

THE PERFORMANCE OF ENGLISH SONG 1610-1670

TWO VOLUMES: VOLUME I

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DECLARATION

Some of the material contained in parts IV and V of this thesis has already appeared in the present writer's 'The Theorbo and Continuo Practice in the Early English Baroque' (Galpin Society Journal, XXV (1972) pp. 67-72) and '"To Sing and Play to the Base-Violl Alone": the Bass Viol in English 17th Century Song' (Lute Society Journal, XVII (1975) pp. 17-23).

ABSTRACT

English continuo song has received a good deal of scholarly attention, yet little of the music is published and the songs are rarely performed. The purpose of this thesis is to make the musical idiom of Henry Lawes and his contemporaries more accessible to the performer.

The techniques of singing used in the performance of continuo song differ in some respects from those used in the modern concert hall. Sheer volume was less important than agility, sweetness of tone and a clear articulation of the words. Boys' voices were commonly used in professional performances of the solo song, and professional men singers were also important. However, the falsetto voice was little used. Women's voices were used only in domestic music, at least until the Restoration, but some amateur singers probably achieved a very high standard.

Ornamentation played an important part in performance. During the first half of the century there was a proliferation of different types of graces. At the same time the indigenous division technique was strongly influenced by the flamboyant Italian style of ornamentation and also by the more elegant French idiom.

Continuo songs were usually accompanied by lute, theorbo or bass viol. During the first half of the century the renaissance lute was superseded by the French lute, used for solo playing, and the theorbo, used for

song accompaniment. The techniques of continuo playing can be studied through a number of manuscript song books which give tablature accompaniments. Unlike in the Elizabethan and Jacobean lute song, the bass viol was not used to support the lute or theorbo, but songs were often sung to the bass viol alone.

INTRODUCTION

A Composer, when he hath set a Song with
all the art he can, hath done but halfe the
worke, the other halfe is the well performing
or expressing that in singing or playing
which he hath done in composing ...

Walter Porter, Madrigales and Ayres (1632)

The purpose of this study is to explore how English song was performed during the period 1610-1670 in order better to perform the music today. The importance of the study of performance practice is now widely accepted; the music of any period can only carry its full meaning if it sounds as the composer originally heard it.

However, the pursuit of authentic musical performance raises a number of general problems. Strictly speaking the word authenticity is itself a misnomer, as Michael Morrow points out:

Authenticity can only mean the real thing;
and no modern performance of any music of
the past can sustain such a claim ... (1)

The way we approach a particular period of music is conditioned by our own musical experience, and our view of how early music was performed is constantly changing. For example, at the beginning of the present early music revival lutes tended to be built and played very much like guitars. Then lighter instruments were introduced, later still original playing techniques were rediscovered, and now lutenists are experimenting with authentic all-gut stringing. All of these developments have a profound effect on the sonority of the music. Another example is the use of the

falsetto voice, which at one time was thought to be indispensable for almost all medieval, renaissance and early-baroque music. Nowadays the falsetto voice tends to be used more selectively, and for some styles and periods it is thought to be quite inappropriate.

Even when we are confident about a point of early performance practice it is sometimes necessary to compromise. For example, boys' voices were widely used in England before the Civil War, not only in sacred music but also as soloists in secular song. However, it is probably impossible to recreate the art of the boy singers; the conditions under which the boys were impressed and worked would be unacceptable today. Moreover, boys' voices broke later than is normal nowadays and so the boy singers could achieve more experience and musical maturity. In modern performance a compromise must be made. A modern boy treble may offer a fairly authentic sound, but will almost certainly lack the technique and musicianship of his early seventeenth-century counterpart. Female voices, although they were not used in professional music before the Restoration, may well give a performance that is closer in spirit to the original.

Compromises may also be necessary because of problems of acoustics. Before the introduction of public concerts sheer volume was less important, because all music other than that for church or

theatre was, literally, chamber music. One of the main reasons instrument construction and playing techniques changed since the seventeenth century was to make more sound. Authentic instruments and performing techniques can recapture the beauties of the original sonorities, but the volume of sound can be quite inappropriate for a large hall.

The seventeenth-century sources themselves show that a too rigid approach to authenticity should be avoided. It is clear that there were a number of different ways of performing English continuo song during the period 1610-1670, and none of these styles is necessarily more correct than another. For example, a singer-composer such as Henry Lawes would probably have performed a song in a very different style from a virtuoso singer skilled in the art of florid ornamentation; and within the art of ornamentation itself there were quite different techniques.

Alfred Deller has said that 'musicology and the performance of music are two worlds best kept apart from one another'. (2) The danger, as Deller points out, is that an over-intellectual historical approach will inhibit the performer without providing compensatory advantages. This study is a direct attempt to link musicology and practical musicianship, but this should not place the music in a stylistic strait jacket. On the contrary, given the different authentic ways of performing continuo song, and the adjustments

which may be necessary for modern performance, the performer constantly has to make decisions which depend, ultimately, on his own taste and skill. Indeed, one of the most valuable aspects of the pursuit of authenticity is the way it can stimulate the musical imagination.

This study is concerned with the genre known as continuo song, which emerged during the first quarter of the seventeenth century and came to a flowering in the work of Henry Lawes and his contemporaries.

The term continuo song perhaps needs some explanation. Several writers have identified continuo song with declamatory song, (3) and there is certainly a good deal of justification for this: the development of declamatory techniques is by far the most interesting and important aspect of the style. On the other hand, not all continuo songs are declamatory. In particular there are large numbers of simple dance-like settings. This type of song, which Eric Ford Hart and Murray Lefkowitz have called the 'ballad' form (4) needs to be included in any definition of continuo song.

In fact, the term continuo song should be self-explanatory. The feature that both declamatory songs and ballad songs have in common, and which differentiates the continuo song from the polyphonic

type of lute song, is that the music is conceived as treble and bass, and any further inner parts which may be added are incidental to the composed structure. This polarisation into treble and bass is recognised as one of the distinctive features of the early baroque. Friedrich Blume states that at this time:

the co-ordinated homogeneity of the voices in the Renaissance changed into a polarity, inasmuch as the main importance fell upon the outer voices (soprano and bass), between which a sort of tension was built up, while the middle voices were used for filling in. (5)

1610 is a convenient starting point for this study, though at this stage the continuo song had not yet emerged as a distinct form. As Vincent Duckles says, 'the problem is to determine where lute ayre ends and continuo song begins'. (6) Songs notated as treble and bass are found in manuscripts from the second decade of the century, but not many of these songs can really be described as continuo songs. For example, BL Add. MS 24665 (Giles Earle's Book) and Christ Church MS 439 contain numerous treble and bass versions of songs from the published collections of lute songs - including polyphonically-conceived songs by Dowland, Morley and others. Another contemporary manuscript, BL Egerton MS 2971, includes a two-part adaptation of Wilbye's five-part madrigal 'Weep mine eyes'. (7) Songs such as these are obviously not true continuo songs. Nevertheless the polarisation into treble and bass in these sources is indicative of the trend towards the continuo song.

At the same time some of the lute song prints show signs of the development of continuo song. In Coprario's Songs of Mourning (1613), for example, the musical interest is contained in the two outer parts, while the tablature consists of simple chords above the bass. A similar style is found in some of the published songs from masques by composers such as Campion, Lanier and Ferrabosco, and a few of these songs also make some use of declamatory techniques.

Ferrabosco is one of the key figures in the transition from lute song to continuo song. His published Ayres (1609) are all provided with tablature, though Dr. Burney describes the accompaniment to the first song, 'Like hermit poor', as 'mere thorough base'. (8) In some of the other songs, particularly those from the Masque of Beauty (songs XVIII-XXII), the tablature is even more continuo-like. Ferrabosco's other surviving songs, from manuscript sources, probably date from the second decade of the century. These songs are given simply as treble and bass, (9) and there is no reason to suppose that they were not originally conceived as continuo songs.

The second decade of the century was clearly a period of transition, during which the main features of continuo song emerged. It is not until the 1620s that true continuo songs appear in any numbers in the manuscript anthologies. These manuscripts include Christ Church MS 87 (Elizabeth Davenant's Book),

New York Public Library, Drexel MS 4175 (Ann Twice's Book), Bodleian MS Mus. Sch. f. 575 and BL Add. MS 29481, and contain songs by composers such as Robert Johnson, Nicholas Lanier and early works of John Wilson and Henry Lawes.

The closing limit for this study is taken as 1670. The Diary of Samuel Pepys suggests that the songs were still popular to some extent among amateurs during the early years of the Restoration, (10) but by this time the leading Caroline songwriters were old men: Lawes died in 1662, Lanier in 1666 and Wilson in 1673. During the early years of the Restoration musical tastes changed rapidly, largely because of the increasing number of foreign musicians working in England and the reopening of the public theatres.

The change in musical taste during the 1660s is clearly shown in the publications of John Playford. Between 1652 and 1659 he printed six books of solo songs, three for Henry Lawes and three anthologies of songs by Lawes and his contemporaries. However, Playford published no further song prints until 1669, when he brought out a large anthology, the Treasury of Musick. This included his Select Ayres and Dialogues (1659) and Lawes' Ayres, And Dialogues (1658), and appears to be Playford's final attempt to rid himself of old stock. The series of Playford publications beginning with the Choice Songs and Ayres (1673) represents, on the whole, a new generation of composers.

The 1660s were, therefore, a period of decline for the continuo songs of Henry Lawes and his contemporaries, and a new style of song writing was emerging, so it is necessary to be selective when drawing on Restoration sources. Some developments of the 1660s, such as the appearance of women singers on the professional stage and the use of guitar in song accompaniment, might seem to be important for the study of performance practice. Yet these innovations have little to do with the performance of the songs of Henry Lawes, belonging rather to the new style of song writing 'at Court, and at the Publick Theatres'.

Nevertheless a few fairly late sources have some bearing on the earlier style of continuo song. For example, James Talbot's MS (Christ Church MS 1187) dates from c.1690, but is nevertheless valuable for this study because it provides unique details of the measurements of instruments. Thomas Mace's Musick's Monument (1676) is also strictly speaking outside this period, but much of what he says seems to be relevant to earlier music because his taste is in general retrospective. These later sources have to be used with caution, however; even Mace is sometimes susceptible to what he describes as the 'Modes and Fashions' of his age.

The development of English song 1610-1670 has received a good deal of scholarly attention, parti-

cularly during the last thirty years. Many of the books and articles dealing with the subject are listed in the bibliography. A number of writers such as Vincent Duckles, McDonald Emslie, Willa McClung Evans, Eric Ford Hart, Murray Lefkowitz and R. J. McGrady have contributed to our understanding of the overall development of the genre and the contribution of some of the most prominent individual composers. Several of the manuscript sources of continuo song have been researched in detail, the work of John P. Cutts, Mary Cyr and Pamela Willetts being especially important in this context. E. H. Fellowes' English Madrigal Verse and C. L. Day and E. B. Murrie's English Song Books 1651-1702 together give a complete index to the solo songs published during the period.

Much of this research has been drawn together by the work of Ian Spink, particularly in his two most recent publications, 'English Songs, 1625-1660' Musica Britannica, XXXIII and English Song Dowland to Purcell. These provide an invaluable basis for the study of English continuo song.

Considering the amount of musicological research into the development of English continuo song it is extraordinary that so little of the music is published. Apart from Ian Spink's Musica Britannica volume only a handful of songs are available in performing editions, such as Thurston Dart's Ten Ayres of Henry Lawes and the present writer's William Lawes: Six Songs and

Six Songs by Nicholas Lanier. Study texts of a number of other songs are available in the facsimile edition of the Treasury of Musick and John P. Cutts' La Musique de Scène de la Troupe de Shakespeare.

There is also an edition of BL Add. MS 10337 (Elizabeth Rogers' Virginals Book), edited by Charles J. F. Cofone. A few other isolated songs are found in historical anthologies and studies such as Murray Lefkowitz' Trois Masques à la Cour de Charles I^{er} d'Angleterre. These editions represent only a small proportion of the continuo songs found in the manuscripts and printed song books. There is nothing approaching a complete edition of the songs of Henry Lawes, William Lawes or John Wilson.

Perhaps this partly explains why the music is so rarely heard today. Elizabethan and Jacobean lute songs are regularly performed in concerts, broadcasts and recordings, as are the solo songs of the later seventeenth century. The field of Caroline and Commonwealth solo song, on the other hand, seems to have become the province of the academic rather than the musician. There is no doubt that this is due to some extent to problems of performance, for in many ways the musical idiom is a difficult one. Often the vocal line seems to require ornamentation, both in the form of small-scale graces and also extended divisions. The thorough-bass also presents problems, for a style of accompaniment must be rediscovered

which is appropriate not only to the instrument - usually a lute or a theorbo - but also to the music. The present study is concerned with these and other questions relating to practical performance, in the hope that this may assist Caroline song to become better known, not merely as an academic exercise but as a musical experience.

This study necessarily draws on a wide range of sources. These include general musical treatises, such as those by Thomas Morley, Charles Butler, John Playford and Thomas Mace. Contemporary European sources are also referred to including Bénigne de Bacilly's L'Art de Bien Chanter and Italian ornamentation manuals. Instrumental sources for solo lute and viol are cited as appropriate, as are organological sources relating to the construction, tuning and pitch of the theorbo.

However, by far the most important materials are the manuscript collections of continuo songs. The present study draws primarily on nineteen of the thirty or so manuscript song books of the period. (11) These nineteen manuscripts are listed in the bibliography; together they give a representative cross-section of the different types of manuscripts and the varying approaches to ornamentation and accompaniment.

The published collections of lute songs and continuo songs are also referred to extensively.

In the case of the lute songs the Scholar Press facsimile editions have been used. Comprehensive lists of the printed song books can be found in Spink's English Song Dowland to Purcell, or in Fellowes' English Madrigal Verse and Day and Murrie's English Song Books 1651-1702.

Note

In references to songs, spelling has been modernised and punctuation reduced to a minimum. In some cases it would probably be preferable to retain the original spelling and punctuation. On the other hand, old spellings raise a number of problems, particularly when a song is found in several different sources. (12) The two main bibliographical sources for the poems, Fellowes' English Madrigal Verse and Day and Murrie's English

Song Books 1651-1702 use modernised spelling, and this is undoubtedly the more straightforward course.

I THE VOICE

1. VOCAL TECHNIQUE AND STYLE

A study of the performance of the solo song must begin with the voice itself. However, the question of what sort of vocal sound was cultivated is one of the most difficult problems relating to performance. If we attempt to rediscover the sound of seventeenth-century instruments a mass of information is available. We can examine original instruments and illustrations, research the properties of gut and metal strings and build replicas accordingly. The study of vocal practice is much more difficult, for the voice is capable of an enormous range of musical sounds and we can only conjecture what tone quality was favoured.

Certain points of technique may be inferred from the music - for example, rapid ornamentation presupposes certain technical qualities - but on the whole we are dependant on references to vocal style in writings of the period. Such references are not plentiful. J. A. Westrup comments on the lack of textbooks 'offering instructions in voice production, in which little interest seems to have been taken at this time'. (1) However, it is clear that fine singers were valued highly, and it seems more likely that it was felt that tone production could only be taught by demonstration.

The most important adjustment that the modern singer has to make for the music of the period is in the scale of the voice. The modern singer is expected to develop a powerful voice, ideally in order to fill a large hall (often with a dead acoustic) and to project above an orchestra. For solo songs written before the advent of the public concert a powerful voice is quite inappropriate. The scale of the voice is implied by the accompanying instruments, the lute, theorbo and viol.

It might be argued that early Italian opera and the English masque required more powerful voices. However, even these large-scale entertainments were performed before select audiences in relatively small halls, and the accompanying instruments were less strident than their modern equivalents, and were used in smaller numbers. Also, Nigel Fortune has shown that the real focus for the development of the stile recitativo in Italy was not so much opera as the chamber monody - which was accompanied by a single chitarrone or similar instrument. (2) The kind of voice used in opera and masque was presumably the same as that used in the solo madrigal and declamatory song.

Singers of the late Renaissance and early Baroque seem to have deliberately not cultivated the powerful voice in order better to cultivate

other things, particularly clear articulation of the text, sweetness of tone and agility in rapid passages. These qualities are referred to in a number of contemporary writings.

Charles Butler states in The Principles of Musick (1636) that:

Good voices alone, sounding only the notes, are sufficient, by their melody and harmony, to delight the ear: but being furnished with some laudable ditty, they become yet more excellent. (3)

Butler is mainly concerned with polyphonic church music, but his comments are equally applicable to secular song. In all the vocal music of the period the text was considered to be of prime importance. The best of the Elizabethan and Jacobean lute songs create a fine balance between the music and the poetry. In the continuo song, the musical idiom developed specifically as a vehicle for the poetry, so the relative importance of the text was even greater. It was essential, therefore, that the words should be heard.

Thomas Morley, in A Plaine and Easie Introduction to Practicall Musicke (1597), explicitly relates clear diction to the scale of the voice:

Most of our churchmen, so they can cry louder in their choir than their fellows, care for no more, whereas by the contrary they ought to study how to vowel and sing clean. (4)

Butler repeatedly stresses the importance of clear diction, and of vowel sounds in particular.

Singers should take care:

to sing as plainly as they would speak;
pronouncing every syllable and letter
(specially the vowels) distinctly and
treatably. (5)

Butler, like Morley, implies that clear articulation of the text is incompatible with loud singing:

First therefore let the whole choir
endeavour so to moderate their voices,
that their words may be plainly heard
and understood of the congregation. (6)

Quality of tone was presumably very important, but contemporary references can be ambiguous. For example, Playford briefly mentions vocal production in the Introduction to the Skill of Musick (1654):

In the expressing of your Voyce, or
Tuning of Notes, let the Sound come
clear from your throat, and not through
your teeth, by sucking in your breath,
for that is a great obstruction to the
clear utterance of the Voyce. (7)

Although Playford obviously means that the voice should be clear and open, a variety of interpretations is possible.

One of the most common epithets applied to the voice is 'sweet'. Butler states that for anthems the best solo voice is 'a sweet melodious treble, or countertenor,' and that the counter-tenor voice is 'fittest for a man of sweet shrill voice'. (8) Again, sweetness seems to be more important than power. The use of the word 'shrill', here and elsewhere, is also interesting. For example, John Dowland, in his translation of the

Micrologus (1609) states that cantors are chosen 'by the shrillnesse of their Voyce, not for their cunning in the Art'. (9) The word seems to have had a slightly different connotation from today, but it also suggests a focused quality: the sweetness of the viol rather than of the flute.

Closely related to the scale of the voice is the use of vibrato. Some vibrato is natural in a well-produced voice. However, if the volume of sound is increased beyond a certain limit the vibrato tends to become more accentuated, and this in turn can contribute to the carrying power of the voice. This use of vibrato is very common in modern singers of opera and oratorio, but in the music of this period it should be avoided. Roger North, writing at the end of the seventeenth century, seems to describe an ideal vibrato:

I would have a voice or hand taught... to superinduce a gentle and slow wavering, not into a trill, upon the swelling of the note; such as trumpets use, as if the instrument were a little shaken with the wind of its owne sound, but not so as to vary the tone, which must be religiously held to its place, like a pillar on its base, without the least loss of the accord. (10)

Vibrato was valued for its expressive qualities and was cultivated as a specific vocal grace. The French singer Bénigne de Bacilly refers in his treatise Remarques Curieuses sur L'Art de Bien Chanter (1668) to:

the tremblements which many call flexions de voix and which are done everywhere in order

to make it more brilliant, and which even add greatly to the expression and movement. (11)

Bacilly's comments almost certainly apply to some extent to English song of the mid century. (12)

However, it is apparent that vibrato should be used with moderation. When Butler criticises singers who make 'too much shaking and quavering of the notes' he seems to be referring to the excessive use of vibrato. (13)

The solo songs of the period require great agility in the voice for the performance of rapid graces and divisions, and this also has some bearing on the scale of the voice. For rapid passages to have the necessary clarity and lightness they must be articulated in the throat rather than from the diaphragm, and this cannot be done above a certain volume. Thus Bacilly states that:

In regard to small voices, doubtless they have a great advantage over big ones, in that they have greater flexibility for the performance of vocal agréments. (14)

Bacilly offers advice on how the technique of articulating in the throat may be developed:

While learning how to perform passages, it is necessary to practice by performing the throat-accent as heavily and as slowly as possible at first so that by means of this deliberate speed and solidity of accent, one masters the problems of pitch, avoids singing through the nose, and eliminates undue manipulation of the tongue. (15)

The technique of throat articulation in rapid divisions was apparently similar to that used for the trillo, and this is discussed below. (16)

The references to Bacilly raise the question of the French style of singing versus the Italian. In the early seventeenth century musicians were already self-consciously aware of the opposing national styles, summarised in Mersenne's celebrated account:

As to the Italians, they... represent as much as they can the affects of the soul and the spirit; for example, anger, fury, spleen, rage, faintheartedness, and many other passions, with a violence so strange, that one judges them as if they were touched with the same affects as they represent in singing; in place of which our Frenchmen are content to caress the ear, and use nothing but a perpetual sweetness in their songs. (17)

Nigel Fortune, commenting on this extract, has suggested that:

Mersenne merely admired with a touch of envy a feature of Italian music which was quite foreign to his own country, and it was one which was not treated very seriously by the Italians themselves. (18)

However, although the antithesis between the two styles may not have been as marked as is suggested by Mersenne, the differences were nevertheless real, and Mersenne is hardly alone in remarking on them. For example, André Maugars' Response faite à un curieux sur le sentiment de la musique d'Italie (1639) contrasts the dramatic Italian style of singing with the more elegant French style, (19) concluding epigrammatically 'I have observed that we sin through lack, and the Italians through excess'. (20) Bacilly, writing some thirty years later, contrasts the French and Italian styles in very similar terms. (21)

It is likely that both national styles of singing were to some extent current in England. An attempt to 'represent ... the affects of the soul' can be seen in English music from the time of Elizabeth. Dowland, in his translation of the Micrologus, puts this in its most naive terms:

Let every Singer conforme his voyce to the words, that as much as he can he make the Concent sad when the words are sad; & merry, when they are merry. (22)

Morley stresses the importance of expressive flexibility in composition, and his comments may equally apply to performance:

You must in your music be wavering like the wind, sometime wanton, sometime drooping, sometime grave and staid, otherwhile effeminate. (23)

Thomas Campion beautifully encapsulates the affective aesthetic in his song 'When to her lute Corinna sings'. (24) The direct and powerful expression of emotion through music which Campion describes is very similar to the Italian style of singing as described by Mersenne.

The development of English declamatory song was, to a large extent, in imitation of Italian monody, and the style of performance must have received similar influences. However, English musicians of the mid century were also acutely aware of the differences between English and Italian song, and particularly the way these differences reflected the nature of the two languages. (25)

While the Italian style of composition might be regarded in some ways as the ideal, the stile recitativo had to be tempered by the requirements of the English language. Similarly the Italian style of performance would have to be modified to suit the nature of English continuo song.

The influence of the French style is less obvious, largely because the style itself was less demonstrative. However, French musicians were active in England, particularly after 1625, and their influence can be traced in such things as techniques of ornamentation. Playford's statement that 'of late our Language is much refined, and so is our Musick, to a more smooth and delightful way and manner of singing' (26) suggests the French style as much as it does the Italian. Some singers, at least, probably performed with a (typically English) compromise between the two national styles.

2. BOYS', WOMEN'S AND MEN'S VOICES

One of the most intriguing problems relating to performance is the voice types that were used. Most lute songs and continuo songs are notated for a treble - that is, either female or boy's voice. The problem occurs over the use of men's voices, and whether songs originally notated for a treble could, or in some cases even should, be transposed down an octave for a man's voice. A distinction must be made here between professional performance and amateur music making. Many songs were written for professional performance, and presumably the composer usually had a specific voice-type in mind. In domestic music making, on the other hand, songs were presumably sung by male or female voices as were available. Thomas Campion seems to imply as much in his Two Bookes of Ayres (c. 1613):

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 ... Also, if wee consider well, the Treble tunes, which are with us commonly called Ayres, are but Tenors mounted eight Notes higher, and therefore an inward part must needs well become them.

However, as we shall see not all 'Treble tunes' can be transposed down an octave equally successfully.

Boys' voices

Until the early 1640s boys' voices were used extensively, not only in church music but also in professional performances of secular vocal music at court, in the households of noblemen and in music for

masques and plays.

Charles I's private musical establishment included two singing boys. H. C. de Lafontaine lists an entry in the Lord Chamberlain's accounts for May 25, 1626:

Warrant for allowance of 20 by the year to be made to Thomas Day, musician, for the custody and teaching of a singing boy for the service of the King, according to the like allowance made to him when the King was Prince of Wales. (27)

An allowance for a second singing boy was issued on June 7, 1627. (28) These payments continued regularly until 1641, during which period the singing boys must have changed several times. Thomas Day had considerable experience with boys' voices: he was Master of the Choristers at Westminster Abbey from 1625 to 1632, and was appointed Master of the Children of the Chapel Royal in 1637. (27) These two singing boys were apparently quite distinct from the twelve or so Children of the Chapel Royal, being kept specifically 'for the service of the King' in his private music. The list of Henrietta Maria's French musicians made in 1625 also includes three singing boys. (30)

Boy singers were used extensively in the court masques. Bulstrode Whitelocke's manuscript notes for the performance of the Triumph of Peace in 1634 mention eight trebles: (31)

M ^r Mari	M ^r Porters boy
M ^r Dayes 1 boy	M ^r Dayes 2 ^d boy
M ^r Dayes 3 boy	M ^r Lawes boy
M ^r Colemans boy	M ^r Whitelockes boy

Mari, who was one of the Queen's French musicians, was presumably a falsettist. The seven singing boys are not identified by name but, usually, by the musician to whom they were apprenticed. Thus Lawes'

boy actually belonged to the household of the Lord Chamberlain, but was being trained by William Lawes. Whitelock's boy, however, was presumably in the service of Whitelock. It seems likely that the three boys attached to Thomas Day included those mentioned above. As well as singing in the choruses several boys had solo parts. For example, Porter's boy sang the part of Eunomia and Lawes' boy sang Amphiluche. Music for both roles survives in William Lawes' autograph, Bodleian Mus. Sch. B. 2. (32)

The use of boys' voices in masques is closely connected to their use in the theatre. The music itself is often close in style; as Ian Spink points out, 'as playhouse and masquing hall came closer, so did playsong and masque song'. (33) This can be seen by comparing William Lawes' music for the Triumph of Peace with Henry Lawes' music for Cartwright's play The Royal Slave, acted in 1636. (34) Boys were important not only in the choirboy companies, which continued to flourish until the closure of the theatres in 1642, but also in the adult actors' companies, where they were employed both to play female roles and also specifically to perform songs. Songs are very common in the plays of the period and it is clear from their contexts that many were intended to be sung by a boy - or by a boy playing the part of a woman. (35)

The art of the boy singers as it flourished in

England during the late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries can probably never be recreated. The leading choirs and boys' theatre companies were run on ruthlessly professional and competitive lines; for example, at the beginning of the seventeenth century, during the heyday of the choirboy theatre companies, the Master of the Children of the Chapel Royal had a royal patent to forcibly impress the most talented singing boys 'within this our realm of England' (36). Within the choirs the musical and theatrical training must have been extremely rigorous. The system seems to have produced boy singers of a remarkable standard.

When considering the art of the boy singers we should bear in mind that boys' voices probably broke at a rather later age during the seventeenth century than is normal today. Bacilly, writing during the 1660s, states that boys' voices broke between the ages of fifteen and twenty, (37) and in England too it was common for boys' voices to remain 'as the maiden's organ, shrill and sound' (38) until well into their teens. This would have allowed the development of far greater technical proficiency and musical maturity than would normally be expected of boy singers today. The quality of sound produced by the boy singers seems to have been very distinctive; a contemporary account of a boy singer at the Blackfriars theatre in 1602 states that he sang 'cum voce tremula',

(39) which seems to imply a very different sound from that of the modern cathedral chorister. If we consider these qualities it seems quite credible that these 'mature' boy singers should have been used to perform even the more passionate and declamatory songs of the Lawes brothers and Wilson.

Women's voices

In domestic music performed by amateurs, treble voice parts and solo songs would often have been sung by women. It seems likely that many of these lady amateurs were fine singers.

J. A. Westrup was probably the first modern writer to challenge the assumption that in early seventeenth-century England every educated person necessarily had both the ability and the inclination to perform music. (40) Westrup's point is developed by Walter L. Woodfill, though in arguing his thesis that 'comparatively few people could and did perform music for their own entertainment' (41) Woodfill seems to overstate his case. For the fact remains that, in the area of the solo song alone, between 1597 and 1622 some thirty major collections of lute songs were published, and that these books were purchased and presumably performed by amateurs. The same is true of the ten or so main collections of continuo songs published between 1652 and 1669. The circulation of these song books would suggest that, at its best, amateur music-making was of a high standard.

Music was generally regarded as a desirable social accomplishment for a lady or a gentleman. However, several English writers of the late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries are less than enthusiastic about music, (42) and even Henry Peacham, who was very fond of music, warns that gentlemen should only practise it in moderation:

I might run into an infinite sea of the praise and use of so excellent an art, but I only shew it you with the finger, because I desire not that any noble or gentelman should (save his private recreation or leisure hours) prove a master in the same, or neglect his more weighty employments... (43)

It is probable that in this social climate it was usually the women who, lacking the 'more weighty employments' of gentlemen, became the more skilful amateur musicians. For example, John Danyel's Songs (1606), one of the most musically demanding of the lute song collections, is dedicated to Danyel's pupil Anne Grene, daughter of Sir William Grene of Milton, and the dedicatory poem at the beginning of the volume makes it clear that Anne Grene performed the songs herself. A number of important manuscript collections of continuo songs were compiled by (or for) lady amateurs, such as Elizabeth Davenant (Christ Church 87), Anne Twice (Drexel 4175), Anne Blount (Lambeth 1041) and Elizabeth Rogers (Add. 10337). These anthologies all include elaborate and technically demanding ornamentation.

Nevertheless the activities of women singers

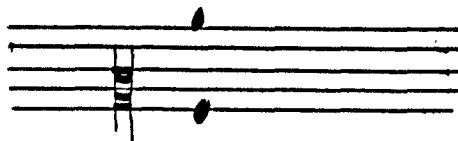
were confined to amateur music, and there were no English equivalents of the virtuoso sopranos who were active in Italy during the period. (44)

Women singers were not heard in public in England until shortly before the Restoration. Probably the first was Mrs. Coleman, wife of Edward Coleman, who appeared in Davenant's Entertainment at Rutland House in 1656, and also in the Siege of Rhodes later the same year. (45) After the reopening of the theatres in 1660 professional women singers became very important, but this development was associated with a new style of song writing and falls outside the present study.

For the modern performance of lute songs and continuo songs, women's voices are in many ways ideal. We have seen that songs written for domestic performance were often intended specifically for women's voices, and while boy singers were used for treble parts in professional performances the right sort of boy singer is probably not available today.

If a tenor or baritone is to be used, most of the songs must be transposed down an octave. The question of octave transposition is discussed below, but certainly in many cases it is preferable to respect the original clefs and notation and perform the songs at written pitch. This has the advantage in many lute songs that it avoids the register of the lute, allowing the different polyphonic strands to

be heard more clearly. In a number of songs, octave transposition will actually take the voice below the bass of the accompaniment, (46) and these songs would certainly seem to be intended for a treble voice. A case in point is John Maynard's XII Wonders of the World (1611), which contains a series of satirical portraits of stock characters, both male (The Courtier, The Divine, The Soldier, etc.) and female (The Wife, The Widow and the Maid). All the songs are in the treble or soprano clef, apart from The Lawyer, which is in another C clef:



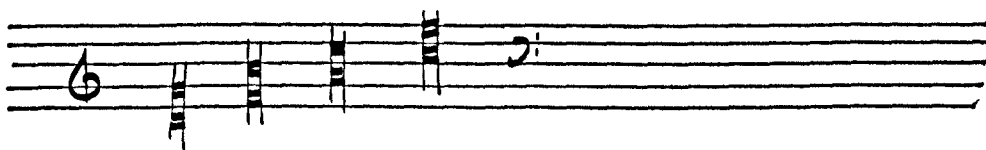
It is clear that all the songs were intended to be sung by a treble or 'mean' voice, rather than transposed down an octave for a man's voice, because transposition will in several cases take the voice below the bass of the accompaniment.

This example raises the question of the appropriateness of the texts of songs for men's or women's voices. It could be argued that as most are men's love songs men's voices are more appropriate, but the poetic convention allowed men's songs to be sung by women and vice versa. There are also a number of women's love songs; examples from the

beginning of the century include Champion's 'My love hath vow'd' (47) and 'Fain would I wed', (48) and these women's songs become far more common towards the middle of the century, Henry Lawes' Ariadne being a notable example.

Men's voices

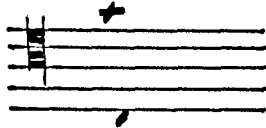
The main argument against the use of men's voices in lute songs and continuo songs is the nature of the original clefs. Six clefs are found in lute song and continuo song sources:



Voice parts were usually written within the range of a tenth, and this compass could be notated on a five-line staff, without the use of leger lines, if the correct staff was used. Most of the songs are notated in either the treble or soprano clef, and the question is whether these treble parts were customarily transposed down an octave for a man's voice.

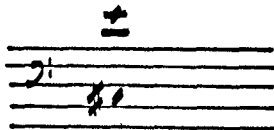
There are a handful of songs in which the cantus is in one of the low-voice clefs, appropriate for a tenor or baritone. Examples are found in the following lute-song publications:

- (i) Thomas Ford, Musicke of Sundrie Kindes (1607). Song XI, a dialogue, gives the lower voice in the tenor clef.
- (ii) Alfonso Ferrabosco, Ayres (1609). XIV and XX are in the tenor clef, with the exceptional range:



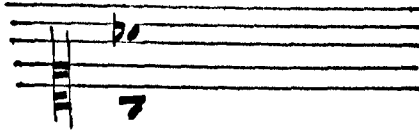
XXI, XXII and XXIII use the alto clef. XXVI, XXVII and XXVIII are dialogues, notated in alto and treble clefs.

- (iii) Robert Dowland, A Musicall Banquet (1610). XVII is in the tenor clef.
- (iv) William Corkine, Ayres (1610). I, IV, V and VIII are in the alto clef.
- (v) William Corkine, The Second Booke Of Ayres (1612). I, III, V, VII, XII, XIV and XV are in the alto clef. XVII, a dialogue, gives the lower part in the bass clef, but the voice has a higher range:



- (vi) John Dowland, A Pilgrimes Solace (1612). XIX is in the alto clef.
- (vii) George Mason and John Earsden, The Ayres That Were Sung and Played (1618). I and II are in the alto clef. III and IV are in the bass clef. VI and VIII use treble, alto and bass clefs.
- (viii) John Attey, The First Booke of Ayres (1622). XIII is in soprano clef, but the range is low and could be sung by

a high man's voice:



The fact that these clefs were available for the lower voices, and were used occasionally, might be taken as evidence that songs in one of the high clefs should be performed at written pitch. However, the evidence provided by this group of songs is less conclusive than might appear at first sight. Many of the songs were written for masques (Ferrabosco 1609, XIV, XX, XXI, XXII, XXIII; Dowland 1612, XIX; all of the Mason and Earsden songs) and would therefore have been written for specific singers in a specific dramatic context. Most of the remaining songs are dialogues (Ford 1607, XI; Ferrabosco 1609, XXVI, XXVII, XXVIII; Corkine 1612, XVII) and depend for their effect on the contrast between high and low voices. (49)

This analysis has concentrated on the lute song prints, because they provide a convenient and unified body of examples. However, the same conclusions can be drawn from the continuo songs of the first half of the century: almost without exception, the songs notated in low-voice clefs are from masques or plays, or are dialogues. The conclusion must be that in these 'special' songs the use of men's voices was

considered essential. However, as far as the main body of high-clef songs is concerned we should still consider the use of men's voices as an alternative.

Hints of octave transposition can be found in a few of the lute song publications. For example, in Coprario's Songs of Mourning (1613) the accompaniment is unusually low, avoiding the top string most of the time, and this suggests that the songs were intended to be sung an octave lower. This is borne out to some extent in Coprario's Funeral Teares (1606): in song VII, a dialogue for treble and 'mean' voice, the accompaniment alternates between high and low registers according to which voice is singing.

The background to Dowland's 'His golden locks' (50) has some bearing on the question of octave transposition. It is likely that it was Dowland's setting of this poem that was sung by Robert Hales, one of the Queen's musicians, at the Accession Day celebrations in 1590. (51) The published version of the song is notated in soprano clef, but in this case it would certainly seem that the song could be performed at either pitch.

The principle of transposing clefs, for transpositions other than the octave, was well-established. In A Musicall Banquet, for example, song III, VI and XI - XVI are all notated up a tone relative to the lute accompaniment. (52) In Campion's Third ... Booke of Ayres three songs use transposing clefs, apparently

to avoid notating the cantus in difficult keys. (53) In both publications the transpositions are indicated in the tablature by a single letter giving the first note of the cantus. Examples of transposing clefs are also found in the manuscript sources of continuo song, but the issue is further complicated in these later sources because of the occasional use of nominal A pitch for the theorbo. (54) Bodleian Library, Music School MS f. 575 is a concise example, containing nine songs, all with tablature. Assuming that the tablature is for an instrument at nominal G pitch, four of the songs are untransposed, four give the cantus notated up a tone, and one is notated up a fifth. Transposing clefs were also used in vocal polyphony of the period, the most common transposition being a fourth or fifth. It seems reasonable, therefore, to suppose that clefs transposing down an octave could also have been used.

