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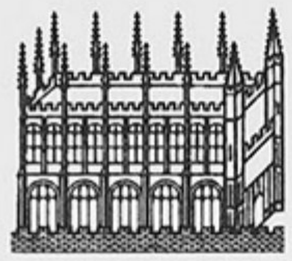

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FRENCH LUTE-SONG, 1529-1643

Jonathan Le Cocq

VOL I

Dissertation submitted in partial fulfilment of the

requirements for the degree of D.Phil.,

University of Oxford, Lincoln College

1997

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ABSTRACT

FRENCH LUTE-SONG, 1529-1643

Jonathan Le Cocq

Dissertation submitted in partial fulfilment of the

requirements for the degree of D.Phil.,

University of Oxford, Lincoln College

Hilary Term, 1996-7

A study of French-texted solo songs and duets with lute or guitar accompaniment notated in tablature, dating from the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. Connected repertoires include the Parisian chanson, psalm, *voix de ville*, dialogue, and *air de cour*. Sources are examined in terms of their background, composers represented in them, relationship to concordant and other musical sources, repertoire, and musical conception. Foreign and manuscript sources are included. Literary references indicating the status of sixteenth-century lute-song, its importance to humanists (including its role in the *Académie de Poésie et de Musique*), and its position in theatrical works, are considered. Issues of notation, musical and poetic form, prosody, rhythm, ornamentation, lute pitch and tuning, relationship to polyphonic versions, to the *ballet de cour*, to dance forms, and to solo instrumental styles such as *stile brisé* are examined. Early references to continuo practice and to the theorbo are noted. Several arguments are developed, including 1. that the sixteenth-century Le Roy publications were conceived primarily as solo lute music, 2. that from the late sixteenth-century onwards lute-songs were initially conceived as melody-bass outlines, and may to an extent be regarded as continuo realisations, and 3. that rhythmic features of the *air de cour* commonly related to the influence of *musique mesurée* may also be explained with reference to earlier attempts to adapt the *voix de ville* to humanist goals, and also to the influence of the Italian villanella. Includes tables and bibliographies. Musical examples, facsimiles, and transcriptions are included in a separate volume.

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FRENCH LUTE-SONG 1529-1643

INTRODUCTION

This thesis deals with the history of French lute-song. That is, solo songs or duets with a French text or appearing in French publications, and with a lute accompaniment notated in tablature, dating from the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. It also covers the comparatively small number of guitar songs produced in the same period. The delimiting dates, 1529 and 1643, represent the first and last appearances of these songs in printed form, for the principal concern here is with surviving sources. In largely confining the study to musical sources, questions relating to social context or literary aspects of the genre are to some extent neglected. These areas have been explored by Dr Georgie Durosoir in her thesis on the *air de cour* and in other literature by the late André Verchaly, but more importantly this restricted focus has been necessary in order to keep an already extended area of research within manageable proportions. Despite this, the present study will hopefully provide an understanding of how the lute-song genre is constituted and the ways in which it developed.

As an overview, it may be helpful to think of the history of French lute-song as falling into three periods. First, that of the French publications of 1529 to 1571, produced by Attaingnant, Phalèse, Morlaye, and Le Roy, which consist largely of strict intabulations of contemporary chansons of various sorts. Second, the period between 1571 and 1608, characterised by the rise of the *air de cour* and a corresponding change in the nature and style of lute-song. This period is principally represented by polyphonic sources, but the major lute-song sources are those of Tessier and Besard - neither of them published or produced in France. Thirdly, there is the 'core' period of the *air de cour* between 1608 and 1643, when lute-song collections were published in abundance in Paris. This period may also be thought of as falling into two parts: from 1608 to 1621, when airs were produced by a large number of composers, including many who remain anonymous, some probably noble amateurs, and 1621 to 1643, when the published lute-air became the domain of a small number of professional court composers. In the following study, the first two periods are dealt with in Chapters 1 and 2 respectively. Chapters 3 and 4 are both concerned with the core period, with Chapter 3 concentrating on sources and composers, and Chapter 4 taking a more analytical approach to the nature and development of the lute-air as represented in these sources.

This thesis is the first major study devoted to French lute-song of both the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. Nonetheless, it is heavily indebted to the work of other scholars, some of it quite recent. The *air de cour* in all its forms (i.e. not only as lute-song, but also as polyphonic song) was the object of a lifetime's study by the late André Verchaly, a study embodied in numerous articles, papers, and musical editions, especially his annotated anthology of *Airs de Cour pour Voix et Luth (1603-1643)* (Paris: Société Française de Musicologie, 1961). More recently, the *air de cour* has been the focus of a comprehensive doctoral thesis by Georgie Durosoir at the *Université de Paris IV*, incorporating an anthology of polyphonic airs, much of it now published as *L'Air de cour en France 1571-1655* (Liège: Mardaga, 1991). Dr Durosoir's thesis also includes an invaluable catalogue of *air de cour* sources together with an index of

songs and concordances, not yet published.[1] To these key texts we should add Théodore Gérold's dated but thorough and effective study of *L'Art du Chant en France au XVIIe Siècle* of 1921. As regards music of the sixteenth century, editions with thorough introductory material include the anthology of *Chansons au Luth et Airs de Cour Français du XVIe siècle*, edited by Lionel de la Laurencie, Adrien Mairy, and Geneviève Thibaut (Paris: Société Française de Musicologie, 1934), and numerous publications in the *Corpus de luthistes français* series published by the *Centre nationale de recherche scientifique*.

*

For bibliographical references the familiar author-date system of abbreviations is used. In all such references, which are highlighted to make them easily identifiable, the name of the composer, author, arranger, or publisher, whichever is most appropriate, is followed by date of publication. Where two or more similar sources share the same date these are distinguished by a letter. A slight refinement is employed when referring to primary musical sources: polyphonic (i.e. part-song) sources are identified by a letter 'P' before the date, solo melody sources (i.e. those without tablature or vocal accompaniment) by an 'S', and sources devoted to instrumental music by an 'I'. Sources without such a designation are collections containing and usually devoted to lute-songs. Thus **Boesset 1620** refers to Boesset's collection of lute-airs, the *Airs de cour mis en tablature de luth par Anthoyne Boessét*, while **BoessetP 1620** refers to his part-song collection, the *Second livre d'airs de cour à quatre et cinq parties*, and **BallardS 1620** refers to the monophonic anthology published by Pierre Ballard, all three books appearing in 1620.

Original spelling and use of accents has been retained for titles and quotations, but orthography modernised. Musical examples and other transcriptions of a number of lute-airs not found in the Verchaly anthology appear in the second volume of the thesis, which also includes notes on editorial method.

*

I am grateful to the British Academy for funding this research, to the Institute for Humane Studies for a Lambe Fellowship helping me to complete it. I am also grateful for the support and encouragement of my employers, Nene College Northampton. Amongst those individuals to whom I am indebted for their help and advice I would like to thank Dr Georgie Durosoir for the generous extended loan of a copy of her thesis prior to its publication. Dr Jeanice Brooks has been most helpful in reading rough drafts of early chapters, making several very useful suggestions and corrections, and in passing on important findings in her own research. I am most grateful to Professor Brian Trowell who has been an invaluable source of advice on academic practice in general, and a source of knowledge on a very broad range of topics, as well as a patient, supportive, and painstaking supervisor. He has also done a good deal to curb some unwanted characteristics of my writing style, though possibly not as many as the reader might wish. I would above all like to thank Dr Frank Dobbins, who steered me in the direction of research into the *air de cour* and has

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[1] In preparing the present study a computer database of lute-songs and concordances was compiled, incorporating indices of melodic and textual incipits. These have not been included due to word-limit regulations, and also in the knowledge that most seventeenth-century lute-airs appear in Dr Durosoir's index of textual incipits of *airs de cour*.

remained an invaluable source of help and advice, both academic and personal, thereafter. Without doubt any merits of this thesis will strongly bear the mark of his influence. Finally, I wish to thank my wife Sylvie for her support while I have been involved in this research. It is dedicated to her and to three more of its some-time victims: Julien, Alexandra, and Luke.

1: FRENCH LUTE-SONG TO 1571

THE PRINTED SOURCES

Were we to judge by the surviving collections of lute-songs alone, we would have to conclude that this type of music played no great part in musical life in France in the sixteenth century. Only eight printed sources from this century, and very few manuscripts, contain songs with what appears to be a lute or guitar accompaniment. In the context of the output of the major French music publishers (one hundred and fifty surviving musical publications from the Attaingnant presses, one hundred from those of Nicolas Du Chemin, over a hundred by Jacques Moderne at Lyons, and more than three hundred by Le Roy and Ballard), the figure is tiny.

This appearance is in direct contrast to the situation in the first half of the seventeenth century, and up to a point it is probably deceptive as regards the sixteenth. In the next chapter we shall survey literary references to the performance of lute-songs which suggest a broader practice than surviving publications and manuscripts imply. Moreover, we have to be cautious in assuming that the number of surviving publications is a fair representation of the number of books actually produced. Unlike polyphonic part-songs, lute-songs appeared only in single volumes, reducing the chances of their survival, and it is possible that their contents - songs which had usually appeared before in what might be considered a more erudite form - made them working rather than collectors' editions, and hence less likely to endure.[1]

Nonetheless, the implication is that sixteenth-century lute-song, of the sort that found its way into print at least, was comparatively rare, and our chief hope of understanding it lies in a careful study of the surviving publications. For this reason, after listing the sources, we shall begin by trying to account for what motivated the publication of the printed sources that have come down to us, before discussing their contents and the conception of lute-song that they imply.

The sixteenth-century printed sources

There are eight surviving sixteenth-century publications containing songs with what appears to be an accompaniment in lute or guitar tablature. They are given here (Table 1.1) with the sigla that will be used to identify them in the rest of the chapter and elsewhere.[2] The last of them, Adriaensen's *Novum Pratum*

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[1] It is suggestive that the tablature typeface used by Pierre Attaingnant for his first and only book of lute-songs, the *Très brève et familière introduction* of 1529, appeared in no other book. In his next collection of solo lute tablatures, the *Dix-huit basses dances* (**AttaingnantI 1529**) produced only four months later, Attaingnant used a different, lower-case, type. Given the expense involved in producing a new type, it seems unlikely that Attaingnant would have been willing to sacrifice such a set after only one use, which raises the possibility of other publications involving tablature prior to or during 1529. See **Heartz 1969** p. 67.

[2] All of these publications are available in modern and/or facsimile editions. **Attaingnant 1529** is available in a facsimile edition published by Minkoff in 1988, and **Phalèse 1553** appears as part of a facsimile edition titled *Thesaurus Musicus* and edited by Albert Vander Linden along with Part 1 of the *Hortus Musarum*. The lute-songs from both these books are

Musicum, will be discussed principally in the next chapter, but some reference will be made to it here where this contributes to an understanding of the earlier volumes.

Table 1.1: Sixteenth-century French lute-song publications

Attaingnant 1529	*Tres breve et familiere introduction pour entendre & apprendre par soy mesmes a jouer toutes chansons reduictes en la tabulature du Lutz*, Paris: Attaingnant, 1529. This may be a reprint of an earlier edition produced in 1528.[3] It is a pocket-sized book in small oblong octavo format, containing solo lute and lute-song versions of the same chansons, solo lute preludes, and a short introduction explaining lute tablature (see Facsimile 1.1).
Le Roy 1552	*Tiers livre de tabulature de luth, contenant vingt & un pseaulmes, Le tout mis selon le subjet par Adrian Le Roy*, Paris: Le Roy and Ballard, 1552. The book is devoted to twenty-one psalm settings in the vernacular, and is the third in a series of at least six books (three surviving) otherwise devoted to solo lute music.
Phalèse 1553	*Horti Musarum secunda pars, continens selectissima quaedam ac iucundissima carmina testudine simul et voce humana, vel alterius instrumenti musici adminiculo modulanda. ...* Louvain: Phalèse, 1553. The *Hortus Musarum* is in two parts, the first and largest dates from 1552 and contains solo lute music. This 1553 publication represents the second part, devoted to lute-songs, with some overlap of repertoire between the two volumes.
Certon/Morlaye 1554	*Premier livre de psalmes mis en musique par maistre Pierre Certon, maistre des enfans de la saincte Chapelle à Paris. Reduitz en Tabulature de Leut par maistre Guillaume Morlaye, reservé la partie du Dessus, qui est notée pour chanter en jouant*, Paris: Fezandat, 1554. The book is devoted to 13 psalm settings in the vernacular. The music is by Pierre Certon, the lute arrangements by Guillaume Morlaye.

