings, sounding like a concert of viols with an organ, made vocal by a wheel, and a zone of parchment that rubbed horizontally against the strings." Evelyn, *Diary of John Evelyn*, 463. Evelyn does not mention the problems with intonation, nor the coarse sound of the instrument.

<sup>53</sup> *Diary*, November 1, 1667.

to his personal response and thus provide a wonderfully full-bodied picture of the English musical scene in the 1660s. Most readers will approach the diary bringing a focus on literature or history, but for the person interested in early music there are invaluable resources in its text.<sup>54</sup> Although the viol was only one of the instruments in his music room, the uses Pepys made of it, playing *lyra-way*, participating in duets or consorts, or accompanying song, make it clear that the instrument continued to have a role in the England of King Charles's twenty-four violins.

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<sup>54</sup> For those daunted at the prospect of starting an eleven-volume reading assignment, there is an amusing alternative. On the Internet there is a "blog" at <http://www.pepysdiary.com> [2006, January 22] where, since January 1, 2003, an entry from the diary has been posted each day (using the public-domain 1893 edition by Henry Benjamin Wheatley; for a discussion of its shortcomings, see the chapter "Previous editions," *Diary 1*:lxviii–xcvi, and especially xci–xcvi). Annotations and links for the website are invited from readers, some of which turn out to be quite informative, although many are silly or of questionable accuracy. The whole project is at least an entertaining and instructive example of the possibilities of electronic publishing.

## STRUCTURAL ORNAMENTS: TRANSCENDING BINARIES IN ELIZABETHAN AND JACOBAN MUSIC

**Ted Conner**

Imagine returning from Woodstock and trying to explain what you heard when Jimi Hendrix played the Star Spangled Banner. Modern musicians playing a Dowland ayre or Byrd's consort music face a not dissimilar task. Performing early music is a mind-altering experience. It asks that we retune our minds and ears to the musical language of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries *after* having heard Beethoven, Schoenberg, and Hendrix. A long strange trip if ever there was. How do we, as twenty-first-century musicians performing the repertoire of late-Renaissance England, traverse this historical and aural expanse? I will suggest two paths, the first traveled by Elizabethan and Jacobean composers and the second by the period's poets. We will find that these paths frequently crossed and, at times, converged. As Bruce Pattison observes:

The age of Shakespeare and Jonson is also the age of Byrd and Dowland. A great period of English poetry coincides with the most splendid period of English music.... The relationship between them was not only intimate but such as could have existed at no other time; that environment and tradition kept poets and composers in close touch; that literary points of view helped to shape musical forms, and that the structure and content of lyric poetry owed much to music.<sup>1</sup>

This interplay of the literary and the musical can be heard in the voices of sixteenth- and seventeenth-century English composers and poets. Their thoughts resonate in sources ranging from dedications offered the "courteous reader" to pedagogical treatises. Composers tell us how they conceived of music and how this

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<sup>1</sup> Bruce Pattison, *Music and Poetry of the English Renaissance* (London: Methuen & Co., 1948), vii.

influenced what they heard as performers. Poets offer similar explanations of their art. Perhaps most significant is their shared vision of music and poetry as figurative languages, a theme that emerges in almost every source. Thomas Mace, for example, in his Preface to *Musick's Monument* concludes:

And whereas I *Treat*, and *Compare*, or *Similize Musick to Language*, I would not have *That* thought a *Fantasy*, or *Fiction*: For whosoever shall *Experience* It, as I have done, and consider It Rightly, must needs *Conclude the Same Thing*; there being no *Passion* in Man, but It will *Excite*, and *Stir up*, (*Effectually*) even as *Language*, or *Discourse It self* can do.<sup>2</sup>

As Mace suggests, music and poetry were both viewed as persuasive forms of discourse capable of producing affective states and representing specific ideas. Of equal importance was the assumption that the rhetorical powers of music and language were enacted through similar processes. These parallels are made explicit by Henry Peacham in his handbook and guide, *The Compleat Gentleman*:

Yea, in my opinion, no rhetoric more persuadeth or hath greater power over the mind [than music]; nay, hath not music her figures, the same which rhetoric? What is a revert but her antistrophe? Her reports, but sweet anaphoras? Her counterchange of points, antimetaboles? Her passionate airs, but prosopopeias? With infinite other of the same nature.<sup>3</sup>

Musical “figures” did more than imitate their literary counterparts. Peacham’s poetic waxings suggest a one-to-one correspondence where rhetorical figures of speech are mapped on to musical

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<sup>2</sup>Thomas Mace, *Musick's Monument* (London, 1676), facsimile edition (New York: Broude Brothers, 1966), Preface.

<sup>3</sup>Henry Peacham, *The Compleat Gentleman* (London, 1622), ed. Virgil B. Heltzel (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1962), 116. Treatises discussing the figures of rhetoric include ancient texts such as Cicero, *Ad C. Herennium: De ratione dicendi*, trans. Harry Caplan (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1954) and Quintilian, *Institutio oratoria*, trans. H. E. Butler (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1920). Peacham and George Puttenham, *The Arte of English Poesie* (1569) (Menston: Scolar Press, 1968), penned treatises describing the function of rhetorical figures in Elizabethan England. A modern text that considers rhetoric and the use of figures is Edward P. J. Corbett and Robert J. Connors, *Classical Rhetoric for the Modern Student*, 4th edition (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1999).

analog. They are directly translatable. This congruence would seem to indicate a shared aesthetic that transcends poetry, rhetoric, and music and functions, instead, as a kind of cultural imperative. The essence of affective and expressive language is figurative gesture. With this in mind, it is, perhaps, not surprising that discussions of ornamentation were often couched in metaphorical terms. George Puttenham, for example, in his “Of Poeticall Ornament” from *The Arte of English Poesie*, displays this performative quality, illustrating the processes through which ornamentation transfigures the simple to the eloquent:

...there yet requisite to the perfection of this arte [poesie], another maner of exornation, which resteth in the fashioning of our makers language and stile, to such purpose as it may delight and allure as well the mynde as the eare of the hearers ... And as we see in these great Madames of honour, ... if they want their courtly habillements ... to couer their naked bodies, ... do then thinke themselues more amiable in every mans eye, when they be in their richest attire, suppose of silkes or tyssewes & costly embroderies, then when they go in cloth or in any other plaine and simple apparell. ... This ornament we speake of is given to it by figures and figurative speeches, which be the flowers as it were and coulours that a Poet setteth upon his language by arte, as the ... passements of gold upon the stufte of a Princely garment...<sup>4</sup>

Puttenham suggests that figurative language, like fine clothing, embellishes the body it covers, imbuing it with a richly hued elegance. His metaphorical representation assigns ornaments an additive function that, both formally and affectively, differentiates them from the structural. This distinction is most likely grounded in the traditional separation of *Dispositio*—the divisions of a discourse—from *Elocutio*—the style of a discourse. Most recent studies of rhetoric and music have emphasized this dichotomy even when evidence hints of a less oppositional relationship. For example, Claude Palisca, in “Ut Oratoria Musica: The Rhetorical Basis of Musical Mannerism,” acknowledges that German theorist Joachim Burmeister “uses the terms *period* and *affection* interchangeably, for he [Burmeister] defines musical affection (*affection musica*) as ‘a period in melody or harmony terminated by a

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<sup>4</sup> Puttenham, *English Poesie*, 114–15.

cadence that moves and affects the souls and hearts of men.’”<sup>5</sup> Nonetheless, both Palisca and Burmeister parse Orlandus Lassus’s motet *In me transierunt* into three main sections (*Exordium*, *Confirmatio*, and *Epilogue*) and nine periods. Each segment is then analyzed “in terms of the rhetoricomusical figures it contains.”<sup>6</sup>

Christopher Field takes a similar approach in “Formality and Rhetoric in English Fantasia-Suites.”<sup>7</sup> Like Palisca, Field emphasizes the opposition between structure and ornament. In fact, he literally partitions his article into two sections: *Dispositio* and *Figurae*. Again like Palisca, Field discusses structural divisions as well as the location and rhetorical function of figures. Perhaps more importantly, Field cites lexicographer Thomas Blount whose observations recast Burmeister’s isomorphism between period and affection and Peacham’s parallels between music and rhetoric. Unlike Peacham, who argues that music possesses the same figures as rhetoric, Blount makes the case that the orator’s eloquence imitates music. Even more significant are the distinctions that he makes and avoids. While rhetorical gestures are differentiated by the organ that is affected by them, no distinction is made between gestures that are structural and those that embellish the structure.

Eloquence ... *imitates Musick, and makes use of the voice of Orators to enchant the Eares, with the cadence of Periods, and the harmony of Accents; whilst the gestures, apt motions, Natural Aire, and all those graces, which accompany exact Recitations, steal away the Heart by the eyes, and work wonders upon the will.*<sup>8</sup>

Blount’s discourse complicates the relationship between structure and ornament in ways that challenge our current approaches to

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<sup>5</sup> Claude Palisca, “Ut Oratoria Musica: The Rhetorical Basis of Musical Mannerism” in *The Meaning of Mannerism*, ed. Franklin W. Robinson and Stephen G. Nichols, Jr. (Hanover: University Press of New Hampshire, 1972), 41.

<sup>6</sup> Palisca, “Ut Oratoria Musica,” 41.

<sup>7</sup> Christopher D. S. Field, “Formality and Rhetoric in English Fantasia-Suites” in *William Lawes (1602–1645): Essays on his Life, Times and Work*, ed. Andrew Ashbee (Aldershot: Ashgate Publishing, 1998), 197–249.

<sup>8</sup> Field, “Formality and Rhetoric,” 215, quoting Thomas Blount, *The Academie of Eloquence* (London, 1654; facs., *English Linguistics* 296, Menston, 1971), sig. A2<sup>v</sup>.

understanding Elizabethan and Jacobean music. While identifying musical figures within the score is, in some respects, valuable, it promotes a conceptual framework that pits ornament against structure. As an analytical procedure, it anatomizes the figures, stripping them from the musical fabric. Formal location is privileged over affective function, and the interplay between figures is de-emphasized. The assumed opposition between structure and ornament can be attributed, in no small part, to the different languages through which the poet, the orator, and the musician speak and their efforts to label and categorize across languages. Translation encourages definitional stability and stasis when difference and connotative movement may prove more meaningful. This suggests that while nomenclature has its place, we may profit more by focusing on the persuasive processes that these languages share. Structure and ornament do not stand necessarily in opposition to each other. Figures may embellish the structure to which they are added but, at some point, they turn back on the form that they seem to adorn and are reconfigured as the structural. Puttenham hints at this process with his *Madame of honour*. While he describes the plainness of her body and richness of her clothing, this is not what we see. We see the *Elegant Lady*.

Our goal is to locate the moments where the distinction between figuration and structure dissolves and ornament is transfigured to essence. We can begin our search for structural ornaments by returning to Puttenham's discussion of the figures. Puttenham recognizes that the language of the poet and the orator require different forms of figuration, and, like Blount, he distinguishes which organ the ornament influences:

...the learned clerks who have written methodically of this *Arte* in the two master languages, Greeke and Latine, have sorted all their figures into three rankes, and the first they bestowed upon the Poet onely: the second upon the Poet and Oratour indifferently: the third upon the Oratour alone. And that first sort of figures doth serve th'eare onely and may be therefore called *Auricular*: your second serves the conceit onely and not th'eare, and may be called *sensable*, not sensible nor yet *sententious*: your third sort serves as well th'eare as the conceit and may be called *sententious figures*....<sup>9</sup>

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<sup>9</sup> Puttenham, *English Poesie*, 133.

Puttenham's categories may serve as useful scaffolding for first examining, and then reconfiguring, the relationship between the ornamental and the structural. Some ornaments initially function as additions to the basic structure; however, this opposition typically turns back upon itself and is replaced by a sense of doubleness in which the distinction between form and figure dissolves.

Returning to Puttenham, I will argue that the transition from the auricular to the sensible marks a transcending mo(ve)ment where the mind must reconfigure what the ear no longer hears as ornament. The transition from the sensible to the sententious displays a related form of reflexivity where the mind recalls the auricular ear. The same process is revisited when we move beyond "absolute music" to the realm of musical conventions that express extra-musical meaning. While composers use these figurative gestures as sensible ornaments, they often double as structural grounds that can, in turn, be refigured. This approach is frequently located in the English ayre, where the potential for functional ambiguity is heightened by the tiered discourse of two languages. Bilingual expression begs the question of which language embellishes which. Does the text ornament the music or the music ornament the text? Composers "solve" this problem with structural ornaments that, at a given moment, grant translation the privilege of movement. Figurative nuance can reside within conventions that function and interact structurally. At other times, figures are purposefully anatomized, stretching conventions and structure to the limits of comprehensibility. These conventional uses and abuses transcend the binary opposition suggested by the terms "structure" and "ornament" by their grounding in affective coherence.

We will trace a path that begins with Puttenham's auricular ornaments and follow it to the ayre. I will suggest that auricular ornaments in music function on two planes. Using a *cantus firmus* variation form as an example, I will show how the instrumental lines accompanying the *cantus firmus* are transformed from embellishing voices to essential structures that are, themselves, embellished. We will examine rhythmic and motivic aspects of auricular figuration as well as the processes through which motivic development and rhythmic ornamentation transcend the auricular and become sensible. Our focus will then shift to the sensible



transfiguration of more extended formal devices. In Puttenham's third figurative division, the sententious, we will see how the synthesis of motivic development and repetition reunites the sensible with the auricular before turning to tonal forms of ornamentation. Both modes of ornamentation witness movement from the figurative to the structural. Transcending Puttenham, we will move beyond the realm of "absolute music" to investigate conventions based on extra-musical associations. This transition leads us to a discussion of the rhetorical techniques used by composers in texted music, specifically the Elizabethan ayre. We will consider conflicting evidence that seems to indiscriminately grant the role of ornament and structural progenitor to both the text and the music. I will argue that composers use and abuse musical conventions to resolve this genealogical dilemma. More specifically, I will show how the deformation of conventions emphasizes and resolves the false relations between poetic texts and music and leads to a more fluid understanding of the ways in which affective purpose is conceived.

Throughout this discussion we will face literal and figurative tensions reflected through the false binary of ornament and structure. At times, digressions may be necessary to explore what we remember as the familiar from new perspectives. Our goal is to retu(r)n(e) our minds and ears to the way Elizabethan and Jacobean performers played and heard their music. What at first seems deceptively simple may, in fact, be figuratively complicated.

### **Auricular Ornamentation**

Like their poetic contemporaries, Elizabethan and Jacobean composers recognized a tripartite division reminiscent of Puttenham and cultivated musical gestures that persuaded the ears, the mind, and both. Auricular gestures were conceived as influencing the ear without engaging the mind or suggesting extra-musical meaning. This form of ornamentation may be observed, perhaps most transparently, in the variation forms that evolved from the *cantus firmus* tradition. Historically, the *cantus* first resided in the tenor line and functioned as the structural foundation of the composition. Other voices, both below and above, were composed based on their intervallic relationship to the *cantus firmus*. In the

sixteenth century this structural function gradually shifted to the bass. As Thomas Campion explains:

True it is that the auncient Musitions who entended their Musicke onely for the Church, tooke their sight from the Tenor, which was rather done out of necessity then any respect to the true nature of Musicke: for it was usuall with them to have a Tenor as a Theame, to which they were compelled to adapt their other parts. But I will plainly convince by demonstration that contrary to some opinions the Base contains in it both the Aire and true judgement of the Key, expressing how any man at the first sight may view in it all the other parts in their originall essence.<sup>10</sup>

This transition placed the *cantus firmus* in a somewhat ambiguous position. “Freed” from its structural responsibilities, the *cantus* could be placed in other voices or, if a shorter melody was used, moved between voices. This second approach was taken by a number of composers in the *cantus firmus* variations that they wrote on the tune “The leaves be greene, the nuts be browne” (Example 1).<sup>11</sup>



**Example 1.** The *Browning* melody.

The *Browning* melody’s newfound formal freedom, however, did not completely transcend the *cantus firmus*’s former function. While we can take Campion at his word—the bass contains the key and air—two caveats remain. The bass is defined by its relation to

<sup>10</sup> Thomas Campion, *A New Way of Making Fowre parts in Counter-point, by a most familiar, and infallible Rule* (London, 1613–14), in *Campion’s Works*, ed. Percival Vivian (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1909), 195.

<sup>11</sup> John Baldwin, Elway Bevin, William Byrd, [Henry?] Stonings, and Clement Woodcock all composed *Brownings* in consort settings. (The *Browning* designation stems from the alternate words to the tune, beginning “Browning Madame....”)

the *Browning* melody, and this melody maintains its formal presence throughout the variations.