However, by far the most important argument for the use of men's voices in lute songs and continuo songs is the known activities of professional men singers. Almost all of the composers of continuo song were themselves singers. For example, the list of singers who took part in the Triumph of Peace includes Charles Coleman, Henry Lawes, William Lawes, John Wilson, Walter Porter, William Webb, Simon Ives and William Smegergill (alias Caesar). At this date Coleman, the Lawes brothers and Wilson were already,

or were soon to become, Musicians in Ordinary for the lutes and voices, and Henry Lawes, Porter and Webb were Gentlemen of the Chapel Royal. (55) It is almost inconceivable that these singer-composers should not have performed their own songs.

Other musicians were known primarily as singers. Probably the most celebrated singer associated with the lute song was Robert Hales. Hales is listed as a musician in the royal accounts from 1583, and he continued in royal service until his death in 1615/6. (56) As a composer Hales is unimportant, his only surviving work being the song 'O eyes leave off your weeping' in A Musicall Banquet. His reputation was primarily as a singer. Sir Henry Wotton describes an incident in which the Earl of Essex arranged for one of his sonnets 'to be sung before the Queene, (as it was) by one Hales, in whose voyce she took some pleasure'. (57) William Segar, in Honor, Military and Civill (1602), describes the Accession Day celebrations in 1590, in which the song 'My golden locks' (sic.) was:

pronounced and sung by M. Hales, her Maiesties servant, a gentleman in that Arte excellent, and for his voice both commendable and admirable. (58)

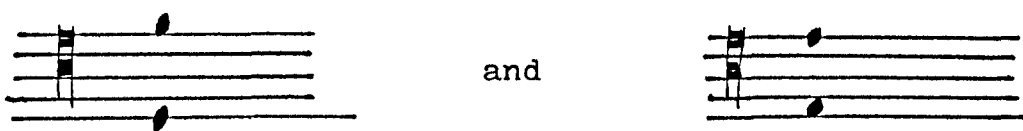
Records of an entertainment for the Muscovite Ambassador and the Duke of Brachiana in 1601/2 include instructions:

To appoint Musick severally for the Queene, and some for the play in the Hall. And Hales, to have a place expresly to shew his owne voyce. (59)

A leading singer of the next generation was John

Lanier. He was a member of a large and active family of court musicians; no less than six Laniers are listed among Charles I's musicians in 1641. (60) John Lanier is named as a musician for the lutes and voices from 1625 until the Civil War. He died during the interregnum. (61) Like Hales, John Lanier appears to have composed a little, and is mentioned in Lovelace's Lucasta (1649) as having set some of the lyrics, but his reputation was mainly as a singer.

Most of our information about John Lanier is in connection with the performance of the Triumph of Peace. Lanier sang the part of Irene, one of the three main roles in the masque, and it is Irene's song 'Hence ye profane' which opens the serious part of the masque. (62) Lanier is described in Bulstrode Whitelocke's manuscript notes as a 'tenor', (63) and Irene's two songs have the range:



The term 'tenor' as applied to a voice type is discussed below.

John Lanier's other activities are largely conjectural. Aurelian Townshend's Tempe Restor'd (1631) has the note 'The Highest Sphere represented by Mr. Laneere', and it seems probable that this was the

same Lanier who sang in the Triumph of Peace. He may also have sung the tenor solo 'The furious steed' in William Davenant's The Triumph's of the Prince D'Amour (1636). (64) It is also probable that it is John Lanier who is the singer celebrated in poems by Robert Herrick (65) and Lucius Cary. (66) Nicholas Lanier might seem to be the obvious choice, but while he probably included some singing among his many other activities at the beginning of his career, as a singer he was never as important as John Lanier.

The place of boys', women's and men's voices in the performance of the solo song may be summed up as follows. The majority of songs are notated at treble pitch, and in most cases they are best sung at this written pitch. Boys' voices seem to have been regarded in general as the ideal voice for the solo song in professional performances at court and on the stage. Men's voices were also used to some extent in professional performances, individual men singers being valued for their qualities of voice and musicianship. A handful of songs, mostly from masques, are notated specifically for men's voices.

In amateur music making - and for nearly twenty years in the middle of the century there was no music at court or on the stage - most songs could probably be sung at either pitch. However, the evidence for octave transposition is inconclusive. Women's voices

were obviously widely used in domestic music, and there is evidence that some lady amateurs were fine singers. For modern performance, women's voices are in some ways ideal.

3. THE COUNTERTENOR VOICE

Many of the leading composers of continuo songs, including Henry and William Lawes, Charles Coleman, John Wilson and Simon Ives, are described in contemporary documents as countertenors. (67) Today the term countertenor is generally taken to mean the falsetto voice, but there is evidence that during this period the countertenor was the 'natural' high man's voice, the equivalent of the present-day tenor. (68)

The argument, which was pointed out to the present writer by Andrew Parrott, hinges on the meaning of the term tenor as applied to a voice type. There are a number of references to tenors in pre-Commonwealth church music which make it clear that this was a common voice type, with a middle range. Archbishop Laud, on his visitation to Canterbury in 1634, asks:

whether is there care had that men of skill and good voices be chosen into your quire, and that the voices be sorted every one in his place soe that there be not more of tenors therein, w^{ch} is an ordinary voice, then there be of baces and counter-tenours, which doe best furnish the quire (69)

Archbishop Laud repeats this advice in a letter to the Dean and Chapter of Wells in 1636:

And soe farr am I from desiring the choice of a tenor into the roome of a basse or a counter-tenor, as that I shall never thinke it fitt, where the number is soe few, to have a tenor chosen at all, where a basse or a counter-tenor may be had (70)

Charles Butler confirms that the tenor was a middle-range voice:

The Tenor is so called ... because neither ascending to any high or strained note, nor descending very low, it continueth in one ordinary tenor of the voice; and therefore may be sung by an indifferent voice. (71)

The obvious conclusion is that this 'ordinary' or 'indifferent' tenor voice was the equivalent of the present-day baritone. As Peter Le Huray points out, 'a baritone would have no difficulty in singing tenor parts of sixteenth and seventeenth-century anthems at the original pitch'. (72)

It is a short step from this to understanding the seventeenth-century term countertenor as the equivalent of the present-day tenor. Nevertheless, Peter Le Huray continues:

The alto or counter-tenor ... was perhaps the most popular voice - and it was often required to cover a range from low tenor D to high alto A (untransposed 'choir pitch'). This suggests that the chest voice must have been used for lower notes.

This assumes that the countertenor was essentially a falsetto voice. But given Le Huray's earlier observation about using baritones for tenor parts it would be logical to regard the countertenor as

the present-day tenor, particularly as the range d - a' is precisely what would be expected of the modern tenor.

The question of pitch is obviously crucial here. E. H. Fellowes argues that late sixteenth and early seventeenth-century English church music should be transposed up a tone or a minor third. (73) His main evidence is a note in the *Pars Organica* of Thomas Tomkins' Musica Deo Sacra, in St. Michael's College, Tenbury. (74) However, Musica Deo Sacra was not published until 1668, twelve years after the death of Tomkins, and this one source can hardly be taken as a reliable guide to the pitch of the church music of the preceding hundred years or so.

Fellowes also draws on his own experience of the music to support the practice of transposition:

It is moreover a fact well known to English Church-musicians that the greater part of the sacred polyphonic music of this period, as scored, lies too low for satisfactory effect unless it is transposed up at least a tone. (75)

However, Fellowes' standards of what constitutes a 'satisfactory effect' were presumably based on choirs using falsetto voices for alto or countertenor parts - in which case, of course, the argument becomes circular.

Charles Butler, writing in 1636, gives the normal vocal range in church music, from the lowest note of the bass to the highest note of the treble, as G to g':

allowing there are some Basses that reach below, and some Trebles that arise above this (76)

This strongly suggests that Butler's pitch was fairly close to modern standard pitch, and could even have been lower. At this sort of pitch it is reasonable to suppose that the countertenor voice was the equivalent of the modern tenor. (77)

It could still be argued that these high male parts could be sung falsetto, but if tenor parts were sung by baritones and countertenor parts by falsettists this leaves no role for the naturally high voice. Moreover, it is clear that the countertenor was a less common voice type: any baritone can produce a falsetto, while the naturally high voice is more of a rarity.

It seems, in fact, that the falsetto voice was little cultivated in England, and that the idea that this is 'a long-lost voice type intimately associated with the golden age of English music of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries' (78) is misleading, to say the least. Thomas Coryat was amazed to hear what was presumably a falsetto singer when he visited Venice in 1608:

Of the singers there were three or foure so excellent that I thinke few or none in Christendome do excell them, especially one, who had such a peerlesse and (as I may in a maner say) such a supernaturall voice for ... sweetnesse, that I think there was never a better singer in all the world, insomuch that he did not onely give the most pleasant contentment that could be imagined, to all the hearers, but

also did as it were astonish and amaze them. I alwaies thought that he was an Eunuch, which if he had beene, it had taken away some part of my admiration, because they do commonly sing most passing wel; but he was not, therefore it was much the more admirable. Againe it was the more worthy of admiration, because he was a middle-aged man as about forty yeares old. For nature doth more commonly bestowe such a singularitie of voice upon boyes and striplings, then upon men of such yeares. (79)

Coryat's sense of wonder suggests that the trained falsetto voice was unfamiliar in England.

Some modern writers have objected to the term falsetto, (80) but the contemporary English term was 'feigned', which comes to the same thing. Playford's 'Brief Discourse of the Italian manner of Singing', translating Caccini, states that:

from a feigned Voice can come no noble manner of singing; which only proceeds from a natural Voice (81)

and that;

Increasing of the Voice in the Treble part, especially in feigned Voices, doth oftentimes become harsh, and unsufferable to the Hearing. (82)

The use of the word 'natural' here suggests that when Butler warns against 'all harsh straining of the Voices beyond their natural pitch' (83) he may be referring specifically to falsetto singing.

Campion's Relation of the Late Royall Entertainment given By the Right Honourable Lord Knowles (1613) mentions the falsetto voice in the stage direction to the song 'Dance now and sing':

Here standing on a smooth greene, and environed with the Horse-men, they present a Song of five Parts, and withall a lively Silvan-dance of

sixe persons: the Robin-Hood-men faine two Trebles, one of the Keepers with the Cynick Sing two Countertenors, and the other Keeper the Base; but the Traveller being not able to sing, gapes in silence, and expresseth his humour in Antike gestures. (84)

This suggests that the falsetto voice might even be identified with antimasque, or even comic, situations.

The falsetto voice seems to have been cultivated more in France and Italy. Bacilly holds the falsetto voice in high regard:

The falsetto voice ought to be more readily accepted than the natural voice ... it can render certain ports de voix, intervals, and other vocal decorations in a fashion entirely different from the normal tenor voice. (85)

As we have seen the falsetto voice was also well known in Italy, but its use may well have been largely restricted to church music. Castaldi, writing in 1623, states that:

(It appears) laughable that a man with the voice of a woman should set about proposing to his mistress and demanding pity of her in the voice of a falsetto. (86)

Doni, writing in 1635, describes the falsetto voice as 'unnatural and too feminine' (87) and Caccini's disparaging remarks about the voce finta have already been quoted. As Bacilly suggests, there was a certain amount of professional jealousy involved:

Those who have natural voices scorn the falsetto as being too artificial and shrill, while on the other hand falsetto singers are usually of the opinion that the beauty of the song is more evident when performed by the shimmering brilliance of their vocal type. (88)

The above discussion draws on statements by Laud and Butler that the tenor was regarded as a somewhat nondescript voice type. In fact this view seems to have applied mainly within the context of church music, in which it clearly was necessary to have strong high and low voices to maintain the balance of the parts in polyphonic music. In the solo song, on the other hand, some tenors (that is, baritones in modern terminology) became celebrated singers. John Lanier, whose activities at the court of Charles I have already been discussed, was apparently a baritone. It also seems that one of the leading singers at the court of James I was a baritone: Alfonso Ferrabosco composed several remarkable masque songs (for the Masque of Beauty (1608), Oberon (1611) and Love Freed from Ignorance and Folly (1611)) for a virtuoso singer with a range G - g'. (89) Singers such as these must have been anything but 'ordinary' or 'indifferent'.

II ORNAMENTATION: GRACES

1. THE PLACE OF ORNAMENTATION IN PERFORMANCE

Vocal ornamentation played an important part in the performance of continuo song. John Playford, in his Introduction to the Skill of Musick, states that:

of late years our language is much refined, and so is our Musick to a more smooth and delightful way and manner of singing after this new method by Trills, Grups, and Exclamations, and have been used to our English Ayres, above this 40 years and Taught here in England by our late Eminent Professors of Musick, Mr. Nicholas Laneare, Mr. Henry Lawes, Dr. Wilson, and Dr. Coleman, and Mr. Walter Porter ... (1)

Several writers stress that ornamentation should be used with moderation. John Dowland writes scathingly of:

Simple Cantors, or vocall singers, who though they seem excellent in their blinde Division-making, are meerly ignorant, even in the first elements of Musicke (2)

Similarly, Playford's 'A Brief Discourse of the Italian manner of Singing', based on Caccini's introduction to Le Nuove Musiche, condemns:

that old way of Composition, whose Musick not suffering the Words to be understood by the Hearers, for the multitude of Divisions made upon short and long Syllables, though by the Vulgar such Singers are cryed up for famous. (3)

Charles Butler also comments on the 'vulgarity' of excessive divisions:

The most artificial running discant, if it be continued too long, will at last wax tedious, even to the vulgar. (4)

Butler, like Caccini, stresses that divisions should not obscure the words:

Too much quaint division, too much shaking of the notes ... as they are odious and offensive to the ear, so do they drown the right sound of the words. (5)

However, these remarks are not aimed at ornamentation per se, so much as at divisions which are tasteless and excessive; the fact that these criticisms were made at all suggests how widely ornamentation was practised.

Today, the art of ornamentation is all too often ignored in the performance of continuo song. Even when an authentic ornamented source is available, singers usually prefer to go to a plain version - and then perform it as it stands. This situation must change as our knowledge and understanding of vocal ornamentation increases. Diana Poulton has described how the taste for authentic ornamentation in keyboard music has developed over the last fifty years or so:

When I was young the work of persuading keyboard players to add ornaments to virginals and early harpsichord music was still in progress, but nowadays it would be unthinkable to hear the music of the 16th and 17th centuries played without. (6)

Similarly, it is only very recently, during the last decade, that lutenists have begun to ornament on anything like the scale indicated by the manuscript sources. The ornamentation of vocal music has not yet reached this stage, but it will surely develop along the same lines.

There has been a rather pedantic element in

some modern studies and performances of ornamentation, and sometimes the music itself seems to be lost in preoccupations with correct appoggiaturas or vibrato-free tone. The danger in any musicological study of ornamentation is that it will present the subject as a series of complex and rigid rules. The irony of this is that the real purpose of ornamentation is to make the music more vital and spontaneous; nothing could be more unauthentic than the strict application of a set of rules for ornamentation. The problem for the modern performer is to strike a balance between spontaneity on the one hand and a reasonable familiarity with the musicological sources on the other. The basic principle for the performance of ornamentation is stated by Robert Donington: 'keep it flexible; but keep it within the boundaries of the style'. (7)

The relationship between ornamentation and improvisation is elusive but nonetheless important. The art of ornamentation clearly has its roots in extempore practice but, as Ernest T. Ferand points out 'not everything that passed for improvisation was genuinely improvised':

the Aufführungspraxis of late Renaissance and early Baroque music ... shows innumerable shades and transitions from spontaneous extempore performance to all degrees of semi-, quasi-, and pseudo-improvisation, from genuine, truly creative improvising to the more or less mechanically applied devices of 'canned' embellishment formulae ... (8)

It is notable that the autograph collections of William and Henry Lawes and the authoritative manuscript collection of John Wilson only occasionally give ornamentation. (9) Presumably, singer-composers such as these preferred to add their own ornamentation extempore. It is the manuscripts compiled for amateur singers such as Lady Ann Blount and Elizabeth Rogers (10) which usually give the fullest indications of ornamentation. However, in performance ornamentation should always sound as if it has been added spontaneously to the composed structure, even when it has actually been prepared beforehand.

Modern writers have used a wide variety of different terms when discussing ornamentation: ornament, grace, division, diminution, embellishment, decoration, gruppo, passaggi, and so on. This can easily lead to confusion: the word 'ornament', for example, is used by some writers to refer to a specific type and by others as a general term. In the present study it seems advisable to restrict ourselves - apart from the blanket-term 'ornamentation' - to the words 'grace' and 'division'. These terms are fairly specific in their application and also have the advantage that they were in general use during the period.

A grace is ornamentation of a specific note according to an established formula. Graces were often notated by signs. In viol and lute

music they are played with one movement of the bow or plucking finger. For some reason modern writers have tended to avoid the word 'grace' in favour of the less explicit term 'ornament'. In fact, the term ornament had little currency during the period, though during the second half of the century it began to be used occasionally. (11)

Division is free ornamentation, often extended over several notes of the original melody. The term 'embellishment' has been widely used for vocal division, notably by Vincent Duckles and Imogen Horsley, (12) and there is certainly some justification for preferring this usage. The term 'division' is closely associated with instrumental music, in which the basic note values of a phrase are often literally divided into shorter notes. The free ornamentation found in declamatory song, on the other hand, is often vaguely notated, implying a rhythmically free style of performance, and it is neither possible nor desirable to make a mathematically strict division of the basic note values. However, Playford uses the term division both for the older instrumental style and for the free ornamentation of declamatory song (13) and again it seems preferable to keep to the seventeenth-century usage.

It must be admitted that sometimes there is an overlap between the two types, graces and

divisions. Some of the longer shaken graces, such as Playford's double relish, appear fully written-out in instrumental and vocal sources, and should perhaps be classified as divisions. Also, in the 'Brief Discourse' Playford describes as 'graces' a number of stock melodic formulae which for the purposes of this study should be regarded as divisions. However, on the whole the distinction between graces and divisions is a useful one.

Of the two forms of ornamentation, the study of the use of graces in English continuo song presents the most problems. They are rarely indicated in the manuscript and printed sources, largely because of the problem of notation. Roger North, writing at the beginning of the eighteenth century, points out the difficulty in notating graces:

It is the hardest task that Can be to pen the Manner of artificial Gracing an upper part; It hath bin attempted, and in print, but with Woeful Effect ... the Spirit of that art is Incommunicable by Wrighting, therefore it is almost Inexcusable to attempt it. (14)

More than a century earlier, Besardus makes a similar point about graces for the lute:

You should have some rules for the sweet relishes and shakes if they could be expressed here, as they are on the LUTE; but seeing they cannot by speach or writing be expressed, thou wert best to imitate some cunning player, or get them by thine own practise. (15)

There are several reasons why it is so difficult to give graces in ordinary notation. They are often too rapid or rhythmically free to be written down without very complicated notation; the grace notes

should be performed more lightly than the main melody notes, and it is difficult to suggest this in notation; above all, the accurate writing-down of graces contradicts the sense of freedom and spontaneity with which they should be performed.

For these reasons graces are not normally notated at all in continuo song, and when they are it is usually with signs whose meaning is today at least partly conjectural. Obviously this makes it difficult to study the use of graces in performance. However, by putting together various sources it is possible to arrive at a working basis for gracing the solo song during the period. The most important sources for this reconstruction are:

- (i) graces in instrumental music.
- (ii) Playford's 'Brief Discourse of the Italian manner of Singing', published in his Introduction to the Skill of Musick.
- (iii) grace signs in song manuscripts.
- (iv) written-out graces in some manuscript and printed sources.

A secondary source, which nevertheless contributes some valuable supporting information, is Bacilly's L'Art de Bien Chanter (Paris, 1668).

2. GRACE IN INSTRUMENTAL MUSIC

Viol graces

Several tables and descriptions of graces for viol and lute survive from the period. It is helpful to study these instrumental sources, thereby building up a picture of the types of graces in general use, before going on to the more difficult subject of specifically vocal graces.

Instrumental graces are clearly relevant to the performance of vocal music. Viol and lute were so closely linked with the voice in the performance of songs that there was bound to be interaction between them: graces that were performed by singers would have been imitated by instrumentalists and vice versa. Christopher Simpson refers to this process of imitation in The Division-Violist (1659):

Graces performed by the fingers are of two sorts, viz. Smooth and Shaked. Smooth is, when rising or falling a Tone or Semitone, we draw, (as it were) the Sound from one Note to another, in imitation of the voice. (16)

Simpson later comments that:

To these (graces) may be added the Gruppo, Trillo, or any other movement of the Voyce imitated by the Viol. (17)

Graces for the viol are especially relevant to vocal music. The viol, being a sustaining instrument, is obviously closer to the voice than is the lute or virginals, and also information about graces for the viol is particularly plentiful.

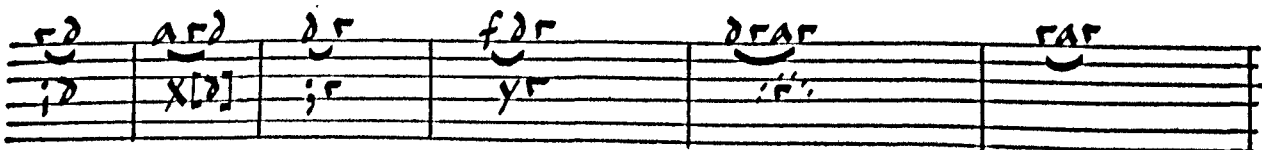
The most important sources for viol graces are BL. Egerton MS 2971; Manchester, Henry Watson Library,

MS 832, Vu51; John Playford, A Breefe Introduction to the Skill of Musick (1654); and Christopher Simpson, The Division-Violist (1659). (18) The earliest of these sources, Egerton 2971, probably dates from between 1610 and 1622. (19) It includes a table of graces in the hand of Robert Downes. The table simply gives a sign and name for each grace, so the explanation is partly conjectural. The signs for the 'relish' and the 'tast' are illegible.

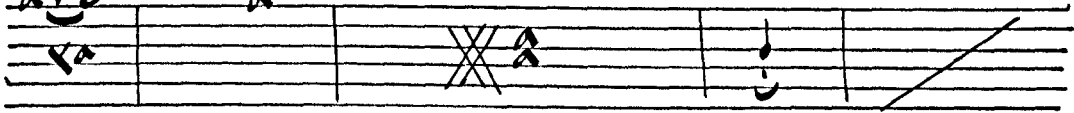
		relish	
	#	shake	with ye hand
Carrecters for	X	falle	
ye graces of		tast	
ye violl			
	∪	traile	
	∙∙	thump	with ye bowe
	}	shake	

The second source, Henry Watson Library MS 832, Vu51, known as the Manchester Gamba Book, dates from the middle years of the century. (20) It includes a table of graces, giving a sign and name for each grace and its explanation in tablature.


A beate A fall A backfall A double backfall [A backfall relished?] A relishe



An elevation A shake A shake with the Bowe A pause A hold for the finger



A thumpe with ye fore-finger A thumpe with ye middle-finger A thumpe with ye ringe-finger So many letters as are bound with these markes must be slurde in one bowe



A slurde with iobbinge or iubs at even'e letter so inclosed



By far the most important source for graces for the viol was published in Playford's A Breefe Introduction to the Skill of Musick as 'A table of Graces proper to the Viol or Violin'. (21) In the following table the numbering is editorial.

Smooth Graces



1. A Beat

Explan:

2. A Backfall

Explan:

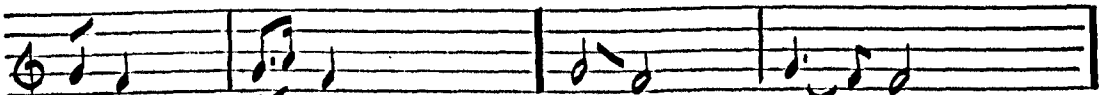


3. A Double Backfall

Explan:

4. Elevation

Explan.



5. A Springer

Explan:

6. A Cadent

Explan.

Shaked Graces



7. A Backfall shaked

Explan:

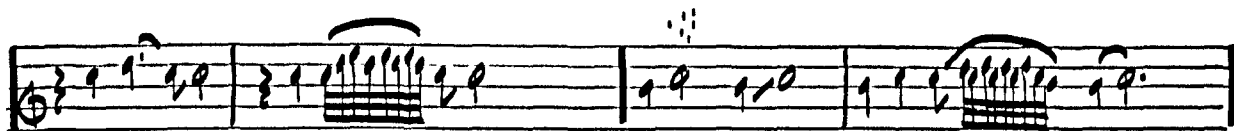
8. A close shake

Explan:



9. A shaked Beat Explain:

10. Elevation Explain:



11. Cadent Explain:

12a. Double Relish Explain:

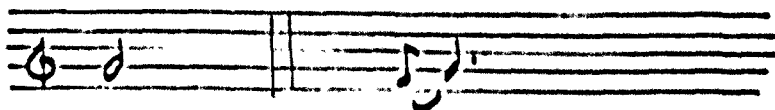


b. or thus Explain:

This table was subsequently printed, transposed down a fifth in the alto clef, in Simpson's The Division-Violist (22) and in this source the table is attributed to Charles Coleman. Simpson also gives a commentary on the different graces. It is clear that, as far as the rhythm is concerned, the graces need not be performed literally as written; in the springer, for example, the grace note occurs 'just at the expiring of it'. He also makes some important points about the expressive qualities of the different graces:

Of these fore-mentioned Graces, some are more rough and Masculine, as your Shaked Beats and Back-falls, and therefore more peculiar to the Bass; Others, more smooth and Feminine, as your Close-shake and plain Graces, which are more natural to the Treble, or upper parts. Yet when we would express Life, Courage, or Cheerfulness upon the Treble, we do frequently use both Shaked Beats and Back-falls, as on the contrary, smooth and swelling Notes when we would express Love, Sorrow, Compassion, or the like; and this, not only on the Treble, but sometimes also upon the Bass.

Comparing these three tables, there is sometimes considerable variation in the different signs and/or terminology for what appears to be the same grace. For example the grace:



is (probably) notated as an (X) in Egerton 2971, (;) in the Manchester Gamba Book and (✓) in Playford. However, there is a good deal of agreement between the latter two tables, as might be expected from sources which date from about the same time.

Playford's table provides a useful basis for discussing vocal graces. It is fairly comprehensive, giving most of the types in use during our period - though it is clear that not all the graces were in general use all the time. It is reasonable to assume that Playford's graces were also used in singing; the different published forms of the table show that these were general graces, rather than

being restricted to a particular instrument.

Charles Coleman, who compiled the table, was a leading singer and songwriter and would presumably have used some of the graces in his own songs. The wide circulation of the table, both in the enormously popular Skill of Musick and also in The Division-Violist may also have had some standardising effect on the use of signs during the 1650s and '60s. The present discussion uses Playford's terminology for the different graces, and also refers by number to Playford's table.

Lute graces

Information about graces for the lute is rather less plentiful than it is for the viol, and we have already seen that Besardus stated that lute graces 'cannot by speach or writing be expressed'. However, the left hand technique of lute and viol are so similar that many graces were common to both instruments.

The main English sources for information about lute graces are Thomas Robinson's The Schoole of Musicke (1603), the manuscript Margaret Board Lute Book and Burwell Lute Tutor and Thomas Mace's Musick's Monument (1676).

Thomas Robinson touches on the subject of graces in three passages:

Now you shall have a generall rule to grace it, as with pashionate play, and relishing it; and note that the longer the time is of a single

stroke, that the more neede it hath of a relish, for a relish will help, both to grace it, and also it helps to continue the sound of the note his full time: but in a quicke time a little touch or jerke will serve. (23)

And as before I have taught you how to relysh in a single stop, with that finger which is the strongest, so take this for a general rule, that you relysh in a full stop, with that finger which is most idelest, in any string whatsoever: either a strong relysh for loudnesse, or a milde relysh for passionate attencion. (24)

Now to your fall with a relish, or a fall without a relish: take this for a general rule, that all fals in what stop soever, in a flat note, must bee performed with the neerest finger to the halfe notes, and in a sharp note or stop, with the nearest and strongest finger to a full note. As heere you see underneath for example. [The example gives nine chords, with an explanation of how to grace different stops] (25)

Robinson thus describes two graces: the fall, which is the equivalent of Playford's beat, and the relish, which is a shake:



The fall and relish could be combined:



Robinson's use of these graces is very closely related to the technique of the instrument, and depends largely on which fingers are available at any particular moment. However, the fall and the

relish were probably in general use, in other instruments and the voice, at the beginning of the century.

The recently-discovered Margaret Board Lute Book (26) dates from about 1620 - 1630, and illustrates the changing nature of writing for the lute during this period. The first part of the manuscript contains pieces by Dowland and his contemporaries, while the later part contains pieces in several of the newly-introduced French tunings. On f. 32v, at the beginning of the pieces in the French tunings, there is the following table of graces:

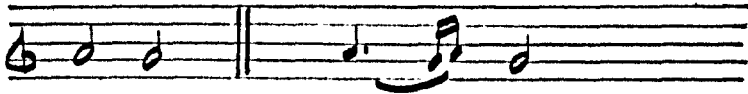
- ∩ a pull back
- ⊂ a fall forward
- X to beat down the finger with a shake
- : three pricks to be stuck upwards with one finger
- # for a long shake
- ∪ for a slide

Robert Spencer's introduction to the facsimile edition of the Board Lute Book includes a valuable study of the use of grace signs in the earlier part of the manuscript. This is an excellent demonstration of how the meaning of signs can be conjectured from musical context and comparison with signs in other sources.

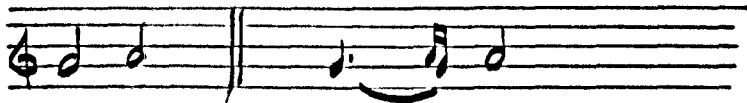
The manuscript Burwell Lute Tutor (27) dates from about 1660 - 1672, by which time the influence of the French lute was completely dominant. Chapter 9, 'Concerning the pricking of the Markes & Graces of the

Lute', gives a detailed description of a number of graces:

(i) cadence or Trillo



or



The alternating notes are on adjacent strings.

This grace is 'commonly made after a shake', but not always.

(ii) Shake. There is no explanation of the shake, but there are a number of comments about its use and misuse.

(iii) Fall. As Playford 1 (beat).

Double fall. As Playford 4 (elevation).

(iv) Roulade. As Playford 2 (backfall).

Double roulade. As Playford 3 (double backfall).

(v) Sight or Pull. Either a more rapid form of the roulade, or a lower mordent.

The chapter concludes with a warning:

But all those things must be done without looseing the measure and with moderation and not soe often as it may be loathsome to the Eare (28)

Thomas Mace's Musick's Monument (1676) is rather a late source, but the book is in many ways

retrospective and can shed light on performance practice well before 1670. Mace gives a detailed account of an enormous number of graces - fifteen in all - though as he says 'Few or None use them All'. (29) Mace's main graces are as in the Burwell Lute Tutor, though he also includes two found in Playford: the double relish and the 'spinger' (either the springer or the cadent). Mace also gives a few graces not found in other lute sources, including the single relish, the sting (vibrato) and the Futt or Tut (a right-hand dampening technique).

Some modern commentators have drawn on Mace's lute graces as if they were for the viol. (30) It is true that a number are found in Playford's table, but in fact the viol music which follows later in Musick's Monument only uses two graces regularly, the backfall and the beat. (31) The shake, which Mace calls the 'Chiefest' grace on the lute, is not used at all in the viol lessons, and this points to an important difference between graces for viol and lute. Shaked graces are particularly important on the lute because, as Robinson puts it 'a relish ... helps to continue the sound of a note his full time.' However, shaked graces were less important for the viol - and, for the same reason, for the voice.

It is clear from both viol and lute sources that there was a proliferation of different types

of graces during the period 1610 - 1670. This also applied to the voice, and can be seen in the increasing number of different grace signs (see below). For the modern performer of continuo song it is important to remember that graces used in the middle of the century are not necessarily appropriate to the songs of the 1610s and '20s.

Keyboard graces probably have less bearing on the voice than do graces for viol and lute. Keyboard instruments were rarely used to accompany secular song in this period, and the characteristic keyboard grace signs are only occasionally found in song manuscripts. Two grace signs are commonly found in keyboard music, ♯ and ♯̣. It is difficult to attach specific meanings to these signs, indeed 'ornament-signs often seem to be used for no other purpose than to draw attention to the accented note'. (32) However, ♯̣ often seems to mean the equivalent of Playford 4 (elevation), (33) while ♯̣ may mean one of a variety of falls, relishes or shakes according to its context.

3. PLAYFORD'S 'BRIEF DISCOURSE'

An important source for vocal graces was published in Playford's Introduction to the Skill of Musick as 'A Brief Discourse of the Italian manner of Singing'. The 'Brief Discourse' first appeared in the 1664 edition of Playford's book,

and was republished many times up to 1694. (34)
 It is essentially a translation of Caccini's introduction to Le Nuove Musiche (1602) with additional notes by Playford. Although based on an Italian publication of the beginning of the century, the 'Brief Discourse' must be regarded as relevant to the performance of English declamatory song. Playford's statement that the style was used by Lawes and his contemporaries has already been quoted, and the wide currency of these graces is confirmed by other sources.

Perhaps the most important grace described in the 'Brief Discourse' is the Trillo, which it translates as Trill. (35) Not only was this grace widely used in England - Playford calls it the 'chief or most usual Grace in Singing' (36) - but also the technique used to perform the trillo was applied to other graces and to rapid divisions:

Those who once attain to the perfect use of the Trill, other Graces will become easie. (37)

The trillo is described as follows:

Trill, or plain shake



The Trill described by me is upon one Note only, that is to say, to begin with the first Crotchet, and to beat every Note with the throat upon the vowel (a) unto the Breve. (38)

In the music examples the trillo is indicated by a cross (+). Playford adds the following note on performing the trillo:

Our Author being short in setting forth this chief or most usual Grace in Singing, called the Trill, which, as he saith very right is by a beating in the Throat on the Vowel (a'h) some observe that it is rather the shaking of the Uvula or Pallate on the Throat, in one sound, upon a Note. For the attaining of this, the most surest and ready way is by imitation of those who are perfect in the same; yet I have heard some that have attained it by this manner, in singing a plain Song, of 6 Notes up and 6 down, they have in the midst of every Note beat or shaken with their finger upon their Throat, which by often practice came to do the same Notes exactly without. (39)

Playford also states where the trillo should be used.

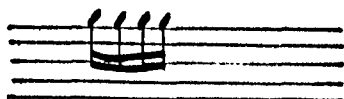
The Trill ... is made in Closes, Cadences, and other places, where by a long Note an Exclamation or Passion is expressed, there the Trill is made in the latter part of any such Note; but most usually upon binding Notes in Cadences and Closes, and on that Note that precedes the closing Note. (40)

Other sources confirm that the trillo was widely used. (41) The first reference to its use in England is in Angelo Notari's Prime Musiche Nuove (1613):

But when you com to y^e letter, t ... then you must use a kinde of sweetness in your voice by us called the Trillo (42)

Walter Porter's Madrigales and Ayres (1632) refers to the trillo in the address 'To the Practicioner':

In the Songs which are set forth with Division, where you find many Notes in a place after this manner in a rule or space, they are set to expresse the Trillo:



Throughout the seventeenth century the trillo had strong Italian associations, and Porter's use of it springs largely from his Italianate background. The performance of Porter's trillo raises certain problems. His example gives only semiquavers, while Caccini, Playford and other sources (43) give the trillo as gradually speeding up from crotchets to more rapid notes. The Madrigales and Ayres themselves give a wide variety of notation for the trillo, including plain quavers, semiquavers or demisemiquavers and a mixture of different note values. (44) Perhaps not too much significance should be attached to Porter's rhythmic notation of the trillo, and it should simply be performed rapidly and freely. Also, Porter frequently combines the trillo with other ornamentation, particularly in the formula:

I. 'O praise the Lord'



The additional grace notes should presumably be performed rapidly on part of the trillo - which of course greatly increases the technical difficulty of the grace. Perhaps the most valuable thing to be learned from Porter's use of the trillo is that it may be used in conjunction with other ornamentation in this way.

Samuel Pepys' Diary gives us an amusing insight

into the difficulties experienced by an amateur singer trying to learn the trillo. Pepys began to learn to sing on 25 June 1661, and on 30 June he writes:

Hence I to Grayes Inn Walk all alone; and with great pleasure seeing the fine ladies walk there - myself humming to myself (which nowadays is my constant practice) the trillo; and find by use that it do come upon me. (45)

However, he was still trying to learn the trillo on 7 September 1667:

I did tell him (Goodgroome, Pepys' singing teacher) my intention to learn to trill; which he will not promise I shall obtain, but he will do what can be done, and I am resolved to learn. (46)

By all accounts the technique could only be acquired through considerable practice. The repetitions of the trillo should be free rhythmically, with a gradual speeding: this is born out by a late source, Brossard's Dictionnaire (1703):

Tr ... is very often, in Italian music, the sign that one must beat several times on the same note, at first somewhat slowly, then ending with as much lightness and rapidity as the throat can make ... (but) our example can give only a very crude idea of it, compared with the quickness with which it can be done. (47)

A grace of this lightness and rapidity can only be sung in the throat. The Burwell Lute Tutor refers to the malpractice of articulating with the tongue:

...in singing the Trillo made with the tongue is ridiculous and that of the throate very pleasing ... (48)

Caccini's references to singing the trillo in the throat have already been quoted. However, it is quite common today to hear performances of early baroque Italian songs with the trillo sung with

heavy and rhythmic articulations from the diaphragm. Other singers have rediscovered the technique of the true trillo, (49) but it is still rare to hear the trillo used at all in performances of English declamatory song, let alone as the 'most usual Grace'.