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transcribed in the anthology *Chansons au Luth et Airs de Cour Français du XVIe Siècle*, La Laurencie, Mairy, and Thibaut eds., first published by the Société Française de Musicologie in 1934 (**La Laurencie.. 1934**). This anthology also contains transcriptions of the surviving songs from **Le Roy 1571**. It excludes the songs on Italian and Latin texts from **Phalèse 1553**. This 1934 edition includes extremely useful introductory notes, and is a valuable asset in studying the repertoire, but the transcriptions at times show their age and are not always fully accurate. A modern edition of the 1574 English translation of Adrian Le Roy's *Les Instructions Pour Le Luth* (**Le RoyI 1574**) was published in two volumes by CNRS (Centre National de Recherche Scientifique) in 1977, edited by Jacquot, Sordes, and Vaccaro (**Jacquot.. 1977**), and this contains the solo lute tablature versions of the airs from **Le Roy 1571** used in the *Instruction* without staff melody or texts, including solo versions of the airs missing from the surviving copy of **Le Roy 1571**. Solo tablature versions of the psalms from **Le RoyI 1567** also appeared in the 1574 *Instruction*, but are not reproduced in this edition. The psalms do however appear in a modern edition by Richard de Morcourt as *Adrian Le Roy - Psaumes*, CNRS 1962 (**Morcourt 1962**), and in the modern edition of the 1567 collection, **Noailly 1993**. All five guitar books by Adrian Le Roy, including **Le Roy 1554** and **1555** are available in a one-volume facsimile edition edited by James Tyler and published by Chanterelle in 1979 (**Tyler 1979**). There is a modern edition of **Certon/Morlaye 1554** edited by Lesure and Morcourt published by CNRS in 1957 (**Lesure.. 1957**). **Adriaensen 1592** is available in facsimile edition by Minkoff, 1977. All of the CNRS editions contain lengthy and invaluable introductory notes.

[3] Daniel Heartz notes a reference to such an edition in an old catalogue. See **Heartz 1969** p. 67.

Le Roy 1554 *Cinquiesme livre de guiterre, contenant plusieurs chansons a trois & quatre parties, par bons & excelens Musiciens: Reduites en Tabulature par Adrian le Roy*, Paris: Le Roy and Ballard, 1554. This is the last of a series of five books of music produced by Le Roy for four-course Renaissance guitar. Books 2 and 5 include a vocal melody, the other books are for guitar solo.

Le Roy 1555 *Second livre de guiterre, contenant plusieurs chansons en forme de voix de ville: nouvellement remises en tabulature, par Adrian le Roy*, Paris: Le Roy and Ballard, 1555. (n.s. 1556). This book, the second of the series of five guitar books by Le Roy, is a reprint. The original, now lost, probably appeared in 1552.[4] This is the only example of a tablature book explicitly referring to *voix de villes*, a form closely associated with the practice of lute-song.

Le Roy 1571 *Livre d'Airs de Cour miz sur le luth, par Adrian Le Roy*, Paris: Le Roy and Ballard, 1571. This book does not survive intact, but the missing contents can be largely reconstructed from related publications (see below). It is dedicated to the Countess of Retz, a significant patroness of the arts, and was designed to function as a collection of simple pieces appended to an instruction manual on playing the lute. It is the first book of any kind to use the term 'Air de Cour' (Courtly Air) which became the common designation for lute-songs in the seventeenth century.

Adriaensen 1592 *Novum Pratum Musicum longe amoenissimum ... Omnia ad Testudinis Tabulaturam fideliter redacta, per id genus Musices experientissimum Artificem Emanuelem Hadrianium ...*, Antwerp: Phalèse, 1592. This is primarily an anthology of solo lute music. The title page goes on to mention the inclusion of mensural notation for the benefit of those who 'delight in the harmony of the voice' (*Adiuncta est singulis Carminibus in gratiam eorum qui vivae Vocis concentu oblectantur distincta. Vocibus aliquot Notularum descriptio*). The book also contains instructions on intabulating music for the lute.

Background to the publications

Before looking at the contents of these books, it is worth considering the circumstances in which they found their way into print. What non-musical factors motivated their production? How do they fit into broader patterns of sixteenth-century music publication?

The Le Roy books all raise a particular difficulty in this respect, and while they will be discussed here where necessary, they will principally be assessed in a separate section below. With regard to the other prints, we find first of all that the publisher is in each case making a solitary excursion into the publication

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[4] Le Roy's first guitar book is dated September 1551, and his third, 1552. The second book uses the same *Privilege du Roy*, dated 14 August 1551, as the first. Overall, the order of appearance of these guitar books is probably: Book 1 1551; Books 2 and 3 1552; Book 4 1553; Book 5 1554. Books 1, 3, and 4 are devoted to solo guitar music.

of lute-song (**Adriaensen 1592** was printed by the son of the Pierre Phalèse who produced **Phalèse 1553**), and the books all appear quite early in the printer's output.

There may be a particular reason for this with **Attaingnant 1529**, which is the thirteenth item in Daniel Heartz's chronological catalogue of the surviving publications of the Parisian printer Pierre Attaingnant (the real starting point for Attaingnant's musical production is 1528 (n.s.) with the *Chansons nouvelles*; the *Introduction* is dated 6 October 1529). In making his unique excursion into the publication of lute-song early in his musical output, Attaingnant resembles the Venetian publisher Petrucci, who included *frottola* arrangements by Bossinensis (1509 and 1511) among his earliest prints. This may be more than coincidence. Both Petrucci and Attaingnant were in the vanguard of exploiting new techniques of music printing: multiple impression in the case of Petrucci, single impression printing with Attaingnant which, for its economy and accuracy, rapidly became the standard in Europe. What better test of and advertisement for a new system than the production of music that required the printing not just of the two prevailing forms of notation - staff and tablature - but also their alignment with each other and with a text, almost certainly the most troublesome combination of elements a music publisher could imagine?[5]

While the other publishers of lute-song could not have been motivated by the testing of a new technique, the problems of aligning staff notation and tablature were clearly an issue for them too. Of the other sixteenth-century printers, only Fezandat also attempted the undoubtedly difficult job of aligning melody and tablature for **Certon/Morlaye 1554**, achieved principally through extending the tablature division lines through the vocal melody. This is one case where these lines do not represent the tactus, for Fezandat's 'bars' are of unequal length to avoid tied notes across the lines (see Facsimile 1.2). Fezandat's prints are always of exceptionally fine quality, and the results in this publication are unequalled until the seventeenth century. Fezandat himself appears to stress his achievement in the second sentence of the book's title: 'Reduced to lute tablature by master Guillaume Morlaye, except for the melody, *which is notated so as to be sung while playing*' (my italics).

Phalèse, adopting Attaingnant's system, also produced lute-songs quite early in his career: the *Hortus Musarum* of 1553 is the thirteenth item in Henri Vanhulst's chronological catalogue;[6] the first surviving print dates from 1545. But in neither this book nor **Adriaensen 1592**, published by his son, is there an attempt to print melody and tablature in score; the printer places one part above the other on the page (see Facsimile 1.3).[7] The same is true of the Le Roy books which have melody and tablature on facing pages, though here other considerations also apply, as we shall see.

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[5] The problems with alignment include the need for a large number of expensive and finicky type segments, for tablature and mensural type of roughly similar sizes, and the inclusion of a good deal of blank staff between notes and chords that would go against the grain for a sixteenth-century printer. Only Fezandat was really successful among the printers attempting such alignment. In Attaingnant alignment is approximate, with mensural note heads considerably larger than the tablature type, while in other publications, such as **Besard 1603** discussed in the next chapter, the results are all but disastrous.

[6] See **Vanhulst 1990**

[7] **Brown 1980** wrongly claims that the lute-songs of **Phalèse 1553** make an early use of table-book format. In fact only the lute duets of the first volume of the *Hortus Musarum* are arranged in this way.

The difficulty of aligning melody and tablature may well help explain both the early appearance of lute-song in Attaingnant's output, and also the apparent failure of those sixteenth-century printers who attempted it to produce more than one such book of these songs. One encounter with the problems of alignment may well have been enough for most printers. But we should be cautious about placing too much emphasis on this. Given that it was technically feasible to produce aligned lute-songs, and straightforward to produce songs without alignment, it must ultimately have been economic considerations that discouraged further production of them, and since there are no strong grounds to believe that the production of lute-songs was unusually expensive this must have been primarily a question of demand. Once the printer had invested in tablature typeface, the only extra cost involved in producing aligned lute-song was labour time, and this must be set against the smaller amount of paper required to produce a lute-song than its equivalent polyphonic version in separate part-books. Given that there is no evidence of any of the books having received a subsidy (only **Le Roy 1571** contains a dedication to a patron), one must assume that if few books of lute-song were produced in the sixteenth century it was because the market for them was limited. Indeed, it is conceivable that the challenge involved in printing lute-song stimulated printers like Attaingnant and Fezandat to produce books whose commercial success was far from assured.

The uncertain status of printed lute-song as a commodity is also suggested by the fact that, with the exception of the Le Roy prints, these songs tend to appear in conjunction with solo lute music, which clearly did have a viable market, especially towards the middle of the century. In contradiction to the partial explanation of Attaingnant's early attempt at lute-song printing mentioned above, one might well point out that printing lute music of one sort or another was the normal pattern for a printer breaking into the production of music, especially in Paris. Most of Fezandat's early music was tablature - the result of an arrangement with Guillaume Morlaye who had obtained a *privilège* for the production of various tablatures in 1552 (see below), while Phalèse and Le Roy/Ballard both began production with a wave of tablature books that initially outstripped prints of vocal music. The lute plainly enjoyed a great vogue in the middle of the sixteenth century, and producing music for it seems to have been a secure investment for a printer. This no doubt had a good deal to do with the French tablature system, which is easy to read even without much grasp of conventional notation. The many instruction books that explain tablature, of which **Attaingnant 1529** is one, often stress this.

Not only were the lute-song books aimed at exploiting the same market as the solo tablatures, but they may also have been in a sense dependent on them. Less than half the contents of **Attaingnant 1529** are lute-songs; the book comprises five solo lute preludes, twenty-four chansons arranged both as lute-songs and solo intabulations, and a further ten for solo lute alone, all in addition to a short explanation of tablature notation. **Phalèse 1553** is a shorter companion volume to a collection of solo lute music. **Adriaensen 1592** and, from the next century, **Besard 1603** are primarily anthologies of solo and ensemble lute music, with the songs only a tiny fraction of the contents. Adriaensen's book also includes a lengthy intabulation method. All of the **Le Roy** books are associated with solo lute or guitar publications, and their connection with solo lute or guitar music is close in other ways discussed below. Only **Certon/Morlaye 1554** serves as a collection of lute-song alone, and here (as in **Le Roy 1552**) the publishers could rely on the great vogue

for vernacular psalm settings in the 1540s and 50s, following the publication of Clément Marot's acclaimed if controversial French versions of 1541 (o.s.), as a selling point.[8] In sum, we have to question whether the production of lute-song *per se* really was a viable investment for a music printer in the sixteenth century, and at the very least we should be aware of its dependence on a pre-existent market for solo lute music. A second implication is that the market for lute-song and solo lute music in the sixteenth century was one and the same; this seems self-evident, but it is not in fact obviously true of music in the seventeenth century.[9]

Also important is the influence of the arrangers of the books, in those cases where they are named in the publication at least. For the most part these books are intabulations of polyphonic songs by various composers, not all of whom are now identifiable - only **Certon/Morlaye 1554** and **Le Roy 1552** contain the compositions (or harmonisations) of single composers - and this makes the position of the arranger of the books, likely to be responsible for selecting the repertoire, all the more important. The arrangers of the collections published by Pierre Attaingnant and Pierre Phalèse the elder are unknown, though Daniel Heartz suggests an otherwise obscure Parisian musician, Pierre Blondeau, as Attaingnant's arranger.[10] But Adrian Le Roy, Guillaume Morlaye, and Emanuel Adriaensen were all important figures in the world of lute music in the sixteenth century, and the creation of lute-song books undoubtedly owes a great deal to their influence.