From this perspective, I will suggest that two levels of auricular ornamentation can be witnessed within the *Brownings*. First, the *Browning* melody—present in each of the variations—can function as the subject being embellished. Like “the whole body of a tale in poeme or historie, [it] may be made in such sort pleasant and agreeable to the eare” by figurative additions in the form of an accompanying voice or voices.<sup>12</sup> This can be heard plainly in the opening of John Baldwin’s “A Browning” where the treble embellishes the *cantus firmus* in the bass (Example 2).

**Example 2.** John Baldwin, “A Browning,” mm. 1–9.

While my goal here, despite Peacham’s admonitions, is not to establish one-to-one correspondences between specific figures of speech and musical figures, recognizing conceptual similarities would seem to be of value. For example, the dressing of the *Browning* melody with contrapuntal figuration seems to correspond quite closely to Puttenham’s vision of parenthesis.

Your first figure of tolerable disorder is [*Parenthesis*] or by an English name the [*Insertour*] and is when ye will seeme for larger information or some other purpose, to peece or graffe in the

<sup>12</sup> Puttenham, *English Poesie*, 134.

middest of your tale an unnecessary parcel of speech, which nevertheless may be thence without any detriment to the rest.<sup>13</sup>

As Puttenham illustrates in his examples, parentheses function almost exactly like accompanying voices. Their subject is separated graphically from the tale, or in our case the *Browning* melody, and the grafted ornament is not needed to understand the intent of the original utterance. While this is literally true, the opposite does not necessarily hold. Puttenham's examples demonstrate that the greater and more involved the figures become, the more they affect the essential quality of the object being embellished. The poetic theorist's first insertion is brief and merely figures but his second illustration overwhelms its subject.

*But now my Deere (for so my love makes me to call you still)  
That love I say, that lucklesse love, that works me all this ill*

Also in our Eglogue intituled Elpine, which we made being but eighteen yeares old, to king Edward the sixt a Prince of great hope, we surmised that the Pilot of a ship answering the King, being inquisitive and desirous to know all the parts of the ship and tackle, what they were, & to what use they served, using this insertion or Parenthesis.

*Soveraigne Lord (for why a greater name  
To one on earth no mortall tongue can frame  
No statelie stile can give the practisd penne:  
To one on earth conversant among men.)*

And so procedes to answere the kings question?

*The shippe thou seest sayling in sea so large, &c.*

This insertion is very long and utterly impertinent to the principall matter, and makes a great gappe in the tale, nevertheless is no disgrace but rather a bewtie and to very good purpose, but you must not use such insertions often nor to thicke, not those that bee very long as this of ours, for it will breede great confusion to have the tale so much interrupted.<sup>14</sup>

Puttenham's observations seem to have been written with the *Browning* variations in mind. Like Baldwin, most composers begin with two to three voices and add more with subsequent varia-

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<sup>13</sup> Puttenham, *English Poesie*, 141–42; brackets and italics original.

<sup>14</sup> Puttenham, *English Poesie*, 142.

tions. The compositions are also marked by increased rhythmic activity as the variations unfold. The result is a gradual thickening of the figuration that affects the *Browning* melody in ways analogous to the tales that Puttenham tells. The accumulation of ornaments can eventually overwhelm the structure being ornamented. At that transformational moment, we witness the movement of figures from additive embellishments to what Puttenham defines as, “the principall matter.”

We can follow this process in Clement Woodcock’s “Browning my dere.” In the fifth variation (Example 3), the *Browning* melody appears in the treble supported by a relatively homorhythmic texture reminiscent of the setting of a Lutheran chorale. The lower voices embellish the *Browning* melody but each accompanying voice remains itself rather plain. In a sense, Woodcock’s accompaniment functions like a veil that beautifies while still focusing our attention on the subject.

As the variation process continues, the extendedness of Woodcock’s figuration increases to the point where it becomes reflexive. The accompanying voices, originally conceived as ornaments to the *Browning* melody, are themselves embellished. This second form of auricular ornamentation overwhelms the *cantus firmus*, transforming what was figuration to the subject being figured. As is typical of most *Brownings*, this level of ornamentation is realized by dividing longer notes into notes of smaller value.

### A Rhythmic Parenthesis

The process of division or breaking longer notes into notes of shorter duration is described by Christopher Simpson in *The Division Viol* as:

...dividing its Notes into more diminute Notes. As for instance, a *Semibreve* may be broken into two *Minims*, foure *Crotchets*, eight *Quavers*, sixteen *Semiquavers*, etc.<sup>15</sup>

In his *Compendium of Practicall Music*, Simpson adds an aesthetic qualification. He recommends the breaking of a note as a method for softening the harshness to the ear created by large

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<sup>15</sup> Christopher Simpson, *The Division Viol, or The Art of Playing Ex tempore upon a Ground* (London, 1665), 28.

**Example 3.** Clement Woodcock, “Browning my dere,” mm. 25–33.

leaps. The notes being divided may take the form of passing notes or repeated notes.

One thing yet remains, very necessary sometimes in composition, and that is to make smooth or sweeten the roughness of a leap by a gradual transition to the note next following which is commonly called the breaking of a note. . . . In [this] manner may a semibreve be broken into smaller notes. Where take notice also that two, three or more notes standing together in the same line or space may be considered as one entire note and consequently capable of transition.<sup>16</sup>

<sup>16</sup> Christopher Simpson, *A Compendium of Practicall Music* (London, 1667), edited and with an introduction by Phillip J. Lord (Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1970), 33 and 34.

Simpson's emphasis on sweetening the roughness caused by a leap echoes Puttenham's discussion. The smaller notes are the flowers, as it were. They enrich the longer notes by dressing them in a more elegant attire. This auricular aspect is confirmed by Thomas Morley in the examples he offers in his *A Plaine and Easie Introduction to Practicall Musicke*. The first two examples adhere to his guidelines concerning note placement and octave equivalence—"when, in breaking [a note], you sing either your first or last note in the same key wherein it standeth, or in his octave"—while recalling Simpson's directives for a gradual transition between notes (Example 4).<sup>17</sup> They beautify the Plainsong melody by embellishing the basic structure with more notes of shorter duration.

Plainsong



Example 1



Example 2



Example 3



**Example 4.** Thomas Morley, breaking a note.

Smooth transition, however, is not the principle guiding Morley's final example. The C of the first "measure" is not related to the G and is, in fact, dissonant to the note being broken. It functions, instead, as an anticipation to the A that follows in the Plainsong melody. Morley's objective is to create a line that is both more elegant and more pleasing to the ear than the Plainsong or his previous two examples. While Morley succeeds, he also transcends the formal limits of the ground. His ornaments overpower the Plainsong and propose a new, although related, structure.

<sup>17</sup> Thomas Morley, *A Plaine and Easie Introduction to Practicall Musicke* (London, 1597), ed. R. Alec Harman (New York: W. W. Norton & Co., 1971), 178.

### Arrhythmic Transgressions

The tenth and final variation of Woodcock's "Browning my dere" is defined by rhythmic ornamentation in the form of divisions (Example 5). While the harmonic structure remains transparent, the heightened rhythmic activity increasingly draws the attention of the ears to the accompanying voices. The effect that these embellishments have on our perception of the *cantus firmus* is transformational. The *Browning* melody is, in a sense, subsumed by the ornamentation of the voices that ornament it.

**Example 5.** Clement Woodcock, "Browning my dere," mm. 73–81.

Woodcock's composition speaks to the transformative potential of ornamentation, a potential with resonances in Puttenham's metaphor. Courtiers may have acknowledged Puttenham's ma-



dame when she wore simple apparel; however, once adorned with rich silks and costly embroidery she turns every man's eye. Her former shadow of herself passes into memory. The madame's ornaments, no longer accessories, have a transformational affect, re(de)fining her as the Elegant Lady.

A similar makeover is granted the accompanying voices in Woodcock's variations. As they become more embellished, their affective influence and aural presence eclipses that of the *Browning* melody. The *cantus*, shrouded by figures, can no longer be untangled from the web of contrapuntal, harmonic, and rhythmic ornaments that once embellished it. The accompanying voices lose their ornamental function and are unveiled as the *Browning*'s principal topic. As Rosemond Tuve argues for Elizabethan poetry:

When the end of poetry is spoken of, the poem does not seem to be conceived of as a unit made up of "logically stateable structure of meaning" plus "ornament," but as a unit in which "cause" is manifested by "mode of operation." Figurative language, ornament, is conceived of as one of the modes through which a purpose operates....<sup>18</sup>

Structure, ornament, and purpose lose their independence and coalesce upon each other. We can hear this "mode of operation" in the rhythmic gestures applied by William Byrd as he approaches the conclusion of his "Browning" *a5*. Unlike Woodcock, whose setting simply stops at its climax, Byrd closes his "Browning" with a series of gestures that both celebrate the rhythmic acceleration of the previous variations and, metaphorically speaking, put on the brakes. Byrd begins this process in the last three measures of the nineteenth variation by superimposing a series of conflicting meters over the *cantus firmus* in the bass that violently grinds the movement towards a halt (Example 6). The treble slows from  $\frac{3}{8}$ , the culminating meter of the rhythmic and metric acceleration, to  $\frac{6}{8}$  while Tenor III shifts from  $\frac{3}{4}$  to  $\frac{4}{4}$ . The most dramatic changes occur in Tenors I and II. The second tenor passes from  $\frac{3}{8}$  through  $\frac{3}{4}$  to  $\frac{4}{4}$ . At the same time, Tenor I downshifts from  $\frac{3}{8}$  to a beat in  $\frac{3}{4}$  that leads to a measure of  $\frac{6}{8}$  and, finally,  $\frac{4}{4}$ . These metric modulations

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<sup>18</sup> Rosemond Tuve, *Elizabethan and Metaphysical Imagery, Renaissance and Poetic and Twentieth-Century Critics* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1947), 110.

**Example 6.** William Byrd, “Browning,” mm. 155–57.

excite the ears while functioning as a kind of pressure valve through which the rhythmic and metric energy of the previous nineteen variations is released.

Like Woodcock, Byrd’s ornamentation of the accompanying voices functions reflexively. Rhythmic figuration becomes the subject of the variation. While the *Browning* melody, located in the bass, expresses the key and air of the composition, its aural and affective significance is clearly secondary. The metric modulations in the upper voices dominate the texture. The topic of these three measures is not “*Browning* with added figures” but “rhythmic deceleration.”

### An Ornamental Point

We can also view another form of auricular figuration in Byrd’s “Browning”: motivic development. This process demonstrates one of the ways in which the subject of auricular forms of ornamentation can progress through Puttenham’s hierarchy and be-

come the topic of the sensible and the sentient. In the first variation, Byrd introduces a point, “a certain number and order of observable Not’s,” that plays an instrumental role throughout his piece (Example 7).<sup>19</sup>



**Example 7.** William Byrd, “Browning,” mm. 1–2.

The point, derived from the head of the *Browning* melody, is subtly altered by Byrd to meet the “tonal” and contrapuntal demands in which it is set (Example 8). This process of motivic manipulation and development is a form of auricular ornamentation. While the point is varied, it maintains the defining qualities, the shape and rhythmic characteristics, that express its essence. Puttenham describes this form of ornamentation as “auricular figures appertaining to single wordes and working by the diuers soundes and audible tunes alteration to the eare onely and not the mynde.”<sup>20</sup> His description of the figure is reminiscent of the definition of motivic development.

A word as he lieth in course of language is many wayes figured and thereby not a little altered in sound, which consequently alters the tune and harmonie of a meeter as to the eare. And this alteration is sometimes by *adding* sometimes by *rabbating* of a sillable or letter to or from a word either in the beginning, middle or ending joyning or unjoyning of sillables and letters suppressing or confounding their severall soundes, or by misplacing of a letter, or by cleare exchange of one letter for another, or by wrong ranging of the accent.<sup>21</sup>

As Puttenham suggests, Byrd varies the motive by increasing and diminishing the interval that defines the opening leap and changing the length and rhythm of the descending tail that follows

<sup>19</sup> Charles Butler, *The Principles of Musik in Singing and Setting: with the Two-fold Use thereof, Ecclesiasticall and Civil* (London, 1636; reprint, New York: Da Capo Press, 1970), 71.

<sup>20</sup> Puttenham, *English Poesie*, 135.

<sup>21</sup> Puttenham, *English Poesie*, 135.

**Example 8.** William Byrd, “Browning,” mm. 1–9.

the dotted quarter and eighth note. The essential character of the point, however, is retained: a leap upwards from a quarter note that is followed by a descent that begins with a dotted quarter note and eighth note.

As long as the fundamental qualities of the motive are maintained the ornamentation process remains auricular. It is when the point’s essential character is altered beyond the ears’ perceptual abilities that we make the transition to the sensible.

### **Sensible Ornamentation**

Puttenham differentiates the sensible ornaments from the auricular by emphasizing their orientation towards the mind rather than the ear.

The ear having received his due satisfaction by the *auricular* figures, now must the minde also be served, with his naturall delight by figures *sensible* such as by alteration of intendments affect the courage, and geve a good liking to the conceit.<sup>22</sup>

He divides the sensible into two categories that may be reconfigured as musical constructs with useful results.

And first, single words have their sense and understanding altered and figured.... There is a kind of wresting of a single word from his owne right signification, to another not so naturall, but yet of some affinitie of conveniencie with it,... therefore it is called by *metaphore*, or the figure of *transport*....

*His head a source of gravitie and sence,  
His memory a shop of civill arte:  
His tongue a streame of sugred eloquence,  
Wisdom and meekness lay mingled in his harte*

In which verses ye see that these words, *source*, *shop*, [*stream*], *sugred*, are inverted from their owne signification to another, not altogether so naturall, but of much affinitie with it.<sup>23</sup>

A motive, or point, shares many of the characteristics that Puttenham attributes to the “word.” As Byrd demonstrates in his first variation, a point, like a word, can be subtly altered or developed without losing its essential qualities if its basic shape and rhythmic structure are maintained. Puttenham’s metaphor extends this principle beyond the auricular to the sensible. A motive can be transfigured in ways that fundamentally alter its defining structural characteristics but recall its origins. The musical figure of revert, discussed by Charles Butler in “Of Ornaments” from *The Principles of Musik in Singing and Setting*, meets these criteria.

Revert is de Iterating of a Point in contrary Motion, [*per Arsin & Thesin*,] de Repli’ moving *per Thesin*, if de Principal Ascend, and *per Arsin*, if de Principal descend.<sup>24</sup>

Revert, or what we would call inversion, is a sensible ornament. It is the mind, not the ear, which recognizes the relationship

<sup>22</sup> Puttenham, *English Poesie*, 149; the spelling “sensible” is original, though he normally uses “sensable” in this context.

<sup>23</sup> Puttenham, *English Poesie*, 149 and 150–51.

<sup>24</sup> Butler, *Principles*, 72.

between the inverted motive and its progenitor. Byrd applies this form of ornamentation in the fifth variation of his “Browning” where the point from the first variation is inverted and presented in the treble, the second tenor, and the third tenor (Example 9). Once again, the structural essence of the point is a leap followed by a reverse in direction that is realized rhythmically through a dotted quarter note and an eighth note. The motive remembers its basic shape and rhythmic structure; however, our recognition of these qualities is based on a cognitive process that fuses formal similarities with inversionsal differences.

**Example 9.** William Byrd, “Browning,” mm. 21–29.

The processes we observe in Puttenham’s figure appertaining to single words and Byrd’s motivic development speak to a defining characteristic of ornamentation, the reconfiguring of the rela-

tionship between similarity and difference. Byrd's auricular development of the motive in the first variation demands that our ears recognize essential similarities within nuanced differences. The same is true for Byrd's application of Puttenham's metaphor and Butler's figure of revert, but the organ recognizing the relationships has changed. The ornament's persuasiveness is grounded in the mind's ability to simultaneously perceive the essence of the original idea and the affective potential of its inversion. Puttenham argues that this melding can be attributed, in part, to the transcending power that figures possess over ordinary language.

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 utterance, and be occupied of purpose to deceive the eare and also the minde, drawing it from plainnesse and simplicitie to a certaine doubleness....<sup>25</sup>

Auricular figures are additive embellishments that stretch structure without altering its fundamental qualities. Their sense of "doubleness" is grounded in nuanced transgressions that enrich the basic form without threatening its integrity. Sensible ornamentation trespasses beyond auricular boundaries, extending the distance between the literal and the figurative. Structures are deformed to such a degree that without an understanding of ornamental conventions and the mind's intervention they would be unrecognizable. This conceptual space is traversed by the figures of metaphor and revert applied to more limited topics such as words and points. The dimensions of the subject being transgressed are expanded in Puttenham's second category of sensible ornamentation, allegory.

As by the last remembred figures the sence of single wordes is altered, so by these that follow is that of whole or entire speach: and first by the Courtly figure *Allegoria*, which is when we speake one thing and thinke another,... it maketh the figure *allegorie* to be called a long and perpetuall Metaphore.<sup>26</sup>

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<sup>25</sup> George Puttenham, *English Poesie*, 129.