The 'Brief Discourse' describes several other graces. The 'Gruppo or Double Relish' is a shaken grace:



Like the trillo it should be articulated from the throat, and executed as rapidly as possible. Playford's table of graces suggests other ways of performing the double relish at cadences (Playford 12a and 12b), shaking on the leading note and/or the tonic.

Another grace is described in the 'Brief Discourse' as follows:

There are some therefore that in the Tuning of the first Note, Tune it a Third under ... Since it is not a general Rule, because it agrees not in many Cords, although in such places as it may be used, it is now become so ordinary, that instead of being a Grace (because some stay too long on the third Note under, whereas it should be but lightly touched) it is rather tedious to the Ear; and that for Beginners in particular it ought seldom to be used. (50)

This grace is the elevation (Playford 4). The advice that it 'agrees not in many Cords' is valuable: in effect this means that the elevation should only be used on the third or fifth of a

chord. This grace was very widely used in vocal music and does, in some manuscript sources at least, become 'rather tedious to the Ear'.

The 'Brief Discourse' goes on to describe the 'exclamation', which it recommends as a far better alternative to the elevation as a way of gracing important notes. The exclamation is essentially a way of shaping long notes, particularly dotted notes. The usual way to shape a note, it is implied, is to begin quietly and gradually grow through it. Caccini, however, suggests an initial slackening of the note:

Exclamation properly is no other thing, but the slacking of the Voice to re-inforce it somewhat more. (51)

Its purpose is partly to avoid the coarseness that can result from too much swelling on a note, and also simply to create a novel effect:

the Novelty may fitly serve to the better obtaining of the Musicians end, that is to delight and move the affections of the mind. (52)

For the modern performer of English declamatory song the important point here is not, perhaps, the exact reproduction of Caccini's exclamation. Far more significant is the general point that all long notes (other than final notes of phrases) should be shaped in some way, and that often this shaping should be fairly bold and striking. (53)

4. GRACE SIGNS

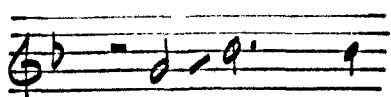
An important source for the study of vocal graces is the signs which are found in a number of manuscript sources of continuo song. As with graces for viol and lute there is no standardisation in the use of grace signs, and each manuscript follows its own system. While Playford's table can provide us with valuable information as to the types of graces in use, it is not always helpful in interpreting the signs in the manuscripts. However, it is usually possible to deduce fairly accurately which grace is intended by a particular sign by taking into account similarly notated instrumental graces, the musical context and, often, the shape of the sign itself.

There is a striking increase in the use of grace signs during the period 1610 - 1670. There are no signs at all in the earliest manuscripts, such as Add. 15117 (c. 1600 - 1620) (54) or King's College, Rowe MS 2 (c. 1610 - 1615). (55) Egerton 2971 (1610 - 1620) (56) gives some signs, though almost all of them are in the Italian songs. Rather more are found in Christ Church 87, inscribed M^{ris} Elizabeth Davenant 1624, (57) and Drexel 4175 (before 1630). (58) Grace signs are most common in manuscripts of the last twenty years or so of the period, notably Lambeth 1041 (first part before 1655, second part immediately post-Restoration), (59) Add. 11608 (c. 1652 - 1660) (60) and Add. 10337 (c. 1656).

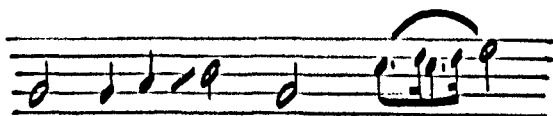
To work systematically through all the grace signs in all the manuscript sources would be a tedious and probably rather thankless task. For the present study it is enough to take three manuscripts in detail, and to refer occasionally to the other sources when relevant. Of the three manuscripts the first, Ch. Ch. 87, is fairly early in date while the other two, Lambeth 1041 and Add. 11608, represent the later part of the period.

Christ Church 87

We have seen that grace signs are less common in manuscripts from the earlier part of the period. In Ch. Ch. 87, which probably dates from the 1620s, (61) graces are in fact plentiful, but the scribe has preferred to write out most of them in full. However, a few of the songs give a stroke (*/or*), and this is in fact by far the most common sign in all the sources. The first song which gives the sign is 'As life what is so sweet' (f. 7).

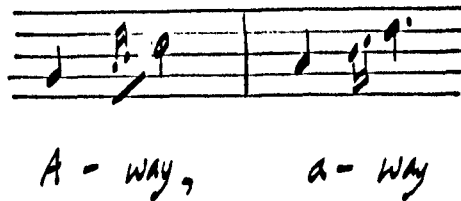


What crea- ture



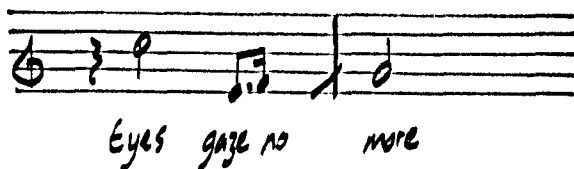
The woun-ded heart doth weep

The musical context and the shape of the sign itself suggests a beat (Playford 1), or an elevation (Playford 4). The latter seems to be confirmed in 'Away good night' (f. 10) where the same sign is placed beneath a written-out elevation:



We have seen that the 'Brief Discourse' warns against indiscriminate use of the elevation because it 'agrees not in many Cords', and this rule seems to have been followed here - only in the penultimate example does the elevation conflict with the underlying harmony.

In Playford's table the stroke before a note indicates a beat, and this interpretation does offer a useful alternative to the elevation, which can become 'rather tedious to the Ear'. For example, in 'Eyes gaze no more' (f. 9v) the phrase:




could be sung:



In 'Away good night' a downward stroke is also used:



According to Playford's table this sign should indicate a cadent (Playford 6); however, in this case the E is already highly ornamented and anyway this manuscript usually gives cadents written-out in full. It seems more likely that this grace is some kind of backfall (Playford 2 or 3). In this manuscript, at least, the all-purpose sign / or \ could be regarded as the vocal equivalent of the sign # in numerous lute manuscripts, which similarly often indicates a beat, elevation or backfall.

One other grace sign, , is found in Ch. Ch. 87, in 'Hear my prayer O God' (2v):



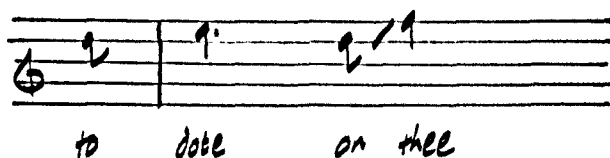
It is impossible to draw any useful conclusions from this isolated example; perhaps a shaked grace such as the shaked backfall (Playford 7) is intended. The same sign, familiar from virginals music, occurs in a few other manuscripts. (62)

Lambeth 1041

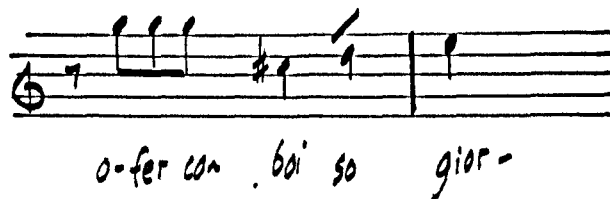
The songs in Lambeth 1041 fall into two groups. The main part of the manuscript, up to f. 64, was probably compiled before 1655, while the latter part probably dates from the early years of the Restoration. (63)

As in Ch. Ch. 87, the stroke is one of the commonest signs in both parts of the manuscript,

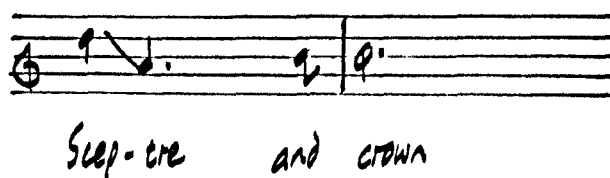
but a wider range of interpretation is possible. In some places it seems to imply the elevation or beat, as in 'Farewell, farewell fond love' (ff. 58v-59):



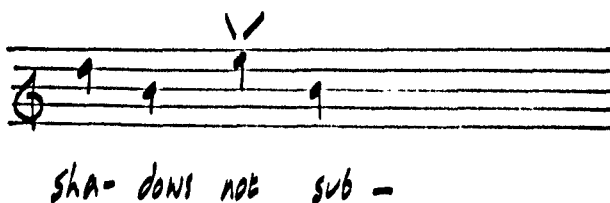
In an Italian song, 'O mia fili gradita' (ff. 53v-54v) the stroke is above the note as in Playford's sign for the springer (Playford 5), and this grace seems to fit the musical context particularly well:



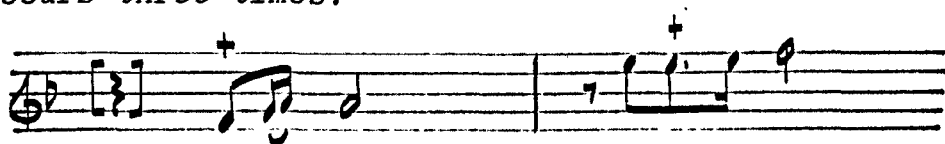
When a wide interval is joined by a long stroke the voice should probably fill in with a rapid scale. An example is 'The glories of our birth and state' (ff. 74v-75v):



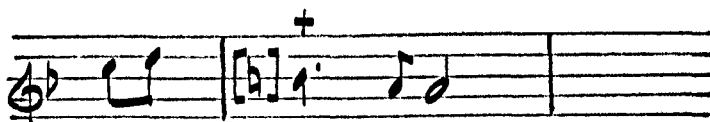
In the same song a single note has two strokes above it, perhaps indicating a backfall followed by a springer:



Another sign which is used in both parts of the manuscript is a cross (+). In 'Perfect and endless circles are' (ff. 57v-58), for example, this sign occurs three times:



cir-cles are , and such of late



it is pale and dead

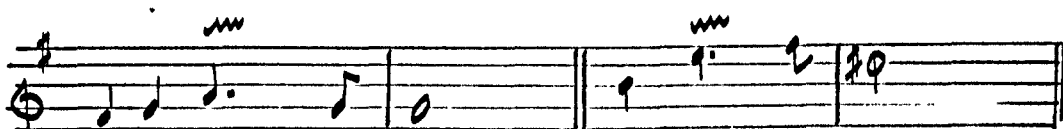
In Playford's table the cross indicates an elevation, but in these cases the elevation does not fit the musical context; also, in this manuscript the elevation, along with the beat and backfall, seem to be notated as a stroke. Another possible interpretation of the cross, the trillo, is given in the 'Brief Discourse'. This could work well in the third example but in the other two examples the notes concerned are too short to use the trillo effectively. This leaves the shaken graces, and the shaken backfall (Simpson 7) seems most appropriate to the musical context: the upper auxiliary at the start of the grace would help to articulate the repeated note on 'and such of late', and also provides a natural way of filling in the falling third on 'it is pale and dead'. The shaken backfall would also

work well in other songs that give this particular sign, such as 'Bright Aurelia I do owe' (ff. 53v-53) and 'Farewell, farewell fond love' (ff. 58v-59).

One other sign, *m*, is found only in the latter part of the manuscript. In 'The glories of our birth and state', for example, it is used five times:



sub- stan - Hal things ar-mour 'gainge our fate



i-cy hands on kings must tum-ble down



crook - ed scyth and spade.

The shape of the sign suggests the trillo, and all these examples do in fact occur on the long note before a cadence, where Playford says that the trillo is particularly appropriate. (64)

Add. 11608

Add. 11608 is a large manuscript containing more than seventy songs and dialogues, in addition to a number of 3-part catches. It was compiled between about 1652 and 1660. (65) Again, one of the most

common signs is the stroke; the use of this sign has already been adequately discussed in relation to the other two manuscripts.

A number of songs give a sign consisting of three dots in the form of a triangle (∴). In 'Do not expect to hear of all' (f. 17v) these occur on a rising scale:



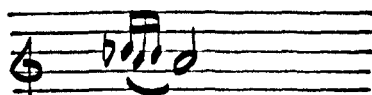
In 'Care charming sleep' (ff. 16v-17) the sign occurs on repeated notes:



and also in the middle of elaborate divisions:



In Playford's table a group of dots indicates a shaken grace, and this seems to be what is intended here. The pattern of the dots themselves suggests a simple shaken backfall:



This would be appropriate in all the above examples and, as has already been suggested, the backfall is particularly effective in articulating repeated notes. Groups of dots are also found in other sources. In Add. 10337 a group of six dots probably indicates a double relish, as in Playford's table (Playford 12a and b). (66) A similar sign is also found in Porter's Madrigales and Ayres. (67)

Two other grace signs are found in Add. 11608: a comma , and a letter t. The comma placed before a note probably means a backfall, as in Playford's table. It occurs a number of times in the dialogue 'Tell me shepherd dost thou love' (ff. 18v-19v). For example:



The letter t is particularly common in this manuscript and presumably indicates a trillo. This interpretation seems to be confirmed in Lanier's 'Qual musico gentil' (f. 27v); in this florid setting the sign t is given above the penultimate note in the two main cadences, and Caccini states that the trillo was obligatory in this context. The sign is also found at the two main cadences in 'O that mine eyes' (ff. 45v-46) and this provides an interesting link with the 'Brief Discourse'; in

the 1664 edition of the Introduction to the Skill of Music Playford gives this song to illustrate the use of Italian graces, including the trillo, in English song. (68)

Ian Spink has suggested that the modern performer need not be too punctilious about the performance of graces:

Occasionally the exact meaning of some of the symbols used is uncertain ... But this matters little as the haphazard way they are used shows that they imply general rather than specific types of embellishment. (69)

The present study has taken a rather different approach, by attempting to reach a fairly specific understanding of the grace signs, and the appropriateness of different graces in different musical contexts. Although it is unlikely that graces were used with the same scrupulousness as in, for example, the French air de cour, it would seem that the use of graces in English song was far from haphazard.

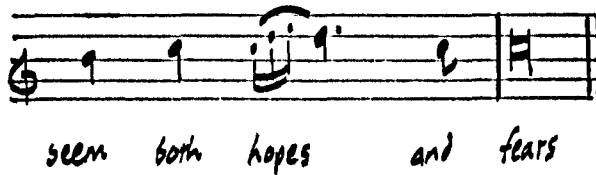
5. WRITTEN-OUT GRACES

Additional graces from manuscript sources

Many of the manuscripts which give signs also give written-out graces. Most of these graces are familiar from Playford's table and need no further discussion. A number of other decorative formulae are not found in Playford's table but nevertheless should probably be regarded as graces.

Ch. Ch. 87 provides several examples. The song

'Eyes gaze no more' (f. 9v) gives the following grace:



There is no contemporary description of this grace, though it seems particularly effective. It bears some resemblance to Playford's shaken versions of the elevation and cadent (Playford 10 and 11).

Playford's shaken elevation is significantly different from his plain version, so we might regard this grace as an alternative form of the elevation. (70)

A similar though slightly more elaborate grace is found in 'Sleep sleep though grief torments' (ff. 8v-9):



The same grace is found in 'Go happy heart' (f. 7v-8).

Another grace is found in 'Eyes gaze no more', on the word 'time':



This would seem to be a particularly obvious and natural form of ornamentation, both for voice and instruments. It might be regarded as a shortened form of the plain shake as described by Mace. However,

the lack of any contemporary accounts of this grace should guard us against its too frequent use in modern performance.

Another manuscript from the earlier part of the period, Ch. Ch. 439, gives what appears to be an alternative form of the elevation, using a dotted rhythm on the two grace notes. 'Why stays the bridegroom' (pp. 60-61) provides several examples:


to mar - row rise per - fec - tions we

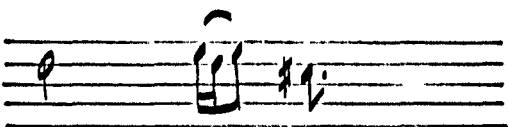
Many other examples of these 'unnamed' graces could be given. They offer a valuable means of supplementing, and giving variety to, the basic repertoire of graces as found in Playford.

Written-out graces in published sources: Henry Lawes' 'Theseus O Theseus'

Although the published sources of continuo song tend not to give ornamentation there are occasional examples. Henry Lawes' long declamatory song 'Theseus O Theseus', published in his Ayres and Dialogues (1653), provides a number of examples of small-scale ornamentation, most of which may be regarded as graces.

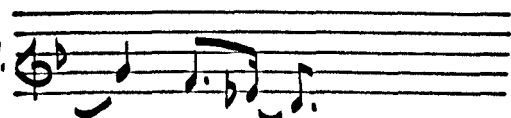
1. bo-wels pi-tied me 2. whi-ther wilt thou fly?

3. 
the roll - ing stone


4. 
are mov - ing

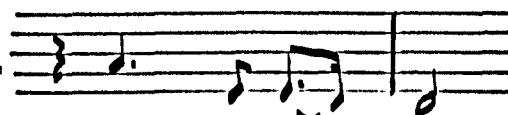
5. 
that live jet


6. 
- sake ev'n thee.

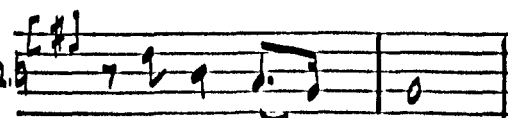
7. 
streams so court

8. 
ne'er pay their thanks

9. 
- mong fresh bow'rs

10. 
fall - ing like me

11. 
draw - est nigh.

12. 
him - self prov'd one.

These graces include the backfall (examples 1 and 8), the elevation (example 2) and the cadent (examples 6, 9, 10 and 12). There is also a grace which the Manchester Gamba Book calls a relish (example 4). Examples 5 and 7 may be regarded as a beat and a backfall respectively, though in these cases the grace anticipates the main accent; this type of underlay, familiar from lute songs and madrigals, creates a slight syncopated effect. There are also examples of free divisions (examples 3 and 11).

'Theseus O Theseus' is also found in Henry Lawes' autograph song book, in a version dating from about 1640. (71) Of the written-out graces found in the Ayres and Dialogues less than half are found in the autograph, and it is interesting to speculate why these graces were added. It may be that they were added specifically because the song was to be published, on the assumption that amateurs could not necessarily be relied upon to put in the appropriate graces. It is also possible that the additional ornamentation indicates a developing taste for the use of graces during the 1640s and '50s, and is related to the increase in the use of grace signs in manuscript sources over the same period.

'Theseus O Theseus' is a particularly good example of the use of written-out graces, but they are also found in a number of other songs from the Playford publications. Another notable example is

Henry Lawes' 'At dead low ebb of night', published in Playford's Select Ayres and Dialogues (1669), which includes examples of the backfall, the beat, the elevation, the 'plain shake' and the Manchester Gamba Book's 'relish'.

6. BACILLY'S L'ART DE BIEN CHANTER

Bénigne de Bacilly's Remarques Curieuses sur L'Art de Bien Chanter (1668) is concerned with the French style of singing and the performance of the air de cour. Naturally there are parts of the treatise which have little bearing on English song, but it also contains much information which is relevant to the present study.

There were strong musical links between France and England during the period; a number of French musicians were working in England and there appears to have been a good deal of interest in French song. In 1625 Queen Henrietta Maria had fourteen French musicians in her employment, (72) and a number of them continued to be active at court until the interregnum. For example, four of the Queen's musicians took part in Shirley's Triumph of Peace in 1634. (73) French musicians also appear to have been active outside the court, and even in the provinces. The Earl of Cumberland's accounts for 1634 mention payments made to French musicians for performances at Skipton Castle in Yorkshire:

This day to certain French musicians and a singer, which were at my Lady Dungarvan's marriage for their reward by his lordship's command, six pounds. (74)

French songs are found in a number of English sources of the first half of the century. Three airs de cour are included in Robert Dowland's A Musicall Banquet and in 1629 Edward Filmer published his French court-aires, With their ditties Englished, of foure and five parts. Together with that of the Lute. Examples of French song are also found in manuscript sources of the mid century. Lambeth 1041, for example, includes nine airs de cour, alongside songs by Charles Coleman, the Lawes brothers and their contemporaries. Also, English songs occasionally show the influence of the air de cour. An early example is Dowland's 'Weep you no more sad fountains' (75) in which the rhythmic freedom and lack of regular metrical stress strongly suggest the air de cour. The same influence can be seen even more strikingly in a version of Wilson's 'Wherefore peep'st thou, envious day?' in Drexel 4175. (76) Evidence of French influence in the use of divisions, particularly in the authoritative manuscript collections of William and Henry Lawes and John Wilson, is discussed below.

The presence of French influence in English continuo song tends to be eclipsed by signs of the more extrovert Italian style. However, it is clear that French musicians and their music had some

influence on English singers, and this must affect the way we view Bacilly's treatise. Many features of the French style of singing as described in L'Art de Bien Chanter may have some bearing on the performance of English song.

L'Art de Bien Chanter is in three parts. Parts II and III deal with the correct setting of the French language, with very fine distinctions between the setting of long and short syllables, and as far as English song is concerned *these are* the least interesting parts of the work. Part I is much more relevant, being concerned with vocal performance in general. Most of the following discussion is drawn from Chapter XII, 'On Vocal Ornaments'.

Graces are seen as an essential part of the singer's art:

A piece of music can be beautiful but at the same time unpleasant. This is usually a result of the omission of the necessary ornaments. (77)

The kind of air which appears common on paper and which may even sound common in the performance of its written notes only, will be entirely relieved of this defect by the ornaments which the singer will add and by the style of their performance. (78)

Bacilly refers to one of the problems of attempting to notate graces. He makes this point when discussing the accent (the equivalent of Playford 5, the springer) but it is applicable to the performance of graces in general:

(Accents) can never be effectively written down

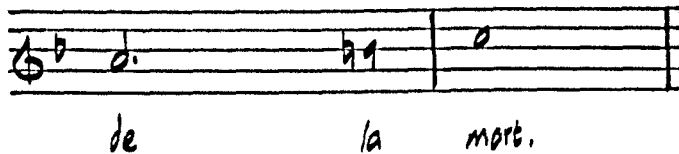
in notation since even though they involve a certain note, this note must not be emphasised, but only touched upon. (79)

Another valuable general point raised by Bacilly is that graces should not only be appropriate to the musical context, but should also suit the sense of the words. (80)

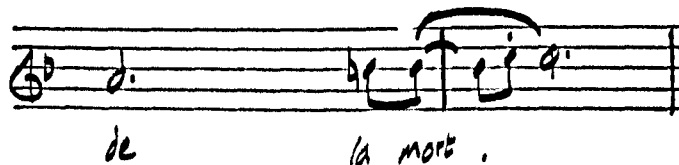
Bacilly's account of the art of gracing is highly elaborate, but essentially he uses six main types of grace: port de voix, cadence, liaison, accent, animer and flexions de voix. Most of these are already familiar, in some form, in their English equivalents.

The first grace described by Bacilly is the port de voix. This can be regarded as a more ornate version of the beat. However, unlike Playford's beat the port de voix anticipates the main note, and also the main note is first lightly touched before it is sustained.

written



performed



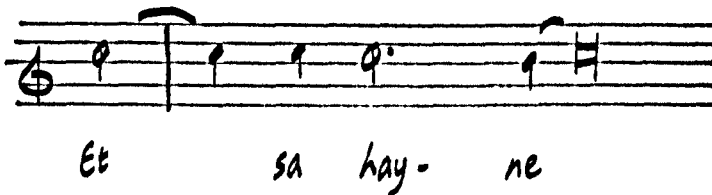
The repetition of the main note may be omitted (demi-port de voix, port de voix glisse or port de voix coule).



The port de voix is the most important of the graces described by Bacilly.

It is always used at cadential points, points of half-cadence (when there is room to put it in), and at all other principal cadential points. (81)

As far as English song is concerned the port de voix offers a more ornate way of performing the beat. One context which, according to Bacilly, particularly calls for the port de voix is where the underlay anticipates the last note of a phrase, as in the following example:



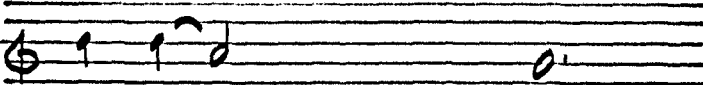
Similar examples are found in English song, (82) and could well be ornamented with the port de voix in one of its forms.

The terms cadence and tremblement are used interchangeably by Bacilly to refer to the shake. However, he seems to imply that the vocal cadence is smoother (closer, perhaps, to the flatement of French viol music) than is the true 'open shake'. The cadence

is normally prepared by sustaining the upper auxiliary, but in a short or unimportant cadence this preparation may be omitted.


The cadence is normally terminated by the liaison, which lightly anticipates the following note:

written



pre - veü - e

performed



pre - veü - e

The liaison can also be used as a grace in its own right, in which case it can be regarded as the equivalent of the English cadent (Playford 6).

The accent is the equivalent of the English springer (Playford 5), and is used when the following note is at the same pitch, or a second or third higher.

The animer, which is described as 'certain almost imperceptible repetitions of a note done with the throat' (83) seems to be the equivalent of the trillo.

The flexions de voix apparently refers to the close shake (Playford 8) or vibrato. However, the distinction between this and the cadence or tremblement may be rather fine, as when Bacilly refers to:

the tremblements which many call flexions de voix and which are done everywhere in singing in order to make it more brilliant, and which even add greatly to the expression and movement. (84)

Bacilly's application of these graces to the air de cour is highly sophisticated and elaborate, and it is doubtful whether graces were ever used with the same degree of refinement by English singers. However, in the absence of any comparable English treatise, L'Art de Bien Chanter gives valuable general guidance, and the main types of graces described by Bacilly, and the essential principles of their usage, are readily applicable to English song.

III ORNAMENTATION: DIVISIONS

The art of division has received more scholarly attention than most other aspects of performance practice during the late Renaissance and early Baroque. Among the most relevant modern works are Imogene Horsley's introduction to Italian sixteenth-century divisions 'Improvised embellishment in the performance of renaissance polyphonic music'(1) and Howard Mayer Brown's more detailed study Embellishing 16th-Century Music,(2) which makes particular reference to the needs of the performer. A number of original Italian treatises on divisions are available in facsimile or in modern editions,(3) and examples of vocal divisions from Italy and other countries are found in several anthologies.(4) As will be demonstrated, the use of divisions in Italian music of the late sixteenth century has considerable bearing on the performance of English continuo song.

As far as the ornamentation of specifically English song is concerned, an excellent introduction is found in Vincent Duckles' 'Florid embellishment in English Song of the late 16th and early 17th centuries'.(5) The present study serves largely to fill out some of the details in the framework provided by Duckles - and also, occasionally, to depart from some of Duckles' conclusions.

1. DIVISIONS IN THE LUTE SONG

Techniques of division

One of the points made by Duckles is that there was a change in the style of division in English song

during the first half of the seventeenth century.

Duckles writes:

Late Renaissance ornamentation tends to be profuse, extravagant, to spin itself in abstract patterns at the cadence points. This style was gradually replaced in the second quarter of the 17th century by one in which there was much greater economy and organization in the devices used, and they were employed with an eye toward dramatic or expressive effect. (6)

It is certainly true that there was a change in the use of divisions, but Duckles' account of this development should perhaps be qualified. His description of the characteristics of late renaissance and early baroque ornamentation does not always accurately reflect the music, and in a number of songs his descriptions of the two styles could even be reversed. As we shall see, 'economy and organization' were characteristic of the earlier style of divisions, and much of this earlier ornamentation is also 'dramatic or expressive'. On the other hand, the divisions in some of the manuscripts of the mid-century, such as BL Add. MS 11608, are nothing if not 'profuse', 'extravagant' and tending towards 'abstract patterns at the cadence points'.

Furthermore, the stylistic change in English division was not always as marked or as clear-cut as Duckles' account might suggest. In many cases it would be difficult to decide, on the basis of the style of division alone, whether a source dated from, say, before 1620 or after 1640. The

musicologist is always on the look-out for signs of change and development, but the element of continuity can be just as significant.

The Turpyn Book of Lute Songs, which dates from approximately 1610-1615,(7) is representative of one aspect of vocal divisions at the beginning of the century. Ornamentation is found in three songs: Robert Parsons' 'Pour down, you pow'rs divine' (Pandolpho, part I)(ff. 5v-6v), Parsons' 'No grief is like to mine' (Pandolpho, part II) (ff. 7v-9) and the anonymous 'This merry pleasant spring' (ff.9v-10v).(8) The divisions in the Pandolpho songs are restrained in character, with a regular quaver movement against the lilting minim pulse. They move mainly by step and stay close to the melodic outline of the original. The divisions are used rather sparingly (though of course more may actually have been used in performance) and by far the most adventurous roulade is reserved for the final cadence of the second song. In 'This merry pleasant spring' there are two passages of division: these have a more virtuoso quality, as we might expect in this more extrovert style of song, but again the ornamentation is rather concise and stays close to the original melodic outline.

It is interesting to compare the divisions in the Turpyn Book with divisions in another roughly contemporary manuscript, BL Add. MS 24665,

Giles Earle's Book. This collection, which is dated 1615, is drawn mainly from the published books of lute songs. The manuscript gives only treble and bass for each song, but unlike the sources of continuo song these are notated in parts rather than in score.

Divisions are found in three songs. The first, 'If I could shut the gates' (ff.23v-24), is song XVII from John Danyel's Songs (1606). The second song, 'To plead my faith' (ff.48v-60), is a much altered version of a song by Daniel Batchelar, published as song VI in Robert Dowland's A Musicall Banquet (1610). The third song, 'Silly boy, it is full moon' (ff. 60v-61), is song XXVI from Thomas Campion's Third...Booke (c.1618). The first two songs are transposed up a fourth and a tone respectively against the published versions. All three songs are transcribed in Volume II,1-3.

The most remarkable divisions are found in the second song, 'To plead my faith'. Batchelar's song, originally written in galliard form, is here rearranged in quadruple time, apparently for no other reason than to create a vehicle for ornamentation. Compared with the divisions in the Turpyn Book the ornamentation is very flexible and ornate. For example, one run, on the word 'could', contains thirty-one notes and moves through an interval of a tenth. The notation of the rhythm is often ambiguous. The other two songs are not as

flamboyant as 'To plead my faith', but again the divisions are far more rhythmically flexible than in the Turpyn Book, and often move further away from the original melodic outline. At the same time, the divisions occasionally have a rather static quality, largely due to the extensive use of written-out shakes and double relishes.

Whereas the divisions in the Turpyn Book represent the main stream of English vocal ornamentation at the beginning of the century, those in Giles Earle's Book show that there was also a more extreme, virtuoso style. The divisions in 'To plead my faith' are very exciting, but at the same time the technique is rather wild and undisciplined. Presumably this was the kind of 'blinde Division-making' to which Dowland objected so strongly.(9)

Duckles gives as his main example of the earlier style of ornamentation the anonymous song 'Nothing on earth',(10) which is in galliard form and has divisions of extraordinary virtuosity. However, it is hardly accurate to say, as Duckles does, that this song is an 'epitome of late Renaissance practice'. The extravagance of its divisions goes far beyond even those in the Giles Earle version of 'To plead my faith'. Indeed, there are no other early seventeenth-century English vocal divisions which can compare with 'Nothing on earth', either for the extended and consistent use of ornamentation or for sheer

virtuosity: it is a nonpareil. The song is transcribed in Volume II,4.(11)

If anything epitomises early seventeenth-century divisions it is Giovanni Coprario's Rules How to Compose (c.1610),(12) which includes a short section on divisions. Coprario's examples are transcribed in Volume II,5.(13) Stylistically these divisions are very limited: only three intervals are treated (thirds, fourths and fifths) and there are at most three different divisions for each interval. With one exception (f.14, bar 3) the ascending divisions are simply inverted for the descending intervals. Most of the divisions are given in two different note values, though dotted notes are not admissible in quavers: as Coprario puts it, 'if they rise as quavers you maie nott use them with a pricke in a songe'. Coprario's examples of divisions reflect fairly accurately the somewhat limited materials of the main stream of English vocal divisions at the beginning of the seventeenth-century. Nevertheless, the surviving examples of vocal ornamentation show that these simple basic materials could be used to create effects that were often exciting, witty and even passionate. Divisions could serve different expressive functions in different contexts. As Duckles puts it:

Florid singing could serve as a means of expressing the emotional quality of the text,

for representing pictorial or descriptive effects, or, what was perhaps its most common function, sheer vocal display.(14)

The songs from the Turpyn Book provide good examples of these different functions. In the Pandolpho songs the divisions increase the overall sense of intensity and feeling, without actually responding to the meaning of individual words. In 'This merry pleasant spring', on the other hand, the divisions are directly pictorial, notably in the written-out shake on 'quiver'. And in all the songs the divisions spring largely from a delight in the agility of the voice.

In the published collections of lute songs pictorial divisions are one of the more common types of ornamentation, perhaps simply because the other types of division were expected to be added by the performer. Danyel's 'Like as the lute'(15) provides one of the most literal examples on the phrase 'If any pleasing relish here I use'.

Thomas Campion might have found that 'such childish observing of words is altogether ridiculous';(16) but in 'Fain would I wed'(17) he uses divisions, above a recurring passamezzo antico bass, not to paint the meaning of individual words but to create a quality of vivacity and playfulness which perfectly illustrates the poem.

Divisions in the songs of Ferrabosco

A representative sample of the types of division in use during the first twenty years of

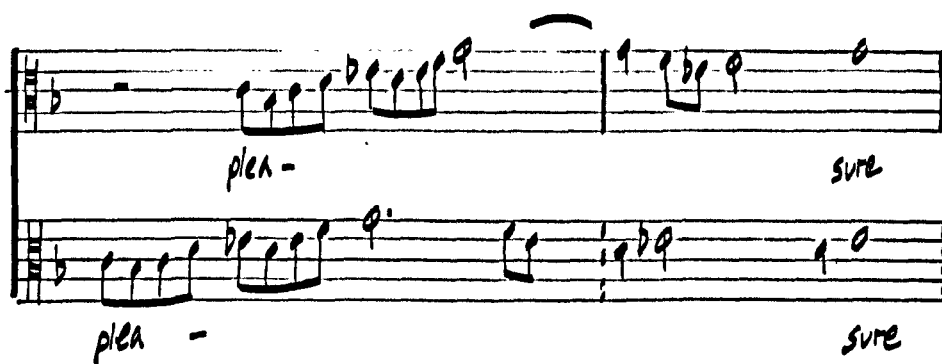
the century - that is, during the heyday of the lute song - can be drawn from the songs of Alfonso Ferrabosco. Ferrabosco's songs are ideal for this purpose; they are found both in his printed song book and in manuscripts, and therefore give a balanced picture of the use of divisions in both sources. Also, he was among the lute song composers who showed an active interest in the new declamatory techniques, while at the same time he was firmly rooted in the lyrical and polyphonic traditions of the lute song.

The sources of Ferrabosco's songs fall into three categories: first, his published Ayres (1609); second, the songs which are known only from manuscript sources; and third, manuscript versions of songs which were also published in the Ayres.

It is clear that on the whole divisions tend to be less common in printed song books than in manuscripts. However, Ferrabosco's Ayres contain numerous small-scale examples of ornamentation. Several of these divisions are pictorial: in song XVIII, 'If all these Cupids now were blind', the word 'wanton' is painted with running quavers.

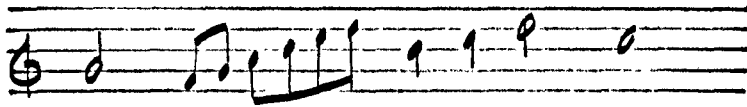


Elsewhere in the song, when the ornamentation occurs on neutral words such as 'should' and 'their' it also contributes to the playful nature of the conceit. Other short pictorial divisions are found in song XVI, 'Fly from the world' and song XXI, 'So beauty on the waters stood'. Some of the most striking pictorial divisions are found in the dialogues at the end of the volume. In song XXVII, 'What shall I wish', the word 'pleasure' is set to a long melisma in both voices, strongly suggesting the style of the madrigalists.



In other songs the divisions are more abstract. The first song, 'Like hermit poor', gives an elaborate setting of the words 'where none but love shall find me out' which apparently has no pictorial function. Other examples are found in song VI, 'Come my Celia'; song XIV, 'Sing the nobless of his race'; song XXII, 'Had those that dwell' and song XXVIII, 'Tell me O love'. Several of these divisions help to emphasise important words without actually painting

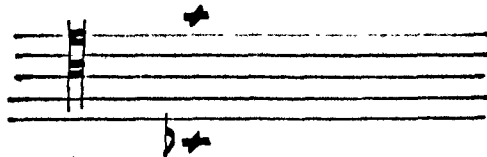
their meaning. A good example is the treatment of 'depriveth' in 'Tell me O love'.



de - pri -

vetth

However, the most spectacular divisions in the volume are found in song XX, 'Yes were the loves', which was composed for the Masque of Beauty (1608). This is a remarkable song in several ways: it is notated for a tenor or baritone voice and was clearly intended for a virtuoso singer, not only because of its florid divisions but also because of its unusually wide range:

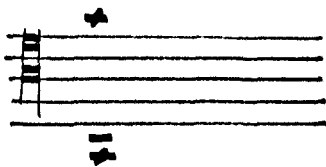


The voice occasionally descends to the notes of the instrumental bass (a technique used also by Caccini in his 1614 publication) (18) and this contributes to the quality of bravura. Most of the divisions move scale-wise over an interval of a fifth, at first descending, then ascending, and finally ascending climactically over an interval of a seventh. 'Yes were the loves' demonstrates well the exciting effects that could be produced using only the rather limited division techniques described in Coprario's Rules.