Adrian Le Roy (*c*1520-1598) arranged the tablatures for all four of the books in question (**Le Roy 1552**, **1554**, **1555**, and **1571**), appears to have been the composer of all the psalm settings in **Le Roy 1552**, and two of the songs in **Le Roy 1554**, and seems to have set the pre-existent *timbres* of **Le Roy 1555** into parts. As a lutenist or composer for the lute he was surpassed in France by his contemporaries - most notably Albert de Rippe - but as an all-round authority on the lute and its music he was probably unequalled. He came from a wealthy background, and his connections were excellent. He was in the service of, amongst others, the Countess of Retz, and his aristocratic contacts probably helped secure for himself and his cousin, Robert Ballard, a *privilège* for printing music from Henri II in 1551, and in 1553 the title of royal music printer previously held by Attaingnant. He was also on friendly terms with the leading French composers of his day, including Certon, Arcadelt, Le Jeune, and Lassus. The Le Roy/Ballard firm dominated music printing in France in the second half of the sixteenth century, and produced a large number of tablature books (six out of the first ten surviving prints produced by the firm are tablatures, and the lost early editions of de Rippe's lute books probably date from the same period). It must be assumed that this was owing at

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[8] *Trente Pseaulmes de David, mis en francoys par Clement Marot* ..., Paris: Roffet, n.d. The *privilège* is dated November 1541. Thirteen psalms versified by Marot had already appeared in Calvin's *Aulcuns pseaulmes e cantiques* published at Strasbourg in 1539.

[9] Solo lute tablatures are very rare compared to lute-songs in early seventeenth-century France; they are the works of different composers or arrangers; they exploit tuning variants and sometimes a different number of courses than the songs; there is some difference in the tablature symbols they employ; they require a different level of performance expertise than the songs. All these differences indicate the extent to which lute-song and solo lute music had grown apart by the early seventeenth century, and this must be indicative of a different market, or at least size of market, for each.

[10] The evidence for Blondeau being the arranger of the *Introduction* is entirely circumstantial, but nonetheless tempting. Some of the tablatures for Attaingnant's next tablature book, the *Dix-huit basses dances* of February 1529 (n.s. 1530) (**AttaingnantI 1529**) are signed with the initials P.B. Since this book also contains a *Pavane Blondeau* (f. xxxvii), Heartz identifies the initials with the Pierre Blondeau who was a singer and later scribe at the Sainte Chappelle, also described in 1550 as a 'joueur d'instruments demourant à Paris', implying a possible acquaintance with the lute. Heartz argues for the connection with the *Introduction* from similarities in the style of intabulation between this and the *Dix-huit basses dances*. See **Heartz 1964** p. lix.

least in part to Le Roy's specialist interest in the lute, and his ability to supply the firm with quantities of tablature without cost. As a composer or arranger Le Roy was directly responsible for at least five or six books of solo lute tablatures, not to mention tablatures for related instruments such as the guitar, in addition to the four publications discussed here. Moreover, Le Roy wrote two *Instructions* for the lute, and similar guides for guitar and other instruments, the success and prestige of which can be seen in their rapid translation into English, and re-use by William Barley for his *New Book of Tablature* in 1596, and very probably Phalèse in his *Selectissima elegantissimaque Gallica* for guitar (**Phalèse..I 1570b**).[11] With such a background, the role of Le Roy's abilities and interests in producing the four tablatures that concern us can hardly be overstated.

Guillaume Morlaye (*c*1510- after 1576)[12] was probably Le Roy's closest Parisian rival as an all-rounder in the production and performance of lute music, in the middle of the century at least. In 1541 he was described as a 'marchant et joueur d'instruments' in an agreement to teach an apprentice viol and lute, and he composed a considerable amount of music for lute and guitar.[13] On 13 February 1551 (n.s. 1552) he obtained a ten-year *privilège* from Henri II to print music by his teacher, the lutenist Albert de Rippe, along with other instrumental tablatures, and it was armed with this that he entered into an evidently fruitful partnership with Michel Fezandat: together they produced some fifteen tablature books (including **Certon/Morlaye 1554)** between 1551 and 1558 according to the Du Verdier and Fétis catalogues.[14] This was plainly a commercial arrangement, for details of their original contract survive, with Fezandat bearing the full costs of a print run of 1200 tablatures supplied and proof-read by Morlaye, the partners to sell six hundred copies each for their profit. Fezandat was likely to have been guided by Morlaye in the decision to publish the latter's arrangement of Certon's psalm settings, though the popularity of musical settings of Marot's verses must in any event have made this appear a commercially likely if politically controversial proposition.

We might also mention Emanuel Adriaensen (*c*1554-1604) and Jean-Baptiste Besard (*c*1567- after 1617) in this context. The background to their publications and their contents will be studied in the next chapter, but we should note that both were involved in teaching the lute, in writing instructions for it, and producing compendia of music for it; while both composed for the instrument, in each case their status was that of an all-round enthusiast and connoisseur of the instrument rather than that of a professional player. This is especially true of Besard, who was a nobleman by inheritence, and pursued law and medicine as careers. In each case they included lute-airs in books that incorporate theoretical instructions for the lute and also represent its various capabilities as a solo, ensemble, and accompaniment instrument. This again suggests that the airs may have been included for reasons other than their popularity.

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[11] Regarding the latter see **Heartz 1960**.

[12] Until recently, the last date signifying the activities of Morlaye was 1558. However, the recent plausible attribution to Morlaye of the tablatures in Uppsala manuscripts 76b, 76c, and 412 by Jean-Michel and Nathalie Vaccaro suggests Morlaye was acquainted with the 1576 publication of chansons by Anthoine de Bertrand. Given the location of the manuscripts, Vaccaro also offers the tentative conjecture that Morlaye may have fled to Sweden to escape religious persecution, on the supposition that his French psalm publications imply Calvinist sympathies. Any such sympathies would in turn help explain his motives in producing **Certon/Morlaye 1554.** See **Vaccaro 1989** p. xvii-xxx.

[13] He also made a living as a slave trader and through selling engravings. See **Dobbins 1980b**.

[14] See **Dobbins 1980.** Many of these books are now lost.

Finally, we should note that the repertoire exploited in the sixteenth-century lute-song books, whether that of the *voix de ville*, the new-style Parisian chanson, the vernacular psalm, or the *air de cour*, was almost invariably a popular and usually highly fashionable one (only Phalèse's book might be regarded as an exception to this). As we shall see, the books were not specialist or collectors' items, but compendia of well-tried and commercially tested songs. The viability of the lute-song publications may have depended on this, rather than on a demand for lute-song *per se*, just as it did the popularity of the lute as a solo instrument. This leads us naturally to a discussion of the contents of the books. But first we must give more careful consideration to a particular problem that concerns the four publications composed and/or arranged by Adrian Le Roy, as promised above.

The Le Roy publications

With the collections by Attaingnant, Morlaye, Phalèse, and Adriaensen, one thing that is not in doubt is the status of their contents as lute-songs. The titles of the books describe them as such; the lute part, by omitting the top voice (which in most cases carries the melodic interest of the song), is clearly accompanimental in nature; and there are performance indicators - such as a singer's pitch and layout on the page - which put their status as accompanied songs beyond doubt. But when we turn to the Le Roy publications we find they are all problematical. While most scholars regard them as lute- or guitar-songs, and indeed, **Le Roy 1571** is usually treated as a highly significant publication in the history of the lute-air, there is room to doubt whether they should in fact be regarded as songs, or primarily as solo instrumental music. It is for this reason that a close study of them as a group has been reserved until now.

Daniel Heartz has suggested that Le Roy's second guitar book, ostensibly a collection of *voix de villes* with lute accompaniment, is in fact a collection of solo guitar music. This is a view endorsed by Jane Ozenberger in her doctoral thesis on the *voix de ville*.[15] Heartz makes his case as follows:

> Despite the limited capabilities of the tiny four-course instrument, Le Roy is able to produce an artistic, self-sufficient setting equipped with the accidentals which tablature, unlike mensural notation, was forced to make explicit. No indication occurs anywhere in the volume that the notated tune and the guitar arrangement were meant to be sounded together. On the contrary, there are some serious discrepancies between the two ... . The practice of including alongside the tablature a subjectum, for reference, as it were, was as old as Attaingnant's Dixhuit basses dances (1530). If the guitar were used to accompany sung verses, its part would probably be similar to the supporting parts in the Certon and Sandrin pieces: simpler, more chordal than the present arrangement.[16]

Richard de Morcourt, who produced the CNRS edition of the Le Roy book of psalms in 1962, must at one point have entertained similar qualms about these pieces, although ultimately he dismissed them. After

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[15] See **Ozenberger 1981** p. 120

[16] **Heartz 1972** p. 122. This last argument by Heartz is in itself none too convincing. As we shall see, the normal practice of lute-song arrangement was very close to intabulation for solo lute, which is to say a fairly literal reproduction of two or more parts of the polyphonic model. It was above all the choice of repertoire that affected the nature of the accompaniments, and a contrapuntal repertoire could expect to be given a contrapuntal accompaniment, as we see most obviously in **Phalèse 1553**.

offering several examples of serious inconsistencies between the vocal melody and the tablature, Morcourt concludes:

> Despite the difficulties discussed above relating to the subject and the superius, the *Tiers Livre* does not seem to have been intended for solo lute. The ornamentation of Brayssing's psalms, like that of most of the transcriptions, is at odds with the voice: Le Roy may impede it here and slow it down [there], and this must be why he ultimately changed his style in favour of homophony. But these faults, for which we may be tempted to reproach him, have had an interesting result if they helped to prepare for the air with instrumental accompaniment.[17]

The concerns expressed here, whether or not the scholar dismisses them, hold true for all the Le Roy prints (i.e. **Le Roy 1552**, **1554**, **1555**, and **1571**), and the evidence for them being intended for solo lute or guitar performance goes beyond disparities between the voice part and tablature accompaniment. Heartz's observation that there is nothing in **Le Roy 1555** to indicate that the tablature was intended as an accompaniment is true of all these publications. In each case, the title of the book is at best ambiguous.[18] The statement that the prints contain psalms, chansons, *voix de villes*, and *airs de cour* tells us nothing about how these should be performed.[19] If anything, the reference to the airs being 'miz sur le luth' (**Le Roy 1571**) or the psalms 'mis selon le subjet' (**Le Roy 1552**) implies solo performance. The term 'mis' meaning 'set' is most commonly used for the musical setting of poetry in chanson publications, as in Le Roy and Ballard's *Les Odes de Pierre de Ronsard, mis en Musique à troys parties, par Pierre Clereau* (1575). In each case melody and tablature are laid out on facing pages, so there is no attempt at alignment between them. We have seen that there are likely to be pragmatic reasons for this, but it is the least amenable arrangement for performance as lute- or guitar-song: same-page layout is bound to be more practical. There is no singer's pitch given with any of the tablatures (i.e. a single tablature letter before the start of the piece which shows where the first note of the melody is to be found on the lute, thus giving the singer his opening pitch). Most significantly, the top voice of the lute part doubles the vocal melody, so that the tablature 'accompaniment' is completely self-contained, something alien to the other sources (it is this that makes a singer's pitch redundant).

The context in which each Le Roy book appears is also relevant. **Le Roy 1552** is the third in a series of at least six books of lute tablatures printed between 1551 and 1559. The others that survive (nos. 1 and 6) are

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[17] 'Malgré les difficultés exposées plus haut, relatives à la coexistence du sujet et du superius, le *Tiers Livre* ne paraît pas destiné au luth solo. Les ornements des psaumes de Brayssing, comme ceux de la plupart des transcriptions, repoussent la voix: Le Roy peut la gêner ici, la retarder, et c'est pour cela qu'il aurait modifié ultérieurement son style vers l'homophonie. Mais ces défauts qu'on a pu lui reprocher ont joué dans un sens intéressant, s'ils ont aidé à préfigurer l'air instrumental accompagné.' **Morcourt 1955** p. 198. Morcourt begins his consideration of this question on p. 183 of the article. His reference to Le Roy 'changing his style in favour of homophony' is a little misleading. In fact, Le Roy turned his attention towards arranging a more homophonic repertoire for the lute; there is little evidence of any evolution of a personal compositional style.

[18] These may be translated as: *Third book of lute tablature, containing 21 psalms, all set according to the subject by Adrian Le Roy* (***Le Roy*** **1552**); *Fifth guitar book, containing several chansons in 3 and 4 parts by good and excellent musicians, reduced to tablature by Adrian Le Roy* (**Le Roy 1554**); *Second guitar book, containing several chansons in the form of* voix de ville, *newly re-set in tablature by Adrian Le Roy* (**Le Roy 1555**); *Book of* Airs de Cour *set to the lute by Adrian Le Roy* (**Le Roy 1571**).

[19] Le Roy's sixth book (**Le Roy 1559**), for instance, similarly contains 'plusieurs chansons nouvellement mises en Tablature' for solo lute.

for solo lute. Similarly, the second and fifth guitar books (**Le Roy 1555 and 1554** respectively) belong to a series of five books, the other three of which are for guitar solo. The case of **Le Roy 1555** (the second guitar book) is particularly interesting, for here Le Roy relates each song to a dance form, with the melody marked *Chanson*, and the tablatures described as *Pavanne*, *Gaillarde*, *Branle Gay* and so on, revealing the dance origins of the tunes he sets. In effect, then, all these prints belong to series of solo lute or guitar music, with no explicit indication that they are to be treated differently from their companion volumes.