<sup>26</sup> Puttenham, *English Poesie*, 149 and 150, 156 and 157.

Allegory adheres to the same principles as metaphor but is applied to extended speeches and phrases, not merely the word. We can think of this concept in musical terms as the transport of phrases or formal sections to different tonal areas achieved through transposition. While the ear hears the transposed passage as the “same,” the mind perceives the tonal dislocation. Distinctions and, in a sense, distances between various tonal locations are discussed by Campion in his examination of closes or cadences in sharp and flat keys.

The maine and fundamentall close is in the key itselfe, the second is in the upper Note of the fifth, the third is in the upper Note of the lowest third, if it be the lesser third, as for example, if the key be in G. with B. flat, you may close in these three places.



The first close is that which maintaines the aire of the key, and may be used often, the second is next to be preferd, and the last, last.

But if the key should be in G. with B. sharpe, then the last close being to be made in the greater or sharpe third is unproper, and therefore for variety sometime the next key above is joynd with it, which is A. and sometime the fourth key, which is C. but these changes of keyes must be done with judgement...<sup>27</sup>

Campion’s discourse reveals that he is wrestling with the fine line that exists between tonal stability and transgression. The first close, on the final of the key, is valued because it maintains the air of the key. Secondary closes, while permitted, are perceived as departures of a sort. Since they trespass beyond the tonal boundaries of the main key, they must be visited judiciously.

Byrd’s application of the sensible ornament of allegory in the fifth variation displays this extended quality of metaphorical transport (Example 10). The *Browning* melody moves beyond the key of F and is transposed to C, the tonal location next preferred after the main and fundamental. Byrd’s transposition of the melody

<sup>27</sup> Campion, *A New Way*, 214.





be said *auricular*: because the eare is no lesse ravished with their currant tune, than the mind is with their sententiousness.<sup>28</sup>

It is this melding of the auricular and the sensible that defines the sententious. Sententious ornamentation revels in the “doubleness” of the figuration itself. We can trace this characteristic in an approach to figuration common to both the poetic and the musical: repetition. Puttenham describes the effect of this ornament on poets and rhetoricians.

For like as one or two dropes of water perce not the flint stone, but many and often droppings doo: so cannot a few words (be they never so pithie or sententious) in all cases and to all manner of mindes, make so deepe an impression, as a more multitude of words to the purpose discretely, and without superfluitie uttered....

And first of all others your figure that worketh by iteration or repetition of one word or clause doth much alter and affect the eare and also the mynde of the hearer, and therefore, is counted a very brave figure both with the Poets and rhetoricians....<sup>29</sup>

Puttenham identifies seven types of repetition, two of which, report and the doubler, are frequently translated to musical analogs.

Repetition in the first degree we call the figure of *Report* according to the Greek original, and is when we make one word begin, and as they are wont to say, lead the daunce to many verses in sute, at thus.

*To thinke on death it is a miserie,*  
*To thinke on life it is a vanitie,*  
*To thinke on the world verily it is,*  
*To thinke that heare man hath no perfit blisse....*

Ye have [another] sorte of repetition, which we call the *doubler*, and is ... 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 Releigh* these two closing verses:

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<sup>28</sup> Puttenham, *English Poesie*, 165.

<sup>29</sup> Puttenham, *English Poesie*, 165–66.

*Yet when I sawe my selfe to you was true,  
I loved my self, bycause my selfe loved you.*<sup>30</sup>

Echoes of Puttenham are heard in Butler's explanation of report from his discussion of Fuga in "Of Ornaments." Butler addresses the form, location, and frequency of a point's iteration in ways that parallel the poetic theorist's musings in conception, application, and even nomenclature.

Fuga is de Repeating of soom Modulation or Point, in Melodi and Harmoni: an Ornament exceeding deligtfull, and witout satieti : and de'for' Musicians de mor' dey ar exercised in Setting, de mor' studdi and pains dey bestow in dis Ornament.

Report is de Iterating or maintaining of a Point in de lik' motion [*per Arsin aut Thesis;*] de Principal and Repli' bod Ascending, or bod' Descending.<sup>31</sup>

Byrd's rendering of the figure in his sixth variation provides further evidence of the parallels between Puttenham's and Butler's definitions (Example 11). The ear recognizes the basic structure of the point in each of its appearances. The mind recalls the motive's origins in the first variation. The leap up to a dotted quarter noted followed by a descent has been transformed to a leap upward followed by a series of descending eighth notes. It is not these aspects, however, that signal the sententious. It is the repetition. Byrd's "drops of water" spark the flint of the ears and the mind by repeatedly shifting the point's entrances from voice to voice at distances and pitch profiles varied to meet the needs of the contrapuntal texture.

Puttenham and Butler's sententious figure of report speaks to the sense of "doubleness" that underlies the reflexive relationships within Puttenham's figurative hierarchy and between figuration and structure. As Byrd's motive ascends the poet's chain of ornaments, it oscillates between the ear and the mind as both the subject of additive embellishments and the form's defining structure. At a given moment, subtle modifications that do not compromise its basic shape and rhythmic characteristics are recognized by the ear as auricular ornaments. When the motive's defining qualities are transgressed by sensible ornaments such as revert, the mind's

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<sup>30</sup> Puttenham, *English Poesie*, 166 and 168.

<sup>31</sup> Butler, *Principles*, 72.

**Example 11.** William Byrd, “Browning,” mm. 43–51.

guidance is called upon to reconcile the movement from “prime” form to transformed subject. Once formal stability has been re-established through genealogical reference, the point reverts to the moment and subtle variations are again viewed as auricular embellishments.

The sententious figure of report, however, drives the motive irreparably beyond the moment redefining the formal focus of the variation. While we still recognize the motive’s familial resemblance to its progenitor, the nuanced transgression to the point’s basic structure, and the presence of the *Browning* melody, these aspects recede before the authority of the recurring canonic entrances. Repetition and movement of the motive assume structural

dominance, transforming the *cantus firmus* variation to an imitative fugue.

### A Tonal Parenthesis

We can witness a similar sense of “doubleness” in sententious ornaments based on tonal relations. The rhetorical tension between tonal moments and movement is rooted in the importance composers and theorists placed on maintaining a composition’s key and air and their recognition that these tonal boundaries were frequently transgressed for affective purposes. As Thomas Morley argues:

Above all things keep the air of your key, be it in the first tune, second tune, or other, except you be by the words forced to bear it, for the ditty (as you shall know hereafter) will compel the author many times to admit great absurdities in his music, altering both time, tune, colour, air, and whatsoever else, which is commendable so he can cunningly come into his former air again.<sup>32</sup>

Recognizing the interplay between key and air and their relationship to scales is a precursor to understanding the many ways that composers use sententious ornamentation. Jessie Ann Owens, in “Concepts of Pitch in English Music Theory,” offers thoughtful insights into these terms and their relationships to each other:

By combining the evidence about key and air in Morley and Champion with Butler’s idea of distinct tones, it is possible to suggest a kind of amalgam for which there is no good word in any of the treatises. For want of a better term, I use “tonalities” to describe this combination of key (final or close-note) with the six tones or airs (in reality an ordered pitch collection) and the three scales (no flats, one flat, and two flats).<sup>33</sup>

We will focus on the nomenclature that Champion uses to expand Owens’s discussion of key, air, and scale and trace their application in sententious ornamentation. Champion’s explanation of scales is grounded in his approach to the naming of notes.

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<sup>32</sup> Morley, *Introduction*, 276.

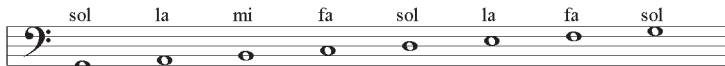
<sup>33</sup> Jessie Ann Owens, “Concepts of Pitch in English Music Theory” in *Tonal Structures in Early Music*, ed. Cristle Collins Judd (New York and London: Garland Publishing, 1998), 229–30.

*The substance of all Musick, and the true knowledge of the scale, consists in the observations of the halfe note, which is expressed either by Mi Fa, or La Fa, and they being knowne in their right places, the other Notes are easily applied unto them.*

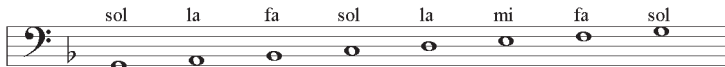
*To illustrate this I will take the common key which we call Gam-ut, both sharpe in Bemis and flat, as also flat in Elami, shew how with ease they may be expressed by these foure Notes, which are Sol, La, Mi, Fa. ... Now for the naming of the Notes, let this be a general rule, above Fa, ever to sing Sol, and to sing Sol ever under La.<sup>34</sup>*

Three scales rise from G to G—that is, the key of G—with no flats, one flat, and two flats, respectively (Example 12). Campion’s assignation of syllables to each of these scales is shown above the individual notes on the staff. The key issue—no pun intended—is the location of the half step and la. Sol is always above fa and la is always above sol. If the half step is located above la, then mi is omitted. If there is a whole step above la, then la is followed by mi, then fa.

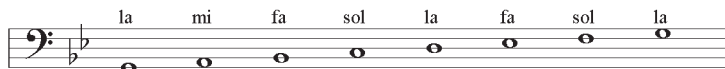
G sharpe



G flat



G flat in E la mi



**Example 12.** Three scales in the key of G.

The only exception to these rules, and the only note capable of being altered without changing the air of a scale, is the pitch immediately below the final at a cadence. It can be raised a half step—anachronistically speaking, transformed from the subtonic to the leading tone—but still retains its syllabic designation. Thus, F $\flat$  in “G sharpe” can be raised to F $\sharp$  but is still called fa. Simpson summarizes this practice, as well as other aspects of nomenclature,

<sup>34</sup> Campion, *A New Way*, 193 and 194.

in an exercise designed to develop fluency with leaps that, in a sense, combines all three of the scales in the key of G (Example 13).<sup>35</sup>

Sol fa sol mi sol fa sol sol sol la sol fa sol fa sol sol  
 Sol la sol fa sol sol sol fa sol mi sol fa sol la sol sol

**Example 13.** Christopher Simpson, syllabic nomenclature.

Campion also suggests that each scale can be transposed. The transposed scale defines a new key, i.e., closes on a different note, but the intervallic relationship that expresses the air—the location of the half steps and syllable names—remains the same (Example 14). For example, the scale in the key of “G sharpe” transposed to the key of “F sharpe” gains two flats but maintains an identical intervallic structure and ordering of syllables.

G sharpe

sol la mi fa sol la fa sol

F sharpe

sol la mi fa sol la fa sol

**Example 14.** Scalar transposition.

The relationships expressed by the terms “key,” “air,” “scale,” and “transposition” are further complicated by tension between the fundamental close of a key and its secondary closes. Maintaining the air of a key is valued but, as Morley has suggested, transgressions may be justified for rhetorical purposes. Butler addresses these same issues in his discussion “Of Formaliti.”

<sup>35</sup> Simpson, *Compendium*, 6. Morley also offers an example where the raised seventh degree of the scale is labeled fa.

De last and chiefest Ornament is Formaliti : wic is de maintain-  
ing of de Air, or Ton' of de Song, in his Part's.

Dis is *Ornamentum Ornamentorum* : de Ornament of Orna-  
ments : wit wic de Part's ar sweet'ly conformed on' to an oder, and  
eac of dem to it self : and witout wic, not on'ly de oder Ornaments  
los' deir vertu; and ceas to bee Ornaments ; but also bot' Melodi  
and Harmoni demselvs, los' deir Grac', and wil bee neider good  
Melodi not good Harmoni : de wol' Song being noting els, but a  
Form-les *Chaos* of confusing sounds....

Improper Cadences ar lik'wis' tree, [de Sixt, de Second, and de  
Sevnt;] de wic, because dey ar strang' and informal to de Air, ar  
der'for' sparingly to bee used: and wen, upon occasion, any suc ar  
admitted ; dey ar to bee qalified by de principal Caden' fitly suc-  
ceeding.<sup>36</sup>

Butler's prioritizing of Formaliti, or maintaining the air of the  
song in its parts as the "Ornament of Ornaments," is telling. Tonal  
digressions that swerve too far from key and air can undermine a  
composition's integrity, causing melody and harmony to lose their  
grace. They have the potential to function like rhetorical abuses of  
language, which Puttenham describes as

figures of disorder because they rather seeme deformities then  
bewties of language, for so many of them as be notoriously  
undecent, and make no good harmony.<sup>37</sup>

Morley's and Campion's discussions of fundamental and sec-  
ondary closes illustrates this potential for abuse and a contradic-  
tion that would seem to foreshadow tonality. As we have heard  
from Campion, the fundamental close in the key of "G sharpe" is  
on G and the secondary closes occur on the fifth degree, D, the sec-  
ond degree, A, and the fourth degree, C (Example 15).

Both Morley and Campion agree that the fundamental close  
maintains the integrity of the key and its air. This appears some-  
what paradoxical as the close in G requires the chromatic altera-  
tion of F $\sharp$  to F $\natural$ , an action that literally changes the intervallic  
structure of the key (Example 16). The relationship between key  
and air is further transgressed by the chromaticism required to  
achieve the secondary closes on A and D. Morley and Campion

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<sup>36</sup> Butler, *Principles*, 81 and 83.

<sup>37</sup> Puttenham, *English Poesie*, 142.





**Example 15.** Closes in “G sharpe.”



**Example 16.** Chromatic alterations for closes in “G sharpe.”

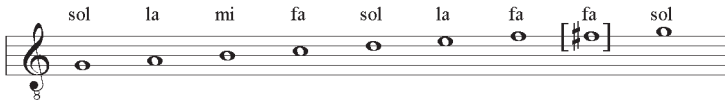
both suggest that secondary closes stray from the fundamental key and air. This seems logical. The C# alters the intervallic relationships between the pitches in the scale. The G# is even more troubling, literally negating the final of the key. While it is too early to think in terms of “subtonic,” “leading tone,” and “tonicizations,” it is clear that composers view alterations to the scale that enact cadences in ways that differ fundamentally from other chromatic transformations. At the same time, they are unwilling to acknowledge these differences with changes in nomenclature.

What is perhaps even more interesting is that “modulations” to the keys and airs suggested by the interpolation of the altered pitches within “G sharpe” do not alter syllabic nomenclature (Example 17). In all three scales—“G sharpe,” “D flat,” and “A flat in F la mi”—each pitch retains its syllabic designation. G is always sol and A is always la. The key and air, however, do not remain the same. Each scale has a different final, and the intervallic relationships that define the air are transformed.

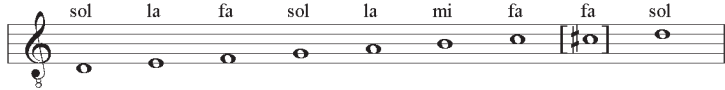
### Atonal Transgressions

The tension between “sameness” and “difference,” reflected in the interplay of key, air, scale, and nomenclature, has compositional implications that Byrd exploits in his “Browning” a5. His development of sententious figures reveals a nuanced understanding of theoretical principles and figurative practice that take advantage of the duality between tonal moments and movement. Byrd’s placement of the *Browning* melody in the bass of the first

## G sharpe



## D flat



## A flat in F la mi



**Example 17.** Syllabic nomenclature in related keys.

variation is not grounded by Campion's belief that the bass contains in it both the air and true judgment of the key but, instead, in the quality of "doubleness" that the *cantus firmus* displays (Example 18). While the *Browning* melody appears to be in the key of "F sharpe," the implied cadence on G and the chromaticism that Byrd introduces in the upper voices suggest an alternative interpretation.

Musical score for Example 18, William Byrd, "Browning," mm. 1-5. The score is in 3/4 time and features a cantus firmus in the bass line and chromaticism in the upper voices.

**Example 18.** William Byrd, "Browning," mm. 1-5.

The F# in the third tenor functions as a sententious ornament that has structural repercussions. Its presence undermines the key

of “F sharpe,” affecting both the ear and mind by supporting G, instead of F, as the closing note. The case for this tonal location is both strengthened and refined by the E $\flat$  in the first tenor that suggests the air and scale corresponding to the key of “G flat in E la mi.”

The composer’s juxtaposition of these two keys disturbs the ear and forces the mind to reconcile the simultaneous existence of two conflicting tonalities. This sense of “doubleness”—of being in two keys at the same time—is resolved by the intervallic structures and nomenclature that define the keys of “F sharpe” and “G flat in E la mi” (Example 19). The only “real” difference between the two is the identity of the closing note.

F sharpe

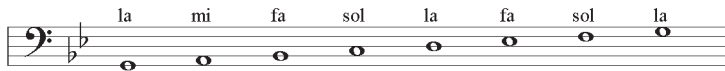
G flat in E la mi

**Example 19.** “F sharpe” and “G flat in E la mi.”

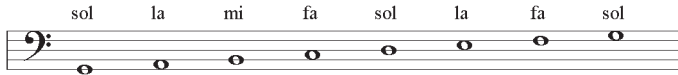
Byrd trespasses beyond the ordinary, once again, in the following measure by voicing a B $\sharp$  in the first tenor. This gesture has two effects. It offers further evidence of the modulation to a key whose final note is G, but also asks the listener to leap a bit farther. The “doubleness” of the key of “F sharpe” and the key of “G flat in E la mi” is replaced by a second pairing: the keys of “G flat in E la mi” and “G sharpe” (Example 20).