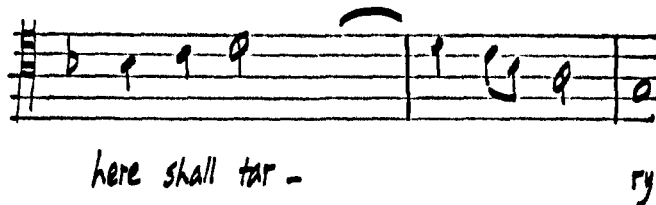
In this, as in many other Ferrabosco songs, some short groups of two or three slurred notes can be regarded as written-out graces, the elevation being particularly common.

Song VII, 'Gentle knights', and song X, 'How near to good is what is fair', are very close in style and recall 'Yes were the loves' from the Ayres. Again, these are masque songs (song VII from Oberon (1611), song X from Love Freed from Ignorance and Folly (1611)), and were possibly written for the same virtuoso singer: the range of 'Gentle knights' is the same as 'Yes were the loves', while 'How near to good is what is fair' descends to G:



The songs all use the same athletic style of division, often running scale-wise through an interval of an octave. Another division from

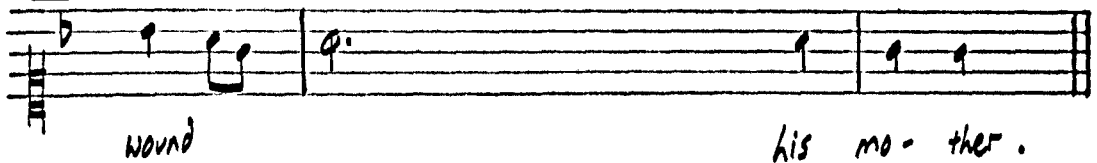
'Gentle knights', which is very characteristic of Ferrabosco's division technique, consists of a tied note followed by a descending phrase, and is used at cadences.



Both the manuscript songs and the songs from the Ayres show a basic vocabulary of ornamentation, consisting largely of stock formulae and scale patterns. This division vocabulary could readily be applied to other, unornamented songs of the period, either as worked-out divisions or as ornamentation to be added extempore in performance.

Versions of songs from Ferrabosco's Ayres are found in several manuscript anthologies. The most interesting and important of these is Christ Church MS 439, which includes thirteen of the songs notated as treble and bass.(21) Most of these are very close to the reading in the Ayres, (22) but two songs are given with added divisions. The most highly ornamented song is 'Why stays the bridegroom' (pp. 60-61), which is transcribed in Volume II,6. The other song, 'If all these Cupids' (p.94), is closer to the version in the Ayres, but at the foot of the page the manuscript gives an alternative ending, to the words 'his mother'.

Ayres (1609)



Christ Church 439



There is also an added division on the words 'and each one wound'.

These divisions are quite different in style from those found in the other sources of Ferrabosco's songs. The divisions are longer, with as many as twenty notes to a syllable, and move in semi-quavers and even demisemi-quavers. The ornamentation ventures much further away from the plain version, making extravagant arabesques around the basic melodic outline. The notation is rather free - in many cases the divisions are simply added to the original note values with no attempt to adjust the rhythm - but usually the rhythm can easily be edited to fit in with the bass. At the cadences, however, there appear to be too many notes for a strictly rhythmic performance, and so the divisions imply a built-in ritardando. The ornamentation includes numerous recognisable graces, including the elevation, backfall, double backfall, cadent and 'plain shake'. To some extent these divisions suggest the

extravagant style of 'To plead my faith' from Giles Earle's Book, but the resemblance is only superficial; 'Why stays the bridegroom' shows a combination of fluidity and control which is lacking in 'To plead my faith'.

The change in division technique found in these two songs from Christ Church 439 is highly significant. All of these new features were to become characteristic of the use of division in the solo song as it developed towards the middle of the century.

2. THE INFLUENCE OF ITALIAN ORNAMENTATION

There is little doubt that the change in the style of English vocal divisions during the first half of the century was largely due to Italian influences. However, the exact nature of this influence, and in particular the part played by Caccini's music, is more difficult to determine.

If we are to understand the influence of Italian divisions in England we must look briefly at the development of ornamentation techniques in Italy itself. This can be traced through the series of instruction books which begins in 1535 and extends well into the seventeenth century.(23) The mid sixteenth-century style of divisions is represented by Silvestro Ganassi's Fontegara (1535) and Diego Ortiz's Tratado de glosas, published in Rome in 1553. Both books

follow a similar pattern, giving tables of divisions for 1) basic intervals, ascending and descending 2) cadences 3) standard melodic figures. Ganassi's treatise is intended primarily for the recorder and Ortiz's for the viol, but both writers state that the divisions are equally applicable to other instruments and to the voice. The richness of the divisions in the two manuals is evidence of what Ernest T. Ferand calls 'a general improvisation practice of considerable age and wide dissemination'. (24)

During the last quarter of the sixteenth-century a new style of divisions began to emerge. Its leading representative was Girolamo dalla Casa, who published his Il vero modo di diminuir in 1584. In the examples of complete ornamented compositions given by Ortiz and his contemporaries the divisions move at a moderate speed and are applied more or less evenly to the whole melodic line. In the new style of dalla Casa, on the other hand, more of the original melody is left plain, but the divisions themselves are far more extravagant and almost unbelievably rapid. Thus the divisions appear as brief explosions within the essentially simple melodic line. (25) The ornamentation manuals published by Bassano (1585), Rogniono (1592), Conforto (1593) and Bovicelli (1594) are similar to dalla Casa's in that they all use extremely florid divisions, with

abrupt changes from slower notes to very fast ones.

The virtuosity of dalla Casa and his contemporaries in turn led to a reaction. Lodovico Zacconi, in his Prattica di musica (1592) observes that composers sometimes preferred their music to go unheard rather than have it performed with the more extravagant style of divisions. (26) Giulio Caccini's principles of ornamentation as put forward in the preface to Le Nuove Musiche (1602) are symptomatic of the reaction against the excesses of late sixteenth-century ornamentation. By providing all the necessary divisions in notation Caccini attempted to dispense with improvised ornamentation altogether, and while his monodies often appear on paper to be highly ornamented, in actual performance his use of divisions was a considerable simplification of the earlier practice.

However, Caccini and the theorists of the Florentine Camerata represent only one aspect of early seventeenth-century Italian divisions, and other singers and composers continued to use virtuoso divisions more or less for their own sake. Pietro della Valle, in his Discorso della musica dell'età nostra (1640) writes of the singer Vittoria Archilei:

She ornamented the written melody with long flourishes and turns which disfigured it but were very popular. (27)

Of the tenor Giuseppino, della Valle writes:

You could never tell whether his singing was supposed to be sad or gay, since it always sounded the same; or rather, it was always gay, because he always sang so many notes and sang them so fast. (28)

Examples of virtuoso division of this period are found in Ignazio Donati's Il primo libro de Motteti a voce sola (1634). This collection of sacred songs is intended partly as an instruction manual 'for those to whom ornamentation does not come naturally.' (29) Donati's florid style of ornamentation strongly suggests the techniques of dalla Casa and the division manuals of the 1590s.

The Italian techniques of ornamentation were slow to arrive in England. Italian madrigals were circulating from the 1580s - Nicholas Yonge's first volume of Musica Transalpina, for example, was published in 1588 - but these sources give no hint of contemporary Italian ornamentation. It is the early Italian monodies, which began to circulate in England from the early years of the seventeenth century, which provide the first examples of Italian ornamentation in England. Robert Dowland's A Musically Banquet gives four Italian monodies, including two songs by Caccini and one by Megli, but the most interesting divisions are found in the anonymous song 'O bella pipiu'. In this song the ornamentation becomes progressively more elaborate: a procedure which is recommended by Zacconi. (30)

Another printed source for Italian ornamentation is Angelo Notari's Prime Musiche Nuove, published in London in 1613. This volume contains solo songs, duets and trios with basso continuo. The most remarkable ornamentation is found in the final piece, which consists of divisions on the bass of Cipriano di Rore's madrigal 'Ben qui si mostra il ciel', for viol or voice.

Italian monodies were also circulating in manuscripts and some, though not all of these sources include ornamentation. (32) One of the most interesting of these manuscripts is BL Egerton MS 2971 which includes five Italian songs, all of which are found also in other sources. (33) All of the monodies from Egerton 2971 are very highly ornamented. Two songs by Caccini, for example, are given with considerably more divisions than in the versions published in Le Nuove Musiche. (34)

Caccini's music is prominent in several of these early seventeenth-century English collections. One song in particular, 'Amarilli mia bella', is found in a total of six different sources (35) and must have been one of the most popular songs of its time. On the other hand, Caccini was by no means the only monodist whose music was circulating in England, and we should not assume that Caccini's music and theoretical ideas were responsible for the change in the style of English divisions.

Pamela Willetts seems to make this error when she suggests that 'some elaborate ornaments in Lawes' songs probably derive from Caccini'.(36) Caccini's specifically reforming role - his desire to simplify ornamentation and to avoid the 'Multitude of divisions upon short and long Syllables' (37) practised by his countrymen - was hardly applicable to the somewhat rudimentary English vocal divisions of the time. English musicians of the early seventeenth century were discovering, for the first time, the whole world of Italian florid ornamentation, and were apparently as receptive to the extravagant style stemming from dalla Casa and his contemporaries as to the more refined approach of Caccini. This is clearly seen in the versions of 'Dolcissimo sospiro' and 'Amarilli mia bella' in Egerton 2971, which use precisely the kind of extravagant divisions Caccini wished to avoid. These examples are particularly striking because they are Caccini's own songs; but several of the later ornamented sources of English continuo song use divisions which are equally anti-pathetic to Caccini's principles.

The conclusion is, then, that the development of English vocal divisions was influenced as much by the florid Italian techniques of the 1580s and '90s as by the more restrained style of Caccini. This has some significance for the modern performer of English declamatory song, wishing to develop a division technique appropriate to the music. The performer

can, with some justification, draw on the abundant Italian sources of the late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries. It possibly seems incongruous to refer to Italian sources of the 1590s for the performance of English music of the 1640s and 50s. However, while some Italian music came to England fairly quickly there could also be a considerable time-lag, as is vividly illustrated by the fact that Caccini's preface to Le Nuove Musiche was first published in an English translation in 1664.

This leaves the modern singer with a very wide range of Italian and English styles of ornamentation from which to choose models. Much will depend on the individual taste and capability of the performer. Indeed, this was precisely the situation in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. As Howard Mayer Brown points out:

It would seem that there were in the sixteenth century as many different styles of embellishment as there were virtuosi, and indeed, a number of writers make the point that ornamentation ought to become a part of the performer's personal style. (38)

This is confirmed by the wide range of styles of ornamentation found in the manuscript anthologies of English continuo song.

3. DIVISIONS IN MANUSCRIPT ANTHOLOGIES OF CONTINUO SONG

The influence of Italian ornamentation on English song, and the gradual development of English vocal division technique, can be traced through a number of manuscript anthologies. The following discussion is based mainly on four of these manuscripts: BL Egerton MS 2971, BL Add. MS 29481, BL Add. MS 11608 and Lambeth MS 1041. The first two manuscripts can be taken to represent the early stages of Italian influence, while the third and fourth were compiled around the middle of the century and show English florid divisions in their full maturity.

Egerton 2971

Egerton 2971 probably dates from the second decade of the seventeenth century. (39) We have already seen that this source includes five Italian songs in elaborately ornamented versions. The manuscript also contains twenty English songs, and about half of these have divisions. The divisions in these English songs are quite different from those in the Italian settings, and clearly belong to the indigenous tradition. As in the ornamented songs from the Turpyn Book, the divisions tend to stay close to the original melodic outline, moving in quavers and semiquavers, and each piece of ornamentation is on the whole rather concise. The main

difference from the Turpyn Book is that divisions are used much more often. 'This merry pleasant spring' (f.16v), for example, is given with far more divisions than are found in the Turpyn Book. (40)

The English songs in Egerton 2971 make frequent use of written-out shakes and double-relishes, (41) and as in Giles Earle's Book this contributes a rather static, contained quality to the divisions. Notable examples are found in 'Drown not with tears' (f.13v), (42) 'Here's none but only I' (f.15) and 'Weep mine eyes' (f.30v). 'Weep mine eyes' is transcribed in Volume II, 7. These formulae were of course known in Italy, where they were referred to as tremolo and gruppo. However, the use of the shake and double relish in these songs springs more from the English tradition of divisions for lute and virginals.

Some of the songs are more elaborately ornamented than others, one of the most florid being 'Drown not with tears', but the basic materials of these divisions are the same as in the simpler songs. None of the English songs approaches the rhythmic and melodic flexibility, or the sheer virtuosity, of the Italian settings in the same manuscript. It is clear that although Italian models were available they had not yet begun to exert any real influence on the indigenous style of division.

Add.29481

Add. 29481 has received very little attention from scholars, but it is nevertheless an important source for the study of ornamentation. The main part of the manuscript, ff.2-26, was probably compiled during the 1620s, (43) and shows the development of English vocal divisions at a slightly later stage than Egerton 2971.

There are twenty-eight songs in all, including songs by Dowland and Campion alongside the newer style of continuo song by composers such as Robert Johnson and William Webb. Rather less than half of the songs contain some sort of divisions and, like the repertoire itself, the style of ornamentation is a mixture of old and new. 'O Lord consider my distress' (f.4) contains divisions which are very similar to those in the Pandolpho songs in the Turpyn Book. The song is transcribed in Volume II, 8. The restrained style of divisions is in keeping with, and even enhances, the contemplative tone of the poem. The nature of the bass part suggests that, like the Pandolpho songs, it may originally have been written as a consort song. 'Put not to rebuke' (f.5), which is another sacred song, uses less ornamentation, but it is interesting to note that one of the divisions is identical to one found in Dowland's 'Tell me true love'. (44)

Add. 29481



A Pilgrimes Solace (1612)



As we have seen, formulae such as these were the stock-in-trade of English divisions at the beginning of the century.

There is one Italian song in Add. 29481, 'O bella peu che la stella' (f.13), (45) and this shows a completely different style of ornamentation. As in the Italian songs in Egerton 2971 the divisions are fairly extended and cover a wide compass - one division, for example, on 'pietà', contains twenty-two notes and covers an interval of a tenth.



The divisions in this song are the most elaborate in the manuscript, and demonstrate clearly that at this stage the florid style of ornamentation was still closely identified with Italian song.

Nevertheless, several other songs begin to show the influence of Italian ornamentation. The divisions

in 'O let us howl' (f.5v) are remarkably fluid and audacious, and while this may be partly prompted by the supernatural element in the text it also seems to show Italian influence. (46) There is a suggestion of the same influence in 'Eyes look on thee' (f.13), which suddenly breaks into florid divisions in the final cadence, on the words 'hope remaining'.



One of the most florid songs in the manuscript is 'Shall I come, sweet love, to thee' (f.20), originally published in Campion's Third...Booke. Here the divisions seem to combine the restrained contours and meticulous rhythmic organisation of the English tradition with Italianate speed and fluency. The song is transcribed in Volume II, 9.

One of the most interesting aspects of Add. 29481, which so far seems to have gone unobserved, (47) is a table of divisions which is found towards the end of the manuscript (ff.40v-42). This table appears to be contemporary with the earlier part of the manuscript: at a later date the book was reversed and used as a part-book for anthems, but the ornamentation table is given the right way up, and clearly predates the anthems. The hand appears

to be contemporary with ff.2-26, and is possibly the same.

The table of divisions is transcribed in Volume II, 10. It consists of ten intervals of a rising tone, each followed by twelve or so examples of divisions. The concentration on this one interval is curious, for it would have been useful to provide examples for the other intervals, ascending and descending. Perhaps the explanation is that it was considered important to be able to divide this interval when it occurred in different parts of the singer's range, and the original plan may have been to continue the table with the other intervals. Apart from this the procedure is much the same as in the Italian ornamentation manuals, and the divisions themselves are in the florid Italian style. The existence of this table of divisions is therefore extremely significant, and suggests that English musicians of the time were acquiring a technique of florid ornamentation by precisely the same method as the Italians.

Add. 11608

Add. 11608 is probably the most important source for English ornamented song, and shows the full flowering of English vocal divisions in the middle of the century. The importance of the manuscript is widely recognised, and transcriptions are found in a number of modern studies and editions.

The manuscript contains a few Italian songs and, as in Egerton 2971 and Add.29481, these are among the most highly ornamented songs in the collection. There are no songs by Caccini but the next generation of Italian monodists is represented by Carissimi's 'Victoria, il mio core' (ff. 54v-55). There is also an interesting Italian setting by Nicholas Lanier, 'Qual musico gentil' (f.27v), which is transcribed in Volume II, 11. In this song the basic melodic outline is very simple and is supported by the most rudimentary of basses, and the piece relies for its effect almost entirely on the ornamentation. The divisions are very similar to those found in the version of 'O bella peu che la stella' in Add. 29481; they are extended and cover a very wide compass, yet combined with the virtuosity there is the quality of fluidity and grace which is characteristic of the Italian style.

Whereas in the earlier manuscripts the florid style of divisions is on the whole restricted to the Italian settings, in Add. 11608 this style is also found in many of the English songs. Particularly fine examples are Robert Johnson's 'Care-charming sleep' (f.16v), (48) Thomas Brewer's 'O that mine eyes' (ff. 45v-46), (49) and John Wilson's 'Take O take those lips away' (f.56) which is transcribed in Volume II, 12. (50)

Of these three songs 'Care-charming sleep' is the most florid, the divisions forming elaborate

arabesques around the basic melodic outline. The notation of the rhythm is only approximate: for example, a value of a crotchet is often ornamented with seven or nine semiquavers. The interpretation of the rhythm is discussed below. The ornamentation is not pictorial - the word 'fall', for example, is decorated with a rapid ascending run - but the divisions are expressive in the general sense. This is particularly well illustrated in the passionate sacred song 'O that mine eyes', in which the divisions greatly increase the overall intensity of the song.

The most common formula is a rapid upward scale, usually through an octave, while an arch-like pattern of figuration is used particularly at cadences. Apart from the written-out divisions there are also a number of signs indicating ornamentation. (51) Although the divisions are highly florid in themselves, they are in fact used quite sparingly. 'Take O take those lips away', for example, gives only five or so divisions in the first verse, there are a few alternative divisions for the second verse, and the most florid ornamentation of all is reserved for the final cadence of the song. The use of divisions here is an excellent example of the 'economy and organisation' commented on by Duckles.

The style of ornamentation in these three songs

clearly derives from Italian models. At the same time, these English mid-century divisions are not a slavish imitation but have distinct qualities of their own. The Italian fluidity and virtuosity have been absorbed, but the more extravagant tendencies are moderated by the restraint inherent in the indigenous English tradition. As a result, the English divisions, while less spectacular than the Italian models, are probably more expressive. (52)

Although Add. 11608 dates from the 1650s it is probable that this style of divisions was in use well before then. Thomas Holmes' song 'Newly from a poach'd toad' (f.18), for bass voice, has extraordinarily florid divisions, and the manuscript tells us that it was 'Oberon or y^e Madmans songe/ Sung in a Comedy at Cambridge before y^e King and Queen by y^e Author.' This was Peter Hausted's play The Rival Friends, which was given before Charles I and Henrietta Maria in Queen's College Cambridge in 1632. (53) We do not know whether these remarkable divisions bear any relation to what was used in this performance, but it would seem likely that this virtuoso style was developed by singers at court and in the theatres before the dispersal of professional musicians in the inter-regnum.

The most florid divisions in Add. 11608 are usually found in the final cadences of songs, and

often the manuscript gives alternative versions. The first song, William Lawes' dialogue 'Come my Daphne come away' (ff. 2-3), gives three alternative divisions for the final cadence. These are transcribed in Volume II, 13a. Even more remarkable is Simon Ives' song 'Set to the sun' (ff.12v-13), which is provided with no less than six ornamented versions of the final cadence. These are transcribed in Volume II, 13b. This proliferation of divisions goes far beyond the needs of any one song, and suggests that the manuscript was intended partly as an exercise manual in the techniques of ornamentation.

Several practical points emerge from these examples. First, it is clear that the final cadence is the most important point for ornamentation, and that divisions may always be added here even when no other ornamentation seems appropriate. (54) Also, it is notable that in all these examples the divisions are inserted before the long note which precedes the cadence. The long note itself is left plain or is given some sort of grace: a backfall, and perhaps a trillo or a shake.

The use of rubato in the performance of florid divisions is a difficult question. In contrast to the early seventeenth-century indigenous style of divisions, the rhythmic organisation in much of the ornamentation in Add. 11608 is very free. Ian Spink suggests that in many cases the basic pulse needs to

be very flexible:

In most cases the rhythmic notation of these florid passages is inexact though the pitch contour is fairly precisely indicated. It is clear that their performance must have involved considerable distortion of the basic pulse, for there are just too many notes to sing otherwise. (55)

This certainly seems to be true of the elaborate cadential divisions in Add. 11608, and a rather free style of performance is also suggested by the frequent use of dotted semiquavers, which are presumably intended not so much as strict rhythmic values as points of emphasis in the figuration. These cadential divisions can therefore be regarded as cadenzas, in which the pulse is suspended before the final cadence.

However, in other cases, where the divisions occur in the main body of the song, Ian Spink's argument perhaps needs to be qualified. There is a strong case for attempting to keep to a regular pulse as far as possible until the final cadence, even though this may mean choosing a rather slow tempo. The late sixteenth-century theorists, including dalla Casa, are quite explicit about the importance of a regular pulse in divisions which are at least as elaborate as those in Add. 11608. (56) Irregular groupings of notes do not necessarily imply rubato: Ganassi's Fontegara (57) shows how divisions of extraordinary rhythmic freedom could be performed within a strict metrical framework and

while there can be no direct link between Ganassi and English seventeenth-century vocal divisions, the underlying rhythmic principle may well be the same.

Add. 11608 itself provides some further evidence for performing divisions within a regular metrical framework. The manuscript includes a number of ballad-type songs in triple time which contain florid divisions. Examples are 'I wish no more' (f.57), 'Will Cloris cast her sun bright eye' (f. 74v) and two settings of 'No more shall meads' (ff. 61-61v and 75v-77). These divisions are essentially in the same style as in the declamatory songs, with elaborate runs and some asymmetrical groupings of notes; yet a regular pulse would seem to be essential to the dance-like nature of these songs.

The musicological arguments are borne out in practical performance. Rhythmic freedom can only really 'tell' in the context of a regular pulse, and excessive rubato, far from contributing to the intensity of expression, actually dissipates it. This argument is of course limited in that it is based on subjective musical experience, but the point of view has had some notable advocates before and after the seventeenth century. (58)

To sum up, there are strong musical and musicological grounds for trying to perform florid

divisions within a regular metrical framework. For this to be possible the singer must possess a technique which enables divisions to be sung very rapidly yet clearly. The type of vocal technique which was apparently used, articulating in the throat rather than from the diaphragm, has already been discussed. (59) The singer must also chose a basic tempo which is realistic for all the divisions, even if this tempo may be on the slow side.

This is not to suggest that the songs should be performed in a metrical straitjacket. Some rhythmic flexibility is of course both necessary and desirable. However, it is important to distinguish between a rubato which is genuinely expressive and one which is introduced simply in order to fit in all the divisions, and the only place where the pulse may actually be suspended is in the divisions which precede the final cadence.

Add. 11608 is probably the most important of the sources of ornamented song, but a similar style of divisions is found in several other mid-century manuscripts, and in particular in BL Add MS 10337, Elizabeth Rogers' Book. The version in this manuscript of 'O that mine eyes' (ff.54-53v, inverted), (60) for example, is very similar to that given in Add. 11608. The divisions are less extended, but are applied in almost exactly the same places, and in several instances the figuration is identical.

One of the finest ornamented songs in Add. 10337 is 'Cloris sigh'd and sang and wept' (ff.21v-22); as in Add. 11608 the rhythmic notation is only approximate and involves asymmetrical groups of notes. The favourite formula is a rapid ascending scale, but arch-like patterns are also common. The main difference from Add. 11608, in both songs, is the absence of the climactic, cadenza-like division before the final cadence. This is characteristic of the manuscript, though a few songs, such as 'Dearest love I do not go' (f. 57v, inverted) (61) and Henry Lawes' 'I prithee, sweet' (ff.50-49v, inverted), do give elaborate cadential divisions.

Lambeth 1041

While Add. 11608 shows the development of English divisions under the influence of Italian ornamentation, Lambeth 1041 shows the influence of another national style of ornamentation, that of the French air de cour. French musicians were an active force in English music of the first half of the century: there were certainly more French than Italian musicians working in England, and many were attached to the court of Henrietta Maria. (62) However, the influence of the French style of divisions is far less striking than that of the Italian style largely because the French and indigenous English techniques already had much in

common. Nevertheless, the French style of divisions did have certain qualities to offer the developing English technique. French ornamentation was more highly evolved, showing a sensitive response to the rhythm of the words and an elegance of style that was often lacking in early seventeenth-century English divisions. (63)

Lambeth 1041 falls into two sections. The main part of the manuscript, up to f.64, probably dates from before 1655, and all the songs are given with tablature accompaniment. The remainder of the manuscript dates from the early years of the Restoration, and is notated as treble and bass. (64) The earlier part shows considerable French influence. There are nine airs de cour, two of which (ff.8v-11v and ff.13-14) are provided with doubles.- that is, the first verse is plain, while the second verse is given with elaborate ornamentation. The style of divisions is decorative rather than expressive or virtuosic: the divisions stay very close to the original melodic outline, are spread evenly throughout the song, and the rhythmic organization is meticulous.

This technique is faithfully imitated in one of the English songs, Henry Lawes' 'When shall I see my captive heart' (ff.16v-17), transcribed in Volume II, 14. The first verse is quite plain, while the second is elaborately ornamented in the

French style. Particularly interesting is the way divisions are used to facilitate the underlay of the second verse. In the first bar, for example, the rhetorical rest after 'When' is in the second verse filled in with divisions, which also help to emphasise the word 'tyrant'. Another example is found just before the final cadence, where in the second verse the added divisions help to carry the sense of the words through the phrase. This use of divisions, to adjust the underlay in strophic songs, is one of the most valuable contributions of the French style.

Charles Coleman's song 'Never persuade me to't' (ff.56-56v) also shows the influence of the French style of ornamentation, but both first and second verses have divisions and so the song lacks the classic double form of 'When shall I see my captive heart'. The song is transcribed in Volume II, 15, together with the plain versions published in Playford's Ayres and Dialogues (1652). Apart from the divisions, in several places the basic melodic outline is altered fairly radically in order to fit the second verse: similar adjustments are very common in the strophic songs in Henry Lawes' autograph volume (BL Add. MS 53723). (65)

Several other songs include occasional examples of ornamentation in the French style. For example, William Lawes' 'Perfect and endless circles are'

(ff.57v-58) includes two short divisions in addition to a number of grace signs. The song is transcribed in Volume II, 16 together with William Lawes' autograph version (BL Add. MS 31432).

Although the main influence in Lambeth 1041 is French, the manuscript also shows signs of the influence of Italian ornamentation. The one Italian song, 'O mia fili gradita' (ff.53v-54v), has few divisions, but some Italianate ornamentation is found in several songs by Charles Coleman. 'Bright Aurelia I do owe' (ff.52v-53), transcribed in Volume II, 17, (66) has florid divisions at each of the two main cadences, and there is also an alternative division for the half-way cadence in the second verse. The freely-notated rhythm and arch-like pattern of figuration are similar to the cadential divisions in Add. 11608. There are also some fine examples of Italianate ornamentation in Coleman's song-cycle 'Farewell fond love' (ff.58v-62); each of the four songs which comprise this work contains at least one example of florid divisions.

The songs in the latter part of the manuscript give a little ornamentation, and this is mainly in the Italian style. Examples are found in Matthew Locke's 'Lucinda wink or veil those eyes' (f.67) and the anonymous song 'Ye pow'rs that guard love's silken throne' (ff.71-71v).

4. DIVISIONS IN THE MANUSCRIPTS OF HENRY LAWES, WILLIAM LAWES AND JOHN WILSON

The autograph song books of William and Henry Lawes and the manuscript collection of John Wilson are among the less ornamented sources of continuo song. Nevertheless, it is not quite true to say, as does Duckles, that they 'do not contain any examples of extended embellishment'. (67) William Lawes' autograph, in particular, contains some elaborate and extended divisions, and all three manuscripts include numerous examples of small-scale ornamentation. Any indication of ornamentation in these authoritative manuscripts is very important, and even the short divisions of three or four notes can give useful insights into the kind of ornamentation favoured by these composers.

It is likely that Wilson and the Lawes brothers would have improvised more divisions in their own performances. (68) However, we should not assume that these singer-composers would necessarily have improvised in the extravagantly florid style of, for example, Add. 11608. Musicians who were primarily composers had a different attitude to divisions from those who were primarily executants, and Dowland's and Caccini's cautious approach to ornamentation has already been quoted. (69) The composer's main concern was inevitably with the clear delivery of the song itself and, inextricably

connected, the setting of the words. It seems likely, therefore, that the improvised ornamentation of Wilson and the Lawes brothers would usually have been along the same lines as the rather restrained small-scale divisions which are found in their manuscripts. The virtuoso singer, on the other hand, could 'with divisions hide the light of sense' with fewer scruples. (70) The modern performer is of course free to follow either path, according to his own taste and skill.

Henry Lawes' autograph, BL Add. MS 53723

Perhaps the most important of the three composers' manuscripts is Henry Lawes' autograph volume. This collection was made over a considerable number of years, and Pamela Willetts suggests that:

The compilation of the volume may extend from before the time Lawes entered the Chapel Royal in 1626 until his death in 1662. (71)

Ian Spink, however, dates the manuscript c. 1634-1650. (72)

The manuscript contains a large number of small-scale divisions. Many of these are pictorial in function, and suggest an affinity with the pictorial divisions found in the lute song prints rather than with Italian ornamentation. The following examples are all transcribed in Volume II, 18a.

The most common formula is a rapid ascending

scale, to words concerning movement such as 'rise' (f.10v), 'drawn' (f.18v), 'go' (f.43) and 'swift' (f.68v). Sometimes the scale is given to a slower, dotted rhythm, as on the words 'creep' (f.26v), 'smoothly' (f.39), 'endless' (f.118) and, with great effect, on the phrase 'go climb that rock' (f.73v). A descending scale is used to paint the words 'rolls' (f.4), 'flaming' (f.61) and 'smoking' (f.158v). It is clear from this list that Lawes' repertoire of pictorial formulae is often rather limited. However, some words and phrases are painted with a more freely melismatic style of divisions, as to the words 'music' (f.3v), 'winding sheet' (f.25v), 'motion' (f.49v), 'running' (f.122), 'flowing' (f.143v) and 'roll' (f.177v). One of the most delightful pictorial divisions in the manuscript is a series of wandering melismas to the words 'can we so far stray' (f.92).

These pictorial divisions are particularly striking, but as often as not Lawes' ornamentation has no pictorial function and is simply decorative. Again, Lawes usually draws on a limited repertoire of divisions, and the commonest formula, a simple cadential phrase first used in f.19 v, is used countless times throughout the manuscript. This and the following examples are transcribed in Volume II, 18b. Another stock cadential formula is found on f.11 and f.22. The rapid ascending

scale is also commonly used as a decorative division. As in other sources, such as Add. 11608, divisions are very often inserted just before the final cadence. Two of the many examples are f.12, and at the end of the long monody 'Help O help divinity of love' (f.164v).

One of the striking features of Henry Lawes' style of ornamentation is that, even though the divisions are sometimes quite elaborate, the rhythmic notation is almost always meticulous. This suggests the influence of the French style rather than the Italian. French influence also seems to be present in the elegantly syncopated underlay in some of the divisions, such as in the setting of 'Go climb that rock' (f.73v, see above).

There is one example in the manuscript of a more florid and extended style of divisions, in the song 'Where shall my troubled soul' (ff.82v-83), transcribed in Volume II, 19. In this unusual sacred song, described in the manuscript as 'An Eccho', the poet's prayers are answered through the echo device. (73) The unusually florid and Italianate divisions (which are, for Henry Lawes, rather casually notated) seem to be intended to heighten the metaphysical character of the piece. The connection between extravagant divisions and a supernatural or metaphysical text is found in other manuscripts, such as the setting of 'O let us howl'

from Add. 29481. Divisions are only used in two places in 'Where shall my troubled soul', but this would seem to be a clear case for adding divisions rather freely.

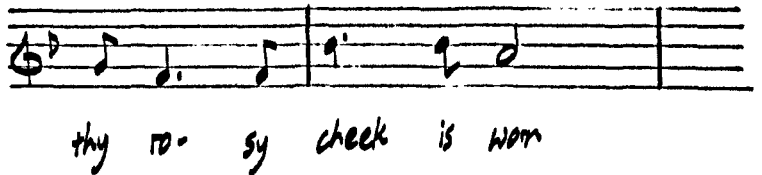
The divisions discussed so far belong mainly to Lawes' declamatory style. However, numerous small-scale divisions are also found in the ballad-like songs of Lawes and his contemporaries. Sometimes these divisions spread throughout a song, becoming an important feature of the style. (74) One of the best examples of a florid ballad song from Lawes' autograph is 'Lovely Cloris though thine eyes' (f.56), transcribed in Volume II, 20. The ornamentation is purely decorative, rather than expressive or pictorial, and suggests the French style. Ballad songs are characteristically in triple time, though the manuscript includes a number of decorated ballad songs in common time, such as 'Sweet lady and sole mistress of my love' (f.13) and 'Beauties, have you seen a toy' (f.36v). Triple-time ballads become increasingly common towards the end of the manuscript; between ff. 159 and 161, for example, there are six in succession.

Most of the divisions are found in the first half of the manuscript, and on the whole written-out ornamentation is, as R. J. McGrady says, 'rare in work of the mature Lawes'. (75) The exception is the decorated triple-time ballads which, as we have

seen, become increasingly common towards the end of the volume.

Nevertheless, it is likely that Lawes continued to ornament his songs in performance. This appears to be borne out by the published versions of a number of songs, which give more ornamentation than is found in the manuscript versions. An example is 'Celia thy sweet Angel's face', which is found in the manuscript on f.25 and f.65, and was also included in Lawes' 1653 publication. (76) The printed form of the song is close to the first manuscript version, but adds some divisions on the phrase 'thy rosy cheek is worn'.

Add. 53723, f.25



Ayres and Dialogues (1653)



Another example is the long monody, 'Theseus O Theseus' (ff.124-127), which is given in Lawes' Ayres and Dialogues (1653) with a number of additional written-out graces. (77) On the whole, the published song books give very little ornamentation, but in these examples it seems that some attempt has been made to suggest the kind of ornamentation which

would have been added extempore in the performances of Lawes and his circle.

William Lawes autograph, BL Add. MS 31432

William Lawes' autograph song-book is shorter than Henry Lawes' manuscript, and was compiled over a much briefer period. Ian Spink suggests that it dates from c. 1639-1641. (78)

As might be expected, the two brothers show many points of similarity in their use of ornamentation. As in Henry Lawes' manuscript there are numerous small-scale divisions, and many of these conform to a few basic formulae. The following examples are all transcribed in Volume II, 21a. In the dialogue 'Tis not, boy, thy amorous look' (f.27v) the ascending octave leap on the words 'but eyes confin'd' is filled in with a rapid scale. This filling in of the octave is so common in other sources of declamatory song that it may be regarded almost as a convention. Another recurring device is a descending scale, filling in the interval of a fifth, which is used at the end of 'I burn, I burn' (f.33) and in 'Ye fiends and furies come away' (ff.41v-42). A cadential flourish, familiar from Henry Lawes' manuscript, is also very common, for example in 'God of Winds' (f.31), 'Stay Phoebus stay' (ff.44v-45) and 'Those lovers only happy are' (ff.46v-47v).

Some of the small-scale divisions are pictorial.

Examples are found in the dialogue 'When death shall snatch us from these kids' (ff.12v-14), which paints the word 'flow', 'Farewell, fair saint' (ff.24v-25), which gives a gentle, caressing melisma on the word 'whisper', and 'Stay, Phoebus, stay' (ff.44v-45), which has an exhilarating twelve-note flourish on the word 'rousing'.

It is clear that William Lawes' ornamentation, like his brother's, owes much to the French style. However, the flamboyant roulade on 'rousing' in the last example suggests also a degree of Italian influence which is not found in the work of Henry Lawes. Italian influence is also present in the song 'Virgins, as I advise, forbear' (f.9v). A florid eighteen-note run is found at the end of the song, presumably as an alternative to the first half of the penultimate bar. This is transcribed in Volume II, 21b. This is a strophic song with two verses, so perhaps the divisions are intended for the second verse. The procedure here, the style of the division and the freely notated rhythm are very similar to the ornamented cadences in Add. 11608.