Le Roy 1571, the first book of music of any kind to bear the designation *air de cour*, has a more complicated background, reflected in its preface addressed to *Caterine de Clermont,* Countess of Retz, dated 15 February 1571:

> In these coming days, Madame, having presented to you my Instruction to set all music easily in lute tablature, which was founded on examples from the songs of Orlande de Lassus which are difficult and arduous so as to train the disciple of the art to overcome all difficulties: I have decided to attach to it, in order to accompany it, this little work of much lighter court songs (which formerly were called *voix de ville*, today *Airs de Cour*) as much for your pleasure, because of its subject matter (which familiarity has already made pleasing) as for the much greater ease of these for the instrument in which you take pleasure. For having already offered you the whole of my slight service as hereditary servant of your house, it was necessary that this [book] should follow the preceding one: with regard to which, if the musical harmonies are not equal to [those of] the first, at least the words have come from such fine forges as those of Seig[neurs] Ronsard, Desportes, and others of the finest poets of this century. ...[20]

The *Instruction* to which Le Roy states this book is an appendage is a didactic work or works intended, in its most complete form, to show the pupil how to read lute tablature, how to play the lute, and how to intabulate vocal music for lute solo. Le Roy's *Instruction* now survives only in two English translations, though it was also the basis for William Barley's *A New Book of Tablature* of 1596. Its likely bibliographical history is clearly summarised by Jacquot, Sordes, and Vaccaro, in their introduction to the modern CNRS edition of the translation of 1574 (Table 1.2).[21]

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[20] *Ces jours prochains, MADAME vous ayant presenté l'instruction d'asseoir toute Musique facilement en tablature de luth, qui estoit fondée exemplairement sur les chansons d'Orlande de lassus lesquelles sont difficiles & ardues comme pour rompre le disciple de l'art à franchir aprez toutes difficultez: je me suis avisé de luy mettre en queue pour le seconder ce petit opuscule de chansons de la cour beaucoup plus legieres (que jadis on appelloit voix de ville, aujourdhuy Airs de Cour) tant pour votre recreation, a cause du suget (que l'usage ha desja rendu agréable) que pour la facilité d'icelles plus grande sur l'instrument auquel vous prenez plaisir. Car vous ayant desja offert tout mon petit service comme serviteur hereditaire de votre maison, il ha falu que cestuicy [celui-ci] ayst suivy le precedent: auquel si les harmonies musicales ne sont pareilles aux premieres, aumoins les lettres sont sorties de bonnes forges comme du Seig. Ronsard, Desportes, & autres des plus gentilz poëtes de ce siecle. ...* **Le Roy 1571** f. 1v

[21] **Jacquot.. 1977** ix-xxxvii. There is conflicting evidence concerning the chronology of the sources, which the CNRS edition attempts to explain. The major point at issue is whether Fétis's reference to a copy of Le Roy's *Instruction de partir toute musique des divers tons en tablature de luth*, printed as early as 1557, is reliable. On the whole the reference appears to be erroneous, though Heartz finds it odd that Le Roy should have waited until as late as 1570 to publish such a book, lending some weight to the case for the earlier date (see **Heartz 1958**).

Table 1.2: Publication history of Le Roy's Instruction

[1567][22]	[*Brève et facile Instruction pour apprendre la tablature, conduire et disposer sa main sur le luth,* Paris: Le Roy/Ballard]
1568	*A briefe and easy instru[c]tion to learne the tableture to conducte and dispose thy hande unto the lute ...,* London: J. Kyngston for J. Roubothum (a translation of [1567] above)
[1570]	*Instruction de partir toute musique des huit divers tons en tablature de luth,* Paris: Le Roy/Ballard (possibly combined with a reedition of [1567] above)
1571	*Livre d'Airs de Cour miz sur le Luth,* Paris: Le Roy/Ballard (i.e. **Le Roy 1571**)
1574	*A briefe and plaine Instruction to set all Musicke of eight divers tunes in Tablature for the Lute,* London: James Rowbothome
[1583]	Re-edition of [1570], Paris: Le Roy/Ballard

The date of 1570 for the original version of the *Instruction* is largely based upon Le Roy's reference, in his 1571 dedication translated above, to having already presented such a book to the Countess, presumably quite recently. This book uses intabulations of Lassus chansons, to which Le Roy refers in the dedication, as examples for the process of intabulation.

The above chronology is the most convincing, though not entirely certain, history of the publication of the *Instruction*,[23] which in any event seems initially to have comprised three distinct works: a *Breve et facile instruction* for learning to read tablature and the technique of playing the lute, an *Instruction* to teach the student how to intabulate vocal music, and, appended to the last, the *Airs de Cour* of 1571 to provide simple pieces for the student. All three of these publications are combined in the English translation of 1574, along with eight psalm intabulations for solo lute which were drawn from a publication of 1567 (**Le RoyI 1567**) for solo lute (they are not related to **Le Roy 1552**).

The significance of this is that it is odd that Le Roy should have chosen a collection of lute-songs as an appendage to a book teaching the student how to intabulate vocal music for solo lute, and possibly how to play the lute as well, without mentioning this in the dedication. It is much less odd, given the nature and circumstances of the book, that he should have produced a collection of easy solo lute music, along with the melodies on which they were based. This was certainly the view of Jhon Kyngston and James Rowbothome, for in the 1574 English translation they print the tablatures from **Le Roy 1571** *without* the staff-notation melodies or the texts (i.e. as solo lute music). This is in keeping with the intabulations of Lassus chansons in the *Instruction*, to which the airs are simpler alternatives, which were definitely intended only for solo

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[22] Square brackets here indicate editions that are lost, and where date, title, or existence is partly conjectural.
[23] For further discussion see **Lesure.. 1955** p. 132, **Heartz 1958**, and **Harwood 1976**, as well as **Jacquot.. 1977.**

lute performance.[24] Moreover, the use of Le Roy's tablature 'accompaniments' as instrumental solos is not confined to the 1574 English translation of the *Instruction*. The printer Phalèse similarly borrows several tablatures from **Le Roy 1554** and **1555** and treats them as solos in his compendium of guitar music, the *Selectissima elegantissimaque, gallica, italica et latina in guiterna ludenda carmina* of 1570. Overall, then, the background to each of the Le Roy books is consistent with, and suggestive of, the idea that they were conceived as solo lute or guitar music.

Presentation and publication history aside, further strong evidence for this comes from the musical contents of the books themselves. Because Le Roy doubles the melody in his lute tablatures, his 'accompaniments' are self-contained, and work as solos. This practice is commonly found only in the publications of the Spanish vihuela school, and here too there is some uncertainty regarding performance practice. It is not adopted by any other publisher or editor in France in the sixteenth or seventeenth centuries. Moreover, these melodies are not only reproduced, but lightly varied in a fashion typical of solo tablatures. This sometimes creates disparities between the staff melody and the tablature, as we shall see.

The soloistic nature of the Le Roy tablatures is also implied in the presence of alternative versions of the tablature, marked 'autrement', in seven pieces in **Le Roy 1555** (the second guitar book) and four of the surviving airs of **Le Roy 1571** (the Airs de Cour). This practice is otherwise unknown in lute-songs, but familiar in solo lute music from Le Roy's *Premier livre de tabulature de luth* (1551) which contains alternative versions of one chanson intabulation and ten dances, and also some of the solos in the 1568 English version of the *Instruction* (one chanson and five dances). With one exception, the alternative tablatures in **Le Roy 1555** and **1571** are more sophisticated (harmonically complete) or more ornamented ('plus diminuées') intabulations of the vocal models.

Examples 1.1 and 1.2 provide fairly typical examples of these alternative tablatures from the **1555** and **1571** books respectively. In the former case (*Pour m'eslongner* from the second guitar book), the main difference between the two tablatures is the more consistent presence of a third voice, produced largely through parallel motion in thirds, along with a few extra auxiliary chords filling out the sustained notes in the melody (see also Example 1.8 for an example of alternative tablatures). Significantly perhaps, the more difficult version allows the lute to shadow the vocal melody more closely. In the **1571** lute book, by contrast, the differences are essentially ornamental and virtuosic as we find them in Le Roy's solo lute music, with greater use of runs and passing notes in the alternative tablature. This is what we find in Example 1.2 (*Mais voyes mon cher esmoy*), with scale or cadential passages decorating phrase endings. The difference reflects the sixteenth-century distinction between guitar and lute as broadly-speaking popular and serious instruments respectively.

Such procedures are natural for a solo lute or guitar arrangement, where the addition of ornamentation or more sophisticated part-movement were the principal ways in which an arranger could exercise his musical

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[24] We might also note that two of the pieces Le Roy intabulates for solo lute in the *Instruction* also appear in two of his guitar books in arrangements that are similar in conception, though naturally adapted to the guitar rather than the lute. These are *Je ne veux plus* from **Le Roy 1555** and *Ce n'est bien ne plaisir* from **Le Roy 1554**.

skill and discretion and provide a more testing piece for the able performer. Thus it is no surprise to find that it is the alternative versions that appear in the 1574 version of the *Instruction*. But they are rather out of place in a lute- or guitar-song, emphasising as they do the role of the instrument compared to that of the voice and its text.

One of the alternative tablature versions in **Le Roy 1571** (*Tant que j'estoys*, f. 14v) is not of this sort, but is marked 'en autre ton' (i.e. transposed), and this also raises the important question of the implied pitch of the lute.

Tablature systems differ from mensural notation in indicating not pitch, but the position of the player's fingers on the instrument. A solo lute or guitar tablature gives no indication of the pitch - even the nominal (written) pitch - of the music overall: it merely implies the pitch of the notes relative to each other. Sixteenth-century treatises (including Le Roy's *Instruction*) make it clear that it was usual to think of G as the 'normal' pitch for the lute, and A the normal pitch for the guitar,[25] and modern editors almost invariably transcribe lute music to a lute hypothetically pitched at G, which is close to the real pitch at which present-day lutenists most commonly tune their instruments.[26] But these treatises also make it clear that a lute could be thought of as being at any pitch for the purposes of transcription, without this having any implications for the actual sounding pitch of the lute, for which there was anyway no fixed standard.[27]

With lute-song, as opposed to solo lute music, we have the added dimension of staff notation - which does indicate pitch (albeit relative) - alongside the tablature. For the melody and tablature to agree, only one nominal pitch of lute is possible, and frequently in lute-song books we find that this pitch is other than G. This raises the question of why the intabulator wrote for one nominal lute pitch rather than another, and in particular, whether these different pitches imply that the lute really did sound at a different pitch, or whether it was up to the voice to transpose to fit one pitch of lute. Most scholars and performers agree that lute pitches are nominal, and do not reflect the sounding pitch of the lute: that is, it is the voice that transposes to fit the lute, not the reverse. This is the position maintained here.[28]

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[25] The pitch of the lute or guitar is conventionally named after that of its first course - the highest in pitch. A lute in G, then, has a nominal G as the pitch of its first course, and an overall tuning of G-(sixth course)-c-f-a-d-g'(first course).

[26] One might question the wisdom of this policy. Given the absence of a fixed pitch standard in the sixteenth century, an editor might do better to select a pitch of lute that avoids anachronistic key signatures, such as the three flats that often result from transcribing for a lute in G. This does not usually involve transposition to a distant lute pitch: A or G will accommodate most pieces without involving a key signature of more than one flat. There is also a case, suggested by **Ward 1982**, for comparing intabulations of vocal music to the original part-songs to find the most appropriate pitch of lute. It should be stressed that this does not have any bearing on the size or pitch of lute on which performers actually play.

[27] The clearest discussion of the use of lute pitch appears in Vincenzo Galilei's *Fronimo* of 1568 (Carol MacClintock trans. *Musicological Studies & Documents no. 39: Vincenzo Galilei - Fronimo 1584*, American Institute of Musicology, 1985; the 1584 book is a revised edition of the earlier publication of 1568). Relevant sections from this source are quoted in **Le Cocq 1992**. For further discussion of the question of lute pitch see this article, and also **Verchaly 1958**, **Ward 1982**, and **Brown 1989.**

[28] It is so natural to assume that references to different lute pitches, or lutes in G rather than A, really do refer to lutes that are pitched differently, that one must stress again that such pitches are nominal, and do not necessarily imply different sounding pitches (e.g. a tablature implying a lute in G, and another implying a lute in A, may both have been written for a lute pitched in real terms at F sharp). For a discussion of the arguments for the view that the voice transposes to the lute rather than the reverse, see **Le Cocq 1992**.