We have seen that locating and labeling figures has an anatomizing effect that cultivates a false dichotomy between ornament and structure. It emphasizes the additive aspect of embellishments by removing the figures from their formal context. This is certainly the case with tonal ornaments. Melodic lines are altered chromatically by accidentals that are, quite literally, additions. In Byrd’s first variation (Example 18), these chromatic alterations color the individual voices and appear to create tonal dissonances. This tension, however, is reconfigured and resolved at the formal

## G flat in E la mi



## G sharpe

**Example 20.** “G flat in E la mi” and “G sharpe.”

level. The nomenclature shared by “F sharpe” and “G flat in E la mi” reveals a sense of “doubleness” in which the distinction between similarity and difference becomes one of emphasis. We co-exist in both keys until Byrd asks that we accept the possibility of two airs within the key of G. These dualities once again suggest that the affect of ornaments on the formal level is not additive but synthetic. In the moment, accidentals embellish individual voices, but, when integrated, they expand music space by transporting the listener between different tonalities that literally occupy the same space.

We hear this sense of “doubleness” in the tonal interplay of the twentieth and final variation of Byrd’s “Browning,” a *tour de force* of sententious ornamentation. As we saw earlier, Byrd applies a series of metric modulations to excise the rhythmic energy generated by the  $\frac{3}{8}$  of the two previous variations. While the venting function of these auricular gestures reduces the level of rhythmic activity, it is not nearly enough to negate the momentum that has accrued over nineteen variations of almost constant rhythmic and metric acceleration. Byrd is forced to compensate by enacting a series of dramatic tonal gestures that conflict with Morley’s even stronger admonitions against beginning in one key and ending in another.

The leaving of that key wherein you did begin and ending in another... [is] a great fault, for every key hath a peculiar air proper unto itself, so that if you go into another than that wherein you begun you change the air of the song, which is as much as to wrest a thing out of his nature, making the ass leap upon his master and the spaniel bear the load.<sup>38</sup>

<sup>38</sup> Morley, *Introduction*, 249.

Recalling the “tonal” ambiguity of the first variation, Byrd again abandons the key of “F sharpe” in favor of the more contentious juxtaposition of “G flat” and “G sharpe” (Example 21). This recollection, however, displays significant differences. The F#, delayed until the third full measure of the *cantus firmus* in the opening variation, is introduced almost immediately. This gesture, in conjunction with the bass’s oscillation between G and D, makes it clear that G, not F, is meant to be heard as the closing note. The air and scale, however, remain in dispute. The B $\flat$  in the second tenor suggests “G sharpe,” while the B $\flat$  in the treble would seem to indicate “G flat.” This conflict is intensified by their temporal proximity. These pitches literally rub shoulders, creating cross-relations that rattle the ear and affect the mind. An abrasive reprise follows two measures later. This harshness, however, pales in comparison to the simultaneous articulation of F $\flat$  and F# that occurs in the third measure of the variation. The ears’ distress is echoed by the mind’s unquiet thoughts. Two conflicting explanations emerge from the carnage of these cross-relations.

The image shows a musical score for Example 21, consisting of five staves. The top two staves are treble clefs, and the bottom three are bass clefs. The key signature has one flat (B-flat). The score is divided into three measures. In the first measure, the top staff has a half note G4, a quarter note A4, and a quarter note B4. The second staff has a half note G4, a quarter note A4, and a quarter note B4. The third staff has a half note G4, a quarter note A4, and a quarter note B4. The fourth staff has a half note G4, a quarter note A4, and a quarter note B4. The fifth staff has a half note G4, a quarter note A4, and a quarter note B4. In the second measure, the top staff has a half note G4, a quarter note A4, and a quarter note B4. The second staff has a half note G4, a quarter note A4, and a quarter note B4. The third staff has a half note G4, a quarter note A4, and a quarter note B4. The fourth staff has a half note G4, a quarter note A4, and a quarter note B4. The fifth staff has a half note G4, a quarter note A4, and a quarter note B4. In the third measure, the top staff has a half note G4, a quarter note A4, and a quarter note B4. The second staff has a half note G4, a quarter note A4, and a quarter note B4. The third staff has a half note G4, a quarter note A4, and a quarter note B4. The fourth staff has a half note G4, a quarter note A4, and a quarter note B4. The fifth staff has a half note G4, a quarter note A4, and a quarter note B4. The score is marked with a 'C' time signature and a 'b' key signature.

**Example 21.** William Byrd, “Browning,” mm. 158–61.

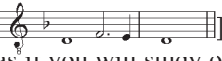
The first, and seemingly most obvious, is that the F $\flat$  and the F# represent the simultaneous expression of the two forms of fa available in the key of G. This explanation, however, stands at odds with practice. While successive false relations are not uncommon, the setting of simultaneous cross-relations at a cadence is extremely rare. In fact, it is condemned by Morley in *A Plaine and*

*Easie Introduction.* In his critique of an exercise by his student, Philomathes, the Master professes:

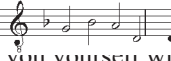
MA.... that and many other such closing have been in too much estimation heretofore amongst the very chiefest of our musicians, whereof amonst many evil this is one of the worst.



PHI. Wherein do ye condemne this close seeing it is both in long notes and likewise a cadence?

MA. No man can condemn it in the treble, Counter, or bass parts, but the tenor [  ] is a blemish to the other, and such a blemish as if you will study of purpose to make a bad part to any others you could not possibly make a worse, therefore in any case abstain from it and such like.

PHI. Seeing the other parts be good, how might the tenor be altered and made better?

MA. Thus:  . Now let your ear be judge in the singing and you yourself will not deny but that you find much better air and more fullness that was before. You may reply and say the other was fuller because it did more offend the ear, but by that reason you might likewise argue that a song full of false descant is fuller than that which is made of true chords....<sup>39</sup>

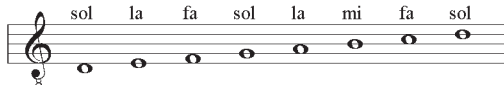
It seems unlikely that Byrd, recognized by Morley as one of the masters of composition, would have made the mistake of a novice.<sup>40</sup> A more reasoned explanation suggests that Byrd, while trespassing beyond the ordinary, is guided by principles that are applied consistently and grounded in purpose. Byrd requires violent tactics to curb the rhythmic momentum of the previous nineteen variations in the period of one. The simultaneously sounded cross-relations are violent. They wreak havoc on the ear and mind,

<sup>39</sup> Morley, *Introduction*, 272–73.

<sup>40</sup> In his discussion of “Canon eight parts in four; recte & retro,” Morley suggests Byrd as an exemplar. “If you desire more examples of this kind you may find one of Master Byrd’s, being the last song of those Latin Motets which under his and Master Tallis his name, were published” (Morley, *Introduction*, 289).

tearing both organs from the rhythmically woven fabric that has dominated the piece until this moment. While the dissonance of the vertical minor second assaults the ears, its effect on the mind is equally forceful. Unable to reconcile the simultaneous expression of both forms of the “same” *fa* at the strongly articulated close, the mind is driven towards an alternative interpretation. This alternative has already been foreshadowed by the juxtaposition of “*F sharpe*” and “*G flat in E la mi.*” Byrd applies the same principle to the second tenor line, suggesting a reinterpretation in the key of “*D flat.*” Like the previous modulation, the key of “*D flat*” shares an affinity with “*G sharpe*” (Example 22). Both keys, although they possess different closing notes and airs, assign the same syllables to each note in the scale. This “*doubleness*” allows for an apparently seamless interaction between the two keys while presenting the mind with what are truly two different *fa*’s based on their position within the respective scales. The sense of “*D flat*” is further emphasized by the descent from *F* to *D* in the second tenor (Example 21). The close on *G* is weakened by the voicing of *E* $\flat$  on the downbeat that coincides with the other four voices’ convincing expression of the key of “*G sharpe.*” This miscue, coupled with the previous cross-relations, begs the question as to whether or not all the voices agree on key, air, and scale.

## G sharpe



## D flat

**Example 22.** “*G sharpe*” and “*D flat.*”

These same issues are extended and amplified in the final four measures of the variation (Example 23). It is clear from the bass that the piece ends with a cadence in the key of *F*, but Byrd, transposing ideas of the previous four measures with an added caveat, opens the possibility of *C* as an area of tonal emphasis.

**Example 23.** William Byrd, “Browning,” mm. 162–65.

While the  $B\sharp$ , corresponding to the  $F\sharp$  of the previous four measures, is absent, Byrd articulates two  $E\sharp$ s in the second tenor that are interrupted by the  $E\flat$  in the treble. This gesture recalls the conflict between  $B\sharp$  and  $B\flat$ ; however, by placing the  $E\flat$  on the second beat of the measure and articulating the  $E\sharp$  on the upbeat of the same beat, Byrd intensifies the crunch of the false relations by making them simultaneous. This juxtaposition suggests the simultaneous possibility of “C sharpe” and “C flat” (Example 24).

C sharpe

C flat

**Example 24.** “C sharpe” and “C flat.”

The penultimate measure of the final variation is an almost literal transposition of its partner in the previous four measures. While the cross-relations are reconstituted as  $E\sharp$  and  $E\flat$ , their jarring effect is just as powerful. The listener is again asked to reconcile the simultaneous expression of what initially seems to be the “same” fa at what should be the strongest close of the piece. This



extraordinary sequence of events increases the evidence supporting the transgressing key of “C flat” (Example 25). Applying the same principle as before, Byrd now sets “F sharpe” against “C flat.” Once again, the argument is stated in the second tenor which, after articulating the unexpected E, descends by step to C. The unsettling quality of this descent is, again, emphasized by voicing D on the downbeat of the final measure that coincides with the other four voices’ convincing expression of the key of F. This misqu(ot)e, coupled with the previous cross-relations, leaves open the possibility that not all the voices agree on the key, air, and scale at the cadence that closes Byrd’s “Browning.” These gestures target both the ear and the mind, suggesting multiple interpretations of the same events and raising doubts that serve Byrd’s purpose. The weight of the “tonal” disruptions functions as a foil to the rhythmic energy the composer has developed and now must defeat. The listener’s mind and ears are ferociously redirected from one form of ornamentation to another that quite literally brakes the composition’s momentum and grinds the piece to a halt.

F sharpe

C flat

**Example 25.** “F sharpe” and “C flat.”

Byrd transforms movement to moments and moments to movements to end his “Browning.” The metric modulations of the last three measures of the nineteenth variation release kinetic energy through a series of metrically redefining moments that literally undermine movement. Rhythmic intensity is further undermined by a series of chromatic alterations, tonal moments that coalesce creating a sequence of tonal movements that turn back the affective energy of the previous nineteen variations.

It seems ironic that Byrd achieves structural closure by threatening structural coherence. His “Browning” can only end when

tonal movement overwhelms rhythmic and metric motion and tonal conflict becomes the composition's topic. We see again that locating figures is an important first step; however, our understanding of their purpose demands that we recognize and reconcile the sense of "doubleness" that defines ornaments as both additive embellishments and formal structures. This sense of duality speaks to the Elizabethan mind and a mode of operation where structural ornaments within the music transcend the opposition between form and figure. Nowhere is "doubleness" displayed more clearly than in musical figures or conventions that trespass beyond the limits of "absolute music."

### **Sensible Ornaments of the Third Kind: The Extra-Musical**

As we have seen, figurative language depends on the multiplicity of meanings residing within a single gesture yet assumes an understanding of the literal. Love is a rose. It is beautiful. It opens gradually. It intoxicates in full bloom. It wilts and fades. It has thorns. Each image intensifies our understanding of love by transferring our thoughts from an abstract concept to the concreteness of a flower. The effectiveness of this doubling is rooted in both the sensual and connotative conventions that represent a rose. We know that love is both beautiful and dangerous because we can conjure the flower and thorns that define the archetypal rose. What is extraordinary is that the flower and thorns are not those of an individual or specific rose. Instead they are stylized representations.

It seems almost paradoxical that this transfiguring of the plain to the eloquent is achieved through a rubric of standardized gestures. We tend to equate creative elegance with the specificity of personal expression. Nonetheless, we can appreciate what the stylized convention of the rose or Puttenham's *Elegant Lady* brings to the affective table. Conventions transparently display the essence of an idea in its purest form. In a sense, conventions empower the poet and the composer to be understood with a clarity that transcends the ordinary, a degree of clarity that would be clouded by the particulars of the personal. We observe this conception of the elegant in Elizabethan poetry and music. As C. Day Lewis suggests in his discussion of lyric poetry:

[Lyric poetry] expresses a single state of mind, a single mood, or sets two simple moods one against the other. [It] is unclouded by

after-thoughts or the reflection of individual personality.... what we hear is not this unique human being but Everyman singing through him. The attitude towards love, for instance, is a generalized attitude: any given love poem is likely to be a variation on one of the few accepted themes—Cupid’s mischief, jealousy, self-pity, woman’s disdain, her fickleness, her killing eyes; woman as person intolerable to live with but even worse to live without: and she herself is not an individual woman so much as a generalised figure. It is not insincerity—sincerity does not come into it—but the convention which dictated that a poet should transmute his genuine ecstasy or agony into a stylized genre.<sup>41</sup>

The defining traits Lewis assigns to lyric poetry—stylized themes displaying a single mood or two opposing humors that were expressed through an impersonalized voice—find parallels in the compositional practices of musicians in the late English Renaissance. Like their literary counterparts, composers developed a lexis of rhetorical gestures that produced affective states and represented specific ideas. While the ancestry of musical conventions can be traced to textual associations, the literal association with the “embellishing” text eventually became unnecessary and figurative function passed into the musical structure itself.<sup>42</sup> Melodic “figures” such as the diminished fourth (death), the minor sixth (sorrow), the Phrygian second (grief), and the descending, often chromaticized, minor tetrachord (lament) gained the status of conventions understood by educated musicians and applied by composers as part of their affective vocabulary. Compositions typically displayed a series of musical figures that coalesced about a single humor or, less frequently, two contrasting moods.

I will argue that musical conventions function as sensible ornaments. The ear may recognize the musical structure but it is the mind that makes the association between the gesture and its affective meaning. The relationship between these stylized figures in music and their counterparts in literary practice appear most trans-

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<sup>41</sup> C. Day Lewis, *The Lyric Impulse* (London: Chatto and Windus, 1965), 3, 5–6.

<sup>42</sup> Ted Conner, “Musical-Rhetorical Gestures in the Fantasias of Henry Purcell,” *Journal of the Viola da Gamba Society of America* 39 (2002), 5–48. I have discussed this process in some detail in my analysis of rhetorical gestures in Purcell’s four-part fantasias.

parently in discussions of text setting. Butler, for example, in his “Observations in Ditti Song,” identifies specific musical conventions that were intended to mirror affective aspects of the text.

Concerning the setter, he must hav’ a special car’ dat de Not’ agree to de natur’ of de Ditti. Plain and slow Musik is fit for grav’ and sad matter: qik Not’s or Triple tim’, for Mirt and rejoicing. A manly, hard, angry, or cruel matter is to be exprest by hard and hars sort ton’s, qik Bindings, and concordng Cadences; and dat wit de ordinary or unaltered Not’s of de Scal’: but words of effeminat’ lamentations, sorrowful passions, and complaints, ar fitly exprest by de inordinate’ half-not’s (suc as ar de final keys of de Virginal) wic cang’ de direct order of de Scal’; flatting de Not’s naturally sarp, and sarping dem wic ar naturally flat: and dos’ in longer tim’; wic slow Bindings and discording \* Cadences.<sup>43</sup>

We can observe several of Butler’s directives in the musical conventions that John Dowland applies to the first line of text in his ayre “Unquiet thoughts” (Example 26). Dowland’s complaint is realized musically through a series of figures that echo the lament of his unfulfilled passions. The cantus enters with the Phrygian second, D–E♭–D, the half-step, or in Butler’s words, the “half-not’s” that through chromatic alteration “cang’ de direct order of de Scal’.” The minor sixth descent from E♭ to G is supported by “slow Bindings and discording \* Cadences” that also emphasize the poet’s suffering. What is significant for our purposes (and Dowland’s) is that the figurative function of these musical conventions lies within their structure. The Phrygian second means grief. The minor sixth is sorrow. The bindings, or suspensions, that increase the dissonant quality of the cadence are the complaint. The mind recognizes the affective significance of these gestures as their essence. Form and function are literally the same, indistinguishable from one another.