Most of the divisions referred to have been isolated examples, but there are a few songs in the manuscript in which ornamentation is used fairly consistently, as a feature of the style. Three striking examples are 'Tell me no more' (f.30v), 'God of winds, when thou art grown' (f.31) and

'Those lovers only happy are' (ff.46v-47v). These songs conform perfectly to Duckles' definition of florid song as 'one in which frequent and consistent use of melisma is made to connect and enrich the voice part'; (79) it seems inexplicable, therefore, that he should include William Lawes' autograph among the manuscripts which 'do not contain any examples of extended embellishment'.

'Tell me no more', transcribed in Volume II, 22, is a light ballad-style song in triple time. There is little ornamentation in the song itself, but at the end of the first verse there is a fully worked-out double. This is presumably intended for a subsequent verse (there are seven verses in all in the manuscript). The divisions are strictly in the French style; they are elegant rather than virtuoso, the ornamentation is applied evenly throughout the verse, and the syncopated underlay adds a vivacious quality. Compared with William Lawes' divisions for viol and violin, the ornamentation is perhaps a little uninspired. Nevertheless, the provision of a fully worked-out double in William Lawes' own autograph sets an important precedent for the performance of this type of song.

'God of winds', transcribed in Volume II, 23, is in a curiously hybrid style. The setting of the words is highly declamatory, yet it is a strophic song with two subsequent verses, and these are

clearly intended to be sung because Lawes gives an alternative rhythm for the third verse, bar 8. The divisions suggest the Italian style rather than the French. Two of the divisions are familiar ornamental formulae, the extravagant upward run on 'When' in bar 2 and the cadential figure on 'thee' in bar 7. Only one division paints the meaning of a specific word ('sighs' in bar 9), but all the ornamentation is expressive, painting the overall mood of the poem with its winds and sighs.

In 'Those lovers only happy are', transcribed in Volume II, 24, the use of ornamentation is less striking than in 'Tell me no more', or 'God of winds', for most of the divisions are short, decorative flourishes consisting of three or four notes. However, these are scattered liberally throughout the song, so that the overall effect is of a florid setting. There are also two pictorial divisions, more extravagant in character, on the words 'tempest' in bar 6 and 'toss' in bar 9. The song well illustrates the two functions of divisions, the decorative and the pictorial or expressive.

John Wilson's manuscript, Bodleian MS Mus. b. 1.

Unlike the collections of William and Henry Lawes, John Wilson's manuscript songbook is not the composer's autograph. Nevertheless, it was apparently compiled under Wilson's supervision and is essentially, as Anthony Wood puts it, 'of his framing'. (80)

Of the three composers' manuscripts Wilson's songbook has the least divisions, and compared with some of the songs from William Lawes' autograph Wilson's approach to ornamentation is quite austere. What divisions there are tend to be of the small-scale decorative type, and are found particularly at cadences. The following examples are all transcribed in Volume II, 25a. One stock phrase, first found on f. 13v on the words 'as of blood', is used repeatedly throughout the manuscript. Another cadential division, consisting of five notes, is almost as common; examples, in two different rhythmic forms, are found on f. 28v, 'join two breasts in one', and f. 37, 'make thy mirth increase'.

Very occasionally Wilson's divisions are pictorial. The usual formula is an octave scale, which is used ascending in 'Languish and despair my heart' (f. 22) to paint the phrase 'so let thy groans to hills ascend', and in 'Virtue, beauty, forms of honour' (ff. 24v-25) on the words 'and make all heav'n'. In the dialogue 'Haste you nymphs, make haste away' (ff. 76-76v) a descending octave scale is used on the words 'fly not'.

Most of Wilson's ornamentation, however, is found in his triple-time ballad-style songs. Wilson's writing in this genre tends to be even more florid than Henry Lawes'. The song 'Tell me where the beauty lies' (f. 84), for example,

concludes with a short section in triple time which is elaborately decorated in the French style. This is transcribed in Volume II, 25 b. Another example, in triple time throughout, is 'View'st thou that poor penurious pair' (f. 107), transcribed in Volume II, 26.

The triple-time songs apart, it is clear that, compared with the Lawes brothers, Wilson uses very little ornamentation. Wilson's manuscript was compiled around 1656, (81) which is rather later than the other two manuscripts, but this probably reflects Wilson's own taste rather than a general trend away from divisions, and other manuscripts compiled during the 1650s, such as Add. 11608 and Add. 10337 show a very different approach to ornamentation.

IV THE THOROUGH-BASS: LUTE AND THEORBO

1. LUTE AND THEORBO IN ENGLAND 1610 - 1670

The choice of instrumentation for the accompaniment of Elizabethan and Jacobean solo songs is usually straightforward. Apart from consort songs, most songs are provided with a tablature accompaniment which is playable only on the lute or orpharion, (1) and almost all of the thirty or so books of solo songs published between 1597 and 1622 explicitly call for lute accompaniment in their title pages. Other instruments are also mentioned, notably the bass viol, but the primary importance of the lute in song accompaniment is not in question.

In the continuo song the choice of instrumentation is more problematic. The thorough-bass began to replace tablature during the 1610s and '20s. (2) A thorough-bass does not usually indicate any specific instrument, and can in theory be played by any bass or chordal instrument. In Italian continuo songs of the period the question of instrumentation is resolved by referring to the title pages of literally hundreds of solo song publications. (3) On the other hand, no English solo songs with thorough-bass were published until 1652. (4)

However, there seems to have been a good deal of continuity in the accompaniment of the solo song, and although tablature was replaced by thorough-bass

the lute, in one of its forms, was still the most common accompanying instrument. This is clear from numerous sources. For example, the court post of Musician in Ordinary 'for y^e lutes and Voyces' persisted well into the Restoration, and the post was held by two of the leading song writers of the period, William and Henry Lawes. (5) Among the numerous literary references to singing to the lute is Robert Herrick's miniature:

Rare is the voice it selfe; but when we sing
To'th Lute or Violl, then 'tis ravishing. (6)

A number of manuscript sources of continuo song include worked-out accompaniments in tablature, presumably for the benefit of players who were not adept at reading from a thorough-bass. Most of these tablature realisations are for the lute, or its offspring the theorbo. (7)

The theorbo was a large lute with a long head and a second peg box to accommodate additional bass strings. This instrument gradually replaced the renaissance lute as the preferred instrument for song accompaniment. The series of song prints beginning with Playford's Select Musically Ayres, And Dialogues (1652) states that the songs are to be sung 'to the Theorbo, Lute, or Basse Violl'. Even after keyboard song accompaniment became more common during the 1680s the theorbo was still offered as an alternative and as late as 1721 the thorough-bass in Playford's Orpheus Britannicus

is designated as for the 'Organ, Harpsichord, or Theorbo-Lute'. Thomas Mace writes of the theorbo in Musick's Monument (1676):

in despite of all Fickleness, and Novelty,
It is still made use of, in the Best Performances in Musick, (Namely, Vocal Musick.) (8)

Development of the lute

The lute and theorbo underwent considerable development in England during the period 1610 - 1670. It is convenient to consider the two instruments separately, though in practice there was often some overlap, both in terminology and in the instruments themselves.

During the first twenty years of the century additional bass strings were added to the lute. The development can be seen in Robert Dowland's Varietie of Lute Lessons (1610). (9) In this collection pieces by the older generation of lutenists, such as John Dowland and Francis Cutting, are for a seven-course lute, the seventh course tuned to F or D. The pieces by Robert Dowland, on the other hand, are usually for a nine-course lute, the three lowest courses being tuned to F, D and C, and this is also the tuning for the lute given by Robert Fludd in his Utriusque Cosmi (1618). (10) In the lute music of Robert Johnson (d. 1633) an instrument of ten courses is fairly standard, with the lower courses tuned F, E(♭), D and C. (11)

The same development can be traced through

Lord Herbert of Cherbury's manuscript lute book, (12) which opens with pieces from the beginning of the seventeenth century and leads through to 1640. The earlier pieces are usually for seven-course lute, while the later pieces require ten courses. The remarkable fantasias of Cuthbert Hely, in particular, make consistent use of the additional lower courses.

During the 1620s the influence of French lutenists became very strong, and this affected the tuning of the lute. English lutenists were experimenting with variant tunings from the beginning of the century, (13) but it was under the influence of French lutenists such as Jacques Gaultier and Anthony Robert, both of whom were active at the court of Charles I, that the new tunings began to replace the traditional renaissance tuning.

The change to French tunings can be seen in several manuscript anthologies of lute music. Jane Pickering's Lute Book, (14) for example, contains mainly solos and duets from the beginning of the century, but at the end of the volume later hands have added pieces in various French tunings by John Lawrence and Jacques Gaultier, probably dating from 1625 - 1635. (15) Another example is Margaret Board's Lute Book, (16) which was probably compiled during the 1620s. The first part of the manuscript contains early seventeenth-century pieces in renaissance tuning, while the latter part (pieces 111 - 186)

is for ten-course lute in a number of variant tunings. (17) By the time of the Restoration French tunings were the norm for solo lute music, as can be seen from the manuscript Burwell Lute Tutor, (18) which dates from c. 1660 - 1672, and the instructions for the lute in Mace's Musick's Monument (1676). Also, by this time the number of courses had increased to eleven or twelve.

Development of the theorbo

Although the French tunings became increasingly common they were used only for solo pieces, and the traditional renaissance tuning (vieil ton) continued to be used for song accompaniment. At the same time this tuning, and the role of continuo playing, came to be identified with the large lute known as the theorbo.

The development of the larger members of the lute family during the seventeenth century is a complicated subject, and the present discussion owes much to Robert Spencer's excellent survey 'Chitarrone, Theorbo and Archlute'. (20) The chitarrone and theorbo were invented in Italy during the last twenty years of the sixteenth century. Whether or not there were originally any differences between the two instruments, by 1600 the terms tiorba and chitarrone were considered to be synonymous. (21) One of the main uses of the instrument was the accompaniment of the new style of monodic song.

The theorbo seems to have been introduced into England during the second decade of the seventeenth century. A notebook in Dr. Plume's Library gives the following rather fanciful account of its introduction:

Inigo Jones first br. ye Theorbo in. Engl.
circa an 605. at Dover it w. thought sm. Engn
br. frō Pop. cuntris to destr. ye K & He &
it sent up to Cn. Tabl - It aft. ye Pop conspir.
(22)

In John Florio's Italian-English dictionary A Worlde of Wordes (1598), 'Tiorba' is translated as 'a kind of musical instrument used among countrie people', and in the 1611 edition as 'a musical instrument that blind men play upon'. As Robert Spencer has pointed out, these references suggest that the instrument was little known in England at this time. (23)

One of the earliest English references to the theorbo which shows any real knowledge of the instrument is in Thomas Coryat's Coryat's Crudities (1611). This gives an account of a musical performance in Venice in 1608 in which:

Sometimes two singular fellowes played
together upon Theorboes, to which they sung
also, who yeilded admirable sweet musicke. (24)

Angelo Notari's Prime Musiche Nuove (1613), published in London and presumably intended for English use, is designated 'per Cantare con la Tiorba, et altri Strumenti'. Drayton mentions the theorbo in his Poly-olbion (1613):

Some that delight to touch the sterner wyerie Chord
The Cythron, the Pandore, and the Theorbo strike...(25)

In The Maske of Flowers (1614) there is a reference to a song being 'sung to Lutes and Theorboes'. (26) There is mention of 'otherboes', possibly meaning theorbos, in John Lane's poem Triton's Trumpet (1621). (27) A portrait of Mary Sidney dating from c. 1620 in Penshurst Place shows her holding a theorbo. (28)

By 1630 the theorbo was probably fairly common in England. Charles I appears to have owned several theorbos: the Lord Chamberlain's records include a warrant for payment for strings 'for his Majesty's lutes and theorba for one year ended at Christmas, 1627', and two more theorbos were purchased in 1632 and 1633. (29) Bulstrode Whitelocke's account of the Triumph of Peace (1634) describes the extensive use of theorbos in this court masque. (30) The first song print after Notari's to refer to the theorbo is Porter's Madrigales and Ayres (1632), and the instrument is subsequently mentioned as an alternative to organ in the psalm books published by Child (1639), Lawes (1648) and Wilson (1652). As we have seen when Playford began his series of song prints in the 1650s the theorbo was firmly established as the main instrument for song accompaniment.

One of the distinctive features of the theorbo is its extended head and second peg box. This took several different forms: sometimes the nut for the bass strings was located almost immediately above

the main peg box, while in other theorbos the extension was considerably longer, and the bass strings were as much as twice the length of the stopped courses. The extended head was a necessary corollary of the extra bass strings; it must be remembered that overspun strings were not invented until the second half of the seventeenth century. One of the first references to overspun strings in England is in the 1664 edition of Playford's Introduction to the Skill of Musick:

There is a late invention of Strings for the Basses of Viols and Violins, or Lutes, which sound much better and lower than the common Gut Strings, either under the Bow or Finger. It is Small Wire twisted or gimp'd upon a gut string or upon Silk. (31)

Until the invention of overspun strings the only way to achieve more sonorous bass notes was to increase the length of the string. (32)

For similar reasons the lute (that is, the instrument primarily used for solos) also gained a second head during the first half of the century. In English lutes of the mid century the second peg box was often added alongside the traditional bent-back peg box. (33) The bass strings were not so long in this construction, but the loss of sonority in the bass was less important in the lute than in the theorbo. Thus in Mace's illustration of 'The Lute Dyphone' the lute has two heads while the theorbo has a single long head. (34) However, in general the construction of the second peg box

should not be taken as the definitive feature of the lute or the theorbo, as either design could be used for either instrument.

The most important feature of the theorbo is the large size of its body and the length of the stopped courses. At the beginning of the century it was common practice to use the same mean (tenor) lute for solos, consort playing and song accompaniment. During the course of the century, however, it seems to have become increasingly desirable to use a larger, more resonant instrument for song accompaniment and to keep medium-sized, more agile instruments for solo pieces. Jacques Gaultier, writing to Constantin Huygens from England in 1647, insists on the importance of a larger instrument for song accompaniment. Referring to lutes by Laux Maller he comments that 'they are all for the most part of medium size and not suitable for accompanying singing'. (35)

Mace repeatedly refers to the large size of the theorbo. He points out that the instrument is unsuitable for the 'Nimble Agitation' required in solo pieces, but that this is less of a disadvantage when playing from a thorough-bass. On the other hand, the theorbo is more resonant, particularly in the bass. (36) The James Talbot manuscript, which dates from the late seventeenth century, gives detailed measurements for both lutes and theorbos. (37)

The 'English two headed lute' which Talbot examined had a string length, for 'the stopped' courses of $23\frac{1}{2}$ " , while Talbot's 'English theorboe' was considerably larger, with a stopped string length of $34\frac{7}{8}$ ". (38)

Because of the large size of the theorbo the first and sometimes the second course had to be set an octave lower. Mace describes the practice as follows:

by Reason of the Largeness of It, we are constrain'd to make use of an Octave Treble-String, that is, of a Thick String, which stands Eight Notes Lower, than the string of a Smaller Lute, (for no Strings can be made so Strong, that will stand to the Pitch of Consort, upon such Large scis'd Lutes) ... Nay, I have known, (and It cannot be otherwise) that upon some Theorboes, they have been forc'd to put an Octave String in the 2d. String's Place. (39)

In Italy both of the top two courses of the tiorba and chitarrone were almost invariably tuned down. However, in England it was probably more common for only the first course to be tuned down, at least until the end of the century. This can be inferred not only from Mace's remarks but also from some English tablature sources of the mid century, including John Wilson's manuscript (Bodleian MS b.1.). (40)

English theorbos of the mid century had up to thirteen courses. The tablature in John Wilson's manuscript, for example, is for a twelve-course theorbo, but Mace suggests that a thirteen-course instrument is ideal because it gives a complete

octave scale in the bass. (41) However, many of the surviving tablature song accompaniments can be played on an instrument with as few as ten courses.

Sometimes the terminology for the theorbo was rather loose. The words 'theorbo' and 'theorbo-lute' seem to have been synonymous, and both are used in the title pages of the song prints of the 1650s and '60s. (42) The use of the word 'lute' to refer to the theorbo is more confusing, and Samuel Pepys, for example, uses the terms interchangeably. (43) Perhaps Pepys uses lute as a generic term, as does Mace when he states that 'THE Theorboe, is no other, than That which we call'd the Old English Lute'. (44) The title page of Martin Peerson's Mottects or Grave Chamber Musique (1630) includes 'Base-Lute' as an alternative to organ, and this may also refer to the theorbo. (45)

It is clear that the members of the lute family were in a state of flux during the period 1610 - 1670, and it is almost impossible to give a simple definitive description of either the lute or theorbo. However, the main developments may be summarised as follows. At the beginning of the period the English lute had up to ten courses in the renaissance tuning, and this instrument was used both for solos and song accompaniment. From this point the English lute can be regarded as developing along two divergent paths. The first path was towards the French lute (known also simply as

'lute'), a medium-sized instrument for solo playing, and using various tunings of French origin. By 1670 the French lute had eleven or twelve courses. The second path led towards the theorbo (known also as 'theorbo-lute'), a larger instrument used for continuo, and particularly song accompaniment. The theorbo was in the traditional renaissance tuning, but with the first (and sometimes the second) course tuned down an octave. By 1670 the theorbo had up to thirteen courses.

While the French lute and theorbo represent the two main types in this development, it is certain that many instruments occupied a middle ground. A French lute could be tuned like a theorbo for song accompaniment, and equally a small theorbo could be tuned like a French lute for solo 'lessons'. During the earlier part of the period, in particular, there must have been many ten-course instruments still in use occupying this middle ground.

2. PITCH

The question of pitch in English music 1610 - 1670 is problematic, to say the least. Nevertheless, pitch is an important factor in performance, and transposing a song as little as a tone in either direction can make an enormous difference to the singer. The construction of the lute and theorbo, and the practical implications of using gut strings,

can provide an approach towards the pitch of secular music of the period.

It is important to make the distinction between nominal pitch (ie. the names given to the open strings of instruments and so on) and actual pitch, which can be related to the modern standard pitch of $a' = 440$. (46) There is little chance of finding a precise pitch standard. However, it should be possible to establish the general 'direction' of pitch, relative to standard modern pitch, and perhaps narrow this down to within certain limits.

E. H. Fellowes discusses the question of pitch in his English Madrigal Composers, (47) and comes to the conclusion that three distinct areas of pitch were in use in English music during the early seventeenth century. On the basis of the vocal range found in English madrigals (cantus up to a'' , bassus down to G but occasionally as low as D), he suggests that the pitch of secular vocal music was similar to modern standard pitch. Church music, on the other hand, usually has a rather lower tessitura, and Fellowes states that this should be transposed up a tone or a minor third. In support of this transposition he cites a note on pitch in the Pars Organica of Tomkins' Musica Deo Sacra (1668). He states that a third pitch, approximately a minor third below modern standard pitch, was used for virginals, as the frame of the instrument was not

strong enough to allow the tension of strings at a higher pitch. Fellowes concludes:

Thus, the secular vocal pitch would have been much the same as it is now; the pitch of Church music (involving that of organs) was more than a tone higher than modern pitch; while virginals and other kindred instruments were tuned about a minor third below the pitch of today. (48)

Fellowes' views on pitch have been very influential, and they are taken up by L. S. Lloyd in his article 'Pitch, Standard' in Grove's Dictionary (49) and, to a large extent, by Robert Donington in The Interpretation of Early Music, (50) On the other hand, there are some strong arguments against Fellowes' conclusions.

The arguments against the transposition of church music have already been discussed. (51) Briefly, they are that Musica Deo Sacra is an isolated and rather late source (it was published twelve years after the death of Thomas Tomkins by his son Nathaniel) and cannot be taken as a reliable guide to pitch during the earlier part of the century. Charles Butler gives the normal compass of church music from bass to treble as G to g", (52) which suggests that his pitch was close to standard modern pitch, and possibly even lower.

Fellowes states that most church music of the period 'lies too low for satisfactory effect unless it is transposed up'. (53) However, English musicians of the early seventeenth century may have

preferred these richer, more sombre sonorities for sacred music. Fellowes himself cites a passage from Morley's Plaine and Easie Introduction which would seem to be a forceful argument against transposition:

those songs which are made for the high key be made for more life, the other in the low key with more gravity and staidness, so that if you sing them in contrary keys they will lose their grace and will be wrested, as it were, out of their nature. (54)

The practical drawbacks of Fellowes' three-pitch system are obvious. One of the main problems is that certain combinations of instruments (with or without voices) would be very awkward, if not impossible. For example, Thomas Campion's Discription Of A Maske (1607) gives the following account of the instrumental ensemble:

on the right hand ... were consorted ten Musitions, with Basse and Meane Lutes, a Bandora, a double Sack-bott, and an Harpsichord, with two treble Violins; on the other side somewhat neerer the skreene were plac't 9. Violins and three Lutes, and to answer both the Consorts (as it were in a triangle) sixe Cornets, and sixe Chappell voyces, were seated almost right against them.

According to Fellowes' system the lutes and violins would be at one pitch, the harpsichord at another, and presumably the sackbuts and cornetts (which were regularly used to accompany 'Chappell voyces' in church music) (55) would be at yet another. Indeed, ensembles such as this would seem to require some sort of common pitch as a prerequisite.

Pitch in the lute song

Lute songs and continuo songs must, inevitably, have been sung at the pitch of the accompanying lute or theorbo. (56) A study of these instruments and the properties of gut strings can suggest a possible solution to the question of pitch, at least as far as the solo song is concerned.

The properties of gut strings in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries have been researched in great detail by Djilda Abbott and Ephraim Segerman, and their findings are published in two articles, 'Strings in the 16th and 17th centuries' (57) and 'Gut Strings'. (58) It is clear that the use of gut strings imposed definite limitations on the pitch of the lute. The upper pitch limit was determined by the breaking stress of the top string. This can be established fairly accurately by experiment, for modern treble gut strings are probably very similar to the low-twist gut strings in use in the seventeenth century. Obviously there must be a safety margin between the breaking stress of a string and its usable upper pitch limit. Taking this into account, Abbott and Segerman give a table for the highest usable pitch of gut strings of different lengths. (59)

The lower pitch limit of the lute was determined by the nature of the bass strings and the problem of pitch distortion. We have seen that overspun bass strings were not introduced at least until the

1660s, and until these were adopted the bass strings were of plain gut. The main disadvantage of these thick gut strings was pitch distortion; the notes would tend to be sharp when the strings were first plucked, and then the pitch would drop as the note decayed. This could be reduced to some extent by the use of high-twist gut strings, known in England as Venice Catlines. However, before the introduction of overspun strings the only real solution to the problem of pitch distortion was to increase the length of the bass strings.

It is clear that lutes were usually tuned as near to their upper pitch limit as possible. The usual instruction for students was to tune first the treble string as high as it would stand, and then tune the other strings from it. For example, Thomas Robinson says:

Now you shall learne to tune your Lute, and for a generall rule, first set up the Treble, so high as you dare venture for breaking. (60)

This is presumably the 'natural pitch' referred to by Morley:

take an instrument as a lute, orpharion, pandora, or such like being in the natural pitch, and set it a note or two lower, it will go much heavier and duller and far from that spirit which it had before. (61)

Robinson's instructions may seem to imply that the pitch of a lute was a rather haphazard affair.

However, we have seen that, for an instrument of any given string length, the usable upper pitch limit

can be established quite accurately. In effect, this means that when an instrument maker designed a lute, he intended it to sound at a specific pitch.

If it were possible to examine original instruments made in England during the first half of the century, it would be fairly easy to establish their upper pitch limits, but unfortunately there are no instruments from the period surviving in their original condition. (62) Most modern lute makers base the string length of their instruments on written evidence (such as the Talbot Manuscript), paintings and scaled illustrations such as those in Praetorius' Syntagma Musicum II (1619). On these instruments it is not usually practical to tune a gut string much above f' in modern standard pitch. As M. W. Prynne puts it, in his article on the lute in Grove's Dictionary:

experiments with strings of the average length used points to the treble-string tuning not being higher than $\frac{3}{4}$ tone below g' in our standard pitch (a' = 440 c.p.s.). (63)

Modern standard pitch is only possible on these lutes today by using nylon strings.

It seems reasonable to conclude that English lute songs, accompanied by mean lutes at nominal G pitch, sounded between a semitone and a tone below modern standard pitch.

Pitch in the continuo song

With the introduction of the theorbo during the 1610s and '20s the question of pitch becomes more

complicated. We have seen that the large size of the theorbo meant that the top course had to be tuned down an octave because, as Mace puts it, 'no Strings can be made so Strong, that will stand to the Pitch of Consort, upon such Large Sciz'd Lutes'. With the first course tuned down, the upper pitch limit was now the breaking stress of the second course, usually tuned to nominal d'. The pitch of the theorbo was therefore more flexible than that of the lute, and smaller theorbos, in particular, could often be tuned to a pitch well above that of the lute.

As a result it became common to tune smaller theorbos to a nominal A pitch. Mace describes the practice as follows:

the Sixth String (is) Generally us'd for Gam-ut, upon a Full-Sciz'd Lute, but upon Lutes of a Smaller Scize, which will not bear up to Speak Plumply, or Lustily, according to a Consort-Pitch; then we make the 7th String Gam-ut. (64)

Further evidence for the use of nominal A pitch is found in tablature accompaniments. Most of the manuscripts which give theorbo tablature include at least some songs in which there is a disparity between the key of the cantus and the tablature. In some cases, notably BL Egerton 2013 and Lambeth 1041, the disparity almost certainly means that the theorbo should be tuned to nominal A pitch. Both of these manuscripts include tables for converting from thorough-bass to tablature which are explicitly for an instrument in A.

However, these manuscripts can easily give a false impression of the prevalence of A tuning. In a number of cases it seems that in fact the theorbo should be at the usual nominal G pitch, and the vocal line should transpose. Transposing clefs are occasionally used in lute songs, to avoid notating the cantus in difficult keys, and examples are found in Robert Dowland's A Musicall Banquet (1610) and Thomas Campion's Third and Fourth Booke of Ayres (1618). Among the sources of continuo song, transposing clefs are found in Bodleian Mus. Sch. f.575 and Bodleian Don. c. 57. The use of clefs in Mus. Sch. f.575 has already been discussed in some detail. (65) There are nine songs in the manuscript, giving three different pitch relationships between the cantus and tablature, and in such a short manuscript, apparently compiled by one person over a brief period, it is reasonable to assume that all accompaniments are for one instrument, at the same pitch. Don. c. 57 contains a group of thirteen songs with tablature accompaniment. Most of the accompaniments are for a theorbo at nominal G pitch, but in three songs there is a disparity between cantus and tablature. Again, it seems that the cantus is transposed to avoid difficult keys. In one song the tablature provides a cue-note for the voice, as in the transposing-clef songs from Campion's Third and Fourth Booke. A table of 'Stops upon the Theorbo' also

strongly suggests that the songs should be accompanied by an instrument in G.

Although there is evidence that A tuning was used occasionally in England, it is clear that G tuning was more common. This is also borne out by the keys of the songs themselves. Taking as a sample the 103 songs in Playford's 1659 publication of Select Ayres And Dialogues, the distribution of keys is as follows:

G	(major or minor)	36
D	(usually minor)	29
C	(usually major)	22
F	(major)	9
A	(usually minor)	7

The great majority of the songs are therefore in G, or the closely related keys of D and C. The key of A, which is one of the more difficult keys for a theorbo at nominal G pitch, but ideal for an instrument in A, is represented by least songs.

In Italy the nominal A pitch for theorbo or chitarrone was far more common. During the first twenty years of the century tablature accompaniments for an instrument at this pitch were published in songbooks by Rossi, Kapsberger and Corradi. As Robert Spencer has pointed out, 'this higher tuning was adopted possibly because a continuo part could be played with greater facility in the much used key of A'. (66) The different nominal pitch of the theorbo in England and Italy probably also explains the different practice in tuning the second course.

In England, where G pitch was more common, only the top course usually had to be tuned down. In Italy, however, where A pitch was widely used even for large instruments, it was usually necessary to tune down both of the top two courses.

Although the pitch of the theorbo was in theory more flexible than that of the lute, it is likely that in practice there was a good deal of continuity in actual pitch during the period of this study. The fact that the octave treble string was used at all on the theorbo indicates that there was some sort of prevailing pitch which had to be conformed to, for otherwise it would have been acceptable simply to set the whole instrument at a slightly lower pitch. The use of a specific A tuning also implies a continuing standard of pitch, which must have been accurate at least to within a tone; otherwise it would have been unnecessary to differentiate between the G and A tunings. Presumably it is to this prevailing pitch that Mace refers when he speaks of the 'Pitch of Consort' or 'Consort-Pitch'. (67)

The conclusion that some sort of pitch standard existed in England in certain centres and at certain times during the period 1610 - 1670 is almost inescapable. This would have been particularly necessary in a big musical centre such as the court of Charles I. It is inconceivable, for example, that when William

Lawes' Royall Consorts were performed the six musicians would have no prior knowledge of the pitch. Otherwise the tuning could have been interminable - the two theorbos alone may have had up to fifty strings between them! A pitch standard need not have been defined with scientific exactitude, as is the modern standard pitch, and in a centre such as the court the necessary focus could well have been provided by a much-used chamber organ.

In the absence of any more precise evidence this discussion of pitch has to remain inconclusive. However, it is possible to draw a number of general conclusions. Firstly, it seems that the early seventeenth-century English lute was pitched between a semitone and a tone below modern standard pitch. Secondly, with the introduction of the theorbo, pitch could in theory be more flexible, but in practice, there appears to have been a prevailing 'Consort-Pitch'. Thirdly, it is probable that there was some sort of standardisation of pitch in the main musical centres, and in this case the pitch area of the lute may have applied generally to English secular music during the first half of the century. Fellowes himself suggests that in certain cases madrigals may be sung a tone below modern pitch. (68) This same pitch may possibly have applied to sacred music too: Fellowes' procedure of transposing church music up a minor third

is questionable, and other evidence suggests that it was sung near modern pitch, and possibly lower.

3. 'THE COMPLEAT THEORBOE-MAN': TECHNIQUES OF THOROUGH-BASS ACCOMPANIMENT

One of the main problems of performing English continuo song is the realisation of the thorough-bass. It is obviously important to find a style of accompaniment that is appropriate not only to the music but also to the idiom of the accompanying instrument. The thorough-bass in English song 1610 - 1670 is rarely figured, and this places an additional responsibility on the accompanist.

The most reliable guide to the style of thorough-bass playing during the early years of the continuo song is the tablature accompaniments in some of the Jacobean lute song prints. We have seen that the development from lute song to continuo song was a gradual process, (69) and while some song writers continued to compose polyphonic accompaniments, such as Maynard (1611), Dowland (1612) and Attey (1622), others conceived the accompaniment essentially as chords above a bass. This quasi-continuo style is found particularly in masque songs, such as Ferrabosco's songs from the Masque of Beauty, published as numbers XVIII-XXII in his Ayres (1609), Campion's Description of a Maske (1614) and Mason and Earsden's Ayres That Were Sung And Played (1618).

The style of accompaniment is also found in Coprario's Songs of Mourning (1613).

These accompaniments contain nothing that could not have been easily improvised from a short score of treble and bass. The 'hard, cross and wringing Stops' which Mace found such a disadvantage in early seventeenth-century lute writing are avoided in favour of sonorous chords which fit easily under the hand, and almost all of the musical interest is contained in the bass. These quasi-continuo tablature accompaniments are presumably very close to the style of thorough-bass realisation used in the early continuo songs of Ferrabosco, Johnson and Lanier.

The real problems of thorough-bass style are in the mature continuo songs of Henry Lawes and his contemporaries. The musical idiom itself is often far removed from that of the 1610s and '20s and demands a rather different style of accompaniment. Also, during the 1630s the theorbo was becoming more common and the style of accompaniment must have been adapted to some extent to suit the different instrument. One of the main sources for rediscovering the thorough-bass **techniques** of this period are the worked-out tablature accompaniments found in a number of manuscript song books, including Bodleian Mus. Sch. f. 575, Drexel 4175, Egerton 2013, Bodleian Don. c.57, Lambeth 1041 and Bodleian Mus. b. 1.. Another valuable source, which is particularly relevant to the

later part of the period, is the instructions for theorbo in Mace's Musick's Monument.

Treatises on harmony and part-movement are also relevant to the reconstruction of theorbo continuo. Mace himself states that 'He who would be a Compleat Theorboe-Man, must be able to understand Composition' and refers the reader to 'Mr. Christopher Simpson's Late, and very Compleat Works' (70) - presumably the Principles of Practical Music (1665), which was reissued in an enlarged version as the Compendium of Practical Music (1667). Other contemporary treatises are Coprario's 'Rules How to Compose' (c. 1610), Campion's A New Way of Making Fowre Parts in Counterpoint (1613) (also included in the second edition of Playford's Introduction to the Skill of Musick (1655)), and Butler's Principles of Musick (1636). The instructions for keyboard thorough-bass in Matthew Locke's Melothesia (1673) and John Blow's manuscript 'Rules for Playing of a Thorough Bass upon Organ and Harpsicon' (71) are also valuable.

The Euing Lute Book (Glasgow University Library R. d. 43) contains some forty pages of examples of thorough-bass realisation for the theorbo. This treatise apparently dates from towards the end of the century, and is too late to be directly relevant to this study. However, the Euing treatise is an important source, showing the sophisticated development of theorbo continuo in the late seventeenth century.

One of the problems with the tablature sources is deciding whether the accompaniment is intended for a lute, in which case the first course should be tuned up, or for a theorbo, with the first course tuned down an octave. The tablature can give certain clues, but often there has to be some guess work too. In general, if the first course is little used, or used only in certain keys, this suggests that it should be tuned down. On the other hand, stepwise movement between the top two courses suggests that the first course should be tuned up. When the second course is consistently stopped at the fifth fret (f) and above, as in John Wilson's music for solo theorbo (72) and Mace's 'Fancy-Praelude', (73) the top course should probably be tuned down; however, song accompaniments tend to avoid these higher positions. Also, if the tablature is for an instrument at nominal A pitch the first course would probably have to be tuned down.

Bodleian Mus. Sch. f. 575

Bodleian Library, Music School MS f. 575 was probably compiled c. 1630. (74) The manuscript contains mainly music for lyra viol, but there are also a few songs, all with accompaniments in tablature. There are several different pitch relationships between cantus and tablature, and these have already been discussed. (75) The following discussion assumes that the tablature is for an instrument at nominal G

pitch. The songs are:

- f. 5v Hold cruel love, O hold I yield
- 6 Thou sent'st to me a heart was crown'd
- 6v Eyes gaze no more as yet you may
- 7 If when I die to hell's eternal shade
- 7v Hence all you vain delights
- 8 You heralds of my mistress' heart
- 9 The little wand'ring god of love
- 9v Stay lusty blood where canst thou seek

The tablature is for a ten-course instrument, but the lower courses are not used very consistently. Only one song, 'Stay lusty blood' (f. 9v), uses all ten courses, and four of the songs do not descend below the seventh course at all. There are hints in the tablature that the first course should be tuned down: several of the accompaniments make very little use of the first course, and those which do seem to need the top course down to avoid some awkward part movement. However, the evidence is not conclusive, and it is quite possible that the tablature is for a ten-course lute.

The accompaniments are very simple, consisting mainly of chords above the bass. There is very little passing movement in the realisation, apart from simple cadential formulae (usually a passing seventh), and almost all of the musical interest is concentrated in the bass line. The accompaniment to 'If when I die' (f. 7), which is transcribed in Volume II, 27, is typical of the manuscript. The style of the song is quite declamatory, and the accompaniment consists of held chords in semibreves and minims, which support the voice without imposing any rhythmic constraints.

In the first half of the song, for example, the accompaniment consists merely of three bars of F minor, two bars of A \flat and, after a cadence, three more bars of A \flat ; there is no linking melodic movement and all the chords are in the same position. There is a little more movement in the last three bars, but this is almost entirely restricted to the bass line.

'Stay lusty blood' (f. 9v), transcribed in Volume II, 28, has a slightly different style of accompaniment. The bass courses are used rather more than in the other songs, and the original thorough-bass has clearly been adapted to allow octave transposition. The bass notes tend to be used on their own, alternating with chords in the upper part of the instrument, which helps to carry the movement forwards. The style of accompaniment in this song suggests a more idiomatic approach to the instrument.

Drexel 4175

New York Public Library, Drexel MS 4175, inscribed 'Ann Twice, Her Booke', was probably compiled during the 1620s. (76) A number of the songs have tablature; some of these are clearly intended for the bass viol, and are discussed below. (77) Tablature accompaniments for lute or theorbo are found in the following songs:

xli	Dear do not your fair beauty wrong
xlii	O let us howl some heavy note
xliii	Like to the damask rose

lii Cloris sigh'd and sang and wept
liii Come sorrow sit down
lvi Cupid is Venus' only joy

Drexel 4175 is probably roughly contemporary with Bodleian Mus. Sch. f. 575, and the accompaniments are very similar in style. (78) Again, the tablature is for a ten-course instrument, and this may well have been a lute rather than a theorbo. The accompaniment essentially consists of chords above the bass line, though occasionally the bass line is not harmonised at all, particularly when it moves in quavers. Indeed, the tablature sometimes seems rather bare. Many of the chords lack a third (see, for example, 'Do not your fair beauty wrong' (79)). Nevertheless, an idiomatic approach to the instrument is suggested by the numerous grace notes and, in some of the songs, by the use of the bass courses. This is well illustrated in 'O let us howl', (80) in which off-beat bass notes are used to enrich the sonority and to continue the rhythm through the long held chords.