In his publications, Le Roy uses six nominal lute or guitar pitches, C, D, E, F, G, and A, a degree of variety otherwise found only in **Phalèse 1553**. These appear in Le Roy's books in the following numbers:

Guitar Books:

Le Roy 1554: C 3; D 6; F 8; A 3 (2 *à corde avallée* - i.e. with the fourth course tuned down a tone from G, its usual pitch, to F)

Le Roy 1555: D 6; F 2; G 5; A 10 (2 *à corde avallée*)

Lute Books:

Le Roy 1552: C 1; D 10; E 1; G 1; A 7

Le Roy 1571: C 2; D 12; G 2; C or G 1[29]

Two points arise from this. First, Le Roy's choice of lute pitch often requires a substantial transposition of the voice. For instance, were the twelve D-lute songs of **Le Roy 1571** to be sung against a typical tenor-size lute pitched at approximately G in real terms (i.e. where the first course plays a modern G or something close to it), they would need to be transposed down a fifth or up a fourth, taking them well outside their written tessitura comfortably within the soprano or treble clef. This is a surprising choice for a collection of songs, especially given its dedicatee, but the only alternative - that some of the pieces were conceived for a larger sized bass lute, sounding at a lower pitch - is still more implausible, especially since these are supposed to be easy pieces intended for a student of the instrument.

Secondly, and by contrast, Le Roy's choice of pitches can be explained extremely well if we consider the tablature alone: that is, if we regard the pieces as solo instrumental music. One of the principal effects of using different lute pitches is to require a different pattern of fingering on the lute, for the same piece will have to be fingered in different ways if it is transcribed to different nominal pitches of lute. By using different lute pitches when transcribing music for the lute, the intabulator can arrange music in various keys in the most comfortable and effective ways possible for the instrument. This is, almost without exception, the way in which Le Roy uses lute pitch.

On the lute, Le Roy generally wants his final, or tonic, note to be found on the open fifth or open fourth course, and he selects his pitch of lute to make this possible. This allows him to exploit a comfortable fingering, to avoid the use of high positions on the neck, and benefit from the interval of a fourth between the bass courses to allow for dominant-tonic movement between them. To take the airs of **Le Roy 1571** as an example, it is because most of the melodies are in G minor (to use modern terminology) that Le Roy is forced to transcribe for a lute nominally pitched at D, for transcribing the songs to a lute of this nominal pitch gives him a G on the open fifth course. He uses a G-lute for songs in F major when he wants to produce a low B flat on the sixth course. When he decides to dispense with a low B flat below the dominant, Le Roy writes for a C-lute which gives him the tonic note on the open fifth course, as he evidently

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[29] That is, the song with alternative tablatures distinguished by being 'en aultre ton'. Note that four songs are missing from this collection, so that other pitches may also have been employed.

prefers. His two tablatures for *Tant que j'estoys*, the second 'en autre ton', make use of G-lutes and C-lutes in just this way, as we can see in Example 1.3. The more natural fingering applied to the second tablature, using lower positions on the instrument, is apparent.

As one might expect, the result is a strong correlation between the key of the piece (or its final), and lute pitch, to the extent that one can say that Le Roy's choice of nominal lute pitch is largely dictated by the key or mode of his melody. In the two lute books, pieces in D usually use a lute pitched at A (tonic on open fifth course); pieces in G use a lute nominally pitched at D (tonic on open fifth course); pieces in F use a lute nominally pitched at G (tonic on open fourth course), and so on.

In the guitar books the principle is the same, though the results are different owing to the different tuning of the instrument, which means that a different set of fingering patterns will be preferred. Le Roy's favoured position for the tonic are the open fourth course and the third course held at the second fret, and he selects his guitar pitches so that most of the pieces conform to this. Again, the result is a significant correlation between the key (or final) of the piece and the nominal pitch of lute employed.

The significance of all this is that Le Roy arranges his tablatures in the book entirely for the benefit of the player, without any regard at all for the effect on the voice, which will have to transpose well outside its written tessitura to accommodate the instrument. This is exactly the approach Le Roy advocates in his *Instruction* for intabulating vocal music for solo lute, and it strongly suggests that he conceived of his tablatures as solo lute music, and not as accompaniments at all.

Finally, we should return to the problem cited by Heartz and De Morcourt of disparities between the vocal melody and the lute or guitar tablature. The example that Heartz cites from **Le Roy 1555** appears in the song *Puis que vivre en servitude* (f. 3v), where a G in the melody appears against an F harmony in the lute, the result of a decorative auxiliary chord movement in the tablature. De Morcourt cites examples in **Le Roy 1552** of clashes between melody and lute due to decoration in the lute part of various kinds, and also an uneven approach to *musica ficta*. He cites three instances of the former type of clash in psalm 101 (*Vouloir m'est pris* f. 21v) at bars 4, 5, and 20 (see Example 1.4), where passing notes in the lute clash with melody notes in the voice. Overall, he finds a total of seventeen such cases in **Le Roy 1552**.[30] De Morcourt also gives less violent examples resulting from the addition of suspensions to the lute part against the melody.[31]

There are many instances of the need to apply *musica ficta* to the vocal melody for it to match the tablature (which is by its nature unambiguous about chromatic inflection). A fairly typical example appears in Example 1.5, but particularly striking instances of semitone clashes between voice and lute cited by de Morcourt cannot in fact be resolved through the straightforward application of *musica ficta* (see Example 1.6). A further example may be found in *Mes pas semez* from **Le Roy 1555** bar 10 (Example 1.7);

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[30] See **Morcourt 1955** p. 188 n. 2, and the introduction to **Morcourt 1962**.
[31] For example, *Le Dieu, le fort, l'Eternel* f. 7v b. 36; see **Morcourt 1955** p. 187.

elsewhere in this piece, the reading of F in the melody as F sharp as required by the tablature is far from obvious.

Such disparities are common in all four Le Roy publications - too much so to be regarded merely as oversights. They may be found to a greater or lesser extent in almost all of the transcriptions given in the remainder of this chapter. For example, *Si c'est amour* (**Le Roy 1554**) resolves the suspension in the voice before it does in the lute at the final cadence (Example 1.14), and *Une m'avoit promis* (**Le Roy 1555**) has a G in the melody against a B flat chord in the tablature (bar 9 - Example 1.8). From **Le Roy 1571** we might mention, amongst many other similar examples, the accented passing notes clashing with harmony notes in *Or voy-je bien*.[32] Also in this collection, the alternative tablature version to *Tant que j'estoys* lacks two minim beats compared to the melody, and while this is almost certainly the result of an error, it is nonetheless one more easily explained if we regard melody and tablature as independent. A similar problem occurs in *Une m'avoit promis* from the second guitar book, where the repeat of the last two phrases of the melody requires significant alteration if they are to conform with either of the alternative tablatures (Example 1.8). One should stress that such dissonances are by no means proof that the tablatures were confined to solo performance. Most of them can also be found in polyphonic music, as in the final cadence of the polyphonic version of *Le jaulne et blanc* (Example 1.27). But it is less common to find tone clashes at the same octave, and the frequency with which they appear in the Le Roy pieces is striking.

With all these features in mind, we can say unequivocally that in arranging the instrumental part in these books, Le Roy worked exactly as though writing solo lute or guitar music, and made not the slightest concession to their being performed as songs. It is not a great step to conclude from this that his primary conception of these works was as solo lute or guitar music, and this is further reflected in the production style of the prints (titles, page layout, and so on). But we cannot go quite so far as to claim that the works were never performed as songs, or even that Le Roy never intended that they should be. They are mostly workable as songs - indeed, many listeners may find them more attractive as such than as instrumental music - and an innocent purchaser of the publications could hardly have been blamed for regarding their contents as songs. Despite being aware of the frequent mismatch between melody and tablature, de Morcourt finds the juxtaposition of melody and tablature too compelling as evidence of lute-song performance to consider the pieces otherwise, and it is natural to sympathise with this point of view.[33] On the other hand, it is worth bearing in mind the possible use of a *subjectum* in tablature books, to which Heartz refers above, in Attaingnant's *Dix-huit basses dances* of 1530, and of which later examples might include Caroso's *Il Ballarino* of 1581, or Negri's *Nuove inventioni di balli* of 1604, and very possibly some pieces in **Adriaensen 1592** mentioned in the next chapter.

The ambiguous nature of the books - both in the layout of the pieces on the page and especially in the vague titles of the prints - seems almost deliberate, and ultimately this may be the best explanation of them. Le

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[32] See the transcription in **La Laurencie.. 1934** p. 147

[33] 'Cette tablature a-t-elle été conçue pour accompagner la voix? L'expression *tabulature selon le subjet* répétée après les sujets 1 à 16 est ambiguë; la tablature, fort élaborée, d'une grande densité instrumentale, su suffit à elle-même. Cependant Le Roy a publié le sujet avec ses paroles ...' **Morcourt 1962** p. ix

Roy produced books of instrumental music, but if they could also be used, and sold, as songs, then so much the better. Almost all of the songs in these books (except, perhaps, for the psalms of **Le Roy 1552)** had a previous publication history, as we shall see, and it should not be surprising if an entrepreneurial firm of publishers like Le Roy and Ballard went in for the sixteenth-century equivalent of re-packaging and re-marketing a familiar and successful product. For our purposes, we can best conclude that the evidence the Le Roy books offer regarding any growing awareness of the practice or conception of lute-song as an independent genre is negative: it is not an art that he cultivated or distinguished in any meaningful way from the solo lute arrangement of vocal music. This emphasis on the interdependence and interchangeability of forms and genres that was so much a feature of Renaissance music is, up to a point, true of lute-song in the sixteenth century generally. But a discussion of this must wait till after a consideration of the contents of the volumes.

Contents: the lute-song repertoire

The seven publications considered here were produced in both France (more specifically, Paris) and the Netherlands (Louvain) during a period of over forty years, and the repertoires they contain vary. With the possible and partial exceptions of some of the Le Roy books, their contents can all be related to a previously-printed polyphonic repertoire, and while one may question whether such polyphonic versions were always the 'original' or 'defininitive' ones, the relatively strict nature of many of the intabulations in these editions suggests that they were probably derived from polyphonic models.[34]

We can divide the repertoire contained in the books into several basic types, with due regard for the risks of over-simplification implicit in any attempt to impose categories. The following list describes the style of song (left-hand column) that predominates in each of the lute-song collections (right-hand column), though not necessarily to the exclusion of other forms. The centre column gives the label most frequently used to identify these different types of song.

Homophonic-melodic	Parisian chanson vernacular psalm	**Attaingnant 1529** **Certon/Morlaye 1554**
... and strophic	*voix de ville*	**Le Roy 1552** **Le Roy 1555** **Le Roy 1554**
	air de cour	**Le Roy 1571**
Netherlandish contrapuntal	chanson/motet	**Phalèse 1553**

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[34] There are no surviving polyphonic models for the tablatures in **Le Roy 1552**, but in style there is little to distinguish them from intabulations of vocal music in other sources. It is plausible that Le Roy first composed the psalms as polyphonic songs and then intabulated them.

The essential features of the repertoires are clear enough. Most of the songs are secular; the sacred songs are exclusively vernacular psalm settings in the French publications. All of the French publications lean towards a melodic-homophonic type of song, whether the Parisian chanson, or the lighter, more consistently strophic *voix de ville* and *air de cour*. More sophisticated forms of French chanson are largely avoided.[35] Only the Netherlandish printer Phalèse favours an essentially Netherlandish, contrapuntal repertoire, and includes the sacred motet alongside the secular chanson.

A more detailed examination of each of the publications should bring the significance of these features into sharper focus.

Attaingnant 1529

Attaingnant concentrates on what Heartz calls the new-style chanson (also sometimes called the Parisian chanson or homophonic chanson).[36] The lute-songs contained in the book are given in Table 1.3; each of them is preceded by a version for solo lute.

Almost all of the attributable songs are by Claudin de Sermisy, and the attributable texts by Clément Marot, a celebrated partnership of poet and musician of the French court. Most of these songs were frequently reprinted throughout the sixteenth century in both vocal and instrumental arrangements, not least for solo lute. Our principal concern here is for the selection of the songs from Attaingnant's contemporaneous polyphonic publications. All but three of the songs appear in six publications dating from either 1528 or 1529, and no song is printed in more than one of these books. The three exceptions, nos. 11, 18, and 23, do not appear in any other surviving publication by Attaingnant. No. 11 (*Je me repens*) survives in no other source, printed or manuscript. No. 23 (*D'estre amoureux*) appears in a four-part setting in **AttaingnantP 1529b** and **[1531]** that is clearly related to the lute-song, but too different to have acted as a model for it. It is likely that both the lute-song and this *à4* polyphonic version were derived from the same three-part model, no longer extant.[37] No. 18, *Fortune a bien couru*, has no concordance under this title, but it is related to a *voix de ville* in **Le Roy 1554**, with a four-voice version in **Le RoyP 1573**, titled *Si j'ayme ou non* - a connection discussed below in the context of Le Roy's guitar books.