The rhetorical relationship between the text and music in Dowland’s songs is further complicated by the interplay of musi-

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<sup>43</sup> Butler, *Principles*, 96. Butler’s discussion is an almost literal paraphrase of his predecessor, Morley, and his successor, Simpson. The similarities between the guidelines presented by composers and theorists separated by eighty years suggest a cultural consensus in which musicians, like the poets and rhetoricians of their day, recognized and understood the affective and connotative import of their language’s figurative gestures.

The image shows a musical score for John Dowland's piece "Unquiet thoughts." It is written in 3/4 time and features a vocal line and a lute accompaniment. The vocal line is in the upper staff, and the lute accompaniment is in the lower staff, which is bracketed together. The lyrics are: "Un - qui - et thoughts, your ci - vil slaugh - ter stint,". The music is in a minor key, indicated by the one flat in the key signature.

**Example 26.** John Dowland, “Unquiet thoughts,” mm. 1–3.

cal and textual conventions. Dowland considers the affective capabilities of each language as well as their respective roles, in the dedication from his *First Booke of Songs or Ayres*.

That harmony (right Honourable) which is skillfully exprest by Instruments, albeit, by reason of the variety of number and proportion, of it selfe, it easily stirres up the mindes of the hearers to admiration and delight, yet for higher authority and power hath been ever worthily attributed to that kind of Musicke, which to the sweetnesse of Instrument applyes that lively voice of man, expressing some worthy sentence or excellent Poeme. Hence (as all antiquity can witness) first grew the heavenly Art of Musicke: for *Linus Orpheus* and the rest, according to the number and time of their Poems, first framed the numbers and times of Musicke: So that *Plato* defines Melodie to consist of harmony, number, and words; harmony, naked of it selfe; words the ornament of harmony, number the common friend and uniter of them both. This small Booke contayning the consent of speaking harmony, joynd with the most musicall instrument the Lute...<sup>44</sup>

Dowland’s crafting of the historical and the aesthetic echoes Puttenham’s discussion of the additive function of ornaments. Music can stir the affections but the addition of words increases the delight and allure to the mind of the listener. In this sense, words function as ornaments or embellishments clothing harmony in a more elegant attire. This conception would seem to conflict with the compositional process through which we typically think songs are written. The poem is usually conceived as the progenitor. The composer’s musical setting is a response born from the

<sup>44</sup> John Dowland, “Dedication” from *The First Booke of Songs or Ayres* (London, 1613 edition).

aesthetic implications of the text. From this perspective, it would seem more appropriate to hear the musical gestures as ornaments that embellish the words.

What seems a paradox—that is, whether words ornament the music or music ornaments the words—is largely reconciled by the emphasis both composers and poets placed on conventions. As we have seen, aesthetic value did not reside in self-expression as conceived by the Romantics but in the nuanced play of ornament, structure, and purpose. This melding encouraged a degree of reflexivity in which the assumed roles of parent and offspring could, in effect, circle back upon themselves, transfiguring the identity of the ornament and the ornamented.

This relationship between text and music is both clarified and complicated by the physical layout of the ayre in songbooks and discussions of performance practice. In most cases, ayres were printed on two pages (Example 27). The cantus and lute accompaniment appear on the first page in vertical alignment while the other three voices—alto, tenor, and bass—are arranged so that the performers could sit around the same table and read their parts. This formatting facilitates the performance of the ayres both as solo pieces with a lute accompaniment and as four-part songs played with or without accompanying instruments.

It would appear that the cantus is privileged by this arrangement. In solo performances, it sings alone, supported by the lute's articulation of the bass line and accompanying harmonies. This hierarchical assumption, however, is threatened by the relationship between the voices in the four-part settings. While the cantus still carries the ayre's melodic and literary language, its authority is challenged by the ornamenting of the other voices with words. The articulation of the text raises the bass above its harmonic function and empowers the alto and tenor to transcend their subservient position as inner voices. In a process that mirrors the effect of ornamentation on the *Browning's* cantus, the addition of words in the other voices produces a thickening that threatens to overwhelm the cantus. Campion speaks to this possibility in the dedication "To the Reader" of his *Two Bookes of Ayres*:

These Ayres were for the most part framed at first for one voyce with the Lute, or Violl, but upon occasion, they have since beene filled with more parts, which who so please may use, who like not

CANTUS.

Soprano

BASSVS.

TENOR.

ALTO.

But what can they my thoughte they may not thinke,  
 Or put my tongue in durance for to thinke,  
 When as their eyes, the keyes of mouth and heart,  
 Open the locke whene all my heart doth say,  
 He feele them up within their lids for euer,  
 No draughte, and wee haue lockt a hallowe thoughte.

How shall I then gaze on my selfe effe eyes?  
 My thoughte shall haue for eare as ife heart will break,  
 My tongue would tulle as in my mouth is line,  
 If youe and thoughte were free, and that wee spake,  
 Speake them, and tell the patione of desire,  
 Which turne into eare no foods, my thoughte no fire.

A

**Example 27.** John Dowland, “Unquiet thoughts,” from *The First Booke of Songes or Ayres* (London, 1613 edition)

may leave. Yet doe wee daily observe, that when any shall sing a Treble to an Instrument, the standers by will be offering at an inward part out of their owne nature; and, true or false, out it must, though to the perverting of the whole harmonie.<sup>45</sup>

The composer and poet’s comments are telling. They call into question the hierarchies defined by form and function. Improperly applied by bystanders, the inner voices can undermine the harmony of the piece, affecting the ears and mind as strongly as the cantus. This suggests that the structural roles assigned each of the voices are less significant than their aesthetic contribution. In practice and performance, each voice shares a common goal: to “yeeld a sweetness and content both the eare and minde, which is

<sup>45</sup> Thomas Campion, “To the Reader” from *Two Books of Ayres* (c.1613), in *Campion’s Works*, ed. Vivian (see note 10), 114.

*the ayme and perfection of Musicke.*"<sup>46</sup> This conception asks that we, as modern musicians, reconsider the value and function that we assign to voices. Structural assumptions may conflict with figurative reality. As we have seen in the *Brownings*, ornaments can become more important than, or even subvert, the subjects they were intended to embellish.

What appear to be oppositions are reconciled by the reliance Elizabethan composers and poets placed on sensible ornamentation achieved through conventions, and, I will argue, the differences that composers recognized between their language and that of the poets. These differences are driven by the level of specificity that musical conventions can articulate and the degree to which they are capable of being transfigured while remaining comprehensible. We can locate these conventions in Dowland's ayres, trace their evolution, and evaluate their engagement with textual conventions. Our focus will be limited poetically to the complaint and, more specifically, to texts that emphasize "sighs" and "tears."

### Dowland's Ayres

Like many of the poems that Dowland set, "Burst forth, my tears" is a pastoral complaint. It displays the conventions described by Lewis in his discussion of lyric poetry. The mood is one of a single affection, grief resulting from unrequited love. The shepherd, however, does not describe the particulars of a relationship through which he has suffered. Instead the poem's tone is stylized, an impersonal expression sung by Everyman. The woman responsible for his pain is equally stylized. She is not an individual but a generalized figure who behaves according to conventions. Oppositions abound. Love provokes imperious pain and offers no relief. Hope locks beauty in her fair bosom and Mercy sleeps while disdain increases. Neither the shepherd's sighs of love nor tears of grief can overcome his pain.

Burst forth, my tears, assist my forward grief,  
 And show what pain imperious Love provokes.  
 Kind tender lambs, lament Love's scant relief  
 And pine, since pensive Care my freedom yokes.  
 O pine to see me pine, my tender flocks.

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<sup>46</sup> Thomas Campion, "To the Reader," 114.



Sad pining Care, that never may have peace,  
 At Beauty's gate in hope of pity knocks.  
 But Mercy sleeps while deep Disdain increase,  
 And Beauty Hope in her fair bosom locks.  
 O grieve to hear my grief, my tender flocks.

Like to the winds my sighs have winged been,  
 Yet are my sighs and suits repaid with mocks.  
 I plead, yet she repineth at my teen.  
 O ruthless rigour harder than the rocks,  
 That both the shepherd kills and his poor flocks.

Like the poet, Dowland relies on rhetorical gestures to express the shepherd's sorrow. The first sound we hear is an open fifth between the alto and tenor, an interval associated with death (Example 28). This signifier is ironically juxtaposed against the light dance rhythm of a canzonetta, ♩ ♪ ♪, that emerges as a composite of all three voices. As the music unfolds, each voice articulates the affection of sorrow through one or more conventions. In his "Rules to be observed while dittyng," Morley suggests, "when you want to express a lamentable passion then must you use motions proceeding by half notes, flat thirds, and flat sixths" (half steps, minor thirds, and minor sixths).<sup>47</sup> Dowland follows Morley's directives in the cantus, ascending a minor third and placing B $\flat$  a minor third above the "bass." The affect is heightened by the cantus's descent from B $\flat$  to F $\sharp$ , an "accidental motion [that] may fitly express the passions of grief, weeping, sighs, sorrows, sobs, and such like."<sup>48</sup> This diminished-fourth interval is itself a convention that signifies death. The melody of the alto is equally figured. Literally unable to burst forth, the line returns repeatedly to D in an affective reiteration of the Phrygian second—the minor second between the fifth and flat-sixth scale degrees of the key—that is associated with grief. Finally, the tenor, in this instance the functional bass, outlines a descending minor tetrachord, G–F–E $\flat$ –D, a sensible descent that had become synonymous with the lament.

Dowland's musical tapestry is a remarkable collage of mind-affecting ornamental conventions that, at the same time, display structural attributes. Form and function are inseparable. The tenor

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<sup>47</sup> Morley, *Introduction*, 290.

<sup>48</sup> Morley, *Introduction*, 290.

The image shows a musical score for John Dowland's piece "Burst forth, my tears," measures 1-5. The score is written in 3/2 time and B-flat major. It consists of four vocal parts (Soprano, Alto, Tenor, Bass) and a lute part. The lyrics are: "Burst, burst forth, my tears; as-sist my for-ward grief, Burst, burst forth my tears; as-sist my for-ward grief, Burst, burst forth my tears; as-sist as-sist my for-ward grief,". The vocal parts are written in treble clef, and the lute part is written in bass clef. The score is in a single system with a brace on the left side.

**Example 28.** John Dowland, "Burst forth, my tears," mm. 1–5.

is as much the functional bass as it is the purveyor of the lament. The cantus's descents from first B $\flat$  to F and then B $\flat$  to F $\sharp$  are as melodically sound as they are rhetorically telling. The alto's harmonic function is no more nor less significant than its affective import. The distinctions between the formal and the figurative are relevant only when they are anatomized for analytical purposes. To borrow from Rosemond Tuve's description of poetry, the music "does not seem to be conceived of as a unit made up of 'logically stateable structure of meaning' plus 'ornament,' but as a unit in which 'cause' is manifested by 'mode of operation.' Figurative language, ornament, is conceived of as one of the modes through which a purpose operates."

It is equally difficult to privilege any one voice's contribution over another. Each gesture expresses a generalized state of sorrow that, by its lack of detail, defies priority. In a sense, all the voices are equally articulate. We learn no more from the alto's repeated Phrygian seconds than we do from the tenor's descending minor tetrachord. What Dowland achieves through these sensible ornaments is a stylized representation of grief—a sensible ornamentation of the discourse—that his audience could recognize intellectually without knowing its cause. It is from this perspective

that the composer describes harmony as naked of itself. To rephrase Puttenham, “the words are the flowers as it were and colors that a composer setteth upon his art.” While stylized in their own right, the words reveal a degree of causal specificity that their musical counterpoints are incapable of expressing. With this said, it is important to remember that we are wrestling with questions of degree. While more telling than the music, the text still retains its generalized and impersonal qualities. We are not privy to the specific causes, or the details, of the poet’s grief. What we are observing is a parallel representation of the same affection abstracted through the capabilities and limitations of another language.

We can see these same processes at work in “Go, crystal tears.” Recalling the opening of “Burst forth my tears,” Dowland begins with a three-part texture in which the tenor temporarily assumes the role of the bass (Example 29). Like its partner from the previous ayre, the tenor outlines the lamenting qualities associated with the descending minor tetrachord, falling from C to G. Echoes also resound in the cantus. The Phrygian second—a fifth and minor sixth above the functional bass—has risen from the alto to the cantus and is, again, set ironically to the dance rhythm of the canzonetta. Finally, the alto emphasizes E $\flat$ , expressing the rhetorically depressed interval of a minor third above the bass.

Dowland’s reprise of the same sensible ornaments speaks to their familiarity and their lack of causal specificity. Each gesture works as effectively in “Go, crystal tears” as it did in “Burst forth, my tears” because of its correspondence to a generalized affection. We can also see how Dowland plays with these conventions and introduces others to meet the more specific generalities of a particular poem. Unlike “Burst forth, my tears,” the poet extends the possibility of hope through a series of oppositions that set the drooping flowers of spring and his mistress’s burning breath against her wintry breast. This hope, however, is short-lived. The narrator’s morning showers are soon transformed to tears of mourning as the ice that is his mistress’s heart crystallizes his fears to tears.

Go, crystal tears, like to the morning showers,  
And sweetly weep into thy lady’s breast.  
And as the dews revive the drooping flow’rs,  
So let your drops of pity be address’d

To quicken up the thoughts of my desert,  
Which sleeps too sound whilst I from her depart.

Haste, restless sighs, and let your burning breath  
Dissolve the ice of her indurate heart,  
Whose frozen rigour, like forgetful Death,  
Feels never any touch of my desert,  
Yet sighs and tears to her I sacrifice  
Both from a spotless heart and patient eyes.

As we have seen, the opening gestures in the cantus, alto, and tenor are affective expressions of grief and sorrow. The text embellishes these concepts with a stylized but differentiated degree of specificity that motivates further musical figuration (Example 29). The lower neighbor notes that ornament the alto and tenor lines, for instance, flow quite literally from the text, falling first from one eye then the other. These tears are followed by a tonal gesture that reflects the poet's faint hopes and distinguishes them from his grief. His morning showers and her burning breath are introduced by an A $\sharp$  in the cantus, which momentarily escapes the weight of the Phrygian A $\flat$ . The A $\sharp$  signals a change in air from "C flat in A la mi" to "C flat." The potential of this sensible ornament, however, is quickly negated by the A $\flat$  in the tenor that re-establishes the darker quality of the initial air. The finality of this A $\flat$  is reinforced by the return of the tears in the alto, showers that mourn the phrase and hope-ending Phrygian cadence.

Dowland's introduction of the lower neighbor-note tears demonstrates the reflexive fluidity that exists between the ornament and the ornamented. The tears in the tenor, to some extent, transfigure our perception of the descending minor tetrachord. The tetrachord becomes the "literal" that is now figuratively embellished by the lower neighbor. The same can be said of the A $\sharp$  in the cantus. It is affective only to the extent that it figures the Phrygian G–A $\flat$ –G motive of the previous two measures.

This ornamenting of ornaments is a kind of rhetorical abuse that first trespasses beyond, and then dissolves, the boundaries that differentiate the literal from the figurative. Musical conventions are transformed from sensible rhetoric to common utterances, becoming the ground upon which eloquent ornamentation is reconstituted. Dowland applies this form of reflexivity as a response to poetic gesture. For example, "All ye whom Love or Fortune" be-

Go, cry - stal tears, like to the mor - ning showers,  
 Go, cry - stal - tears like - to the mor - ning showers,  
 Go, cry - stal tears like to the mor - ning showers,

**Example 29.** John Dowland, “Go, crystal tears,” mm. 1–4.

gins with a series of textual oppositions embellished by the rhetorical figure of report.

All ye, whom Love or Fortune hath betray'd;  
 All ye, that dream of bliss but live in grief;  
 All ye, whose hopes are evermore delay'd,  
 All ye, whose sighs or sickness want relief;  
 Lend ears and teares to me, most hapless man,  
 That sings my sorrows like the dying swan.

Care that consumes the heart with inward pain,  
 Pain that presents sad care in outward view,  
 Both tyrant-like enforce me to complain;  
 But still in vain: for none my plaints will rue.  
 Teares, sighs and ceaseless cries alone I spend:  
 My woe wants comfort, and my sorrow end.