Egerton 2013

British Library, Egerton MS 2013 was probably compiled around 1650. (81) Of the seventy-two songs in the manuscript, twenty-three have accompaniments in tablature. The songs are:

p. 8 Come all you dear delights
11 Ardens est cor meum
72 Silly heart forbear
90 Hark how my Celia
92 Adieu fond love
94 Stay stay old time
96 In the subtraction of my years

- p. 98 Out of the horror of the deep
 101 With expectation faint and blind
 102 Blow there Zephyrus
 104 " " "
 106 Entice not me with thy alluring eye
 108 " " " " "
 110 Cloris yourself you so excel
 112 Hear me O God
 114 Go and catch a falling star
 116 Three score and ten the life and age of man
 119 Fain will ye then
 121 In love with you
 122 Cloris yourself you so excel
 124 Entice me not with thy alluring eye
 126 Blow thou sweet Zephyrus
 128 Good Susan, be as secret as you can

At the beginning of the manuscript (f. 2v)

there is a table of the more common chords. The tablature is for an instrument at nominal A pitch so, as we have seen, it can be assumed that it is for a theorbo, with the first course tuned down. The table gives a series of chords in three different key centres: F major/D minor, B \flat major/G minor and G major/E minor. (82) The usefulness of the table is rather limited - for example, the only first inversion chords given are for D major - and it may well have been sketched out during a singing lesson. The last line of tablature appears to be exercises for developing facility in finding the diapasons. The chord table uses eight courses, the exercises use ten courses, and the song accompaniments themselves call for up to eleven courses.

The manuscript gives several different pitch relationships between the cantus and the tablature.

It seems likely that all the accompaniments are in fact for an instrument at nominal A pitch, and where there are different pitch relationships, the cantus should transpose.

The tablature is rather casually notated and there are no rhythm signs. An unusual feature of the tablature is a curved sign (☺). In other sources this usually indicates a hold or, as in Mace, some sort of left hand articulation. (83) However, neither explanation is really satisfactory in this manuscript. Possibly it indicates that the notes within the sign are to be played with the thumb.

The accompaniment to Henry Lawes' 'Hark how my Celia' (p. 90) is typical of the manuscript. The song is transcribed in Volume II, 29. As in Bodleian Mus. Sch. f. 575 and Drexel 4175 the accompaniment consists simply of chords above the bass, and any movement (apart from the occasional 4-3 suspension at cadences) is concentrated in the bass line. The tablature calls for eleven courses, and the lowest course (the dominant in this key) is used frequently. Again, the diapason courses tend to be used on their own, alternating with chords in the upper part of the instrument. The reasons for this are partly technical - it is harder to locate the bass courses when they are combined with a chord, and in some cases the stretches for the right hand could also be awkward.

In 'Adieu fond love' (p. 92) (84) the concentration of movement in the bass line is even more striking. The thorough-bass in this song is unusually active, with extended runs in quavers and sequences of dotted notes. There is no attempt in the tablature to harmonise these moving passages, and as in Drexel 4175 this sometimes gives a rather bare quality to the accompaniment.

It is clear that Egerton 2013, like Bodleian Mus. Sch. f. 575 and Drexel 4175, is an amateur's collection. The style of accompaniment, while functional, is rarely musically inventive or technically demanding. This clearly limits the usefulness of these particular sources as models for reconstructing theorbo continuo for modern performance.

Bodleian Don. c. 57

Bodleian Library, MS Don. c. 57 is a large manuscript, probably compiled between 1631 and 1660. (85) At the end of the manuscript there is a group of thirteen songs with tablature for theorbo. The songs are as follows: (86)

- f.92 Come lovers all to me
- 92v When this fly liv'd
- 93v When on the altar of my hand
- 94 Look back Castara from thine eye
- 94v Amaryllis by a spring
- 95 Sing Syren though thy notes bring death
- 95v About the sweet bag of a bee
- 96 Will you know where pleasures grow
- 96v Poor citizen if thou wilt be
- 97 Among the myrtles as I walk'd
- 97v How wretched is the state

f.98 Shall I despair of my resolv'd intent
98v Damon my beauty doth adore

The songs are preceded by a table of 'Stops upon the Theorbo' (f. 91v). The table gives the basic chord shapes for each degree of the scale, starting with F and descending to G. In places the table is obviously incomplete, spaces being left for the chords of E \sharp and B \flat . The table is not particularly systematic, and like the table in Egerton 2013 it could well have been sketched out hurriedly during a lesson. A few cadences are given (with F and C as dominant), but elsewhere these are omitted, and the table is generally haphazard about giving inversions. The examples only use seven courses, though the song accompaniments call for an eleven-course instrument.

The question of the nominal pitch of the tablature in this manuscript has already been discussed. (87) The table of 'Stops' and most of the accompaniments are for an instrument in G. Three of the songs have a different pitch relationship between cantus and tablature (f. 94, f. 95 and f. 98), but it seems likely that in these songs the voice should transpose. It follows from this that the bass parts found in three of the songs (f. 94, f. 97v and f. 98) are probably for voice, which can transpose easily, rather than for viol. The first course of the tablature should probably sound at the lower octave - the instrument is described as a theorbo, which

implies the use of an octave treble and this is also suggested by some of the part movement. (88)

The song accompaniments are far more varied and interesting than is suggested by the rather rudimentary table of 'Stops upon the Theorbo'. The realisations include a good deal of passing movement, and this creates a more rich, dense texture than is found in the accompaniments in some of the other manuscripts. This is well illustrated in 'Damon my beauty doth adore' (ff. 98v - 99), which is transcribed in Volume II, 30. The realisation frequently introduces movement to link the chords and to carry the rhythm forward, and the harmony is enriched with numerous additional suspensions (see, for example, bars 23-26). The diapasons are frequently used together with chords, and this also suggests a more developed playing technique.

A simpler style of accompaniment is found in 'Amaryllis by a spring' (f. 94v), transcribed in Volume II, 31. The vocal line in this song is highly embellished, and the straightforward chordal realisation provides an ideally unobtrusive accompaniment. It is interesting to compare the plain repeated chords at the beginning of 'Amaryllis by a spring' with the opening of 'Sing Syren though thy notes bring death' (f. 95), transcribed in Volume II, 32. The vocal line here is boldly declamatory rather than ornamental, and accordingly the repeated notes of

the bass are given a quite different treatment. The chord of F shifts between different positions and different bass notes, creating an arresting and sonorous accompaniment. These two examples show a flexible and sensitive approach to thorough-bass realisation.

Although these accompaniments are fairly sophisticated there are also some curious flaws in the manuscript. Despite the extremely clear hand, errors in the tablature are very common. In particular, the scribe often confuses the letters Δ and ϵ , and also tends to place letters on the wrong lines. Occasionally, there are lapses in the harmony, one of the worst examples being the opening of 'Among the myrtles' (f. 97). Apart from these flaws, however, the accompaniments would seem to be the work of a skilled musician.

Lambeth 1041

Lambeth Palace MS 1041, inscribed 'The Lady Ann Blount', was compiled between 1640 and the early years of the Restoration. (89) The songs in the manuscript fall into four distinct groups, each copied in a different hand: (i) ff. 3 - 7v, (ii) ff. 8v - 19v, (iii) ff. 20v - 64, and (iv) ff. 64 - 79. All of the songs in the first three groups have accompaniments in tablature. This part of the manuscript includes nine French songs and these are not given in the following list.

- (i) f. 3 We do account that music good
 3v Silly heart forbear those murd'ring eyes
 4v Go thy ways since thou wilt go
 5v Sing aloud, harmonious spheres
 6v Beat on proud billows
 7v Ask me no more whither doth stray
- (ii) (8v-15v French songs)
 16 When shall I see my captive heart
 (17v-19v French songs)
- (iii) 20v Cloris when I thee present
 52v Bright Aurelia I do owe
 53v O mia fili gradita
 56 Never persuade me to't
 57 Perfect and endless circles are
 58v Farewell fond love
 60 Farewell false hopes (second part)
 60v Farewell false world (third part)
 62 My mortal monument shall be a cell (fourth part)
- (62v-64 French songs)
- (iv) (64v-79 Songs with thorough-bass)

The six songs which comprise the first group give several different pitch relationships between cantus and tablature. Three of the songs imply a theorbo at nominal A pitch, two at G pitch and one at C pitch. However, all the accompaniments seem to be for the same thirteen-course instrument, and so in some songs the cantus should probably transpose. The tablature itself suggests an instrument at A pitch: all of the accompaniments are in flat configurations (five of the accompaniments would be in F on a G instrument, or G on an A instrument), and these configurations tend to be more common on an instrument in A.

The accompaniments in the first group of songs show a radically different approach to the instrument from the manuscripts considered so far. The

tablature is for a thirteen-course theorbo, and the diapason courses are used constantly. The basses are fully integrated into the accompaniment, and are often combined with chords in the upper part of the instrument, showing an even more developed diapason technique than Bodleian Don. c. 57. The texture is curiously uneven - the basses are sometimes used alone, without any harmony, for bars at a time, and also the accompaniment often favours unisons and octaves rather than full harmony. In general the realisation exploits the deep sonority of the instrument rather than using full chords or elaborate figuration. More than any other tablature realisations of the period, these accompaniments seem to be idiomatically conceived for the theorbo.

'We do account that music good' (f. 3) and 'Beat on proud billows' (ff. 6v-7) are transcribed in Volume II, 33. and 34. 'Beat on proud billows' is a particularly good example of the style. All of the diapasons down to the thirteenth course are used. The texture varies from full five-part chords (usually on the tonic) to passages where the basses are used alone. Occasionally the accompaniment doubles the voice rather than adding a harmony part, and in bar 10 the accompaniment cadences onto three Gs, exploiting the sonority of unisons and octaves rather than giving full harmony.

The accompaniments in the second group of songs

are quite different in style, and are clearly intended for another instrument. The tablature calls for ten courses, but the basses are used only occasionally.

The only English song in the group is 'When shall I see my captive heart' (ff. 16-17). This song, which has already been discussed on account of its divisions, is transcribed in Volume II, 14. The style of accompaniment strongly suggests the Jacobean lute song. The part writing, often moving in tenths with the bass, seems to require that the first course should be tuned up. Only once does the tablature descend below the seventh course. In short, the accompaniment seems to be for a lute rather than for a theorbo.

The accompaniments in this second group are equally divided between nominal A and nominal G pitch. If the tablature is indeed for a lute it should probably be at nominal G pitch, and in this case the cantus should transpose in the other songs.

The accompaniments in the third group of songs are probably also intended for a lute rather than a theorbo. The first course apparently needs to be tuned up as there are several places where an octave treble would produce second inversion chords (see, for example, 'Bright Aurelia I do owe' (ff. 52v-53), Volume II, 17, bar 7). A few of the accompaniments

call for eleven courses, but most can be played on a ten-course instrument. As in the second group of songs, the lute should probably be at nominal G pitch, and where the tablature implies a different pitch relationship the cantus should transpose.

Representative examples of the accompaniments in this third group of songs are 'Never persuade me to't' (ff. 56-56v), 'Perfect and endless circles are' (ff. 57v-58) and 'Bright Aurelia I do owe' (ff. 52v-53), transcribed in Volume II, 15-17. The style is essentially that of the quasi-continuo accompaniments of Ferrabosco and Coprario. The tablature consists mainly of three- and four-part chords above the bass, with occasional passing movement. The diapasons are used a few times in each song but do not seem to be an essential part of the idiom.

More than half of the songs in this third group are by Charles Coleman, and this suggests that he may have been Ann Blount's singing teacher. (90) There is, therefore, an interesting possibility that these tablatures represent Coleman's own style of continuo playing.

At the end of the manuscript, ff. 79v-83, there is a set of instructions for playing thorough-bass on the theorbo. This may well have been added at the same time as the fourth group of songs, some time after the Restoration. The tablature is for a

ten-course instrument at nominal A pitch.

The instructions constitute one of the most substantial and systematic theorbo treatises of the period. They are set out as a series of 'rules'. The first simply deals with conversion of bass notes from staff notation to tablature. Rules two to six give thirds or tenths above the bass, and the basic chords with their sixths. Rules seven to twelve give cadences above different bass progressions; these cadences become increasingly elaborate, incorporating suspensions and passing sevenths. Rule thirteen gives sixths or thirteenth above the bass, and finally there are tables for harmonizing when the bass moves by a third. The instructions thus cover all the main harmonic progressions, and all movements of the bass from a semitone to a fifth, ascending and descending.

Bodleian Mus. b. 1.

Bodleian Library, MS Mus. b. 1., John Wilson's manuscript, probably dates from c. 1656. (91) All of the two hundred and twenty-six songs in the manuscript are set out with a six-line stave for tablature accompaniment, but the tablature has only been added in forty-two of the songs, all towards the end of the manuscript. Eighteen of the accompaniments are for English songs and twenty-four for Latin settings. (92) In the following list a blank line indicates a song (or songs) without tablature.

f.139v	When deceitful lovers lay
140	Foolish lovers go and seek
140v-141	Stay Fairest Clarissa stay
142v-143	No no I will sooner trust the wind
145	I am confirm'd in my belief
145v-146v	Draw near you lovers that complain
147	Thou great and good could I but rate
147v-148	Rebellious fools that scorn to bow
148v-149v	Henceforth farewell to womankind
150-150v	Were thy heart soft as thou art fair
157-158	Thus dark set of my delight
158v-159	See how this violet
159v-160	Since thou hast view'd some Gorgon
160v-161	I yield fair enemy
171-172	Cloris I fain would try to love again
172v-173	I go dear saint away
173v-174	Cruel Clarinda tell me why
174v-175v	The wound love gave me th'other day
177v-179	Probs Vera Dei
179v-180	Vitam quae faciant beatiorum
180v-181	Non est falleris
181v	Crimine quo mervi
182-182v	Septima iam rediens (pars secunda)
183	At nunc hev
183v-184v	Nullam vare sacra
185	O Venus regina
185v-186	Mater saeva Cupidinum
186v-187	Poscimus si quid
187v-188	Di Augere nives redeunt
188v-189	Quis scit an adjiciant (pars secunda)
189v-190	Quo scelesti
190v-191	Uxor pauperis Ibyci
191v-193	Quis non malarum (pars secunda)
197	Persicus odi puer apparatus
197v-198	Vitas hinuleo me similis Chloe
198v-199	Mercuri facunde nepos Atlantis
199v-200	Quum tu Lydia Telephi
200v-201v	Integer vitae scelerisque purus
202-203v	O crudelis
203-203v	Tu ne quaesieris
204-204v	Iamque opus exegi

Wilson's manuscript is by far the most important source for song accompaniments. The manuscripts considered so far have all been amateurs' collections, and tend to show a fairly rudimentary style of continuo

playing. Even the more developed and interesting accompaniments, such as those in Bodleian Don. c. 57 and Lambeth 1041, probably make concessions to the limited technique of amateur musicians. The accompaniments in Bodleian mus. b. 1., on the other hand, are the work of a virtuoso theorbo player and, alone of the tablature sources, seem to represent the best in professional theorbo continuo.

The song accompaniments are apparently for the same twelve-course theorbo as the solos at the beginning of the manuscript. The first course is little used, and should almost certainly be tuned down. In general this is confirmed by the part movement, although there are a number of places where suspensions on the first course resolve onto the second course.

Thirty-six of the accompaniments are for a theorbo at nominal G pitch, while the other six imply an instrument in A. (93) However, it is highly unlikely that Wilson would have used a different theorbo or retuned his G instrument for this handful of songs. Probably, when Wilson came to write the accompaniments he decided to alter the key of these songs, and so the voice should transpose. The reason for this last-minute transposition probably lies in the keys of these songs. Most of the six are notated in the key of G and, unlike most of his contemporaries, this key is quite rare

in Wilson's music. Wilson's dislike of the key of G - and his penchant for the key of A minor, which is avoided by most other continuo song writers - is more difficult to explain, but presumably it springs from his own very individual approach to the idiom of the theorbo.

At the beginning of the manuscript, before the lute solos, there is a compendium of more than four hundred chord shapes for the theorbo. This vast table gives numerous dissonant and chromatic chords, as well as the basic triads and their inversions, on every degree of the chromatic scale, and well illustrates Wilson's exploratory approach to harmony.

Wilson's accompaniment to 'No no I will sooner trust the wind' (ff. 142v-143), transcribed in Volume II, 35, is typical of the style. (94) Unlike most other tablature sources the manuscript also gives the thorough-bass, and this provides an interesting comparison with the realisation. The tablature often introduces additional bass notes, which serve a rhythmic function as well as helping to sustain the sound, and the bass is frequently transposed down an octave in order to use the diapasons. The diapasons are used extensively (all but the eleventh course are used in this song), and are fully integrated into the accompaniment somewhat in the style of Bodleian Don. c. 57. Occasionally the accompaniment takes far greater liberties with the thorough-bass, as in bar 13, where the tablature

completely departs from the original bass progression. It would certainly seem that the bass was not intended to be played together with the tablature.

The realisation is far more inventive than any other tablature source, and is enriched with numerous passing dissonances. Sometimes the suspensions form a sequence, as in bar 13-14 and bar 19 (which, incidentally, seems to require that the first course should be up). Wilson is also particularly fond of the acute 7-6 suspension in minor keys (for example, bar 22). The realisation also introduces occasional melodic fragments, sometimes in parallel movement with the voice, as in bars 4 and 9.

The realisation of the final cadence is typical of the manuscript. Wilson tends to avoid the usual 3-4-3 suspension, and in this case uses an unprepared dominant seventh. The treatment of the last chord, a diapason tonic immediately followed by a chord in the upper part of the instrument, is also characteristic.

'Thou great and good' (f. 147) (95) provides another interesting example of Wilson's flexible treatment of the original thorough-bass, introducing a dominant pedal below the bass in the final cadence.

'I am confirm'd in my belief' (f. 145), transcribed in Volume II, 36, shows Wilson's style of accompaniment applied to a triple-time ballad. The only difference from 'No no I will sooner trust the

wind' is the absence of incidental dissonances, which helps to create a lighter texture. Also, the tablature tends to simplify the original thorough-bass, as in bars 2 and 5.

'I yield fair enemy' (ff. 160v-161), transcribed in Volume II, 37, is one of Wilson's more harmonically experimental songs. The song is in A minor, and the first half moves into sharp keys, culminating in three bars of F# major (as the dominant of B major). As in the solos at the beginning of the manuscript, Wilson's writing for the theorbo in these unusual keys is extraordinarily confident.

As we have seen, Bodleian mus. b. 1. is probably the most important source for theorbo continuo in English song. Unfortunately, this study can give no more than a general impression of Wilson's style of accompaniment. For the modern student of the theorbo there is of course no real substitute for playing through the whole group of forty-two songs.

Mace's Musick's Monument

Thomas Mace's Musick's Monument (1676) includes two chapters on the theorbo, (96) and is obviously an important source for the reconstruction of theorbo continuo. On the other hand, Musick's Monument dates from after the period of this study, and must therefore be used with some caution when performing the music of the Lawes brothers, Wilson and their contemporaries. Although Mace claims to reject the 'New Fangles' and 'Jingle-Jangles' of his age, (97)

nevertheless he was certainly influenced to a great extent by the musical developments following on from the Restoration.

Chapter XLII opens with a general introduction to the instrument, followed by a long 'Fancy-Praelude, or Voluntary; Sufficient Alone to make a Good Hand, Fit for All manner of Play, or Use.' (98) Even more than in his lute solos, Mace's writing for the theorbo is essentially decorative, consisting largely of patterns of chordal figuration above simple harmonic progressions.

Chapter XLIII contains the instructions for playing from thorough-bass. First Mace gives the major and minor chords, in an enormous number of different positions on the fingerboard. (99) Then follow twenty-one versions of the perfect cadence, with thorough-bass in staff notation and realisation in tablature. The examples are all in G, and Mace says that the student should learn to play similar cadences in other keys. The cadences are transcribed in Volume II, 38a. (100)

The theorbo writing in these cadences is very similar to the Fancy-Praelude, with elaborate runs and chordal figuration, cleverly designed to show off the instrument to advantage while remaining technically fairly easy. The arpeggiated figuration is also functional in that it helps to sustain the chords. (101) Mace's theorbo style is clearly far

more decorative than any of the manuscript sources of tablature accompaniments, and it would be interesting to know how Mace would have applied this style in specific songs. Some of the figuration seems to derive from French lute music, such as the shake-like figure (played on adjacent strings), which is described in the Burwell Lute Tutor. (102) It seems likely that the more ornamental aspects of Mace's style were not generally practised in England much before the 1660s.

Mace also gives examples, transcribed in Volume II, 38b, of passages using first inversion chords.

He includes a number of rules for playing from thorough-bass, such as that parallel fifths and octaves are to be avoided as 'too Lushious, or Cloying, like too much of any Sweet Thing'. (103) However, the most important of these rules governs the use of first inversion chords:

Your General Rule for Uniting of Parts, is This, That to every Note of your Bass, (except what you shall have excepted against) you may put a 3d. 5th. and 8th. ... And there are Generally, 5 of the 7, which are Thus to be observed ... but the other 2, most commonly, are not to have a 5th. but a 6th.

Now that you may know which These Two are certainly; you are to take notice, they are Those Two in the Scale-Natural, which are immediately under the 2 Half Notes ... Yet also, if at any time, you meet with an Artificial, of Forc'd Half Note, (that is) which is only made so by reason of a Sharp added unto It ... then that Sharp Note is properly capable of a 6th. . (104)

In other words, first inversions are generally used on the third and seventh degrees of the scale, and

on all notes raised by accidentals. (105) This rule is particularly important for English continuo song, in which the bass is rarely provided with figures.

However, Mace also says that the skilled theorbo player must learn to go beyond the rule, in the manner we have already observed in the song accompaniments of John Wilson:

The Rule is an Easie, Certain, and Safe Way to walk by; but He that shall not Play beyond the Rule, had sometimes better be Silent; that is; He must be able (together with the Rule) to Lend His Ear, to the Ayre and Matter of the Composition so, as (upon very many Occasions) He must forsake His Rule; and instead of Conchords, pass through all manner of Discords, according to the Humour of the Compositions He shall meet with. (106)

4. FIGURED AND UNFIGURED BASSES

Thomas Mace states that:

(if a thorow Bass be Rightly Ordered) you shall find in all Places of Exception, certain Figures set over the Heads of the Bass-Notes (107)

However, in English song 1610 - 1670 figured thorough-bass is the exception rather than the rule. Ian Spink has noted 'the complete absence of figured bass in English song manuscripts before about 1635' (108) and even in the later manuscripts figures are rare. (109) The same is true of much of the instrumental music of the period - for example, there are no figures in any of William Lawes' autograph volumes of consort music. (110) Only in sacred music was figured bass at all widely used.

Among the few printed sources of secular vocal

music before Playford, Walter Porter's Madrigales and Ayres (1632) does provide figures, and these are consistent and detailed. However, Porter's publication is in many ways an isolated phenomenon and must be set against his Italianate background.

A few figures are found in Playford's song prints. For example, in Playford's first song book, Select Musically Ayres, And Dialogues (1652), seven of the sixty-seven songs include some sort of figures, though most of these show almost complete unfamiliarity with the principles of figured bass. John Wilson's 'Since love hath in thine and mine eye' (I, p.32) uses figures on two occasions, both apparently as misprints for 7-6 progressions. William Webb's 'Go and bestride the southern wind' (I, p. 40) uses only one figure, a \otimes to indicate a major third at a cadence. Henry Lawes' dialogue 'Charon O Charon draw thy boat to th' shore' (II, p. 14) gives a \otimes 3-4 progression in the second bar; however, although this is an extended work there are no other figures.

(111)

The only examples of consistent and adequate figures in the publication are in four songs by Charles Coleman, 'Stay O stay that heart I vow 'tis mine' (I, p. 27), 'Wake my Adonis do not die' (I, p.28), 'How am I changed from what I was' (I, p. 31) and 'Did you not once Lucinda vow' (II, P. 12). The figures in the first and last of these songs are

particularly detailed, indicating not only the harmonic progressions but also parallel movement between the realisation and the voice. However, five other songs by Coleman, mostly ballad-songs or glees, are without figures.

It is clear that Playford had no set policy about figures, but simply printed them when they were provided by the composer, and Coleman was exceptional in that he did provide them. Subsequent Playford publications follow the same pattern, except that there is a tendency to omit the figures when a song is reprinted. (112)

Although figures are uncommon in secular song they seem to have been used in sacred music from about 1630. The practice was probably introduced by English musicians who had studied in Italy, such as Richard Deering and Walter Porter. Deering's Cantiones Sacrae, published in Antwerp in 1617, gives a figured bass for organ, but at that time Deering was working in Brussels and so neither he nor his publication could have had much immediate influence in England. However, in 1625 he returned to England as a member of Henrietta Maria's chapel. Figured bass was probably used to some extent in the Queen's chapel and the Chapel Royal soon after this time. The first English publications to give figured bass, Martin Peerson's Mottects or Grave Chamber Musique (1630), Porter's Madrigales and Ayres (1632) and

William Child's First Sett of Psalmes (1639), are all by composers closely associated with the Chapel Royal.

The question arises why English musicians were so slow to adopt figures in the field of secular song. It may have been partly for the reasons suggested by Giovanni Piccioni in his Concerti Ecclesiastici (1610):

I have not chosen to put any sort of accidentals, such as sharps, flats, and figures, over the notes as many do, because to such organists as are not expert, they are a source of confusion rather than otherwise, while to those who know, and to competent men, such accidentals are not necessary, since they play them correctly by ear and by art. (113)

This could be partly inferred from Mace's discussion of thorough-bass: for the less experienced the rule governing sixth chords (the so-called 'rule of the octave') covers most eventualities. On the other hand the absence of figures allows the expert player a good deal of creative freedom, as is illustrated by the theorbo realisations in John Wilson's manuscript.

V THE THOROUGH-BASS; BASS VIOL, VIRGINAL AND
OTHER INSTRUMENTS

1. 'TO SING AND PLAY TO THE BASE-VIOLL ALONE': THE
BASS VIOL AS CONTINUO INSTRUMENT.

After the lute and theorbo the most important instrument for accompanying the solo song was the bass viol. We tend to think of the role of the bass viol in song accompaniment as supporting the chordal instrument, either the lute or, in later music, the harpsichord. However, there is evidence that continuo songs were often sung to the bass viol alone, particularly in amateur music making.

Song accompaniment by bass viol had its origins in the sixteenth century, and probably gained in popularity through the performances of the choirboy theatre companies. In these plays various instruments and combinations of instruments were used for song accompaniment, including the bass viol alone. The much quoted account of a performance at the Blackfriars theatre in 1602 mentions that a boy sang 'cum voce tremula' to the accompaniment of a bass viol .

(1) Marston's Antonio's Revenge, performed by the Children of St. Paul's in 1599, includes a more or less obscene song introduced with the words:

The Duke hath sent you the most musical Sir
Jeffrey with his not base but most ennobled
viol, to rock your baby thoughts in the cradle
of sleep. (2)

In Jonson's Cynthia's Revels, performed by the Children of the Chapel in 1600, the song 'O the joys that soon would waste' is sung to the accompaniment of the 'lyra' - that is, the bass viol played

lyra-way:

an instrument that (alone) is able to infuse soule in the most melancholique, and dull disposde creature upon earth. (3)

A number of Elizabethan and Jacobean song prints include accompaniments for bass viol alone. Some are elaborate chordal accompaniments, notated in tablature, while others consist of a single bass line in staff notation. Examples are found in the following publications: (4)

- (i) Robert Jones, The Second Booke of Songes and Ayres (1601). Each song is provided with alternative tablatures for lute and viol.
- (ii) Tobias Hume, The First Part of Ayres (1605). This includes five songs, with tablature for viol.
- (iii) Robert Jones, Ultimum Vale (1605). The third section has settings 'for two Trebles, to sing either to the Lute, or the Virole or to both'. The cantus secundus is given in score with a staff-notated part for bass viol. (5)
- (iv) Tobias Hume, Captain Humes Poeticall Musicke (1607). This includes three songs, with a variety of different accompaniments for one to three viols, in tablature and staff notation.
- (v) Thomas Ford, Musick of Sundrie Kindes (1607). This includes a dialogue with tablature for two bass viols.
- (vi) William Corkine, The Second Booke of Ayres (1612). Thirteen songs are accompanied by a single-line bass viol part in staff notation. A dialogue is accompanied by a lute and a viol in tablature.
- (vii) Robert Tailour, Sacred Hymns (1615). Each song has alternative tablatures for viol and lute.

Other publications, intended primarily for lute accompaniment or performance by four voices, may still

include the possibility of accompaniment by a single bass viol. The earlier song prints, particularly, tend to be as flexible as possible over accompaniment, as was commercially sound in such a new publishing venture. Dowland's First Booke of Songes (1597) is described as

of fowre partes with Tableture for the Lutè:
So made that all the partes together, or either
of them severally may be song to the Lute,
Orpherian or Viol de gambo.

A similar formula is used in Allison's Psalmes of David (1599) and Jones' First Booke of Songes (1600).

The later song prints are less comprehensive over accompaniment, but often the title pages give the alternative of lute or viol. This is particularly common in song books containing straightforward homophonic settings, in which the inner parts are simply harmonic fillers, as in Campion's publications. His Description of a Maske (1607) 'may be sung to the Lute or Violl'; Two Bookes of Ayres (1613?) are 'framed at first for one voyce with the Lute, or Violl'; The Description of a Maske (1614) 'may be sung with a single voyce to the Lute or Base-Violl'; The Third and Fourth Booke of Ayres (1618?) 'may be expressed by one Voyce, with a Violl, Lute, or Orpharion'.

The alternative of viol accompaniment is also found in Coprario's Songs of Mourning (1613), 'Set forth to bee sung with one voyce to the Lute, or Violl'. As we have seen, in these songs the musical

interest in the accompaniment is concentrated in the bass line, and the lute part functions as written-out continuo.

In other polyphonically-conceived songs the lute has a more active role, and these songs cannot adequately be performed to the bass viol alone. Again, title pages can be relied on to make this clear. John Maynard is probably the most explicit: his XII Wonders of the World (1611) is 'Set and composed for the Violl de Gambo, the Lute, and the Voyce to sing the Verse, all three ioyntly, and none severally'.

Several early seventeenth-century manuscripts include songs from the Elizabethan and Jacobean song prints in a form that implies that they were sung to the bass viol alone. Giles Earle's Book, (6) dated 1615, is mainly drawn from the published books of lute songs, but the lute tablature is omitted and the manuscript simply gives a treble and bass for each song, set out in parts on facing pages. It is possible that both parts should be sung, but as only the treble is underlaid throughout, it seems likely that the bass should be played by a viol.

Christ Church MS 439 is roughly contemporary with Giles Earle's Book and contains a very similar repertoire. (7) The manuscript gives only treble and bass, notated in score as in the later continuo songs, but the nature of the songs seem to rule out continuo accompaniment. It seems that these songs, too, were

accompanied by a single bass viol.

These early seventeenth-century treble and bass manuscripts also provide links with the use of bass viol in the choirboy plays. A number of play songs are found in these sources, including 'O the joys that soon would waste' (the 'lyra' song from Cynthia's Revels) in Christ Church 439, and 'The dark is my delight' (Marston's The Dutch Courtesan) and 'If I freely may discover' (Jonson's The Poetaster) in Giles Earle's Book. (8)

Songs with thorough-bass accompaniment begin to appear in manuscripts from about 1610 onward, and it is clear that the practice of singing to the bass viol was carried over into the continuo song. Corkine's songs 'to Sing and Play to the Base-Violl alone' from his Second Booke of Ayres (1612) are notated with treble and bass in score and look very much like continuo songs: indeed, the format anticipates the Playford song prints by forty years. The songs are explicitly to be sung to the viol alone (though at least two modern editors have provided a realisation of the bass), (9) and this might be taken as a precedent in the performance of many later continuo songs. For many amateurs, lacking the skill to realise the thorough-bass, this would have been by far the most practical accompaniment.

Also, from about 1610 onwards there may have been an increase in the popularity of the viol, at

the expense of the lute. Frank Traficante has argued this case, (10) pointing to the difference between Robert Jones' Second Booke (1601), in which the lute tablature is placed beneath the vocal line while the viol tablature is on the facing page, and Robert Tailour's Hymns (1615), in which the viol tablature has the primary position. Traficante goes on to suggest that Dowland's celebrated defence of the lute in A Pilgrimes Solace (1612) was not merely a reaction to Hume, but was prompted by the increasing popularity of the viol in general, and the relative decline of the lute. (11) However, this case should not be overstated. The Jacobean song prints hardly show a striking switch to viol accompaniment and even Robert Jones dropped the viol tablature in his subsequent three volumes (1605, 1609 and 1610).

A few manuscript sources of continuo song give tablature accompaniments for bass viol. These can easily be distinguished from tablatures for lute or theorbo by the characteristic spacing, as chords have to be on adjacent strings. Also, the tablature is for an instrument in D. Accompaniments are found in the following manuscripts:

- BL Add. MS 15117
f. 6 Miserere my maker (after Caccini)
- BL Egerton MS 2971
f. 24v Dolcissimo sospiro (Caccini)
26v Ma grideran per me le piaggi
27v Crud' Amarilli
28v Amarilli mia bella (Caccini)

New York, Public Library, Drexel MS 4175
 lv O where am I what may I think
 lvii Wherefore peep'st thou envious day (Wilson)
 lviii You heralds of my mistress' heart (Wilson?)
 lix Get you hence for I must go

The accompaniment in 'Miserere my maker' from Add. 15117, (12) transcribed in Volume II, 39, is quite full harmonically. At the same time it is fairly easy to play: like most of these chordal accompaniments it is in the key of G, which allows a large number of open strings, and the chords lie conveniently under the hand. There are none of the technical difficulties found in, for example, the tablature song accompaniments of Robert Jones or Tobias Hume.

The tablature in Egerton 2971 is rather less chordal than in 'Miserere my maker'. The accompaniment in 'Amarilli mia bella', (13) for example, consists essentially of a single-line bass with chords added when convenient. Egerton 2971 would certainly seem to have been a viol player's manuscript, for apart from the four songs with tablature there are solos for viol and a table of 'graces for ye viol'. It seems likely, therefore, that the nineteen songs notated with thorough-bass were also sung to the viol.

The tablature in 'O where am I what may I think' from Drexel 4175, (14) transcribed in Volume II, 40, is very similar in style to Egerton 2971. Again the accompaniment consists mainly of a simple bass line, with occasional chords. However, despite their

technical limitations all these tablature accompaniments are quite effective in practice.

Several other thorough-bass sources give hints of viol accompaniment. A few of the songs in Christ Church 87 have chords above the thorough-bass, which seem to have been added for the benefit of a viol player. The songs are 'As life what is so sweet' (f. 7), (15) 'Eyes gaze no more' (f. 9v) and 'Away good night' (f. 10). Bodleian MS Don. c. 57 includes one song, 'Come sweet love why dost thou stay' (f. 75) with three- and four-part chords above the bass, apparently for the viol. The song is transcribed in Volume II, 41. In Elizabeth Rogers' Virginal Book (16) a note on the tuning of the viol (f. 58v) seems to imply that at least some of the songs with thorough-bass were accompanied by the viol.

The printing of song books was revived in the 1650s and the title pages usually give the bass viol as an alternative accompanying instrument. Playford's Select Musically Ayres, And Dialogues (1652) '... to sing to the Theorbo, Lute, or Basse Violl', sets a pattern which is repeated with minor variations (and, from the 1680s, the addition of harpsichord) up to the end of the century. It must be admitted that the designation '... or Basse Violl' was partly to help sales (Playford and the other publishers were anxious to make things seem as easy as possible), but

good amateurs did sing from the Playford prints to the accompaniment of the viol. In an entry for 18 February, 1660, Pepys writes:

A great while at my Viall and voice, learning to sing Fly boy, fly boy without book. (17)

and a few weeks later:

Before I went to church I sang Orpheus Hymne to my Viall. (18)

Both songs were published by Playford.

As an instrument for the accompaniment of continuo song the bass viol has a number of advantages. Declamatory song needs a simple accompaniment, particularly when it is highly ornamented. Also, the sustained notes of the viol are well suited to the static basses which are a feature of the style.

More advanced players would presumably have used various extempore techniques. The use of chords in the manuscript sources described above is, as we have seen, rather rudimentary. However, the chordal viol had a far greater potential, as can be seen in a number of mid-century manuscript anthologies for solo viol. (19) Playford's Musick's Recreation on the Lyra Viol (1652), though technically elementary and musically rather banal, shows that chordal techniques were very widely used.