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[35] That is, the lengthier and often more serious style of chanson sometimes favoured by provincial French composers in the 1540s such as the *chanson de complainte* described in **Bernstein 1978**.

[36] For a discussion of the problems of terminology in the French chanson repertoire see **Bernstein 1978**. Bernstein argues against using the term 'Parisian chanson' in favour of the more accurate and specific 'homophonic chanson'. However, Bernstein himself retains the term 'Parisian chanson' in **Bernstein 1982**, and since it is both received and well understood I shall retain it in the following discussion.

[37] There are also some variation between the arrangement of *Las pourquoy* (no. 17) and the four-part polyphonic version, but not enough to rule out the latter as the model for the former.

Table 1.3: The lute-songs contained in **Attaingnant 1529**

Incipit	Composer	Poet	Folio	Tonic	Lute-pitch
1. Fortune laisse moy la vye			10v	F	G
2. Amy souffres que je vous ayme	[Moulu/Le Heurteur/ Sermisy/Isaac]?[38]		12v	F	G
3. J'ay trop aymé vrayment			14v	F	G
4. Si vostre cueur			16v	F	G
5. De retourner mon amy	[Sermisy]	[François I]	18v	F	G
6. Languir me fais	[Sermisy]	[Marot]	20v	F	G
7. Vivray je tous jours	[Sermisy]		22v	F	G
8. J'atens secours	[Sermisy]	[Marot]	24v	F	G
9. Ces fascheux sotz			26v	F	G
10. Dolent depart du lieu			28v	F?	G
11. Je me repens			30v	F	G
12. Je demeure seule esgarée			32v	F	G
13. Amour vault trop			34v	F	G
14. Secoures moy ma dame	[Sermisy]	[Marot]	36v	d	D
15. D'ou vient cela belle	[Sermisy]	[Marot]	38v	d	D
16. Il me suffit	[Sermisy]		40v	g?	G
17. Las, pourquoy m'estes vous si dure			41v	g	G
18. Fortune a bien couru		[Saint-Gelais]	43	F	G
19. [Une bergerote][39]	[Sermisy]		44v		
20. Las il fauldra qu'un estranger la mene			46v	F	G
21. Le jaulne et blanc			48v	g	G
22. Jouissance vous donneray	[Sermisy]	[Marot]	50v	g	G
23. D'estre amoureux		[Marot]	52v	F	G
24. Tant que vivray	[Sermisy]	[Marot]	54v	F	G
25. Si j'ay pour vous	[Sermisy]		56v	g	G

Table 1.4 gives the six prints in which the polyphonic versions of the remaining songs first appear, together with the lute-songs pertaining to them, in likely chronological order. All of the publications are for chansons *à quatre*, except for **AttaingnantP 1529c** which is devoted to three-part chansons.

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[38] The conflicting attributions to Moulu, Le Heurteur, and Claudin (i.e. Sermisy) occur in two Le Roy/Ballard publications. The attribution to Isaac appears in a manuscript at the Florence Biblioteca Nazionale Centrale (Ms. Magl. XIX.117). Bernstein argues for Isaac as the composer on stylistic grounds, but the preponderance of songs by Sermisy in this book might add weight to the case for attributing the piece to him. In his bibliography of Attaingnant, Heartz apparently settles for Moulu. For further discussion of the chanson see **Adams 1982**.

[39] This song appears in two version both without mensural melody or text in the publication. One of these tablatures fails to intabulate the melody, suggesting that it may have been conceived as a lute-song accompaniment.

Table 1.4: Concordant sources with **Attaingnant 1529**

AttaingnantP 1528 (*Chansons nouvelles*, dated April 4, 1527 (o.s.)): nos. 6, 7, 8, 14, 15, 22, 24, 25

AttaingnantP 1529b (*Trente et quatre chansons musicales*, dated January 23 1528 (o.s.)): nos. 5, 16, (23?)

AttaingnantP [1529] (*Trente et cinq chansons musicales*, undated): nos. 20, 21

AttaingnantP [1529]b (*Trente et deux chansons musicales*, undated): nos. 4, 17

AttaingnantP 1529c (*Quarante et deux chansons musicales* (à3), dated April 22, 1529): nos. 1, 2, 3, 9, 10, 12, 13

AttaingnantP 1529d (*Trente et huyt chansons musicales,* dated January 1, 1530 (n.s.)): no. 19

The only one of these prints that definitely postdates the *Introduction* contains only the problematic piece *Une Bergerote* (no. 19), which was probably intended as a lute-song but lacks the vocal melody. By transposing the superius of the polyphonic version and adding it to the two-part tablature in **Attaingnant 1529**, we can see that there is a perfect match (Example 1.9). The arrangement itself, however, through the omission of the countertenor voice, is harmonically weak (see the points marked * in the transcription), and it may be that the realisation of this led Attaingnant or his arranger to supress the melody at a late stage of production. Given that many Parisian chansons existed in both three- and four-part versions, it is conceivable too that the intabulator was working from the separate parts of a three-part adaptation (or only three parts of a four-part song), the weakness of which was only apparent when the song was arranged into a lute-song 'score'.[40]

All of these polyphonic prints from which the *Introduction* draws are devoted to songs in the new, Parisian style. Two of the earlier prints are of particular importance, containing between them polyphonic versions of more than three-fifths of the lute-songs in the *Introduction*: **AttaingnantP 1528** and **AttaingnantP 1529c**. The first of these, the *Chansons nouvelles* of 1528 (n.s.), was Attaingnant's first *chansonnier* (and hence the earliest surviving French print of secular music), and the first publication containing examples of the Parisian chanson.

The origin of the Parisian style, strongly identified with composers such as Claudin de Sermisy and Clement Janequin attached to the French court in the first half of the sixteenth century, has been the object of much debate, but it is clear that the style itself was fully formed by the time of the earliest Attaingnant publications.[41] Typical of these songs is a greater (but not exclusive) emphasis on homophonic writing than in the earlier French or contemporary Netherlandish chanson, with less reliance on the tenor as a structural

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[40] The relationship between three- and four-part versions of these songs is discussed below. See also **Adams 1977** for a more detailed consideration. The particular case of *Une Bergerote* is also discussed in **Heartz 1964** p. xxvi-xxviii. Heartz relates the song to the *Chanson Rustique*, and identifies it with the repertoire of monophonic *chansonniers* of about 1510.

[41] For recent discussion of the nature and origins of the Parisian chanson see especially **Brown 1964**, **Heartz 1964**, **Heartz 1964b**, **Adams 1977**, **Bernstein 1978,** and **Bernstein 1982.**

voice and more on the melodic function of the superius. The usual preference is for four voices, though a fair number of the songs also exist *à3*. Musical structure, as seen most obviously in the nature and position of cadence points, is closely related to the structure of the text, so that a line of music is usually set to one distinct melodic and harmonic phrase (harmonic in the sense that each phrase has a tonal goal, usually a cadence on the tonic for the first and last phrases, and on a related chord such as dominant or mediant for medial phrases).[42] Moreover, the *coupe* after the first four syllables of a decasyllabic line is frequently matched by a musical rest, sometimes followed by three repeated notes. The poetic form most commonly (though by no means exclusively) used is the decasyllabic quatrain rhymed abba, often associated with related musical forms such as abc‖:a:‖. Use of imitation and changes in texture (voice numbers) is restrained or absent, and rhythmic or contrapuntal animation is principally directed towards the cadence. Other features of the style include a preference for finals G and F, for repeated notes, and for certain rhythmic formulae such as the long-short-short opening. The presence of many of these features in the songs of the *Introduction* can be seen in examples from the Attaingnant collection given below (Examples 1.26, 1.27, and 1.28), which demonstrate the variety of music that can exist within these broad parameters.

Some of these features make the Parisian chanson especially apt for lute-song performance. The emphasis the Parisian composers place on melodic and harmonic as opposed to contrapuntal interest is well suited to lute-song, which by its nature divides a song into two constituents - voice (melody) and lute (accompaniment) - and at least partly undermines techniques exploiting equality of voices. This may in part account for the popularity of these songs in instrumental arrangements well into the century, for a chordal texture makes for easier performance, and leaves more room for idiomatic adaptation. These features also simplify performance for the singer-lutenist, as do the restricted tessitura of the voice parts and the preference for repeated notes, facilitating both reading of the vocal line and playing of part movement on the instrument (see below). Even the songs' brevity and capacity for strophic realisation facilitates their production and use in score layout for the benefit of the singer-player.

Such musical characteristics very likely encouraged the performance and publication of the Parisian chanson as lute-song. But can we also assert the reverse - that lute-song performance of chansons at the turn of the century stimulated the development of some of the features we have seen in the Parisian chanson of the 1520s, or indeed that the initial conception of a Parisian-style chanson was as likely to be one of instrumentally-accompanied song as it was part-song?

The evidence for this would be strong if we were able to show a line of descent from the Italian *frottola* of the turn of the century, which we know was often conceived as melody with instrumental, and especially lute, accompaniment.[43] This view, once popular, has now largely given way to the idea that the roots of the style are to be found in the three- and four-part arrangements of popular melodies (*chansons rustiques*) in

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[42] It has several times been noted that the movement away from and return to a clearly stated tonic at the open and close of a concise and largely homophonic composition has strong implications for the development of tonal thinking; this aspect of the chanson is particularly identified by **Lowinsky 1961** and **Heartz 1964** p. xx-xxi.
[43] For a concise discussion of some of the evidence for this, see **Reese 1959**, 156f.

vogue at the court of Louis XII (reigned 1498-1515),[44] though Lawrence Bernstein has noted the strong Italian connections of many of the composers identified with the emerging Parisian style (including Sermisy himself, who travelled to Italy with François I in 1515),[45] and the experience of Italian lute-song in the *frottola* may have had some impact on the development of the earlier generation of French composers.

In any event, the origins of the Parisian style in the *chanson rustique* forges a link with other *timbre*-based genres, such as the *voix de ville*, in which polyphonic versions are only one of several possible ways of realising a melody in performance (albeit the way most likely to appear in print). In the case of the *voix de ville*, lute-song was probably as common as polyphonic performance, if not more so, and certainly no less 'authoritative' in terms of original conception. It is easy to imagine that the same is true of the *chanson rustique* which lay the foundations for the melodic-homophonic style of the Parisian chanson. If so, it may be that the part-songs found in the early Attaingnant prints represent particularly refined versions of chansons which were as likely to have been conceived as lute-songs. and that in **Attaingnant 1529**, which almost certainly draws on the polyphonic arrangements, we may see a heavily mediated reflection of the original form of many songs.

It is noticeable that it is the most melodically-oriented form of the Parisian chanson that is arranged as lute-song in this collection. The chansons of Sermisy and Janequin fall into two broad classes that Brown calls the 'lyrical' and 'narrative' chanson, and relates to the earlier three-part and four-part arrangements of popular *timbres* respectively.[46] It is the lyrical form of Parisian chanson that is described above, and that is arranged for lute and voice in **Attaingnant 1529**. The narrative chanson makes more use of textural variety, including light imitation, and animated rhythms (sometimes earning it the label of 'patter' chanson) in the service of a narrative, descriptive, and often humorous and erotic text. Attaingnant and/or his arranger avoid these less 'melodic' songs as sources for lute-song arrangement in **Attaingnant 1529**, and this is why they draw no songs at all from the *Chansons de maistre Clement Janequin*, favouring this style, which Attaingnant published in 1528.

This is all the more significant because it does not hold true for the selection of pieces felt suitable for solo lute arrangement in **Attaingnant 1529** or elsewhere (the most obvious case being the inclusion of a descriptive solo piece called *La Guerre* - but not related to Janequin's famous chanson - in the *Introduction*). This may not be due solely to the musical considerations already mentioned (the advantage of a relatively simple, melodic-harmonic style for lute-song). It may also be that the more refined, 'tasteful' texts associated with the lyrical chanson (typically on the joys and pains of love, but relatively free of the courtly mannerisms that were typical of verse before Marot) may have been felt to be more apt for this kind of performance. That is, there may be a suggestion here that lute-song enjoyed (or, in the view of Attaingnant's arranger, should enjoy) a certain status as a refined art. We shall see below and in the next chapter that the humanist poets of the *Pléiade* held lute-song in just such a regard. There may be a

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[44] See **Brown 1964**
[45] **Bernstein 1982**
[46] See **Brown 1964**

suggestion here that the genre acquired this status much earlier in the century, and also perhaps that there was an established practice of performing lyrical chansons to the lute.