Dowland supports the oppositions in the poem by undermining a musical convention that had become common expression (Example 30). The impact of this abuse is heightened by its association with other conventional utterances that retain their “literal” function. As we have seen in previous ayres, each voice is introduced by the canzonetta rhythm, a gesture that has paired dance with grief. The melody of the cantus follows this lead, articulating

the Phrygian second motive—a fifth and minor sixth above the bass—before outlining a diminished-fourth descent from B $\flat$  to F $\sharp$ . Our tonal expectations are met by the bass’s opening D and reinforced by the chromatic lower neighbor, C $\sharp$ , that effectively “tonicizes” the key of D. Given our past experience, we would expect the bass, following the return to D, to complete the minor tetrachord descending through C $\natural$  to B $\flat$  and, finally, to A. Instead, however, we are deflected by the unexpected B $\natural$  that returns us to C before falling to G. Like the poet, we are betrayed. The true key of the ayre is not D but G. Dowland deceives us by trespassing on the convention of the descending minor tetrachord. Even the alto plays a part in this ruse. Recalling the hope of the cantus in “Go, crystal tears” and the frustration of the alto in “Burst forth, my tears,” “All ye’s” alto attempts to escape D by rising to E $\natural$ . The E $\flat$  that follows mirrors both the opposition and the betrayal within the text. The hopeful ascension implied by the E $\natural$  is tonally rebuffed by the rhetorical gravity of the E $\flat$ . This second Phrygian second complements Dowland’s mistreatment of the bass line, confirming the duplicity of D as the ayre’s key.

The image shows a musical score for a piece by John Dowland. It consists of five staves. The first four staves are vocal parts: Cantus (top), Alto, Tenor, and Bass. The fifth staff is a lute accompaniment, with a treble clef and a bass clef. The music is in 3/4 time and D minor. The lyrics are: "All ye whom Love or Fortune hath betrayed". The score shows the vocal lines and the lute accompaniment for the first four measures of the piece.

**Example 30.** John Dowland, “All ye whom Love or Fortune,”  
mm. 1–4.

Dowland carries the process of tonal dislocation and conventional abuse one step farther in “Unquiet thoughts.” His compositional decisions are most likely a response to the anatomizing process through which the poet’s thoughts are shifted from one body part to another. These metaphorical transfers reflect the rhetorical inversions visited upon his “unquiet thoughts” and the “civil slaughter” that they cause. The poet’s outpourings are continually threatened as they move from dwelling to dwelling. No foundation is secure. His tongue, the hammer that stamps his mouth’s coins, will be severed. His eyes, the keys that will unlock his mouth and heart, will be sealed. Even the poet’s tears are not enough. They flood his eyes, blinding his thoughts and drowning his passions. In each case, we see the dissonance between figurative gesture and failed function.

Unquiet thoughts, your civil slaughter stint  
And wrap your wrongs within a pensive heart:  
And you, my tongue, that makes my mouth a mint  
And stamps my thoughts to coin them words by art,  
Be still, for if you ever do the like  
I’ll cut the string that makes the hammer strike.

But what can stay my thoughts they may not start,  
Or put my tongue in durance for to die?  
When as these eyes, the keys of mouth and heart,  
Open the lock where all my love doth lie,  
I’ll seal them up within their lids forever:  
So thoughts and words and looks shall die together.

How shall I then gaze on my mistress’ eyes?  
My thoughts must have some vent: else heart will break.  
My tongue would rust as in my mouth it lies,  
If eyes and thoughts were free, and that not speak.  
Speak then, and tell the passions of desire,  
Which turns mine eyes to floods, my thoughts to fire.

This tension is mirrored in the music. Dowland once again offers many of the conventions that, in other ayres, were combined with the descending minor tetrachord (Example 31). All four voices dance the canzonetta, and the cantus articulates the Phrygian second motive. In each of the previous examples, the minor second of the Phrygian gesture was set a fifth and minor sixth above the bass. This would suggest an opening G in the bass followed by

a descent to D that emphasizes E $\flat$ . Instead, Dowland begins the bass line of B $\flat$ , touches on G, and then descends to a close on E $\flat$ . This motion is followed by a brief return to G and an extended pedal on D that leads to a cadence on G. This bass line is unique among Dowland ayres that begin with the Phrygian-second motive. In every other case, the opening interval between the bass and the minor-second motive is a perfect fifth establishing the key relationship that anticipates the descending minor tetrachord. This is the case even when the ayre's key is misrepresented. Dowland's break from this convention is driven by the text. The literary perversions of "quiet thoughts" and "uncivil slaughter" are voiced by the tonal disconnects, wrongs that he wraps within the bass. Dowland embeds an incomplete tetrachord in *Campion's* purveyor of key and air outlining the interpolated G, (the missing F), E $\flat$ , and the D that, as we have seen, blossoms into a pedal. This conventional ground, however, is overwhelmed by the B $\flat$  and the close on E $\flat$ . These pitches suggest the key of B $\flat$ , twice removed from the ayre's true key, G, according to theoretical treatises. In fact, Dowland's infelicities follow *Campion's* tonal directives. The composer's minor tetrachord always obeys tonal conventions when it is allowed to run its course, articulating the key determined by its final. When it is deflected from its expected goal, the tetrachord is set in the key of the second close, a fifth above the final. In "Unquiet thoughts," *Campion's* last preference, a minor third above the final, is implied. The distance Dowland travels from the ayre's key coincides with the severity of his tetrachordal trespasses.

While the conflict between conventions is temporarily quelled by the close on G, the victory is short-lived. Eight measures of tonal transgression and rhythmic chaos follow before the poet's authority is reasserted through a homorhythmic sequence (Example 32). This sequence, however, an expansion of the "dominant," threatens a tonal anarchy that is resolved only when the cantus and bass, proceeding in lock step, submit to the text's reiterated demands. The passions of desire are quenched and sorrow, temporarily held at bay, finally, irrevocably, prevails.

"Unquiet thoughts" explores the limits beyond which conventions lose their comprehensibility. Dowland expects his audience to recognize the tonal implications of the Phrygian second in the



Un-qui-et thoughts, your ci-vil slaugh-ter stint,  
Un-qui-et thoughts, your ci-vil slaugh-ter stint,  
Un-qui-et thoughts, your ci-vil slaugh-ter stint,  
Un-qui-et thoughts, your ci-vil slaugh-ter stint,

Example 31. John Dowland, “Unquiet thoughts,” mm. 1–3.

like, I'll cut the string, I'll cut the string, that makes the ham-mer strike.  
like, I'll cut the string, I'll cut the string, that makes the ham-mer strike.  
like, I'll cut the string, I'll cut the string, that makes the - ham-mer strike.  
like, I'll cut the string, I'll cut the string, the string, that makes the ham-mer strike.

Example 32. John Dowland, “Unquiet thoughts,” mm. 10–12.

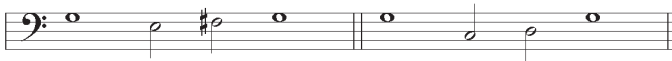
cantus as well as the transgressions of the bass line. He expects his audience to savor the inappropriate “resolution” and deflection

from the dominant harmony that supports the poem's last line of text as well as the insistence of the sequence that forcibly recalls the dominant and strikes the final cadence. As always, however, these trespasses are grounded in convention. Dowland's distortions only work if his audience recognizes and understands the identity of form and function expressed by the conventions in their unaltered forms. This knowledge allows the composer to stretch structures in ways that distend their figurative function. It is in this realm that ornament and structure piecefully co-exist.

### Conclusion

Our tonal world is one of fixed conventions. Each pitch and every chord has a function. Ambiguity is limited to pivot chords, and the duplicity of a deceptive cadence is appreciated as much for its frequency—rare—as its effect. Elizabethan and Jacobean music often sounds tonal. We could even make the case, although not a teleological one, that the groundwork for tonality was being laid. Campion argues that the bass, not the tenor, expresses the true key and air of a composition and, though rarely credited, he anticipates Rameau's theory of a fundamental bass by over one hundred years.

... such Bases are not true Bases, for where a sixt is to be taken, either in F. sharpe, or in E. sharpe, or in B. or in A. the true Base, is a third lower, F. sharpe in D., E. in C, B. in G., A. in F., as for example.<sup>49</sup>



We can see a similar progression toward tonality in Butler's discussion of syllables for singing. In place of Campion's four-note solmization, Butler proposes a seven-note system in which each note is assigned its own syllable (Example 33). Like our modern-day solfege, his approach is based on the relationship of each pitch to the final of the scale, not the location of half steps.

Campion's fundamental bass and Butler's seven-note solmization are necessary precursors to tonality; however, they are just

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<sup>49</sup> Campion, *A New Way*, 204.



**Example 33.** Charles Butler, seven-note solmization system.

that. The more rigid conventions that define functional harmony had yet to be set in place. The distinctions that Campion establishes between the bass and the root of a chord speak to an increasing emphasis on the vertical. Nonetheless, the function of vertical structures remains fluid. A similar argument could be made for Butler's solmization system. Unlike Campion, whose scales each possess two sol's, two la's, and two fa's, one of which can be, anachronistically speaking, both the "subtonic" and the "leading tone," Butler assigns each note a different name. His nomenclature, however, retains the vestiges of Campion's duplicity. Pha sounds a lot like fa—literally, figuratively, and musically. Oral and aural ambiguity remains.

This is the distinction that we want to make. While tonality celebrates the literal, the essence of the Elizabethan and Jacobean aesthetic is the simultaneous mo(ve)ment of the figurative. Two keys can co-exist in the same piece and different airs can reside within the same key. Ornaments can function as formal structures. Conventions are not fixed but can be transfigured to serve as grounds upon which embellishments are added. Music, composed as a response to a poetic text, can be ornamented by the words on which it was based.

The essence of the English aesthetic in the late Renaissance is this sense of "doubleness." We, as twenty-first-century musicians performing the music of this period, need to abandon the certainty of the tonal world and embrace the fluidity of structural ornaments that permeate the music of Byrd, Dowland, and their contemporaries. Our goal is to retu(r)n(e) our minds and ears to Elizabethan and Jacobean England and play within languages that turn reflexively upon themselves. As Hendrix suggests in his reinterpretation of Butler's revert, "Now, if a 6 turned out to be 9, I don't mind, I don't mind."<sup>50</sup>

<sup>50</sup> Jimi Hendrix, "If 6 was 9," *Axis: Bold as Love*, MCA Records MCAD-11601.

## RECENT RESEARCH ON THE VIOL

### Ian Woodfield

This bibliography is intended as a concise guide to recent research related to the viol. It lists books, articles, dissertations, selected reviews, published papers, and major scholarly editions of music. Research on any aspect of the viol (and related instruments such as the baryton) will qualify for inclusion. Suggestions for additional entries in any language would be most welcome. They should be sent to Ian Woodfield, School of Music, Queen's University Belfast, Belfast BT7 1NN, Northern Ireland, or e-mailed to <i.woodfield@qub.ac.uk>.

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## REVIEWS

**John Wilbye.** *Five-Part Madrigals, "Apt both for voyals and voices."* Edited by George Houle. Albany, CA: PRB Productions, 2005. VC053. Score and parts, \$35.00.

Vocal polyphony has always been a staple of the repertoire of the viola da gamba consort. The instruments of the viola da gamba family may have been invented expressly for the purpose of playing vocal polyphony. The earliest printed sources of Renaissance instrumental music contain numerous vocal compositions without their texts. The viola da gamba's most characteristic genres, the fantasia and *In nomine*, were both derived directly from vocal models. Untexted parts for Italian madrigals are found in manuscripts associated with the Stuart-era flourishing of the viol consort. And finally, title pages for English madrigals, including that for the work in question, regularly designated their contents as "apt both for Voyals and Voyces."

Given the importance of vocal repertoire in the history of the viol, its great pedagogical value, and the deep pleasures afforded by playing madrigals, chansons, lieder, and motets on viols, it has been a strange and frustrating fact that suitable parts for instrumental rendition for this repertoire have been so difficult to obtain. Mostly we have accessed this repertoire from scholarly editions in scores found in the reference sections of research libraries. After making photocopies of questionable legal status, we play from scores with small type faces, inconvenient clefs, too many page turns, and even occasionally uncomfortable transpositions. Or we cut and paste. Or we limit our repertoires to what we have the time and patience to copy by hand. Delving into this rich area requires dedication!

Fortunately, recent years have seen the publication of modern editions of madrigals in parts suitable for performance on viols. In the vanguard of this effort have been valuable contributions from Peter Ballinger's PRB Productions, including the madrigals of Gibbons, the third book of Monteverdi, Dowland's *Pilgrim's Solace*, and a collection of Gesualdo. All of these publications offer



clearly legible parts with texts in viol-friendly clefs without annoying page turns.

Other valuable items in this vein have been George Houle's editions of four- and five-part madrigals of John Wilbye, formerly available from Santa Ynez Music. These part sets are among the most well-worn and loved in my library, finding regular use in performance, teaching, and playing for pleasure. All of these pieces are excellent compositions. Every line is satisfying to play or to hear. The texts are well declaimed and expressed sometimes passionately, sometimes subtly. The best of them are deeply moving. The most modest and conventional ones are thoroughly winsome.

After a brief period during which these editions were not available (after Santa Ynez Music folded its tent), Houle and Ballinger are in the process of reissuing these beautiful pieces in a clean new typesetting available from PRB. The five-part pieces reviewed here are to be followed by collections of the madrigals in three, four, and six parts.

The new edition has nearly all of the virtues of the previous publication. Houle's introduction is retained, succinctly offering historical background, acute assessment of the work's value, and description of the editorial methods. However, strange to say, the larger format of the PRB print has not resulted in any gain in legibility. The clunky note-heads of the Santa Ynez print are actually easier to see than the fine type-face used by PRB. The small font used by PRB for the lyrics is very difficult to take in while reading the music. This is a pity because, as Houle observes in his preface, "The poetry serves as an invaluable guide to phrasing, articulation and nuance in performance." As in other PRB editions, readers occasionally stumble over peculiar beamings.

These small cavils hardly diminish the value of this publication, and certainly won't stop me from adding the three- and six-part pieces to my library. I'm waiting eagerly (greedily) to see Weelkes, Senfl, Rore, Willaert, Lassus, Arcadelt, and Marenzio so well served.

John Mark Rozendaal

**Alfonso Ferrabosco the Younger.** *Consort Music of Five and Six Parts*, edited by Christopher Field and David Pinto. Musica Britannica, vol. 81. London: Stainer & Bell, 2003. £89.50 (about \$159).

“Cool book!” was the spontaneous reaction of my fourteen-year-old bassoon-playing daughter when the padded bag containing this volume of Ferrabosco’s consort music was finally opened on our breakfast table in Belfast. With its hard covers, its richly colored and weighty paper, and its visually impressive content, this volume is indeed a fine example of the bookmaker’s art.

Ever since the publication of Thurston Dart’s *Jacobean Consort Music*, the national series Musica Britannica has done the lover of English viol consort music proud. Excluding only those composers too eminent to appear anywhere other than in their own series (Byrd and Purcell), Musica Britannica has gradually supplied us with the works of the other stars of this luminous galaxy in high-quality editions: Gibbons, Ferrabosco, Mico, Lawes, Jenkins, Locke, and the Elizabethans. A comparison between *Jacobean Consort Music* and the present volume shows just how far our understanding of this repertoire has come. The music texts presented by Dart were perfectly serviceable, and although editorial techniques have been refined over the years, the quality of the music edition is not what sets this volume apart from its predecessor. What has been transformed is the character and quality of the accompanying commentaries, especially in the way that they present source information. In *Jacobean Consort Music* little more than a list of sources is given, and in the commentary Dart restricted himself to statistical readings of variants. What we now have is a wonderfully rich appraisal of an astonishing array of manuscripts. Each source is now properly described and imaginatively contextualized. We increasingly know *for whom* manuscripts were prepared, which is just as important as *by whom*, and we have come to understand that the company a piece keeps can be very revealing indeed of its own individuality. The expertise of the two editors, Christopher Field and David Pinto, goes without question, and in the commentaries in this volume they have provided a goldmine of information. It is not clear what the division of labor

was, but David Pinto's colorful and idiosyncratic English style is here (quite properly) evident only in flashes.

A close reading of all this material provokes admiration but also a melancholy thought: underpinning these impressive commentaries lies thirty years' worth of meticulous work, published mainly in the journal *Chelys*, now sadly defunct, at least in its traditional form. A dedicated band of scholars used its pages to report on their painstaking quest to comprehend the sources of what was already a much-loved repertoire. Perhaps, though, this period of work is coming to its natural end, and attention may now turn to issues of stylistic analysis. Although study of the musical genres of English consort music has lagged somewhat behind the hard-won mastery of the sources, it is advancing rapidly. In this volume the two editors make an impressive showing in their appraisal of Alfonso Ferrabosco II (c. 1575–1628) and his music. If the long-awaited (but, as far as I am aware, not yet even conceived) comprehensive history of English consort music is of this caliber, then it will be a magnum opus well worthy of its subject.

And so to the music. To extol the virtues of Ferrabosco II in these pages will no doubt be to preach to the well-and-truly converted. But a few thoughts are in order. First, this was truly a "thinking" composer, one who was not content merely to work with what he had received. He alone came up with the idea of combining pavan and consort song, placing a four-note motto theme in the highest part to which a sacred poem was later (presumably) fitted; he alone conceived the simple but effective idea that the hallowed *In nomine* theme could migrate through the voices of the consort. Then there are the extraordinary experimental fantasias that cycle with calm aplomb through the known keys and back again. Composers of this generation were on the verge of discovering what modulation could do for their music, but they were not yet there. Ferrabosco's explorations of modulation are failures, musically speaking, but of tremendous historical import. It would be very many years before anyone went much beyond the keys navigated here. Even in Jenkins, key relationships still come across as slightly random sequences of beautiful sonorities. Only with Purcell do we finally get the sense that modulation can control the pacing and direction of musical argument, as well as overall structure.