The use of chords on the bass viol certainly raises technical difficulties. The fingerboard does not lend itself to chords as readily as does the lute, and barre chords are particularly problematic. This

is partly due to the curvature of the fingerboard, the thickness of the strings and the height of the action, compared with the lute or theorbo. However, the crux of the problem in chordal playing is bowing: all but two-part chords have to be spread, and this can create enormous rhythmic problems. The use of a flatter bridge, as in instruments specifically built as lyra viols, makes chords easier, but they still have to be spread, and at the same time the flatter bridge makes it more difficult to isolate individual strings. In his discussion of 'How to order the Bow in double Stops' Christopher Simpson writes:

be sure to hit the lowest String first
(insisting thereon so long as need requires)
and let the Bow slide from It to the highest,
touching in its passage those in the middle
betwixt them. (21)

This suggests that almost the full duration of the chord might be given to the bass note, and that the spread should occur towards the end of the note, and this certainly offers a solution to the rhythmic problem. Mace is even more insistent on the importance of dwelling on the lowest note of the chord:

ever when you come to a Full Stop, be sure to give the Lowest String a Good Full Share of your Bow, (Singly, by It self, before you Slide it upon the Rest) (22)

Ornamentation techniques would probably also have been used in song accompaniment. Some of the bass viol songs from Corkine's Second Booke of Ayres use divisions: song VIII, 'Beware fair maids of musky

courtiers oaths', has elaborate divisions for the viol which are also wittily descriptive. Simpson's The Division-Viol, the most important seventeenth-century source for division techniques, is mainly concerned with division above a repeating ground, but also refers to the possibility of playing 'Division to a through-Bass or continued Ground'. (23)

Divisions are probably most appropriate in strophic settings, or songs in dance forms with built-in repeats. An example of the latter is 'Gently blow you sweet Western wind' from Egerton 2971 (f. 17v); Mary Cyr has pointed out that the bass is the same as 'Captain Humes Galliard' from Hume's First Part of Ayres (1605), (24) and the song could be accompanied by Hume's elaborate divisions.

The other type of ornamentation, graces, were presumably added freely in viol song accompaniments as they were in solo music. (25)

The question arises whether the bass viol was used together with the lute or theorbo in the accompaniment of continuo song. In fact there is very little evidence that the viol was used in this way except, perhaps, in the larger ensembles that accompanied masque songs. None of the manuscript sources of tablature realisation gives a bass for the viol. Bodleian Don. c. 57 does give a bass in three of the thirteen songs with tablature, but as this has to transpose in two of the songs it seems likely that

it was sung. (26) All the songs in John Wilson's manuscript have a bass, but the discrepancies between thorough-bass and tablature show that they were not meant to be used together and, again, in six of the songs the bass needs to transpose. (27)

It seems that the use of bass viol to reinforce the plucked instrument was neither necessary nor desirable in the performance of continuo song. In the lute song the combination of lute and viol was partly to compensate for the weak bass of the lute, using plain gut strings. With the introduction of the theorbo with its strong bass register this support was no longer needed.

Even more important, the decline of the lute-viol combination was related to the musical requirements of continuo song. The polyphony of the lute song necessitates a fairly strict tempo and so the combination of lute, viol and voice, involving up to three musicians, presents no great problems of ensemble. However, the new style of declamatory song was by its nature more rhythmically flexible, and the only really satisfactory way to perform the music was for the singer to accompany himself. Caccini regarded it as a necessary part of his art that the performer should be able 'to sing to a Theorbo or other stringed instrument, ... not being compelled to fit himself to others'. (28)

2. VIRGINAL, GUITAR, BANDORA AND HARP

Although the lute, theorbo and bass viol were the most common instruments for song accompaniment during the period 1610 - 1670, other instruments seem to have been used occasionally. These include virginal, guitar, bandora and harp.

The vast repertoire of English virginal music (29) from the late sixteenth and early seventeenth century shows that the instrument was widely played. It is therefore difficult to understand why the virginal was so rarely used for song accompaniment. However, there are occasional references to singing to the virginal from the middle of the sixteenth century onwards. Thomas Whythorne (b. 1528) writes that in his youth 'I used to sing my songs and sonnets sometimes to the lute and sometimes to the virginals'. (30) There are two keyboard pieces from the Mulliner Book which are song accompaniments, (31) and Anthony Munday's A Banquet of Daintie Conceits (1588) suggests that the poems contained in the volume may be sung 'to the lute, bandora, virginalles or anie other instrument'. (32)

There are references to the use of virginals in larger ensembles, with or without voices, from the beginning of the seventeenth century. Of the many possible instrumental combinations suggested by Tobias Hume in Captain Hume's Poeticall Musicke (1607), the last includes virginal;

The eight and last musicke, is consorting all these Instruments together with the Virginals, or rather with a winde Instrument and the voice.

A harpsichord is also included in the ensemble described by Thomas Campion for The Lord Hayes' Masque (1607). (33) Martin Peerson's Private Musicke (1620) is described as:

fit for Voyces and Viols. And for want of Viols, they may be performed to either the Virginall or Lute, where the Proficient can play upon the Ground ...

Arguably, Peerson's 'Ground' is the first published English thorough-bass. Peerson's Mottects or Grave Chamber Musique (1630) includes an organ part 'which for want of Organs may be performed on Virginals'. Walter Porter's Madrigales and Ayres (1632) not only mentions 'Harpesechord' but gives it precedence over lutes and theorbos in the continuo group - a sign, perhaps, of his Italianate training. These references show that the virginal was sometimes used in ensembles and for thorough-bass accompaniment. However, all of these sources are peripheral to the development of the solo song, and hardly suggest a widespread practice of singing to the virginal.

Some further evidence for keyboard song accompaniment is found in two manuscript sources of virginal music. Fitzwilliam Museum MS 52 D. 25, known as the John Bull Manuscript, includes texted keyboard arrangements of two songs, apparently dating from around 1610. The songs are 'In sorrows drown'd I waste' (f. 73) and

'Shall I come sweet love to thee' (f. 73v). (34)
The music is set out on two staves like keyboard solos, and although the presence of the text suggests that the melody would have been sung it is also arguable that they were used simply as solo pieces for virginal.

The other manuscript is BL Add. MS 10337, Elizabeth Rogers' Book, which is dated 1657. This source includes texted keyboard arrangements of six songs: (35)

ff.20v-21	Lie still my dear
21v-22	Cloris sigh'd and sang and wept
22v-23	Now the spring is come
23	O Jesu meek
26v-27	Could thine incomparable eye
41v	I wish no more

Again, it is possible that these pieces were played as virginal solos. However, it seems more likely that they are songs with keyboard accompaniment, especially as the ornamentation in the top line is more appropriate to the voice than to the keyboard.

The first of John Playford's songbooks, the Select Musically Ayres, And Dialogues (1652), mentions 'Harpsecon' as an alternative to theorbo or bass viol, but this is hidden away in the title page to the second part of the publication and the suggestion is dropped in the following Playford song prints. The only other song book to mention harpsichord before the 1680s is William King's Songs and Ayres (1668).

The use of harpsichord for song accompaniment

was introduced gradually after the Restoration, probably by foreign musicians working in England. For example, Pepys mentions that he heard 'Seignor Baptista' sing to the accompaniment of the harpsichord in 1667. (36) However, it was not until the 1680s, well after the period of this study, that harpsichord accompaniment became common. In 1687 there was a sudden spate of song prints designating harpsichord, (37) and from then onwards it appears regularly in title pages.

There is no specific evidence for the use of organ to accompany secular song during the period: one of the earliest references to singing to the organ is in Henry Playford's Banquet of Musick (1688). (38) However, the possibility of organ accompaniment should be considered because it was so common in sacred music 'for private devotion'. This is indicated by the title pages of publications such as Martin Peerson's Mottects or Grave Chamber Musique (1630), William Child's The First Sett of Psalmes (1639), William and Henry Lawes' Choice Psalmes (1648) and John Wilson's Psalterium Carolinum (1657). Child's publication, for example, is described as:

fitt for private chappells, or other private meettings with a Continuall Base, either for the Organ or Theorbo, newly composed after the Italian way. (39)

As the organ was used to accompany sacred song in domestic music making it seems possible that it would also be used occasionally for secular song.

Sacred and secular song are often close stylistically, and are found together in several manuscript sources.

(40) The organ was also widely used, of course, in instrumental consort music.

The guitar became popular for song accompaniment in the Restoration, though the instrument was known in England in the sixteenth century, when it was called the gittern. Thomas Whythorne says that in his youth he:

learned to play on the gittern and cittern, which two instruments were then strange in England, and therefore the more desired and esteemed. (41)

The revival of the guitar around the middle of the century was again something of a fashion. Thomas Mace, in an attack on such 'Modes and Fashions', refers contemptuously to those who:

have a Particular Singularity, or Twang, upon some one Instrument, of other; It may be the Violin, or the Flagelet, or the Guittar, (a Bit of the Old Lute) the Jews Trump, &c. or some such Slight Business. (42)

Two songs from Henry Lawes' autograph manuscript (43) are designated 'for the Gittar', 'A willow garland I didst send' (f. 183) and 'When I adore thee sweet and implore thee' (f. 183v). The position of these songs towards the end of the manuscript suggests that they date from around 1650. (44) The songs are in the simplest triple-time ballad style, and this clearly shows Lawes' attitude to the place of guitar in song accompaniment. Nigel Fortune states

that even in Italy, where the guitar was used to accompany monodies at least by 1620, 'it was usually kept for light and frivolous canzonets'. (45)

There is a tendency in modern studies of the guitar to date the seventeenth-century revival of the instrument from the Restoration. Harvey Turnbull, for example, states that 'the fashion was carried to the English court by Charles II'. (46) While it is certainly true that the vogue for the guitar reached its height after the Restoration, Henry Lawes' 'Gittar' songs and the publication of Playford's A Booke of New Lessons for the Cithern and Gittern in 1652 (47) suggest that the fashion was already beginning during the 1650s.

The enormous popularity of the guitar during the Restoration was partly due to the influence of Francesco Corbetta, who was in England from 1660 - 1670. (48) Samuel Pepys heard Corbetta play and was impressed by his technique, but at that stage still preferred the lute. (49) By the 1680s, however, he was studying the guitar with Cesare Morelli. By that time the guitar had achieved a far more comprehensive role in song accompaniment. Nicola Matteis published an important treatise on guitar continuo in The False Consonances of Musick (1682?). (50) Morelli's transcription of the monody Hero and Leander with tablature realisation for the guitar, shows that the instrument was being used to accompany even

the most serious and dramatic songs.

The title page of Peerson's Mottects or Grave Chamber Musique raises the possibility of two other instruments for accompanying continuo song, the bandora and the Irish harp. (51) There is no other specific evidence that either instrument was used for thorough-bass song accompaniment, though both would seem to be well-suited to this function.

Donald Gill has shown that at the beginning of the century the bandora and its close relative the orpharion 'were neither rarities nor 'poor men's lutes''. (52) Indeed, the first solo songs published in England, in William Barley's A new Booke of Tabliture (1596), are for bandora accompaniment rather than lute. The orpharion seems to have declined at the same time as the renaissance lute, but the bandora continued to be used in instrumental consorts until the late seventeenth century. When visiting Cambridge in 1662 Pepys heard an ensemble 'with a Bandora for a bass'. (53) Roger North, describing the instrumental ensembles of his youth during the early Restoration, states that:

divers of the pandoras were used, which being a sort of double guitarres strung with wires, and of those the basses double and twisted, and struck with a quill, strangely inriched those vulgar consorts ... those pandoras, by way of a thro-base, had a better and more sonoras effect in the mixture, than now may be ascribed to harpsichords. (54)

It seems possible that the bandora would also have been used for the accompaniment of continuo song.

However, both Pepys' and North's references imply that by the mid century the instrument had become rather provincial.

The harp was a less common instrument, though it was used occasionally in England during this period. Francis Bacon, in Sylva Sylvarum (1627), praises the tone of the Irish harp, and says that it sounds particularly well with a bass viol in consort music. (55) Charles I's musical establishment included a harpist, John Le Felle. (56) Both Le Felle and another harpist, John Bedowes, were among the musicians for the Triumph of Peace (1636). (57) William Lawes' 'Harpe' consorts indicate the important place the instrument occupied in court chamber music at this time. At the Restoration Charles Evans was appointed musician for the harp. (58)

Nigel Fortune has suggested that in Italy the harp was a predominantly aristocratic instrument, and in England too it seems to have been exclusive - and very expensive. (59) Whether or not English continuo songs were sung to the harp in court circles is a matter for conjecture. Italian monodies were occasionally accompanied by the harp, and the continuo-like harp writing found in many of Lawes' 'Harpe' consorts could readily have been applied to song accompaniment. On the other hand, few singers would have been able to play the instrument, and in the subtle art of continuo song the singer should ideally accompany himself.

CONCLUSION

This thesis has presented the musicological facts relating to the performance of English continuo song, but this is by no means the end of the story. We should not take the attitude of the celebrated singer who said that 'musicology and the performance of music are two worlds best kept apart from one another'. Indeed, this is the point at which the performer takes over; he must draw on the musicological facts but employ his technique and imagination to make of them a musical reality.

First the singer must consider the kind of sound that is needed. This is chamber music, and the scale of the voice needs to be no greater than is appropriate to a large room. The songs were accompanied by a single lute, theorbo or bass viol, and the voice must be compatible with this accompaniment, both in volume and in clarity.

This is not to say that continuo song requires a naive, untrained voice, or the rather unemotional, 'white' tone associated with the modern cathedral chorister. On the contrary, seventeenth-century song requires an accomplished vocal technique and was obviously sung in a way that was both exciting and expressive. Today many great singers of opera and oratorio are equally successful in lieder, but necessarily rethink their voices for the more intimate genre, and an exactly parallel adjustment needs to be made to sing continuo song. The music can still have intensity and expressive power on this smaller scale, just as a portrait can carry the same emotional force as a large and imposing canvas.

For most modern singers vocal resonance and projection are very high on their list of priorities, so it is important that this scaling-down of the voice is not thought of merely as a negative process. A less powerful voice allows a fuller development of the poetry - which is, after all, the raison d'etre of continuo song - and a degree of vocal agility which allows for the performance of very rapid ornamentation.

The use of ornamentation is probably the most difficult part of performing continuo song, for it needs to be true to the styles of the period and yet at the same time must sound as if it is completely unstudied and spontaneous. It is convenient to consider ornamentation under two separate categories: graces and divisions.

Ian Spink has suggested that the performer need not be too punctilious about the use of graces, and that the different types are used in a more or less haphazard way in the original sources. (1) The present thesis has taken a very different view by attempting to arrive at a more specific understanding of the use of each type of grace. The approach is laborious - it is necessary to piece together a number of rather disparate sources - but it is well worthwhile in terms of making the music more effective and convincing. The following is a brief 'performer's guide' (to borrow Robert Donington's phrase) to the main graces used in continuo song. The numbers in brackets refer to Playford's table (see above, pp. 58-9).

During the period 1610-1670 there was an enormous

proliferation of different types of graces. For the first twenty years or so we may consider only four main types:

1. Beat. 2. Backfall (Playford 1 and 2). Both graces were very common throughout the period. The grace usually follows the shape of the phrase; if the phrase rises a beat is used. The backfall can be useful for helping to articulate repeated notes. In later music the port de voix - a more ornate version of the beat - is appropriate.

3. Elevation (Playford 3). This was widely used until the middle of the century, and Simpson, writing in 1659, describes it as 'now something obsolete'. (2) Ideally it should only be used on the third or fifth of a chord. The elevation is also found in a dotted rhythm

4. Shaked graces. These are best considered in conjunction with other graces; for example, a shake from the upper auxiliary is a shaked backfall. Shaked graces should be used with some caution in vocal music; Simpson says that they tend to be 'rough and Masculine', and that plain graces are generally more appropriate to treble parts. Certainly, they are less important than might be suggested by the lute sources, in which they are necessary to help sustain the sound. If a shaked grace is used - and a shaked backfall is probably the commonest - the shake is best kept fairly short. An exception to these rules is the gruppo, discussed below.

The proliferation of graces during the 1630s and '40s was due to the influence of French and Italian ornamentation. The following three graces are Italian in origin, and are described in Playford's 'Brief Discourse' (see above, pp. 66-72):

5. Trillo. This came to be the 'chief or most usual Grace in Singing', and by the end of the period it was almost obligatory for the penultimate note at cadences. It is also useful as a way of gracing important long notes.

6. Gruppo. This is the one shaked grace which is unambiguously appropriate to the voice. It is a cadential shake and is used in this context as an alternative to the trillo. The trillo is found in a number of different forms, shaking on the leading note or dominant.

7. Exclamation. The important point about the exclamation is not so much the exact reproduction of Caccini's grace as the general point that all long notes (other than final notes of phrases) need to be shaped in some way.

A number of other graces probably derive from French instrumental and vocal music:

8. Double backfall (Playford 3). This is a less common grace, and can be considered as a variant form of the backfall.

9. Springer. 10. Cadent (Playford 6 and 7). These are often used to anticipate a note when the melody moves by step, or to fill in the interval of a third.

These are the main types, but the manuscript and printed sources can suggest different forms of the graces, and different ways of using them.

The study of divisions is more straightforward, for the manuscripts provide ample evidence of how they were used. Indeed, the main problem with divisions is actually singing them! Three main styles of division were used in English continuo song: an indigenous style stemming from the lute song, a florid Italianate technique and the French style. The main contribution of the present thesis to the study of English vocal divisions is in the delineation of these three techniques.

The indigenous technique of divisions, as found in the lute song and early continuo song, is somewhat instrumental in style. The divisions move mainly by step, usually in regular quavers or semiquavers, and stay close to the original melodic shape. This technique is found in several of the earlier manuscript anthologies, including the English songs from Egerton 2971 and most of the songs

from Add. 29481.

The influence of Italian ornamentation led to the development of a more florid style. The divisions are more extended, cover a wider compass and are very rapid. The rhythmic organisation is rather free and often uses asymmetrical groupings of notes (eleven notes in the time or a minim, for example). The prime example of a manuscript using this florid technique is Add. 11608, and one of the features of this manuscript is the climactic, cadenza-like divisions - often given in several alternative forms - which are inserted before the final cadence.

Whereas the florid style is flamboyant and passionate the French style tends to be elegant and decorative. The divisions are not quite so rapid, moving mainly in quavers and semiquavers, and the rhythmic organisation is meticulous. There is a sensitive response to the rhythm of the words, and in strophic songs the divisions are used to adjust the music to the different verses. A few English songs use the classic double form of the air de cour, (3) but on the whole the use of French style divisions is less systematic. Typical examples of the style are found in the earlier part of Lambeth 1041 and in the autograph manuscripts of Henry and William Lawes, Add. 53723 and Add. 31432.

To regard English vocal divisions as falling neatly into three distinct styles is of course an over-simplification, and in fact there were probably as many different styles as there were singers. However, the indigenous, florid and French styles do represent significant threads

running through the ornamentation manuscripts. Furthermore, these different styles almost certainly reflect fundamentally different attitudes on the part of the performers. The leading singer-composers, for example, seem to have favoured the French style. The Lawes brothers' autograph song-books and the John Wilson manuscript show a marked preference for the French style, and the more flamboyant florid technique is used only occasionally. There are good reasons why these singer-composers should have preferred the discreet French technique: they would wish their music to be heard more or less as they wrote it, rather than festooned with elaborate embellishments, and above all they would want the words to be heard clearly. It is this relatively plain style of performance which is emphasised by Waller in his poem 'To Mr Henry Lawes':

Let those which only warble long,
And gargle in their throats a Song,
Content themselves with Ut, re, mi.
Let words and sense be set by Thee. (4)

The other side to Waller's account is the implication that many singers did cultivate a more extravagant style of ornamentation, and this is certainly borne out by several of the manuscript sources. Although most of the ornamented song books were compiled by (or for) lady amateurs - such as Elizabeth Rogers and Lady Ann Blount - the florid style itself must have been developed by professional musicians. Indeed, it seems likely that it was this florid style that was particularly favoured by virtuoso performers: it presents an ideal medium for vocal display, and such singers would be

less concerned about preserving the composer's original setting.

The indigenous technique probably fell out of professional use during the 1630s or thereabouts. However, we may conjecture that aspects of the style would persist in some amateur circles (particularly among those who did not have access to up-to-date professionals), and as the easiest of the division techniques it would still have much to recommend it to the less skilful amateur singers.

The question arises whether one voice-type is particularly appropriate to English continuo song. The answer seems to be that most voice types were used in one context or another. Boy trebles and means were widely used in professional performances; women singers commonly took part in domestic music-making; men's voices were used both in amateur music and in the singer-composers' own performances. Moreover, the songs were freely transposed to suit the ranges of individual singers. (5) This may seem to be rather inconclusive, but it is valuable to have established with certainty in the present thesis that most types of voices - be they baritone, (6) tenor, alto, soprano or anything in between - have an equal claim to the music. There is a school of thought which regards the English lute song, and by extension the continuo song, as the particular province of the tenor voice, but there is no historical evidence for such a restriction. Indeed, the only voice type which is at all inappropriate is the falsetto, which seems to have been rarely used in England

before the Restoration.

There can be no doubt that the most satisfactory way to perform continuo song is with the singer accompanying himself; the use of a second musician to provide the lute, theorbo or bass viol accompaniment is a poor second best. In this the continuo song differs from the Elizabethan or Jacobean lute song, in which both methods of accompaniment are equally valid. Certainly it is clear that people did sing lute songs to their own accompaniment, as described in Thomas Morley's dedication (to Sir George Carey) in his Canzonets (1597):

I have also set them tablature-wise to the lute
in the Cantus for one to sing and play alone, when
you would retire yourself and be more private. (7)

On the other hand there is also substantial evidence that the songs were performed with separate singer and accompanist and particularly, it could be argued, in the best professional performances. For example, at the entertainment presented to Queen Elizabeth at Sudely Castle in 1592 Dowland's song 'My heart and tongue were twins' and another song 'Herbs, woods and stones' were performed by two musicians, 'one who sung and one who plaide'; the instrumentalist was probably Dowland himself. (8) Much of the lute song repertoire should ideally be accompanied by both lute and viol, as is explicit in a number of title pages including volumes by Dowland (1600), Pilkington (1605), Danyel (1606) and Maynard (1611). This of course necessitates an ensemble type of performance, rather than the individual singer accompanying himself.

The rise of the continuo song seems to have produced a fundamentally different approach to accompaniment. The lute-viol combination fell out of use, and it became normal for the singer to accompany himself, whether in simple domestic music-making, or in the best professional performances. Playford's 'Brief Discourse', translating Caccini, implies that the ability to 'sing to a Theorbo or other string instrument, and not being compelled to fit himself to others' is a basic part of the singer's equipment. (9) Henry Lawes, the leading singer-composer of his day, clearly sang to his own accompaniment, as described by Robert Herrick:

Touch but thy Lire (my Harrie) and I heare
From thee some raptures of the rare Gotire.
Then if thy voice commingle with the String
I heare in thee rare Laniere to sing; (10)

John Evelyn gives an account of Captain Cooke, one of the leading singers of the next generation and 'esteemed the best singer after the Italian manner of any in England' singing to his own theorbo accompaniment. (11)

There is a technical explanation for the decline of the lute-viol combination in song accompaniment; in the lute song the viol was necessary partly to compensate for the weak bass of the lute, while the theorbo had a far stronger bass register. However, the new emphasis on self-accompaniment goes far deeper than this, and is related to the fundamental aesthetic differences between lute song and continuo song.

At the heart of the lute song lies the principle of balance, and this manifests itself in a number of different

ways. Many of the songs are polyphonically conceived, the vocal line being only one of several contrapuntal strands, and this imposes a balance between the voice and the accompaniment. A number of songs are written in dance forms, usually as pavans or galliards, and this gives a rhythmic and formal balance to the overall structure. In almost all of the songs there is a fine balance in the relative importance of the poetry and the music.

An ensemble type of performance, with three separate musicians for the voice, lute and viol, brings out this sense of balance: it emphasises the polyphonic elements in the composition and expresses the equilibrium between vocal line and accompaniment. Underpinning this type of performance is a regular pulse, which is essential for any ensemble, particularly when the music has elements of polyphony and of the dance. The regular pulse can itself be regarded as an expression of balance.

In continuo song the precarious equilibrium between the poetry and the music is tipped unambiguously towards the poetry. The primary aim of the composer was 'to shape Notes to the Words and Sence', (12) and the purely musical structure is therefore far less important. In performance the vocal line needs to be sung freely to respond to the rhythm and meaning of the poetry - as the 'Brief Discourse' describes it, the singer must 'as it were Talk in Harmony, using in that kind of Singing a certain noble neglect of the Song'. (13) To achieve this 'noble neglect' the singer must accompany himself: a separate accompanist, however

sensitive, is bound to place a constraint on the singer's freedom. Moreover, the accompaniment of continuo song has a quite different function from that of the lute song. The accompaniment no longer shares much of the musical interest and its role is simply to provide a harmonic foundation for the vocal line. The presence of a separate instrumentalist therefore places an undue importance on the role of the accompaniment: it implies a balance between vocal line and thorough-bass which is not actually present in the music.

To expect a singer who is specialising in seventeenth-century music to acquire enough facility on the lute or theorbo to accompany himself is less unreasonable than it might seem. Most self-taught folk guitarists learn to accompany themselves in a few keys in a matter of months, and the theorbo need not be much more difficult. One of the advantages of thorough-bass is that the realisation can be as simple or elaborate as the player wishes.

The most appropriate instrument for accompanying continuo song is a theorbo, tuned in G and with the first course (but not the second) tuned down the octave. The validity of this tuning - which is quite different from that used on the continent - is firmly established in the present thesis. The authentic pitch would be between a semitone and a tone below modern standard pitch. Thomas Mace recommends an instrument with thirteen courses, giving a full octave in the bass, and this is certainly preferable (though many of the surviving accompaniments

can be played on an instrument with as few as ten courses). The deep, resonant and sustaining sonority of this type of instrument makes it ideal for thorough-bass accompaniment.

The theorbo was introduced in England during the second decade of the seventeenth century, so it can legitimately be used almost from the beginning of the period. However, the ten-course lute persisted for song accompaniment at least until the middle of the century. A lute has certain practical advantages over a theorbo. Being a smaller instrument it is easier to hold and the stop is shorter for the left hand; also there are fewer diapason courses to contend with.

The other principle accompanying instrument was the bass viol, and this seems to have been particularly widely used among amateurs; it is a very straightforward instrument when playing a simple bass line, and this would have been ideal for those who lacked the skill to realise the thorough-bass. However, bass viol accompaniment also had considerable potential using sophisticated lyra viol and division techniques.

The techniques of thorough-bass accompaniment on lute or theorbo can be studied through the tablature accompaniments found in a number of manuscript sources of continuo song. The present thesis contains, for the first time, a comprehensive and detailed examination of these tablature sources. It is possible to distinguish several different approaches to lute or theorbo accompaniment during the period 1610-1670. First, there is

considerable evidence for a very simple chordal style, as found in the tablature accompaniments in Bodleian Music School f.575, Drexel 4175 and Egerton 2013. These accompaniments consist simply of chords above the bass and, apart from a few cadential formulae, the movement is mainly restricted to the bass line itself. The diapasons tend to be used on their own, alternating with chords in the upper part of the instrument, which makes finding the bass courses easier, as well as avoiding awkward stretches in the right hand. This style hardly represents the highest level of theorbo continuo but it was obviously widely practised both by amateurs and also, we can reasonably conjecture, by professional musicians who were primarily singers.

A more sophisticated style of continuo playing is found in Bodleian Don. c.57, some of the accompaniments from Lambeth 1041 (ff.20v-62, which are possibly by Charles Coleman) and, above all, John Wilson's manuscript, Bodleian Mus. b.1.. Here the texture is far more rich and interesting, with added suspensions, running parallel movement with the vocal line or bass, and a considerable variety of chord positions. The accompaniments can be quite inventive harmonically and occasionally, as Mace recommends, 'pass through all manner of Discords'. This style probably represents the best in professional theorbo playing during the heyday of the continuo song.

A more extreme approach to theorbo continuo is found in a handful of songs from Lambeth 1041 (ff.3-7v). These show a highly idiomatic use of the theorbo, concentrating

on the diapason register and relying for their effect almost entirely on the sonority of the instrument. This style was probably not very widely practised but nevertheless it shows an interesting and effective solution to the problem of theorbo continuo.

After the Restoration and the decline of the song idiom of Lawes and Wilson, new styles of theorbo continuo began to be developed. Mace's instructions for the theorbo in Musick's Monument, for example, make extensive use of elaborate figuration which is not only decorative but also, incidentally, helps to sustain the harmonies. This style is more appropriate to the new generation of songwriters who came to the fore during the 1660s, such as Edward Coleman, John Goodgroome and Matthew Locke.

One of the main points to emerge from this study is the variety of possible ways of performing English continuo song. Almost every aspect of the music, its ornamentation and accompaniment can be approached in a number of different equally valid ways. However, when it comes to actually performing the music it is necessary to select and to be specific. The performer must choose from the almost bewildering variety of styles which were available those which are most appropriate - not only to the songs themselves but also to the performer's own musical personality.

How then should the singer - together with his lute, theorbo or bass viol - approach the problems of performing a specific continuo song? Let us take one example,

John Wilson's 'Take O take those lips away'. This was clearly a very popular song and survives in five manuscript and three published sources. Several of these versions are accessible in modern editions. (14)

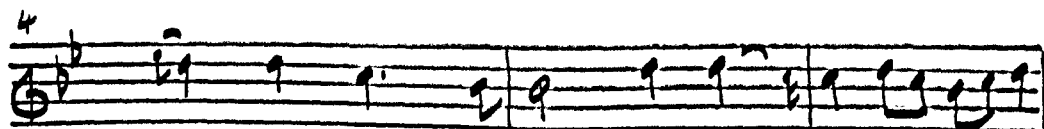
First we might consider how Wilson himself would have performed the song - perhaps singing to the king, 'with his hand upon his shoulder' as described by Anthony Wood. (15) The most relevant version in this case is that from Bodleian Mus. b.1., which represents Wilson's authorised text. This is transcribed in Ian Spink's 'English Songs 1625-1660', no.21.

It would appear from this version that Wilson was a tenor: the setting is in G minor and there are numerous top Fs and Gs, and this consistently high tessitura demands what Butler calls a 'sweet shrill voice'.

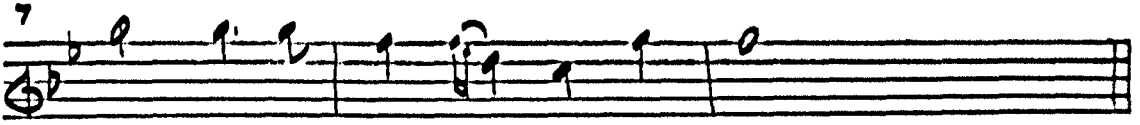
We have seen that the singer-composers usually avoided the more extravagant forms of ornamentation, and Wilson's embellishments tended to be even more discreet than either Henry or William Lawes'. Nevertheless it would be appropriate to add some graces and a few brief divisions in the French style. The first verse might be graced as follows:



Take, O take those lips a way That so



sweet-ly were for-sworn; And those eyes, the break of



day, Lights that do mis-lead the man :



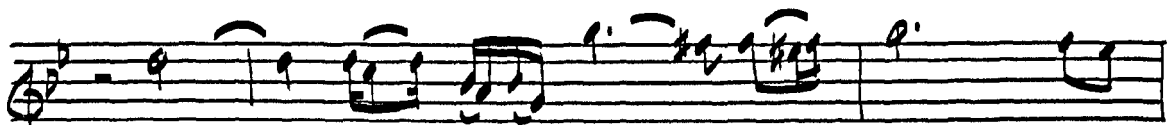
But my kiss-es bring a - gain



Seals of love though seal'd in vain.

The graces here include a form of the elevation (bar 1), a port de voix (bars 2-3), a backfall (bar 4), a cadent (bar 5), a double backfall (bar 8), a shaked backfall (bar 11), a beat (bar 11), an exclamation (bar 12) and a trillo (bar 13). The use of graces should follow not only the shape of the vocal line but also the meaning of the words: for example, the backfall paints the word 'sweetly', while the shaked backfall gives a slight injection of energy on the word 'bring'.

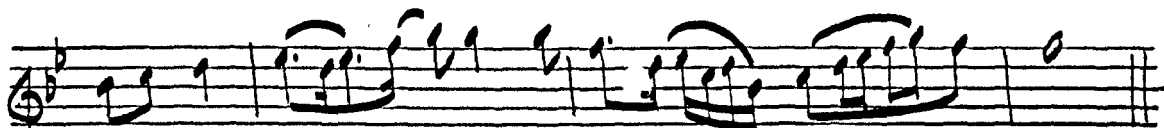
The song has two verses and this gives an opportunity to use the double form, confining the divisions to the second verse. The first nine bars of the second verse, with divisions in the French style, might be sung as follows:



Hide, O hide those hills of snow That thy



fro-zen bo-som bares; On whose tops the



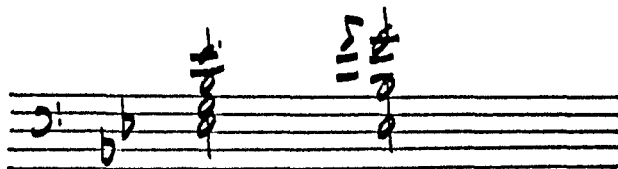
pinks that grow Are yet of those that A - pril wears.

The divisions are not merely decorative but also serve the words, for example by emphasising 'frozen', by painting 'grow' and by carrying the sense of the words through the last phrase. The double should also employ some graces.

This is not one of the songs for which Wilson provides a worked-out accompaniment, though his other tablature accompaniments provide excellent models for his technique of theorbo continuo. An important stylistic point to bear in mind in this song is that when both the vocal line and bass are static the realisation should be rather plain. For example, the opening bar would characteristically be realised:



The repeated Eb minims in bar 7 might be played:



It is sometimes difficult to restrain nimble-fingered theorbo players from filling in these still moments with elaborate figuration which would be more appropriate to Thomas Mace than to John Wilson. On the other hand, when the bass is mobile Wilson's accompaniments can be very active and dense, and it is interesting that the bass in the version from Wilson's manuscript is much more mobile than in any of the other sources.

A virtuoso singer, skilled in the art of florid ornamentation would perform 'Take O take those lips away' in a very different manner. We have an excellent model here in the version from Add. 11608, transcribed in Volume II, 12. This manuscript was clearly compiled by a brilliant singer, and includes some of the best examples of English continuo songs ornamented in the florid style. However, these particular divisions will not suit everyone, and besides, the singer will frequently come across songs without divisions, so it is important to know how to go about adding florid ornamentation.

For most singers the only way to acquire a technique of ornamentation is first to borrow divisions from other

songs and then to imitate. Add.11608 provides a rich source of divisions formulae (see, for example, Volume II, 13a and b). Add. 10337 is also useful, and is available in a modern edition. (16) The table of divisions from Add. 29481, transcribed in Volume II, 10, is limited in that the examples are all for an interval of a rising second; nevertheless, the table does provide a useful set of vocal exercises as a preliminary to singing florid ornamentation.

Add. 11608 furnishes an excellent guide to when and where the divisions should be applied. Though spectacular in themselves, the divisions are in fact used rather sparingly: in 'Take O take those lips away' there are only five or so divisions in each verse, and the most florid division is kept for the last cadence of the song. The ornamentation tends to spring from the shape of the melodic line rather than from the sense or rhythm of the text, and often has the effect of stressing weak syllables (for example, 'frozen' in verse 2) or unimportant words. This insensitivity to the text is hardly something to be deliberately cultivated, but these examples do show that in florid ornamentation one cannot afford to be too fastidious!

Many singers would prefer this particular song at a lower pitch, and indeed two of the manuscripts (Drexel 4041 and Drexel 4257) give it down a tone in F minor. In this type of performance the song should be regarded, to some extent, as a show piece for the voice, and it is up to the singer to choose a key which displays his or her voice to advantage (-as Michael Morrow puts it, 'the modest performer

was not generally admired' (17)). However, when transposing songs it must be remembered that the lute or theorbo does not sound equally well in all keys. For an instrument tuned at nominal G pitch the most resonant - and easiest - keys lie in the cycle of fifths between Ab major and G major and between F minor and A minor. As far as 'Take O take those lips away' is concerned, the most convenient transposition below F minor would therefore be D minor.

The accompaniment to florid song needs to be extremely simple, providing the maximum of support with the minimum of distraction or rhythmic restraint. The version of 'Take O take those lips away' from Add. 11608 could appropriately be accompanied as follows:

The first system of the handwritten musical score consists of three staves. The top staff is the vocal line, written in a treble clef with a key signature of one flat (Bb) and a common time signature (C). It begins with a treble clef, a key signature of one flat, and a common time signature. The melody starts with a quarter note G4, followed by a quarter note A4, a quarter note Bb4, and a quarter note C5. The second staff is the lute or theorbo accompaniment, written in a bass clef. It features a series of chords and single notes, with a '6' written below the first measure and a '4' below the fourth measure. The third staff is a bass line, written in a bass clef, consisting of a series of quarter notes: G3, A3, Bb3, C4, D4, E4, F4, G4.

The second system of the handwritten musical score also consists of three staves. The top staff continues the vocal line from the first system, starting with a quarter note G4, followed by a quarter note A4, a quarter note Bb4, and a quarter note C5. The second staff continues the lute or theorbo accompaniment, with a '4' written below the first measure. The third staff continues the bass line from the first system, starting with a quarter note G4, followed by a quarter note A4, a quarter note Bb4, and a quarter note C5.

The image shows a handwritten musical score for a song. It is divided into two systems, each containing three staves. The top staff in each system is the vocal line, written in a treble clef with a key signature of one flat (B-flat). The bottom two staves are the piano accompaniment. The first system's piano accompaniment features a series of chords and arpeggios, with some notes marked with 'a' and '4'. The second system's piano accompaniment continues with similar harmonic structures, including a section with a double bar line and a repeat sign. The vocal line consists of a single melodic line with various note values and rests.