After the *Chansons Nouvelles* of 1528, the most favoured source for the *Introduction* is the *Quarante et deux chansons musicales* of 1529, a rarity among the Attaingnant *chansonniers* in being for three rather than four voices. The emphasis on this collection is not surprising, given that Attaingnant's arranger has a clear preference for arrangements that require the intabulation of only two voices, producing in total a three-voice texture: seventeen of the twenty-five lute-songs are *à3*, seven of these adaptations of four-part models (see below). The title page of the collection makes it clear that such two-part tablature accompaniment is the norm, for it tells us that the songs in the book are mostly of two sorts, 'for two parts with the music [the lute-songs] and for three parts without music [the solo lute intabulations]'.[47] This preference for arrangements where only two voices are intabulated is striking when we realise that in writing for solo lute a three-part texture is usual, as we see in the solo pieces of the *Instruction*. One explanation for this preference might be that the arranger was following an established practice of arranging three-part songs for lute, either in the tradition of the *frottola* as we see it in the Petrucci/Bossinensis prints, or in handling the repertoire of the three-part arrangements of *timbres* that appears to have been an important stage in the development of the lyrical Parisian chanson. If the Attaingnant arrangements do reflect an established practice of setting three-part chansons as lute-songs, then this adds weight to the possibility that lute-song performance had some influence on the development of the Parisian style.

Phalèse 1553

The nature of the Parisian chanson, and its suitability for lute-song performance, becomes clearer when we compare it with the songs published by Phalèse in the second part of the *Hortus Musarum* in 1553 (see Table 1.5):

The book contains twenty French chansons, one Italian villanella, and five Latin motets, and in this sense it is the most diverse of all the collections we have to consider. It is also the most retrospective, including as it does arrangements of works by Josquin, who died in 1521, as well as chansons by composers like Clemens and Créquillon nearing the end of their careers. But the contents are stylistically consistent. The three most represented composers, Josquin, Créquillon, and Clemens, were all Netherlanders by birth and, like the other composers in the collection, cultivated the learned, through-composed, and contrapuntal style of the north. It is this type of music - very different from the style of the Parisian chanson - that dominates the collection.

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[47] 'Ensemble. xxxix. chansons dont la plus part dicelles sont en deux sortes / cest assavoir a deux parties et la musique. Et a troys sans musique.' **Attaingnant 1529** title page.

*Table 1.5: Contents of **Phalèse 1553** (Hortus Musarum Secunda Pars). Songs marked * also appear in solo tabulature versions in the first volume of the Hortus Musarum*

Incipit	Fol.	Composer	Poet
1. Cessez mes yeulx de tant vous tormenter*	3	Créquillon	[Saint-Gelais]?
2. En esperant j'endure de torment	3v	Cauleray	
3. Quand me souvient de ma triste fortune	4	Créquillon	
4. Ung triste coeur, rempli de fantasie	4v	Créquillon	
5. Or puis qu'il est si noble damoiselle	5	Clemens non Papa	
6. Misericorde au martir amoureulx	5v	Clemens non Papa	
7. Cesses mon yeul de la plus regarder	6	Rogier/[=Pathie]	[Saint-Gelais/ Chappuys]?
8. C'est a grand tort qu'on dict	6v	Créquillon	
9. Venes mes serfs et bachus adorons	7	Clemens non Papa	
10. Puis que voulez que je vous laisse	7v	Clemens non Papa	
11. Puis que malheur me tient	8	Créquillon	[Antoine du Saix]?
12. L'Ardant amour souvent me veult	8v	Créquillon	
13. Si purte [por ti] guardo*	9	Rogier (=Pathie)/[Willaert]	
14. A vous en est de me pouvoir guarir	9v	Créquillon	[Marot, J.]
15. Je suis ayme de la plus belle	10	Créquillon	[Marot]
16. Je ne desire que la mort	10v	Chastelain	
17. Le bon espoir que j'ay de parvenir	11	Baston	
18. Aymer est ma vie	11v	Clemens non Papa	
19. Le souvenir que j'ay de ma maistresse	12	[Clemens non Papa]?	
20. Plaisir n'ay plus mais vis en desconfort	12v	Créquillon/[Gombert]	[Marot]
21. Incessament mon povre cueur lamente*	13	[De La Rue/Josquin]	
22. In te domine speravi	13v	[Lupus]	
23. Stabat mater dolorosa*	14v	Josquin	
24. Eya mater fons amoris[48]	15v	Josquin	
25. Benedicta es celorum Regina*	16v	Josquin	
26. Nunc mater exora natum[49]	17v	[Josquin]	

Many of the pieces in the book can be related to contemporary prints. Almost all of the chansons have polyphonic concordances in one of five contemporary editions by Phalèse, which functioned as the models for the lute-song arrangements (Table 1.6).

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[48] Continuation of the *Stabat Mater*.
[49] Continuation of the *Benedicta*.

Table 1.6: Sources concordant with ***Phalèse 1553***

PhalèsePI 1554: *Premier livre de chansons à quatre parties, nouvellement composées et mises en musique convenant tant aux instruments comme à la voix ...*, Louvain: Phalèse, 1554. Reprinted in 1563, and with slight alterations in 1559. Eight songs (nos. 1, 3, 4, 6, 7, 8, 9, and 10). This book must be a reedition of a collection, now lost, that first appeared in 1552 or earlier.

PhalèsePI 1552: *Tiers livre des chansons à quatre parties ... convenables tant aux instrumentz comme à la voix ...,* Phalèse and Rotaire, 1552. Reprinted in 1554 and 1563. One song (no. 5)

PhalèsePI 1552b: *Quatriesme livre des chansons à quatre parties ... convenables tant aux instrumentz comme à la voix*, Louvain: Phalèse and Rotaire, 1552. Reprinted in 1555 and re-edited in 1564. Two songs (nos. 2 and 14)

PhalèsePI 1552c: *Cinquiesme livre des chansons à quatre parties ... convenables tant aux instrumentz comme à la voix ...,* Louvain: Phalèse and Rotaire, 1552 Reprinted in 1555 and 1564. Two songs (nos. 11 and 12)

PhalèsePI 1553: *Premier livre des chansons à cincq et six parties ... convenables tant aux instrumentz comme à la voix ...,* Louvain: Phalèse and Rotaire, 1553. Reprinted in 1556. Three songs (nos. 16, 17, and 18)

Of the remaining chansons, nos. 15 (*Je suis aymé*) and 20 (*Plaisir n'ay plus*) are found in collections by Phalèse's northern contemporary, Tielman Susato, the earliest dating from 1545 and 1543 respectively, while no. 21 (*Incessament*) may be found in an Attaingnant print of 1550 where it is attributed, probably incorrectly, to Josquin.[50] Only no. 19 (*Le souvenir*) appears not to survive in any polyphonic source. Many of the songs also appear in purely instrumental versions for guitar and other instruments printed by Phalèse.

Among the other pieces, no. 13 (*Si por ti guardo*) appears in polyphonic form in a Phalèse *chansonnier* of 1564, though it had already appeared in Donato's *Primo libro di canzon villanesche* of 1550, and earlier still in lute tablature. Polyphonic versions of the Latin motets can be found in editions by various printers other than Phalèse, but the most relevant must be the *Liber primus collectorum modulorum* printed in Paris by Du Chemin and Goudimel in 1553 (**Du Chemin..P 1553**) which contains all the Latin pieces used by Phalèse, and is contemporary with the Phalèse lute-songs; it may well have provided the stimulus and source for them.

It is interesting to compare Phalèse's choice of contents with those of the French publications. Not only does Phalèse, as a Netherlander, concentrate on the compositions of northern composers, but he is also distanced from the influence of the French court that so strongly affected the output of the Parisian publishers. The chansons of **Phalèse 1553** are not like the clearly fashionable, courtly repertoires of the Parisian chanson, *voix de ville* or *air de cour* that we find in the Attaingnant and Le Roy prints of secular music. Nor are they such likely candidates for lute-song arrangement.

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[50] In later Le Roy/Ballard prints it is attributed to De La Rue.

We can see some of the features of the northern style, with its repercussions for lute-song performance, in Example 1.23 (*Aymer est ma vie*), which combines Clemens's original five-part chanson with the Phalèse reduction. The Clemens composition is based on rhythmically-independent equal parts, with a series of imitative points, overlapping and obscured cadences, and a good deal of inner voice crossing. The six-line text (*Aymer est ma vie/ en despit denuye/ en parle qui voudra/ jay choisy amye/ a ma fantasie/ Quant a dieu plaira*) is through-composed and extended in the music by repetition and melismatic writing. With such characteristics a part sung in isolation from the rest of the texture (as in the lute-song version) appears idiosyncratic and unmemorable, whilst the contrapuntal nature of the intabulated voices makes the accompaniment difficult to perform. The effect can in fact be quite pleasing, but in terms of both difficulty and musical coherence this is not a style of music that is naturally suited to realisation as lute-song, and certainly in its origins can owe nothing to that type of performance.

The formula used by Phalèse for his *chansonnier* titles helps explain this type of lute-song. In stating that the chansons he prints are 'suitable for instruments as well as voices' (*convenables tant aux instrumentz comme à la voix*), Phalèse is referring to the common sixteenth-century practice of doubling voices with instruments or substituting instruments for voices altogether.[51] This was undoubtedly as much a matter of practicality as of taste, given the likely difficulty of finding four or five competent singers with the appropriate ranges. Literary and iconographical sources suggest that the lute featured prominently among such ensembles, which is what we would expect given it's great popularity throughout but especially towards the middle of the century.

The pieces in **Phalèse 1553** are most easily understandable as one incarnation of this practice - that is, not as representing a distinctive genre of lute-song in its own right, but one of the many possible ways of adapting a chanson for voices and instruments. Phalèse is making available a certain type of chanson for what one suspects was quite a popular and practical combination of voice and lute. The pieces are certainly not as well suited to performance by a single person as songs in the French prints, since the lute part (a strict intabulation of the lower voices) is difficult to play, and the melody is unmemorable. This may be why Phalèse felt no need to align melody and tablature in score as Attaingnant and Fezandat did. And it is quite possible that such lute-song arrangements were used, and partly intended for, ensemble performances, with the lute providing a full accompaniment regardless of the other instruments available, rather like a continuo instrument. Phalèse suggests as much in the title of the book, where he says that its contents are suitable for *testudine simul et voce humana, vel alterius instrumenti Musici adminiculo modulanda* ('for lute and voice together, or with the addition of another musical instrument'). The illustration on the title page of both volumes enhances the message, with a lutenist given pride of place amongst, among others, singers, flute, and viol players. In later publications by the firm there is a still clearer attempt to provide tablatures for ensemble performance. The songs in **Adriaensen 1592** for instance, published by the

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[51] There are many variants on this formula from different countries and printers. The English 'apt for voices or viols' is a near equivalent, while Attaingnant refers to a collection of chansons as *convenables a tous instrumentz musicaulz,* (*Premier livre de chansons*, 1550). The first printer to exploit the idea is Tielman Susato with his *Vingt et six chansons musicales* of 1543 which are *convenables tant a la voix comme aussi propices a jouer de divers Instrumens*.

younger Phalèse, include at least two vocal parts (especially superius and bassus) with the complete tablature, the aim being to provide as much flexibility in the ensemble as possible.

The Latin motets are stylistically similar to the chansons in the collection. Only the Italian villanella *Se pur ti guardo* (ascribed by Phalèse to Rogier (Pathie), but attributed to Willaert in Ms. Danzig 4003)[52] is plainly a different sort of song, with its homorhythmic, repeated chord texture reminiscent of the *voix de ville*, and showing its origins in the *frottola*. In stands out in comparison to the rest of the volume as a much more natural candidate for performance as lute-song.

The Psalm Collections

The two psalm collections, by Morlaye and Le Roy, testify to the enormous popularity enjoyed by Clément Marot's vernacular translations of fifty psalms completed and widely disseminated during the 1540s.[53] Morlaye transcribes thirteen of Pierre Certon's psalm arrangements, and Le Roy presents arrangements of his own, all using Marot's translations (see Tables 1.7 and 1.8).