Perhaps, though, Alfonso Ferrabosco II's true stature as a composer emerges most clearly in some of the less strikingly individual pieces. Over twenty-five years, our viol consort at Queen's University Belfast has developed a deep affection for the five-part pavans, special favorites being No. 7, the "Sharp" pavan, and No. 8, written in a radiant C major, with modulations to the dominant and the relative minor, but no trace of the Mixolydian flavoring favored by Byrd. True, these are unpretentious works, less highly wrought than, say, the typical Jenkins pavan, but all five lines are rewarding to play, and we have no more tired of them than of Byrd, Gibbons, or Josquin. This group of players at least would concur with Henry Peacham's remark (in *The Compleat Gentleman*, 1622) that Ferrabosco II was "inferiour unto none," and the same might well be said of this distinguished edition and its place in the national monument.

Ian Woodfield

**John Ward.** *Consort Music of Four Parts.* Edited by Ian Payne. Musica Britannica vol. 73 (London: Stainer and Bell, 2005). Hardcover score £83.00 (about \$144.00). A subset of string parts for the "Oxford" fantasias and the two-part ayres for two bass viols and organ is published simultaneously with this volume, £24.50 (about \$43.00) for members of the Viola da Gamba Society, either of the U.S. or U.K.

How many John Wards were there? Ian Payne, editor of this new Musica Britannica volume of Ward's four-part consort music, states that sixteenth-century Canterbury was "teeming with John Wards." Aside from the fact that John Ward was a common name, some musicologists have believed that two different Wards must have been composing at about the same time.

Was John Ward the madrigal composer the same as John Ward the consort composer? Inadequate birth records still cloud the question, and perceived differences in style between different sets of music by Ward have convinced some scholars that there must have been two composers with the same name. Payne has reviewed the theories on Ward's parentage, studied the manuscripts ("The Handwriting of John Ward," *Music and Letters* 65 [1984],

176–88), and conducted extensive analysis of the musical works to reach his conclusion that the compositions were all by the same Ward. Payne's article in *Chelys* 23 (1994), 1–16, "John Ward (c. 1589–1638): The Case for One Composer of the Madrigals, Sacred Music and Five- and Six-Part Consorts," presents the arguments in regard to these sets of pieces. In the present edition, Payne extends the discussion to include the four-part consort music and the two-part ayres.

Payne has been a major contributor of research on composer John Ward in recent years, beginning with his dissertation "The Sacred Vocal Music of John Ward: A Complete Critical Edition and Commentary" (University of Exeter, 1981). His edition of Ward's consort music of five and six parts can be found in *Musica Britannica* volume 67, published in 1995. The new volume under consideration contains all of Ward's four-part consort music (five *In Nomines*, fifteen "Paris" fantasias, and six "Oxford" fantasias) plus six ayres for two bass viols and organ. An appendix includes several transcriptions: an anonymous arrangement of Ayre No. 1 for two lyra viols; three transcriptions of Ayre No. 5, possibly by Simon Ives—one for four-part consort and two different settings for lyra viol; and an anonymous transcription of No. 5 for keyboard.

The Paris fantasias certainly are different from the Oxford fantasias and the consorts of five and six parts. The themes of the Paris pieces are less well developed; the voice leading is more angular, and the harmonic palette is less varied. However, Payne cites several signature techniques of Ward's writing that convince him that all the consort pieces are the work of the same composer, though at different times of his life. The same conclusion holds true for the ayres, which are simpler in design and follow the forms of dance music rather than madrigalian counterpoint.

According to the genealogy supported by Canterbury Cathedral, John Ward was baptized at Canterbury in February 1589/90, possibly the son of the minor canon J. Ward, who would have been aged nineteen or twenty at the time. The boy was then a cathedral chorister from 1597 to 1604, and a King's Scholar at the grammar school at Canterbury. In 1607, after his formal schooling, he joined the household of Sir Henry Fanshawe of Hertfordshire, who had a house near St. Paul's in London. Ward published a set of

madrigals, dedicated to Sir Henry, in 1613, and the fifteen Paris fantasias and five *In Nomines* of four parts may have been written at about this time. Sir Henry died in 1616, and Ward's last secular vocal work was an elegy on the patron's death. Fanshawe's son Thomas did not continue the rich household musical activity of the father, but Ward did continue to compose instrumental works (for viol consort) and sacred music.

Ward completed the five-part consort pieces (fantasias in the style of Italian madrigals) by 1619, and the six-part fantasias could have been composed earlier. Payne speculates that the four-part Oxford fantasias were dated later than 1619, as they are "mature" and "substantial." By 1621 Ward was working as the attorney or clerk of Sir Thomas Fanshawe, who was the recording officer ("remembrancer") of the Exchequer. During this period, Ward was probably connected with musicians performing at St. Paul's and may have written sacred services for the cathedral. These facts seem to imply that Ward was retained by the Fanshawe family, but that the household did not supply as many musical opportunities as did Ward's other contacts. Ward died in 1638.

Although the so-called Paris fantasias seem to be earlier works than the Oxford fantasias, the unique source for the Paris works is a manuscript copied after 1661 (Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale de France, Fonds du Conservatoire de Musique, MS Réserve F. 770). This is also the source for the five *In Nomines*. The copyist of the Paris manuscript was the court musician identified as "I.A.," probably the violinist John Atkins (or Atkinson), a member of the royal band of twenty-four violins. Payne notes the fact that the Paris fantasias were transcribed by Atkins with G clef signs for the two upper parts, and therefore were very likely intended for performance by violins.

The Oxford fantasias are found in multiple sources, the most complete of which is the Hatton "Great Set," a set of partbooks, a score, and an accompanying organ part, now in the library of Christ Church, Oxford (Mus. MSS 397–400). The only complete text of the six ayres for two basses and organ is found in the "Hatton Set" (now Oxford, Christ Church Mus. MSS 432 and 612–13), also from the Hatton family library. These manuscripts, commissioned from two important copyists, John Lilly and Stephen Bing, were probably copied in the mid to late 1630s. Christo-

pher, the first Baron Hatton, was a patron of the arts, and he had a magnificent library. He was also connected by marriage to Ward's patron, Sir Henry Fanshawe. Payne speculates that some of Ward's manuscripts could have found their way into the Hatton library from the Fanshawe library (notably Thomas Myriell's manuscripts of the Oxford fantasias, now Christ Church Mus. MSS 459–62, and the manuscript containing Ward's elegy on the death of Sir Henry).

Ward's music was apparently very popular among viol consort players and continued to be for years after his death. Thus there are many manuscript collections of his works, and the copies made by various scribes are replete with variants in notation, particularly with regard to accidentals. In his edition, Payne has documented every significant variant, with frequent explanations of his reasons for choosing a particular reading.

The six Oxford fantasias and the Paris fantasias and *In Nomines* have also been edited by Virginia Brookes (Albany, CA: PRB Productions, 1992, Viol Consort Series Nos. 15, 16, 18, and 19). Brookes used the Oxford, Christ Church Mus. MSS 459–62, copied in part by cleric Thomas Myriell before his death in 1625, as her primary source for the Oxford fantasias. The unique Paris Conservatoire manuscript is her source for the Paris fantasias and the *In Nomines*. The Brookes editions are published in score and partbooks and do not include organ parts. This reviewer has examined her Oxford edition and the collection of eight Paris fantasias.

Payne and Brookes agree on many of the solutions to conflicting variants, a good number of which seem to be copyists' errors. Some of the *musica ficta* problems are difficult to solve. Ward favors frequent changes from major to minor, and is inconsistent in his use of the sharped or flatted sixth and seventh degree. Payne avoids accepting the raised sevenths found in some readings if they result in chords strikingly uncharacteristic for Ward's time.

The formal design of the four-part pieces varies from group to group. The *In Nomines*, possibly early works, reveal a good sense for thematic development. The *In Nomine* theme is always in the alto line, with the other voices complementing the harmonic and melodic possibilities of the ground in various ways. For instance, in No. 1 the tenor line begins with the *In Nomine* theme's rising third and continues with a motif mirroring the end of the theme. In

No. 4 the rising and falling thirds are echoed in motifs with a military sound. The ayres for two bass viols and organ are in dance forms, and the two solo instruments trade parts in exact repetition at equal intervals.

The Paris fantasias follow the typical fantasia style, usually with an imitative, polyphonic section followed by shorter imitative sections and a very short homophonic section. The fantasias of the Oxford group have the same variety of polyphonic and homophonic sections, but with more definition from one section to the next and more important homophonic sections. Both groups of fantasias exhibit certain techniques, such as themes introduced by two or three notes of longer values; concurrent use of two halves of a theme in different voices; martial themes; and cascading sequences, often with sixteenth-note embellishments.

These works are appealing to the consort musician. Ward's harmonies are pleasing and reflect his early training as a chorister at Canterbury. Occasional dissonances, which come about through motif repetition at different intervals, add interest and are resolved. Nevertheless, frequent direct octaves and fifths, especially in the Paris set, are unattractive to the ear, and some strings of sequences and exact repetitions become tiresome. As Payne observes, Ward tends to overuse certain techniques, such as parts moving in parallel thirds or sixths.

In Payne's edition, the scores of the Oxford fantasias and the ayres include the organ lines, since these were provided in the original manuscript collections. The extant source for the Paris fantasias and the *In Nomines* does not include organ parts, and Payne's edition remains true to the originals. Payne states that the organ parts are not necessary for performance, though he points out that Thomas Mace suggested using the chamber organ for "Well-keeping the Instrument in Tune" (*Musick's Monument*, London, 1676, p. 242).

The chamber organ may have been used more often than today's viol players realize. Peter Holman ("'Evenly, Softly, and Sweetly According to All': The Organ Accompaniment of English Consort Music," in *John Jenkins and His Time: Studies in English Consort Music*, ed. Andrew Ashbee and Peter Holman [Oxford, 1996], pp. 353–82) quotes Roger North, saying that some families used the organ to accompany consorts, playing from composed



parts rather than from a figured bass. He points out that much of the English consort music between 1620 and 1660, including music of John Ward, includes written-out organ parts.

The organ parts accompanying Ward's Oxford fantasias present some problems, and may truly be intended for rehearsal only. The parts include octave transpositions, omitted lines, added entrances, and a number of awkward parallel octaves and fifths. In some cases spans are too wide for the hand. Payne suggests that the organ parts may have been preserved as a partial score. These are certainly not continuo parts, as they usually parallel the string parts. The organ parts for the six ayres are more essential for performance, because they include independent material.

Payne has modernized the setup of the score with regular bar lines and modern time signatures (with originals indicated). Treble, alto, and bass clefs are used for the string parts, and occasional C clefs in the organ part have been replaced by G clef signs. He has kept the original key signatures and note values, adding key signatures in two cases in order to eliminate the large number of accidentals in the original score.

Payne's extensive research and attention to detail add much to this edition. Since he includes major variants in his commentary, scholars and performers may try other choices if desired. Ward's four-part works, less well known than the compositions for five and six viols, make an appropriate addition to *Musica Britannica's* collection of British music. The edition will be a welcome volume for libraries, and performers may obtain the available sets of parts. I am grateful to the members of the Boulder Viol Consort who aided in my assessment of the edition by reading through a number of the pieces with me.

Ellen TeSelle Boal

**John Jenkins.** *Three-Part Airs for Two Trebles, Bass and Continuo: Vol. III.* Edited by Andrew Ashbee. Albany, CA: PRB Productions, 2005. VC028. Score and parts \$28.00.

The sprightly airs in this edition—stylized dances in two, and occasionally three, strains—come from a particular collection of

eighty-four, preserved in Christ Church (Oxford) MS 1005, an elegant scorebook in John Jenkins's own hand, and in Newberry Library (Chicago) Case MS -VM 1 .A 18 J 52c, two surviving partbooks (Treble I and Bass; missing Treble II). Following the manuscripts' organization, the publications in this series group the airs by tonality. The fifteen here in Volume III are all those in G minor and C major, adding to the fourteen in Volume I (E minor and G major) and the seventeen in Volume II (A minor and D major). Now more than half of the collection is available in attractive editions with well-laid-out playing parts and a score with scholarly introduction. The efforts of both Andrew Ashbee, editor, and Peter Ballinger, publisher, are to be commended and encouraged.

Over the years there has been a great deal of interest in the above-cited manuscripts, and for good reasons. First, it is possible to identify the owner of both (Sir Nicholas Le Strange) and the scribes (Jenkins, Sir Nicholas, and possibly Thomas Brewer). Second, the Newberry partbooks contain Sir Nicholas's collations with the later scorebook and other manuscript sources, which indicate how the manuscripts were compiled and how pieces came to be grouped into little suites when copied into his scorebook. Finally, annotations by Sir Nicholas on the flyleaves as well as on the music in the partbooks give rare and valuable information for dating over half the pieces ("1644 and 45 &c."), for notating ("pricking") properly, and for "humouring" the repertory with dynamics, tempos, and other performance practices. Not coincidentally, Jenkins was the music servant in the Le Strange household, copying and composing as instructed by a rather persnickety master.

The primary interest in these manuscripts is, of course, the inventive, engaging music with its imitative interplay of parts and lively dance rhythms. Instrumentation is not specified, and Ashbee rightly suggests that violins are preferable to viols for the treble parts. Whatever the instruments, players should first study the Introduction; indeed, much of its information would be more useful if incorporated into the parts. A small notice on the first page of each could explain that only the music is from Jenkins (autograph scorebook) and all other markings—dynamics, fermatas, "drags"—are from Sir Nicholas (additions in his partbooks, editorially added for missing Treble II). Other performance directions, such

as “Slow time” for Air No. 10, should also be given in the parts and not just in the Introduction. Players who want to add Sir Nicolas’s “Commentary” to their parts should note that “Very lively” belongs to No. 58, not No. 57. There are other inaccuracies in transcribing his expressive markings, particularly in the G minor set. But even when correct, some seem rather eccentric, especially in their placement. Players, as always, will need to decide how to perform them, and decisions would be more informed with an accurate text.

“Aire” is the name given to all duple-meter dances in the scorebook (except for one “Pavin” and “Eccho”); yet a few are called “Almane” in the Newberry partbooks and other sources. This is true, but unnoted, for Airs Nos. 7, 10, 53, and 56, four of the seven, in the Volume III edition. With little stylistic differentiation among them, Sir Nicholas may have wanted more modern titles or simply uniformity in his scorebook. Some of the dances, particularly the new ones Jenkins made “After my score Booke was Bound,” are arranged in three-movement suites, Air–Corant–Saraband. Pairing of duple- and triple-meter dances—Air–Corant and Air–Saraband—is more common, as Sir Nicholas directed: “This Corant is to the Aire following.” Though not specifically noted, he may be responsible for changing the partbook order to have Air No. 10 paired with Corant No. 12 in the scorebook. Players might try putting them in that sequence.

Two crossed-out flyleaf notes refer to “Through Basse,” and other sources give unfigured “Through Base” and “Theorbo-Basse” parts, which mainly duplicate the bass line. While the string parts are complete in themselves, it is stylistically appropriate to have a continuo accompaniment, and Ashbee editorially provides not just one, but several options. He ably figured the bass, creating a “Continuo” part, and made a simple keyboard realization of it in yet another part, labeled “Organ.” That might also be labeled “Harpichord,” for, as he points out, it is meant for either instrument and harpsichords nowadays are more likely to be available. Since there are no “humourings” in the parts, any continuo player will need to refer to the score, especially for “drags” in tempo and *dal segno* marks for “Repeates” (*petites reprises*), a convention nowhere explained.

Other players will also need to consult the score to figure out, by looking at other parts, what dynamics are omitted and misplaced. (For example, all the dynamics, which should have been edited into Treble II, are missing in Airs Nos. 10–14.) Score and (identical) parts are all missing a *forte*, measure 22, beat 4 of No. 54, and a “drag,” measure 15, beat 1 of No. 56. Sometimes editorial brackets are also missing or in the wrong part. Emendations without brackets may be a mistake (the *piano* in No. 53 on measure 9, not measure 10 as in the partbooks) or may be a deliberate change (the dynamic mark in No. 10, measure 7, on beat 1, not on beat 3 as the partbooks show). In the latter and several other cases, Sir Nicholas meticulously placed the dynamic mark, by means of a dotted line, in the midst, not beginning, of a sustained note—an idiosyncrasy that ought to be shown in the edition.