Even this may well be too elaborate, particularly for the singer accompanying himself. It could readily be simplified even further (leaving out the passing movement and using the diapasons more sparingly) without really impairing the effectiveness of the overall performance, as long as the vocal line is sufficiently arresting and brilliant.

Amateur musicians, singing for their own pleasure at home, would have approached the song in yet another way. Amateurs would not usually have the highly developed vocal or instrumental technique of the professional composers or

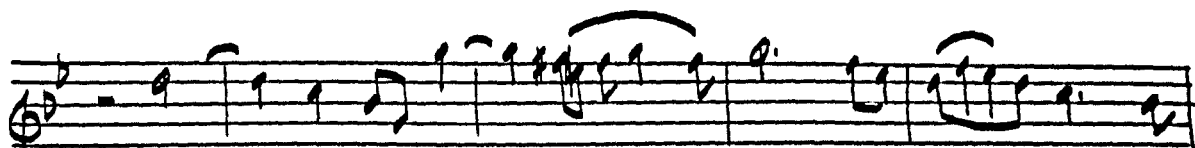
singers, and so their musical aims and methods would necessarily have to be different. Nevertheless, domestic music-making could still be accomplished and polished, in its own way, and the style offers a valid approach for the modern performer.

Many amateur musicians would have known 'Take O take those lips away' from the Playford song prints - the song was included in four publications between 1652 and 1669 - so these are particularly appropriate texts through which to consider the amateur's approach. The 1659 edition, reissued as Book I of the Treasury of Musick (1669), is available in a Gregg facsimile edition (1966).

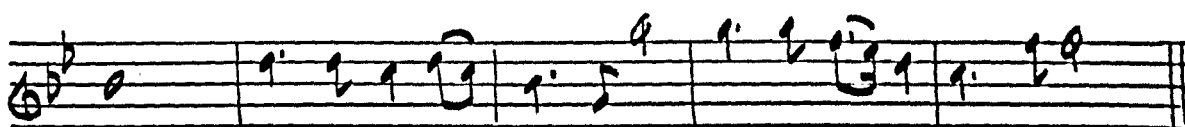
The printed versions of 'Take O take those lips away' are in G minor which, as we have seen, places the song in a rather high tessitura for most singers. The use of this key may have been dictated by the exigencies of music publishing: printed editions generally tended to avoid keys with several flats such as C minor and F minor. The song could always be transposed to suit lower voices - though perhaps amateur singers would be less concerned than the professionals to find the most flattering pitch for their particular voice!

The kind of ornamentation used by amateur singers would probably tend to be more old-fashioned and technically rather easier than that used by the professionals. There is a hint of this in the third bar of the Playford edition, in which the written-out division suggests the indigenous style of the earlier part of the century. It would be quite

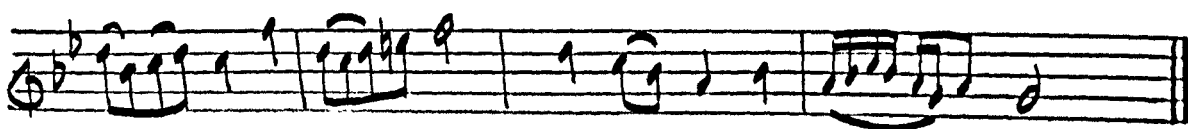
appropriate to continue ornamenting the song in this style, as in the following example. (The divisions for the final cadence are borrowed from the Pandolpho songs from the Turpyn Book. (18)).



Take, O take those lips a - way That so sweetly were for-



sworn, And those eyes that break of days, Light that do mis-lead the mor-



But my kiss-es bring a-gain, Seals of love, though seals in vain.

The graces would also presumably be a little more old-fashioned, mainly falls, beats and elevations. The more up-to-date French graces such as the springer and Italianate trillo and gruppo would be less in keeping with the style.

Amateur musicians particularly favoured the bass viol as an instrument for song accompaniment. The viol can provide an amply supportive accompaniment with the minimum

of technical difficulties and avoids the problem (a real difficulty for many singers) of harmonically realising the thorough bass. This leaves the singer free to concentrate on the thing that really matters, the vocal line. 'Take O take those lips away' works surprisingly well with a single-line accompaniment. The cantus tends to have thirds and sixths (or tenths and thirteenthths) with the bass, rather than bare fifths and octaves, and rhythmically, too, the bass complements the treble. A bass viol accompaniment, perhaps with a seasoning of graces and rudimentary cadential chords, would admirably complete this simple and intimate, but nonetheless valid, style of performance.

This discussion of the alternative ways of performing 'Take O take those lips away' well illustrates the complementary nature of musicology and performance. The present-day performer of English continuo song can develop his own style and musical personality through drawing on the musicological background, tempering this with his own taste and skill. Perhaps the most worthwhile aspect of musicological research is its capacity to stimulate the creative imagination of the performer.

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NOTES

INTRODUCTION

1. Morrow M, p.246.
2. Hardwick D, p.176.
3. For example, Duckles GM, p.34; Emslie NL, p.21; Boorman N, p.29.
4. Hart HL, p.222; Lefkowitz WL, p. 154.
5. Blume R, p.126.
6. Duckles GM, p.24.
7. Transcribed in Volume II, 7.
8. Burney G, p.121.
9. Spink F.
10. Emslie P.
11. Spink ESDP, pp.271-3 gives a comprehensive list of song manuscripts.
12. See also Fellowes EMV, pp.xxv-vi.

I THE VOICE


1. Westrup DM, p.23.
2. Fortune IS M.
3. Butler P, p.75.
4. Morley P, p.293.
5. Butler P, p.98.
6. Butler P, p.116.
7. Playford I, p.20.
8. Butler P, p.41. The term countertenor is discussed below, I, 3.
9. Dowland M, p.88.
10. Wilson RN, p.18.

11. Bacilly R, p. 83.
12. French influences in English song are discussed below, II, 6; III, 3, Lambeth 1041; III,4.
13. Butler P, p.116. Also Praetorius, 'a singer must have a fine, pleasing, trembling and shaking (zittern und bebende) voice, yet not used as in some schools, but with special moderation' (Syntagma Musicum III (1619), p.231, quoted Donington I, p.231).
14. Bacilly R, p.22.
15. Bacilly R, p.116.
16. II, 3.
17. Harmonie Universelle (1636-7) II, p.356, quoted Donington I, p.104.
18. Fortune I, p.212.
19. 'I must confess that they are incomparable, inimitable in this musique scenique, not only as regards singing, but also as regards the expression of words, postures and the gestures of personages whom they naturally represent well. Their mode of singing is more animated than ours; they have certain inflections of voice which we do not possess. It is true they sing passages much more roughly, but now they are beginning to cure that fault.' Shedlock M, p.226.
20. Shedlock M, p.231.
21. Bacilly R, pp.42-5.
22. Dowland M, p.89.
23. Morley P, p.294.
24. Philip Rosseter, A Booke of Ayres (1601).
25. 'the Italian Language may have some advantage by being better smooth'd and vowell'd for Musick, which I found by many Songs which I set to Italian words; and our English seems a little over-clogg'd with Consonants; but that's much the Composer's fault, who by judicious setting and right tuning the words may make it smooth enough.' Henry Lawes, Ayres and Dialogues (1653).
26. Playford I, p.56.

27. Lafontaine K, p.61.
28. Lafontaine K, p.64.
29. Rimbault OCB, p.205.
30. Lafontaine K, p.59. Lafontaine also has two references to payments to Andrea Lanier for keeping two singing boys (pp.82 and 106). However, these are probably errors, arising out of Lanier's allowances for keeping two boys for the study of wind instruments (p.104).
31. Lefkowitz TP, p.58.
32. Transcribed in Lefkowitz TP, pp.98-101 and pp.106-8.
33. Spink ESDP, p.53.
34. Spink ES, 43-6.
35. Bowden EDL, Appendix, gives a comprehensive list of songs in Jacobean and Caroline theatre with their dramatic context.
36. Wallace C, p.61.
37. Bacilly R, p.19.
38. William Shakespeare, Twelfth Night (published 1623) I, v, 33-4.
39. The account, from the diary of the Duke of Stettin-Pomerania, is quoted in Adams S, pp.207-8.
40. Westrup D, pp.20-1.
41. Woodfull M, p.229.
42. For example, John Cleland, The Institution of a Young Nobleman (1607), quoted in Woodfill M, pp.218-9.
43. Peacham C, p.111.
44. Fortune I, p.29.
45. Dent F, pp.54-5.
46. Examples from Dowland's songs include the opening of 'Go crystal tears', First Booke of Songes (1597), which begins with a $\frac{6}{4}$ chord if sung by a tenor or baritone, and two separate passages in 'In darkness let me dwell', Robert Dowland, A Musicall Banquet (1610).

47. Philip Rosseter, A Booke of Ayres (1601).
48. Third and Fourth Booke of Ayres (c. 1618).
49. Corkine's two books are exceptional in that the alto clef songs are neither masque songs nor dialogues.
50. First Booke of Songes (1597).
51. Poulton D, pp.238-9.
52. It could be argued that these songs are for lute at nominal A pitch. However, most of the songs are at the usual nominal G pitch, and those who used the volume would hardly be expected to own two lutes.
53. V is notated down a minor third, from F minor to D minor; VII is up a tone, from F major to G major; X is down a fourth, from C minor to G minor.
54. See below, IV, 1 and 3.
55. Lefkowitz TP, pp.46-8.
56. Poulton D, p.407.
57. Poulton D, p.226.
58. Poulton D, p.238.
59. Poulton D, p.408.
60. Lafontaine K, pp.110-1.
61. In 1660 a warrant was issued to admit 'Edward Coleman in the place of John Lanier for a voyce', Lafontaine K, p.117.
62. Irene's two solo songs are transcribed in Lefkowitz TM, pp.89-90 and p.93; see also pp.98-101.
63. Lefkowitz TP, p.47.
64. Lefkowitz TM, p.118.
65. 'Then if thy voice commingle with the String
I heare in thee rare Laniere to sing'. 'To M.
Henry Lawes', Hesperides (1648).
66. 'Now all is lost that is upon mee plac'd,
As hee a phesant had, that had noe tast,

As if Laniere to a deafe one singe,
Or I should Hellen to a blind man bringe'.
Quoted in Murdoch E, p.17, n.12.

67. Lefkowitz TP, pp. 46-8; Lafontaine K, p.84.
68. During this period the terms alto and countertenor were synonymous. A distinction should be made between part names and voice names; parts designated as tenor, countertenor etc. were not necessarily intended to be sung by these voice types. See Ardran A, p.17.
69. HMC (1), p.128, cited in Le Huray M, p.120.
70. HMC (2), p.416.
71. Butler P, p.41.
72. Le Huray M, p.121.
73. Fellowes EMC, pp.70-4.
74.  sit tonus fistulae apertae longitudine duorum pedum et semissis; sive 30 digitorum Geometricorum.' Quoted Stevens T, p.74.
The copy is now in the Bodleian Library, Oxford.
75. Fellowes EMC, p.73.
76. Butler P, p.9.
77. The question of pitch in secular music is discussed further below, IV, 2.
78. Hardwick D, p.ix.
79. Coryat C, p.391.
80. For example, Hodgson C, p.216.
81. Playford I, p.54. Caccini's original term in Le Nuove Musiche is 'voce finta'.
82. Playford I, p.43.
83. Butler P, p.116.
84. Davis C, p.238.
85. Bacilly R, p.23.
86. Fortune I, p.207.
87. Fortune I, p.208.

88. Bacilly R, p.19.
89. These songs are discussed below, III, 1,
Divisions in the songs of Ferrabosco.

II ORNAMENTATION; GRACES

1. 1666 edition, quoted Spink P, pp.132-3.
2. John Dowland, A Pilgrimes Solace (1612).
3. Playford I, p.38.
4. Butler P, p.38.
5. Butler P, p.116.
6. Poulton G, p.114.
7. Donington I, p.62.
8. Ferand IVC, p.129.
9. Add. 53723, Add. 31432 and Bodleian Mus. b. 1.
See below, III, 4.
10. Lambeth 1041 and Add. 10337. See below, II, 4
and III, 3.
11. Playford I. p.38; A.B., Synopsis of Vocal Musick
(1680), pp.43-4., quoted Spink P, p.134.
12. Duckles FE; Horsley I.
13. Playford I, pp.37-9.
14. BL Add. MS 32533, f. 106v. Quoted in Donington I,
p.155.
15. Dowland V, 'Necessary observations...'
16. Simpson D, p.10.
17. Simpson D, p.12.
18. Tables of graces are also found in BL Add. MS
31403, f.5 (table compiled by Elway Bevin) and
Pittsburg, private library of T. M. Finney,
'Mansell Lyra Viol Tablature'.
19. Dart Q and Cyr S.
20. Coxon EGV.

21. Playford I, p.116.
22. Simpson D, p.12.
23. Robinson S, pl.VIII.
24. Robinson S, pl.IX.
25. Robinson S, pl.X.
26. Spencer MB.
27. Spencer B.
28. Spencer B, f. 35.
29. Mace MM, p.102.
30. For example Cyr S, p.65.
31. A third grace specifically for the viol, the 'Organ Shake with the Bow' is introduced towards the end of the viol pieces.
32. Hendrie G, p.xvii.
33. Maitland FVB I, p.xvi.
34. Spink P, p.131. The present study is based on Playford I.
35. The present study uses Caccini's original term trillo, to avoid confusion with the shaken graces.
36. Playford I, p.52.
37. Playford I, p.53.
38. Playford I, pp.47-8.
39. Playford I, pp.52-3. The 'plain Song, of 6 Notes up and 6 down' refers to the scale of the hexachord.
40. Playford I, p.53.
41. The use of the trillo extends well beyond the limits of this study. It is found in Italian publications of the 1590s (Zacconi, 1592; Conforto, 1593; Bovicelli, 1594) and continued in use into the early eighteenth century. In Italian publications it is sometimes called the tremolo.
42. Spink AN, p.176.
43. For example, Praetorius, Syntagma Musicum III

- (1619), p.237, quoted Donington I, p.230.
44. Two pieces make extensive use of the trillo, I, 'O praise the Lord' and XV, 'Farewell once my delight'.
 45. Pepys D, II, p.128.
 46. Pepys D, VIII, p.424.
 47. Donington I, p.230.
 48. f. 33v.
 49. For example, Nigel Rogers' recording Canti Amorosi (2533 305)
 50. Playford I, pp.42-3.
 51. Playford I, p.43.
 52. Playford I, p.43.
 53. The 'Example of the most usual Graces' (Playford I, pp.48-9) are in fact examples of divisions.
 54. Joiner BM, p.51. However, the lute solos at the beginning of the manuscript and some of the accompaniments are for a ten-course lute, which suggests that the first date of 1600 is rather early.
 55. Rastall, T.
 56. Dart O, p.31.
 57. Cutts ED.
 58. Spink ESDP, p.272.
 59. Spink ESDP, p.272.
 60. Spink ESDP. p.273.
 61. Cutts is confident that the manuscript was compiled before 1624 (Cutts ED, pp.26-9); however, the evidence is not conclusive, and A. B. Pearson suggests that the latest date of the manuscript could be after 1636 (Pearson L, pp.118-9). The style of divisions certainly suggests a date nearer 1630 than 1620.
 62. For example Egerton 2971. Several signs are found in this manuscript, but on the whole their use is restricted to the group of five Italian songs towards the end of the manuscript.

The only sign used in the English songs is a group of dots (.), which occurs on f. 15v and f. 49.

63. Spink ESDP, p.272.
64. Playford I, p.53.
65. Spink ESDP, p.273.
66. There are two examples in 'Fire fire lo here I burn' (ff. 48v-9, inverted).
67. For example, in the Cantus book, 'Tell me you stars' (song IX). See Spink WP, p.32.
68. Spink P, p.133.
69. Spink ESDP, p.121.
70. The term elevation is rather ambiguous. Both the 'Manchester Gamba Book' and Mace give other versions of the elevation.
71. Add. 53723, ff. 124-7. The two versions are discussed in the appendix, 'Ariadne and Hero and Leander', and are transcribed in Volume II, 42.
72. Lafontaine K, p.59. See also Westrup FM, pp.71-4.
73. Lefkowitz TP, p.46.
74. Woodfill M, p.234.
75. John Dowland, The Third ... Booke Of Songes (1603).
76. Spink ES, p.43.
77. Bacilly R, p.64.
78. Bacilly R, p.47.
79. Bacilly R, p.97.
80. Bacilly R, p.76.
81. Bacilly R, p.67.
82. For example Henry Lawes, 'Theseus O Theseus', Henry Lawes, Ayres and Dialogues 1653, bars 80-1. See above.
83. Bacilly R, p.64.
84. Bacilly R, p.83.

III ORNAMENTATION; DIVISIONS

1. Horsley I.
2. Brown E.
3. Listed in Brown E, p.x, n.l.
4. Notably Ferand I and Wolff O.
5. Duckles FE. *See also Till O*.
6. Duckles FE, p.333.
7. Cambridge, King's College, Rowe MS 2. See Rastall T and Oboussier T.
8. All three songs are printed in Brett CS. 'Pour down you pow'rs divine' is given in a plain version, with the divisions from the Turpyn Book in small notes. 'No grief is like to mine' is unique to the Turpyn Book. 'This merry pleasant spring' is given in a version which is almost identical with the version from the Turpyn Book, and with divisions from Egerton 2971 in small notes.
9. John Dowland, A Pilgrimes Solace (1612).
10. Tenbury, St. Michael's College, MS 1019, ff. 5v-6. See Duckles FE, pp.335-6.
11. The first strain only is given in Duckles FE.
12. San Marino, California, Huntington Library, MS EL 6863. Coperario R.
13. The relevant section is on ff. 11v-14; ff. 14v-18 discuss the use of divisions in the bass in polyphonic music, and the effect this has on the other parts. The divisions used are the same as in ff. 14v-18.
14. Duckles FE, p.329.
15. John Danyel, Songs (1606).
16. Philip Rosseter, A Booke of Ayres (1601).
17. Thomas Campion,Fourth Booke of Ayres (c. 1618).
18. Fortune I, p.209.
19. Spink AF.
20. Spink AF, p.iii.

21. Examples are also found in Add. 15117, Tenbury 1018 and Add. 24665 (Giles Earle's Book).
22. Song III, 'Come away', appears transposed up a fifth, in C minor. Two songs, 'Come away' and 'Fain I would' (p.21) also give a sign (♯) apparently implying some sort of grace.
23. For a list of treatises etc., see Ferand D. For details of modern editions and facsimiles see Brown E, p.x, n.1.
24. Ferand I, p.12.
25. Brown E, p.35.
26. Brown E, p.51.
27. Fortune I, p.213.
28. Fortune I, p.213.
29. Wolff O. Examples of Donati's motets are found in Wolff O and Ferand I.
30. Brown E, p.58.
31. Spink AN, p.177.
32. One of the earliest English sources of Italian monodies, Tenbury 1018, contains very little ornamentation, a number of songs by Caccini lacking even the divisions given in Le Nuove Musiche.
33. Four of the songs are found in Tenbury 1018, including Caccini's 'Dolcissimo sospiro' and 'Amarilli mia bella'. The other song, 'O bella piu che la stella', is essentially the same setting as that published in A Muscicall Banquet (1610).
34. A number of Italian monodies are also found in BL Add. 31440, an anthology compiled by Angelo Notari around 1620. See Willetts A, Willetts N and Spink ESDP, p.43.
35. Robert Dowland, A Muscicall Banquet (1610); Tenbury 1018, f. 39; BL Royal Appendix 55, ff. 7v-8; Egerton 2971, f. 28v; Add. 15117, f. 6 (adapted, with English words); 'Fitzwilliam Virginals Book' (keyboard version by Peter Philips, dated 1603).
36. Willetts HL, p.7.
37. Playford I, p.38.

38. Brown E, p.48.
39. Dart O, p.31.
40. Transcribed in Brett CS, pp.96-7, with the omission of a division at the final cadence.
41. The term double relish refers to a measured shake terminating in a turn; see Playford I, p.47.
42. Transcribed in Cyr S, pp.66-7.
43. Duckles FE, p.343, dates it before 1625. Hughes C, II, p.471, dates it c. 1630.
44. John Dowland, A Pilgrimes Solace (1612).
45. The setting is the same as that found in A Muscicall Banquet and Egerton 2971; however, the ornamentation is different in all sources.
46. Transcribed in Cutts M, p.43.
47. Hughes C, II, p.109, describes it as part of a piece for organ or harpsichord.
48. Transcribed in Spink RJ, XV; Duckles FE, p.338 (repr. in Donington I, p.600), opening only.
49. Transcribed in Spink ES, 104; Ferand I, 25; Duckles GM, p.32.
50. Transcribed also in Cutts M, p.85.
51. Discussed above, II, 4, Add. 11608.
52. It could also be argued that the brilliance of these mid-century divisions derives to some extent from the virtuoso fringe of the English tradition, as represented by, for example, the divisions in Giles Earle's Book.
53. Duckles FE, p.333; Spink ES, p.204.
54. This is true also of the Italian models; see Brown E, pp.20-1.
55. Spink ESDP, pp.66-7.
56. Brown E, p.67.
57. S. Ganassi, Fontegara (1535, ed. H. Peter 1956).
58. Chopin's advocacy of right hand rubato against

a strictly rhythmic left hand, for example is well known.

59. See above, I, 1.
60. Transcribed in Cofone ER; unfortunately, in this edition the grace signs are omitted.
61. Also transcribed in Souris P, 1 a.
62. French influences in English song are also discussed above, II, 6.
63. For examples of ornamentation in the air de cour see Ferand I, 24 and Wolff O, 6.
64. Spink ESDP, p.272.
65. See below, III, 4, Henry Lawes' autograph.
66. Transcribed also in Spink ES, 69, but without the division in the second verse.
67. Duckles FE, p.332.
68. Duckles FE, p.332.
69. See also Zacconi's reference to the different approaches to ornamentation among composers and executants, cited above (Brown E, p.51).
70. Edmund Waller, commendatory poem published in Henry Lawes, Ayres and Dialogues (1653).
71. Willetts HL, p.2.
72. Spink ES, p.189.
73. The same device is used in John Wilson's 'Thou heaven-threatening rock', Bodleian Mus. b. 1., ff. 55v-56v.
74. See Duckles FE, pp.344-5, for example no. 1, 'About the sweet bag of a bee'.
75. McGrady HL, p.91.
76. Willetts HL, pp.17-8.
77. Discussed above, II, 5.
78. Spink ES, p.189.
79. Duckles FE, p.332.
80. Antony Wood, Fasti Oxoniensis II, ed. Bliss

(1820), p.71; see Crum M and Cutts SCL.

81. Spink ES, p.189.

IV THE THOROUGH-BASS; LUTE AND THEORBO

1. The orpharion, while not as popular as the lute, was widely played in England. See Gill W, p.8 and p.17.. The possible use of the bandora, a close relative of the orpharion, in the accompaniment of continuo songs, is discussed below, V,2.
2. See also above, Introduction.
3. Fortune C.
4. Notari's Prime Musiche Nuove (London 1613) has a thorough-bass, but these cannot be considered as English songs. The first printed English thorough-basses are found in Peerson's Mottects or Grave Chamber Musique (1630) and Porter's Madrigales and Ayres (1632), but these are not solo songs.
5. Lafontaine K, p.66 and p.91.
6. Hesperides (1648).
7. These tablatures are discussed below, V, 3.
8. Mace MM, p.207.
9. Dowland V.
10. Goodwin RF, pp.13-4.
11. Sundermann J.
12. Cambridge, Fitzwilliam Library.
13. For example, John Danyel's 'Mrs. Anne Grene her leaves be greene', Songs (1606); John Maynard, Pavan and Galliard, XII. Wonders Of The World (1611), XV and XVI; Daniel Batchelar (?), Pavane and Galliard, Cambridge University Library Nn. b. 36. (B).
14. BL Egerton 2046.
15. Newton E, p.76.
16. Spencer MB.
17. Spencer T.

18. Spencer B.
19. 'The Burwell Lute Tutor' is for an eleven-course instrument. Mace MM, pp.75-6 describes the lute as having twelve courses.
20. Spencer C. *See also Lowe H.*
21. Spencer C, p.408.
22. Dr. Plume's Library, Maldon, Essex. Pocket book no. 25, f. 92v. (Inigo Jones first brought the theorbo into England c. 1605. At Dover it was thought some engine brought from Popish countries to destroy the King, and he and it were sent up to the council chamber it (being) after the Popish conspiracy.) I am grateful to Robert Spencer for the transcription of the original.
23. Spencer C, p.411.
24. Coryat C, p.390.
25. Spencer C, p.420, no. 18.
26. Spencer C, p.412.
27. BL, Royal MS 17 B. x. v., f. 179v. Quoted in Brennecke JM, p.92.
28. Spencer C, p.412.
29. Lafontaine K, p.69, p.80 and p.83.
30. Lefkowitz TP, pp.36-9.
31. Harwood RV, p.244.
32. See also below.
33. This construction is also depicted in Dutch paintings of the mid century, such as Gerard Ter Borch, 'A Young Woman Playing a Theorbo', London, National Gallery.
34. Mace MM, p.32.
35. Roberts L, pp.21-2.
36. Mace MM, pp.27-8.
37. Oxford, Christ Church Library, Music MS 1187. The manuscript was compiled 1685-1701.
38. Prynne T.

39. Mace MM, p.208.
40. See below, IV, 3.
41. Mace MM, p.218.
42. Day ESB.
43. Spencer C, p.412.
44. Mace MM, p.207; see also pp.216-7, where Mace again refers to the theorbo as a lute.
45. Alternatively this may refer to the renaissance bass lute, tuned in D like a bass viol. Accompaniments for the bass lute are found in the Turpyn Book and Add. 15117. It is presumably to this instrument that Campion refers in his Discription of a Maske (1607).
46. Donington I, p.505.
47. Fellowes EMC, pp.70-4.
48. Fellowes EMC, p.72.
49. 5th edn. (1954).
50. Donington I, pp.507-8.
51. Above, I, 3.
52. Butler P, p.9.
53. Fellowes EMC, p.73.
54. Morley P, p.275; quoted Fellowes EMC, p.74.
55. Parrott G.
56. Fellowes suggestion that 'the pitch of the lute was easily raised as much as a minor third by a mechanical contrivance called the capo d'astro' (EMC, p.73) is unsound. Lutes lose much of their sonority when a capo is used, and anyway this cannot be used on a two-headed lute or theorbo. If lute accompaniments were meant to sound at a higher pitch it would have been more practical to build smaller instruments, or to write out the tablature in a different key.
57. Abbott S.
58. Abbott G.
59. Abbott G.

60. Robinson S, pl.x.
61. Morley P, p.275.
62. I am grateful to Michael Lowe for information about lute building.
63. 5th edn. (1954).
64. Mace MM, pp.216-7.
65. Above, I, 2, Men's voices.
66. Spencer C, p.409.
67. Mace MM, p.208 and p.217.
68. Fellowes EMC, p.70.
69. Above, Introduction.
70. Mace MM, p.217.
71. BL Add. 34072, ff. 1-5. See Arnold TB, pp.163-72.
72. Bodleian Mus. b. 1.
73. Mace MM, pp.210-16.
74. Spink ESDP, p.272. However, Spencer C, p.420, n.20, dates the manuscript c. 1660.
75. Above, I, 2, Men's voices; IV, 2, Pitch in the continuo song.
76. Spink ESDP, p.272 and Cutts SV, p.73.
77. Below, V, 1.
78. Several of the songs are transcribed in Cutts M, 22, 23 and 24, and Spink ES, 16.
79. Cutts M, 24.
80. Cutts M, 22.
81. Spink ESDP, p.272 and Spencer C, p.420, n.20.
82. There is some confusion in the manuscript in the use of clefs. The staff-notated scales are in the treble clef, but two of the tables have bass clefs in the tablature, suggesting that there is a mistake in the copying.
83. 'to be performed by the Activity of the Left Hand, in the manner of Falling, or Sliding.' Mace MM, p.106.

84. Transcribed in Cutts M, 48.
85. Spink ESDP, p.272.
86. The folio numbering follows that in the manuscript. A different numbering is given in Cutts BS.
87. Above, IV, 2, Pitch in the continuo song.
88. For example, f. 93, final cadence. If the first course is up the passing seventh resolves in the wrong octave.
89. Spink ESDP, p.272 and Spencer C, p.420, n.20.
90. Spink ESDP, p.190. The songs by Coleman are 'Bright Aurelia I do owe', 'Never persuade me to't' and the four-section song cycle beginning 'Farewell fond love'.
91. For bibliographical studies of the manuscript see Cutts SCL and Crum M. For an excellent introduction to Wilson's music and detailed studies of several songs and theorbo solos see Duckles JW.
92. The contents of the manuscript are listed in Cutts SCL, but Cutts' folio numbers sometimes differ from those in the manuscript.
93. The six songs with accompaniments apparently at nominal A pitch are 'See how this violet' (ff. 158v-159), 'Crimine quo mervi' parts 1-3 (ff. 181v-183), 'Mercuri facunde' (ff. 198v-199) and 'Quum tu Lydia Telephi' (ff. 199v-200).
94. See also Duckles JW, pp.98-103, for a discussion of Wilson's accompaniments in several other songs.
95. Transcribed in Spink ES, 30.
96. Mace MM, pp.207-30.
97. Mace MM, p.33.
98. Transcribed in Mace MM, II, pp.65-72.
99. However, this table is far less complete than Wilson's compendium of chords. There are no chords for Ab, C#, Eb or F#, and no inversions or chromatically altered chords.
100. The music examples from Chapter XLIII are not transcribed in Mace MM, II.
101. This point is made by Heinrich Albert, when discussing harpsichord, lute or bandora continuo

- in his notes on thorough-bass published in 1640. See Arnold TB, p.128.
102. The Burwell Lute Tutor refers to this as the 'Cadence or Trillo'. See Spencer B, ff. 32v-3.
 103. Mace MM, p.226.
 104. Mace MM, p.225.
 105. Matthew Locke, Melothesia (1673) also includes the sixth degree of the scale. See Arnold TB, p.155.
 106. Mace MM, p.217.
 107. Mace MM, p.226.
 108. Spink ECS, p.63.
 109. For example Add. 11608, f. 27v; Add. 10337, f. 48v-9 (reversed).
 110. Lefkowitz WL, pp.73-4, c.
 111. Parallel cases are found in Henry Lawes' Ayres and Dialogues (1653), in 'Theseus O Theseus' (I, pp.1-7) and 'It is not that I love you less' (I, p.22).
 112. For example, Coleman's 'How am I changed from what I was' is reprinted without figures in Playford's Select Ayres And Dialogues (1659), p.58.
 113. Arnold TB, p.66n..

V THE THOROUGH-BASS: BASS VIOL, VIRGINAL AND OTHER INSTRUMENTS

1. Adams S, pp.207-8.
2. John Marston, Antonio's Revenge ed. G. K. Hunter (1966), p.51. See Sabol TS, p.151.
3. C. H. Herford and P. Simpson (ed.), Ben Jonson (1925-52) IV p.115. See Sabol TVS.
4. See also Traficante LVPS.
5. John Bartlet, A Booke of Ayres (1606) part II, uses the same procedure, but the title page indicates performance with lute and viol.
6. Add. 24665. Three songs from the manuscript are

- discussed above, III, 1, Techniques of division.
7. For example, the manuscript includes thirteen songs from Ferrabosco's Ayres (1609). See above III,1, Divisions in the songs of Ferrabosco.
 8. 'The dark is my delight' is also found with an accompaniment for three viols in Egerton 2971.
 9. E. H. Fellowes (ed.), English School of Lutenist Songwriters Series II (1925-7) XIII; Souris P, no. VII.
 10. Traficante LVPS, pp.11- 4.
 11. Another explanation of Dowland's attack on Hume is given in Newton E, p.68.
 12. The setting is discussed in Joiner BM, pp.65-6.
 13. Transcribed in Cyr S, pp.70-1.
 14. 'Wherefore peep'st thou envious day' (lvii) is transcribed in Spink ES, 20b; 'Get you hence for I must go' (lix) is transcribed in Cutts M, 9.
 15. Transcribed in Spink ES, 87a.
 16. Add. 10337.
 17. Pepys D I, p.59.
 18. Pepys D I, p.76.
 19. Traficante LVPS and Traficante LVT.
 20. The term 'lyra viol' has been avoided in this study because it might imply a distinct instrument, notation or tuning. In reality there was often considerable overlap between lyra viol and bass viol.
 21. Simpson D, p.9.
 22. Mace MM, p.249.
 23. Simpson D, p.44 and p.57.
 24. Cyr S, p.57 and p.64.
 25. The tablature accompaniments in Egerton 2971 give some grace signs. Viol graces are discussed above, II, 2.
 26. Above, IV, 2, Pitch in the continuo song.

27. Above, IV, 3, Bodleian Mus. b. 1.
28. Playford I, p.54.
29. The term virginal (or virginals) was more commonly used than harpsichord during the first half of the century, and seems to have been a generic term covering all types of plucked keyboard instruments.
30. Whythorne A, p.40.
31. Brett ECS, p.80. The two items are in D. Stevens (ed.), 'The Mulliner Book' Musica Britannica I (1951) pp.10-1.
32. Evidence for keyboard (though not virginal) accompaniment is found in Richard Edwards' Damon and Pithias (1571). The lament 'Awake ye woeful wights' is preceded by the words 'Here Pithias sings and the regals play'. See Brett ECS, p.80.
33. Thomas Campion, The Discription of a Maske (1607).
34. Dart N, pp.103-5. The songs are transcribed in Harley TJS.
35. Transcribed in Cofone ER.
36. Pepys D VIII, p.55.
37. Day ESB, 89, 90, 94 and 95.
38. John Playford's Treasury of Musick (1669) contains an advertisement for Walter Porter's 'first set of Ayres ... with a Through Bass; for the Organ or Theorbo Lute ... 1639'. This seems to be an incorrectly worded and dated description of Porter's Madrigales and Ayres (1632), which does not mention organ continuo. See Porter, Madrigales and Ayres facs. ed. D. Greer (1669) and Spink WP, p.36 n..
39. Le Huray M, p.397.
40. For example, Add. 11608 includes a number of sacred solo songs, dialogues and three-part settings by Hilton and other composers. See Smallman ER.
41. Whythorne A. For other evidence of the guitar's popularity in England during the mid sixteenth century, see Gill G, pp.5-6.
42. Mace MM, p.237.

43. Add. 53723.
44. The dating of the manuscript is discussed in Willetts HL, pp.2-3.
45. Fortune C, p.12.
46. Turnbull G, p.48.
47. Tyler C, p.27.
48. Westrup FM, p.81 and Turnbull G, pp.48-51.
49. Pepys D VIII, p.374.
50. Sylvia Garnsey has pointed out a possible connexion between The False Consonances of Musick and the theorbo treatise in the 'Euing Lute Book' (Garney M, pp.135-40). In his preface Matteis mentions that he had transcribed the work for French lute, and Sylvia Garnsey assumes that Matteis' transcription and the Euing are the same. However, the tunings of French lute and theorbo are quite different, and so although the Euing treatise may still be based on the False Consonances of Musick it cannot be the transcription referred to by Matteis.
51. '... with an Organ Part; which for want of Organs, may be performed on Virginals, Base-Lute, Bandora, or Irish Harpe'.
52. Gill W, pp.18-9.
54. Wilson RN, p.271.
55. Munrow I, p.74.
56. Lafontaine K, pp.70, 79, 91, 98 and 111.
57. Lefkowitz TP, p.46 and p.49. Lefkowitz also suggests (in WL, p.91 n.) that Philip Squires, one of Charles I's musicians for the lutes and voices, also played the harp. However, the evidence is inconclusive.
58. Lafontaine K, p.113.
59. In February 1631-2 Le Felle purchased a harp for £25. Shortly afterwards other court musicians purchased a bass viol for 8 and a theorbo for £15. Lafontaine K, pp.79-80.

CONCLUSION

1. Spink ESDP, p.121.
2. Simpson D, p.11.
3. See Volume II, 14 and 22.
4. Printed in Lawes, Ayres and Dialogues (1653).
5. For example, Willetts HL lists numerous examples of songs from Add. 53723 which are transposed in other manuscript and printed sources.
6. A low bass voice raises problems because of the pitch of the accompaniment. However, there are a number of songs specifically for a bass, usually with the voice doubling the thorough-bass to some extent.
7. Quoted in Westrup DM, pp.21-2.
8. Poulton D, pp.29-30.
9. Playford I, p.54.
10. 'To M. Henry Lawes, the excellent Composer of his Lyrics', in Hesperides (1648).
11. John Evelyn, Diary, ed. *E.S. de Beer* (1955) III p.144 (28 Oct. 1654).
12. Henry Lawes, The Second Book of Ayres, And Dialogues (1655).
13. Playford I, p.38.
14. For a list of sources see Spink ES, p.196, no.21. Volume II, 12, gives the version from Add. 11608, f.56, together with the vocal line from Bodleian Mus. b.1., f.19v. Spink ES, 21, gives the versions from Bodleian Mus. b.1. and Drexel 4041. The version published in Playford's Select Ayres and Dialogues (1659) and reissued in 1609 is found in the Gregg facsimile of the Treasury of Musick (1966). Cutts M gives editions of the versions from Bodleian Mus. b.1. and Add. 11608. (The latter is unsatisfactory in that one of the divisions and all of the grace signs are omitted.)
15. Anthony Wood, Athenae Oxoniensis II (1692), p.724.
16. Cofone ER.
17. Morrow M, p.235.
18. Rastall T.