A puzzling remark about Air No. 53 is not given by Ashbee, but might well be observed. According to Sir Nicholas, “upon the 2d playing of the I straine, cast the Bowd sembreafe in it, and of the 2d straine: cast it in the I time.” The only semibreves (whole notes) are the final notes of each strain. If “cast in” means “throw out,” as one casts in (throws out) a fishing line, then the intention becomes clear and can be arranged with modern first and second endings. At the end of the repeat of the first strain, leave out the final whole note and proceed directly into the second strain; then omit the final whole note of that strain the first time through, playing it only at the end of its repeat. (This interpretation of “cast in” was suggested by my friend Hazelle Miloradovitch.)

These Le Strange manuscripts offer a rare glimpse of Jenkins’s milieu and of his patron’s tastes, which reflect a growing preference for trio-sonata texture and suite organization in mid-seventeenth-century England; and they preserve not only a wealth of contemporary information but a treasury of Jenkins’s music, as delightful today as then. May Ashbee and Ballinger continue their collaboration and publish the remaining airs of the collection—the sooner the better.

Jane Troy Johnson

**Joseph Benedikt Zyka.** *Trios for Violin, Bass Viol and Cello in two volumes.* Edited by David J. Rhodes. Albany, CA: PRB Productions, 2005. Vol. I, CL009 (Nos. 1–3). Vol. II, CL010 (Nos. 4–6). Score and parts, each volume: \$30.00.

If Joseph Benedikt Zyka had not lived, it would have been necessary to invent him, if only to provide somebody with the thesis title, “Late German Gamba Music, from Abel to Zyka.” As far as most of us are concerned, he did not exist, since none of his music was available until recently, and the *New Grove* does not mention him, nor indeed any of the five other musicians in his family. Our newly discovered J. B. Zyka was born around 1720, educated in Prague, and held a position as cellist in the Dresden orchestra from 1743 to 1764. At this point he moved to Berlin, where he and several other Zykas were members of the orchestra over the next few decades. This welcome publication of his trios is part of a considerable wave of interest in and rediscovery of the German gamba repertoire of the late eighteenth and even the nineteenth centuries. Readers who are interested in this fine repertoire will find a good overview of it in a recent article by the editor of these trios.<sup>1</sup>

The six trios are scored for violin, viola da gamba, and cello. This sort of combination had been around in Germany since the 1690s, when composers such as Krieger and Buxtehude substituted the gamba for the second violin part of a trio sonata. The editor, David J. Rhodes, claims that “The trio combination of violin, viola da gamba and cello or basso with implied keyboard continuo is in fact the most popular one encountered in the late-eighteenth-century repertoire of extant music for gamba.” I will consider below the editor’s introduction, but first and most importantly, to the music!

I am indebted to Rhodes for engendering my interest in Zyka. I had had for years a poor copy of the Dresden manuscript that is the sole eighteenth-century source of this edition, without paying it much attention. It turns out that the trios are fine works indeed. They are all three-movement works in the format that I call the Berlin Sonata Schema: slow–fast–fast/moderately fast, with all

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<sup>1</sup> David Rhodes, “The Viola da Gamba, Its Repertoire and Practitioners in the Late Eighteenth Century,” *Chelys* 31(2003), 36–63.

movements in the same key. This attractive sonata type was not exclusive to the members of the Berlin School—those composers who worked in Berlin during the reign of Frederick II “the Great,” mostly in his *Hofkapelle*—nor was it invariably used by them. However, it seems to have been more popular there than anywhere else, and is a notable Berlin School characteristic. It bestows a certain significance upon the opening slow movement, which is typically an Adagio of considerable length, gravity, and rhythmic subtlety in common time.

Zyka has opened three of the sonatas with an Adagio, and a further two with a Largo. While not as imposing as the opening Adagios of Johann Gottlieb Graun nor as wrenchingly emotional as those of C. P. E. Bach, they are movements of great subtlety, with beautiful melodic figures used both contrapuntally and in parallel. The opening Adagio of Sonata No. 3 in F, for example, has an attractive florid melody in imitation between the two upper parts (violin and gamba) supported by a strong but contrasting bass line. In this movement Zyka uses an appoggiatura as an important motivic part of the theme, a typical Berlin School characteristic that is, however, less apparent in his other slow movements.

Zyka’s second movements are invariably binary Allegros, in which the imitative entries sometimes also involve the cello, sometimes not. Given that this is relatively early in the history of sonata form, it is surprising to occasionally find something very like a development section, as in the Allegro of the fifth sonata. This movement, in A major, also has an attractive *minore* section. The final movements are where Zyka shows the most variation. There are two dance forms (a Tempo di Minuetto and a Giga) and various forms of Allegro or Allegretto, mostly in triple time. In three of these movements the composer indulges in a little old-fashioned fun: they are entitled *La Quaglia* (the quail), *Il Cucu* (the cuckoo), and *Il Gridare di Gallini* (the cry of the hens), and include the appropriate birdcalls.

One could describe the difficulty level for the gambist as intermediate, perhaps equivalent to the so-called “easy” suites in the first part of Marais’s fourth book. However, the trios present different challenges from Marais: German composers do not plan out the bowing in the way that the French performer-composers do.

That said, there are very few difficulties either in bowing or fingering in the trios. Double stops are few, easy, and effective, and the highest note appears to be an e" in the opening Andante Pastorale of the second trio. The violin and viola da gamba parts are entirely equivalent, which allows for good three-part counterpoint in a *galant* style, or more often, two-part counterpoint above a bass in the manner of the operatic duet. This precludes any strongly idiomatic writing for the gamba. However, gambists will surely enjoy the *Gesang*, or *galant* song-like melody, that is so important in this style and that offers a quite different experience from the earlier, better-known French repertoire.

The editor has provided a generally well-researched introduction, with a good, thorough critical commentary. He gives biographical information, discusses the music stylistically, and includes sections on the editorial policy, the provenance of the manuscript, and advice on performance. One of the problems in dealing with music in manuscript sources, especially from such a long-lived composer, is the difficulty in dating it. Rhodes claims that Zyka's trios "for stylistic reasons must have been composed during his Berlin years," but offers no elaboration of these reasons. They would need to be fairly compelling to counter the fact that the manuscript was found in Dresden, which makes it unique among the approximately seventy manuscripts of nearly fifty Berlin School gamba pieces. We are also aware that the great gambist Carl Friedrich Abel worked there with Zyka until 1757. However, there are good reasons to believe that the trios may have been written after 1764 in Berlin. These include the use of the Berlin Sonata Schema referred to above, the lack of a continuo or figured bass, and perhaps the relatively developed sonata form, with a clear recapitulation. In this last matter Zyka more resembles Emanuel Bach (1714–88) than his older colleagues, the Graun brothers.<sup>2</sup> Rhodes justifiably speculates that the trios may have been written for the gamba-playing Prince Friedrich Wilhelm II, who succeeded his uncle (not his father, as Rhodes states!) Frederick the Great as king of Prussia in 1786.<sup>3</sup>

<sup>2</sup> Frederick II's *Konzertmeister* Johann Gottlieb Graun (1702/3–71) and his *Kapellmeister* Carl Heinrich Graun (1703/4–59).

<sup>3</sup> For more information on Friedrich Wilhelm and the Berlin School, see Michael O'Loughlin, "Ludwig Christian Hesse and the Berlin Virtuoso Style,"

I am pursuing the issue of the dating of the works not through pedantry but because it impacts the issue of performance practice, which Rhodes discusses briefly. The problem is that he gives us mixed messages here. We are cautioned not to play the trios “in a flexible but anachronistic mid-to-late Baroque style,” but rather in a Classical style, “maintaining a stricter tempo together with the application of late eighteenth-century methods of bowing, phrasing, articulation, ornamentation, etc.” This is quite a call, to pull the pieces right out of the late Baroque and into the Classical period. If this is the case, why are we provided with what must be an anachronistic continuo realization of the unfigured cello part? Rhodes suggests that use of a keyboard continuo is possible, “given the relatively static nature of much of the bass line of music and the fact that vital harmonies are frequently missing from the texture, not least in the course of modulations.” In fact, slower harmonic rhythm and relatively static bass lines were a feature of the advancing classical style at a time when the keyboard continuo was falling into disuse. The constant presence of full harmony is also not a requirement of this style, as we can see from the numerous duets and trios that were written by Mozart and his contemporaries. Other arguments against the use of continuo are that the gamba part frequently goes below the bass, which is not usually found in true continuo pieces; and that the editor is forced continually to make decisions on chording, which may or may not be the correct ones. Of course, players are at liberty to ignore the continuo, and are provided with separate parts for all three stringed instruments as well as the score, which contains the editorial continuo realization. My feeling is that it is unnecessary, and may even be counterproductive.

Rhodes is perhaps overly critical of Zyka’s ability as a composer. He draws attention in the introduction to the composer’s “surprisingly adventurous modulations, albeit not always successfully executed,” and the “compositional infelicities in these trios.” In line with this lack of faith in Zyka’s ability, he offers frequent alternative or *ossia* interpretations where he believes that there is a compositional or copying error in the manuscript, or that the composer could have done it better. Some of these involve a type of

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*JVdGSA* 35 (1998): 35–73. Some of the speculation regarding anonymous pieces in this article has now been superseded.



harmonic progression that Zyka uses frequently, for example in bar 39 of *La Quaglia* in Trio 3. Here, a 5-3 chord on A in the bass in A minor is followed by the same chord, but with the bass raised to A sharp, which then resolves to B major. Rhodes offers an *ossia* that sharpens the C in the second chord. It would seem to me that both variants are used by Zyka and other composers, and are equally legitimate. In other cases an *ossia* is provided simply to regularize equivalent passages in different sections of the movement. I would have thought that only one of the many *ossia* passages involving a change of notes, namely one that avoids consecutive octaves in the second movement of Trio 1, was justified. There are also many editorial slurs, but these are generally well considered. It must be stressed that these and indeed all other editorial suggestions are always clearly identified as such according to the conventions of good editing, and in no way disturb the flow of the music. Players can easily ignore these suggestions; advanced and professional performers will certainly make their own decisions. However, the leadership offered to less experienced players is perhaps not ideal here.

The only serious error in the editor's introduction is the treatment of the mute. Zyka or his copyist wrote "con sordini" on the violin part at the beginning of the opening slow movement of Trios 1 and 2. Without any supporting evidence, Rhodes tells us that the violin is "to remain muted throughout the entire trio, not just the first movement," and that "performers may prefer to adopt this approach for all six works." However, violins are not infrequently muted in Berlin School slow movements, including Italian-style concertos where the slow movement is central.<sup>4</sup> The mute is also used where the gamba is not present, indicating that it is a choice of tone color for slow movements rather than merely a means of ensuring equivalence of volume between the two instruments.<sup>5</sup> The convention then as now was that *con sordino* applied only to the movement where it was written. Violinists might try the mute in the other slow movements, but certainly not for an entire trio. It is

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<sup>4</sup> For example, J. G. Graun's concertos for gamba and strings in A (D DS Mus ms 354) and F (PL Kj Am.B 236/11).

<sup>5</sup> For example, F. Benda's violin sonata in F (Lee III-71), which was turned into a gamba sonata that omitted the second movement, *Adagio con sordino*. (See note 1.)

entirely foreign to the spirit of a sprightly Allegro. After years of performing with Baroque and sometimes modern violinists, I am convinced that requiring them to use the mute is not the answer, and besides, they won't do it!

None of the above reservations should discourage players from purchasing this edition. All six trios have something to recommend them, and they are an excellent example of a repertoire that is justifiably attracting the attention of several publishers. The music is printed large and clearly on good-quality white paper, with proper attention given to page turns and in fact all that the player needs, and for a very reasonable price. Ladies and gentlemen, a round of applause for the man who should be last but not least in any good music dictionary!

Michael O'Loghlin

## CONTRIBUTOR PROFILES

**Ellen TeSelle Boal** has frequently contributed articles and reviews to this *Journal* and to the VdGSA newsletter, as well as to other publications. A graduate of the University of Colorado, she received a Ph.D. in musicology from Washington University in St. Louis. Studies included work with early music specialists Curtis Price, George Houle, James Tyler, Nicholas McGegan, and Trevor Pinnock. A performer on both cello and viola da gamba, she has been a member of a number of professional orchestras, and has performed as a soloist and chamber musician with many ensembles including the New Music Circle of Saint Louis, Early Music Ensemble of Saint Louis, Washington (DC) Bach Consort, Interlochen Chamber Players, and Boulder (Colorado) Bach Festival; she was founder of the Washington (DC) Purcell Consort. Her teaching positions have included Hastings College, Bradley University, Washington University, and the Peabody Conservatory.

**Ted Conner** is the Chair of the Music Department at Muhlenberg College, where he teaches courses in Music History and directs the college's Collegium Musicum and Jazz Improvisation Ensemble. He received a B.M. in Jazz Studies from New England Conservatory, a B.A. in Social Sciences from the Johns Hopkins University, an M.M. in Music Theory from the University of Michigan, and a Ph.D. in Music History and Music Theory from the University of Connecticut. He is artistic director for Oriana's Muse, an early music group in which he plays viola da gamba, and the Ted Conner Quartet, a jazz ensemble in which he plays guitar and guitar synthesizer. His recent articles have been published in *Theory and Practice*, *In Theory Only*, and this *Journal*. His two-volume edition of John Moss's *Lessons for the Basse-Viol (1671)* was published in 2005 by Dovehouse Editions.

**Martha Davidson**, after retiring from her library position at Simmons College in Boston, has been free to pursue her interest in the viol, its music, and its history. She plays regularly for pleasure with friends and reads music history voraciously. Her library colleagues gave her as a retirement gift the 11-volume edition of

Pepys's *Diary*, and she has made a booklet of the entries dealing with music that runs to 111 pages, with a 15-page index. In the past she served two terms on the VdGSA Board, and she is currently active in the Viola da Gamba Society-New England.

**Jane Troy Johnson**, a specialist in English instrumental music of the seventeenth century, wrote her doctoral dissertation at the University of California Berkeley on *The English Fantasia-Suite, ca.1620–1660*. She has contributed articles and reviews to *Early Music*, *Journal of the American Musicological Society*, *MLA Notes*, *The Musical Quarterly*, and this *Journal*. Both a Woodrow Wilson Fellow and Fulbright Scholar, she taught until recently at universities in the San Francisco Bay Area and is currently researching, editing, and performing on period and modern string instruments.

**Michael O'Loghlin** received his Bachelor's degree from the University of Sydney, and his Ph.D. from the University of Queensland in Brisbane, Australia. He was first inspired to love early music and fumble on the viol during his undergraduate years by the late Professor Donald Peart and Winsome Evans. He later studied in Vienna and Salzburg with José Vázquez and Nikolaus Harnoncourt. He now lives in Brisbane, where he plays viola da gamba, violone, and double bass, and teaches viola da gamba and performance practice at the University of Queensland and the Queensland Conservatorium, Griffith University. He is writing a book on the viola da gamba music of the Berlin School for the English publisher Ashgate.

Based in New York City, **John Mark Rozendaal** specializes in teaching and performing stringed instrument music from the Baroque and Renaissance eras. As founding Artistic Director of Chicago Baroque Ensemble, he performed and led seven seasons of subscription concerts, educational programs, radio broadcasts, and recordings for the Cedille and Centaur labels. He served as principal cellist of both The City Musick and Basically Bach, and has performed both solo and continuo roles with many period instrument ensembles, including the Newberry Consort, Orpheus Band, King's Noyse, Boston Early Music Festival Orchestra, Catacoustic Consort, Philomel, Parthenia, New York Consort of

Viols, and Empire Viols. He performs as a member of Trio Settecento with violinist Rachel Barton Pine and harpsichordist David Schrader and is Artist-in-Residence at The Harvey School, a coeducational college preparatory school located in Katonah, New York. In demand as a workshop teacher, he often joins the faculties of the VdGSA Conclave, Viols West's annual workshop, Amherst Early Music, Madison Early Music Festival, and the Music Institute of Chicago's annual Baroque Festival. During the school year he teaches private lessons and Viola da Gamba Dojo classes in Manhattan and at The Harvey School in Katonah.

**Ian Woodfield** received his bachelor's degree from Nottingham University and his master's and doctorate from King's College, University of London. He was Herschel Fellow at Bath University in 1976–77. In 1978 he was appointed to the music faculty of Queen's University Belfast, where he is now Director of the School of Music. His first book, *The Celebrated Quarrel Between Thomas Linley (Senior) and William Herschel: An Episode in the Musical Life of 18th-Century Bath*, was published by the University of Bath in 1977. He has also contributed articles and reviews to *Early Music* and the *Proceedings of the Royal Music Association*. His book *The Early History of the Viol* (published by Cambridge University Press in 1984) is now a classic on the subject. He delivered two lectures at the 1994 VdGSA Conclave. He has recently published two books: *Music of the Raj* (Oxford University Press, 2000) and *Opera and Drama in Eighteenth-Century London* (OUP, 2001).