Table 1.7: Contents of ***Le Roy 1552*** *(Psalms)*

Incipit	Fol	Composer	Poet	Psalm no.[54]
O Seigneur que de gens	1v	Le Roy	[Marot]	Psalm III
Resveillez vous chascun fidelle	3v	Le Roy	[Marot]	Psalm XXXIII
Estans assis au rives aquatiques	4v	Le Roy	[Marot]	Psalm CXXXVII
Bien heureux est quiconques	5v	Le Roy	[Marot]	Psalm CXXVIII
Du fond de ma pensée	6v	Le Roy	[Marot]	Psalm XXX
Le Dieu le fort	7v	Le Roy	[Marot]	Psalm L
Tes jugementz, Dieu veritable	8v	Le Roy	[Marot]	Psalm LXXII
Aux parolles que je veulx dire	9v	Le Roy	[Marot]	Psalm V
Les cieulx en chascun lieu	10v	Le Roy	[Marot]	Psalm XIX
Le fol maling en son coeur	11v	Le Roy	[Marot]	Psalm XIIII
Enfans qui le Seigneur servez	13v	Le Roy	[Marot]	Psalm CXIII
Revenge moy prens la querelle	14v	Le Roy	[Marot]	Psalm XLIII
La terre au Seigneur appartient	15v	Le Roy	[Marot]	Psalm XXIIII
Seigneur Dieu, oy l'oraison mienne	16v	Le Roy	[Marot]	Psalm CXLIII
Sus, sus, mon ame	17v	Le Roy	[Marot]	Psalm CIIII
Qui en la garde du hault Dieu	19v	Le Roy	[Marot]	Psalm XCI
Qui au conseil des malings	20v	Le Roy	[Marot]	Psalm I
Vouloir m'est pris de mettre	21v	Le Roy	[Marot]	Psalm CI
Des qu'adversité nous offense	22v	Le Roy	[Marot]	Psalm XLVI
Quand Israël hors d'Egypte sortit	23v	Le Roy	[Marot]	Psalm CXIIII

[52] The song appears anonymously in **DonatoP 1550**.
[53] This is how they are conventionally described, though in fact Marot translated forty-nine psalms and the *Cantique de Siméon*.
[54] As given in source.

Table 1.8: Contents of ***Certon/Morlaye 1554*** *(Psalms)*

Incipit	Fol	Composer	Poet	Psalm no.[55]
Je te suppli ô Sire	2	Certon	Marot	Psalm VI
O bien heureux celuy dont les commises	3	Certon	Marot	Psalm XXXII
Reveillez vous chascun fidelle	4v	Certon	Marot	Psalm XXXIII
Aux parolles que je veux dire	6v	Certon	Marot	Psalm V
Pourquoy font bruit et s'assemblent	8	Certon	Marot	Psalm II
Jusques à quand as establi seigneur	10	Certon	Marot	Psalm XIII
Du fons de ma pensée	11v	Certon	Marot	Psalm CXXX
Quand Israel hors d'Egypte sortit	13	Certon	Marot	Psalm CXIIII
Seigneur Dieu oy l'oraison mienne	14v	Certon	Marot	Psalm CLIII
Estans assis aux rives aquatiques	16v	Certon	Marot	Psalm CXXXVII
Des qu'adversité nous offense	18	Certon	Marot	Psalm XLV
Or laisse createur	20	Certon	Marot	Psalm CLII
O Seigneur que de gens	21v	Certon	Marot	Psalm III

Le Roy's interest in the production of vernacular psalms, based on the translations of Marot and later Théodore de Bèze, was considerable. Apart from the various settings by Certon, Janequin, Arcadelt, Le Jeune, and especially Goudimel issued by his firm, Le Roy himself produced not just the twenty settings in his third book of lute tablature, with staff melodies, but also a complete set of one hundred and fifty solo lute tablatures in 1562 (lost, but with a 1567 re-edition largely intact), based on Goudimel's harmonisations, several of which were included in the English version of his *Instruction* of 1574.[56] The fourth guitar book of 1553, devoted to the works of Brayssing, also includes a number of solo psalm intabulations.

Le Roy 1552 stands at the beginning of this production of psalms, and it bears no relation to any contemporary polyphonic collection (the nearest is the psalms of Certon, published in 1555, which is related to Morlaye's book). There is no reason to doubt that these are Le Roy's own arrangements, though we might speculate that composing the psalms in parts was a prelude to their intabulation for the lute. For his melodies, Le Roy draws on the Lyons edition of the psalter published by the Beringen brothers in 1549, transposed and with occasional modifications.[57]

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[55] As given in source.

[56] The surviving pieces from 1567 appear in a modern edition in **Noailly 1993**. Aware of the similarity between these tablatures and those of **Le Roy 1552**, Noailly successfully adds the psalm melodies in staff notation to his transcription of the tablatures. This highlights the identity of Le Roy's apparent lute-songs with his solo tablatures, and it is possible to argue that the only reason he did not include melody and texts in the later publication (which includes all one hundred and fifty psalms) is one of space.

[57] See **Morcourt 1955** p. 181-2 and **Morcourt 1962**. The melodies for the Huguenot psalter originated principally with singers at Strasbourg and especially Geneva, with Louis Bourgeois the most significant single contributor. Many can be related to earlier Latin hymns, but Pidoux has thrown doubt on the claim advanced by Douen that others can be traced to secular chansons. These melodies rapidly became fixed and authoritative, as witnessed by Bourgeois's imprisonment at Geneva for supposedly having 'modifié le chant sans licence' in 1551. The psalter was complete (i.e. both versified and supplied with melodies) in 1562. For a concise discussion of the early history of the psalter melodies see **Pidoux 1979**.

Certon/Morlaye 1554 has a slightly more complex pedigree, which has been the object of some confusion. There are two publications related to the Morlaye arrangements:

CertonP 1546: the [*Trente et un psaumes à quatre voix mis en musique par Pierre Certon*], Paris: Attaingnant, 1546. This book was at one time thought to be lost, but the superius survives (at Lausanne) without title page and with the first four folios (probably containing seven psalms) missing. The above title is given in the catalogue of the Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Munich, describing a copy of the book that has disappeared.

CertonP 1555: the *Cinquante pseaulmes de David mis en musique à quatre parties par M. Pierre Certon*, Paris: Le Roy and Ballard, 1555. Only the tenor of this publication survives.

The second of these books is a revised and expanded version of the first. It is clear that Morlaye simply intabulated the first thirteen of the psalms in **CertonP 1546** without reference to Le Roy's impending revised edition. The melodies in Certon's book are identical to those in Morlaye, and the tenor parts in **CertonP 1555**, with few exceptions (which may be interpreted as revisions), match these melodies very well.[58]

The fact that the title page of **CertonP 1546** is missing from the sole surviving copy has obscured this simple background. Pierre Pidoux, responsible for the major historical study of the music of the Huguenot psalter (**Pidoux 1962**), was aware of the existence of this book, but wrongly assumed that the composer was Anthoine de Mornable, since he was the composer of a follow-up publication made by Attaingnant, the *Livre second contenant xvii pseaulmes de David traductz de latin en francois par Clement Marot et naguères mis en musique en quatre parties separees par maistre Anthoine de Mornable* ..., Paris: Attaingnant, 1546 (**MornableP 1546** - see **Pidoux 1957**). Since Pidoux was also aware of references to **CertonP 1546** (which he presumed to be lost), he argued that the same works were ascribed to both Certon and Mornable, and that the most plausible of the two attributions was to Mornable. This would, of course, refer to the authorship of the arrangements intabulated by Morlaye in 1554 as well. However, while it is theoretically possible that the book without title page is by Mornable, as Pidoux supposed, there is no good reason to follow Pidoux in this, and the situation is much better explained if we regard it as the missing Certon publication.[59] As a result, there is no reason to make any connection between Mornable and the Certon/Morlaye lute-songs, or to doubt the attribution of the polyphonic versions to Certon.

This error aside, **Pidoux 1957** provides a thorough study of these publications, and suggests a convincing reconstruction of **CertonP 1546** on the basis of the Morlaye intabulations. He notes that the misnumbering of some of the psalms in Morlaye comes straight from the Certon book of 1546. Both describe psalm 46 as

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[58] In their modern edition of the Certon/Morlaye psalms, Lesure and Morcourt align the Certon tenor with the tablature, making the correspondance clear. See **Lesure.. 1957**.

[59] Among other things, Pidoux's theory makes it hard to understand why the misattribution to Certon of psalms by Mornable should have been perpetuated by Le Roy in his expanded edition of 1555. The re-evaluation of these sources was first made by Howard Jay Slenk in 'The Huguenot Psalter in the Low Countries: A Study of its monophonic and polyphonic manifestations in the sixteenth century', Unpublished Ph.D diss., Ohio State University, 1965, Vol. I, p. 135. The argument is summarised in **Heartz 1969** no. 142 (p. 346-7).

45 (*Des qu'adversité*), 143 as 153 (*Seigneur Dieu*), and both describe the *Cantique de Siméon* (*Or laisse createur*) as psalm 152. Also, slight variants in the texts of the psalms show that **CertonP 1546** and **Certon/Morlaye 1554** use similar versions, while **CertonP 1555** shows the influence of later revisions.

Pidoux also investigates the origins of the melodies used by Certon, and hence reproduced in Certon/Morlaye. While some pieces show no connection with previous versions of the psalter, Pidoux finds that Certon used both Geneva and especially Strasbourg melodies as the bases for many of his tenors, and argues that these melodies were probably drawn from a reformist psalter that no longer survives.

Of the eight psalm texts that are common to Certon/Morlaye and Le Roy, five are based on psalm melodies closely related to each other: *Aux parolles*, *Du fond de ma pensée*, *Estans assises*, *Resveillez vous*, and *Seigneur Dieu, oy l'oraison mienne*. More distantly related is *Quand Israel hors*, and unrelated are *Des qu'adversité* and *O Seigneur que de gens*. In each case any relationship tends to be obscured, because the rhythmic interpretations of the melodies are quite independent, and Certon places his framework tunes in the tenor whereas Le Roy has them in the superius (see Example 1.25).

Because the two Certon books survive only in fragmentary form, and there is no polyphonic concordance with the Le Roy book at all, most of what we can say about the nature of these repertoires must be drawn from the tablatures themselves. In the case of Certon, we can guess that he placed the psalm tunes in the tenor to give himself more freedom with the superius melodies, for these are generally speaking more animated than the tenors that survive in **CertonP 1555**. In Morlaye's intabulations these tenors also tend to be more active than the originals, suggesting that much of the scale movement that animates the lower voices of the tablatures is added by Morlaye, and that Certon's polyphonic versions were broadly similar to his *voix de ville* arrangements described below - that is, largely chordal and homorhythmic, a style that adapts well to lute-song arrangement.

Much the same description could be applied to the psalms that Le Roy presents as solo tablatures in 1567 and earlier (**Le RoyI 1567**), and this contrasts significantly with the psalms of 1552. Richard de Morcourt, in his studies of the Le Roy psalms, occasionally suggests an evolution in Le Roy's style between his two books of psalms (**Le Roy 1552** and **Le RoyI 1567**), with the latter more consistently homophonic:

> [Even if] Adrian Le Roy evolved towards a more harmonic technique of accompaniment, which tends more towards the chorale and no longer interferes with the voice ...[60]

But this does not really capture the difference between the psalms of the two books, which elsewhere Morcourt describes quite well. The essential point is that the solo tablatures of 1567 are Le Roy's intabulations of Goudimel's polyphonic arrangements, and he remains faithful to their largely homophonic texture. But the psalms of 1552 are, with the exception of the melodic subjects, Le Roy's own creation, and

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[60] 'Même si Adrian Le Roy a ême si Adrian Le Roy a évolué vers une technique d'accompagnement plus harmonique, qui tend davantage au choral et ne gêne plus la voix...'. **Morcourt 1955** p. 200. Morcourt's discussion of the style of the psalms of 1567 is based exclusively on the eight psalms that find their way into the English translations of Le Roy Instruction books. Le Roy's 1567 book only came to light after de Morcourt completed his modern edition.

he is much freer with his arrangements. They are rich in the runs, arpeggios, and cadential ornaments that characterise the solo chanson intabulations of his first and sixth solo lute books (**Le RoyI 1551** and **1559**), such that the normal pace of the tablature is about four times that of the melody (i.e. if the melody moves mostly in crotchets, the most common unit for the tablature is the semiquaver). Morcourt himself notes that the ubiquitous application of an early form of *stile brisé* is the dominant characteristic of the 1552 tablatures, and this feature of them is indeed striking. In this sense, the psalm tablatures of 1552 really do justify their inclusion in Le Roy's series of six lute books (they constitute the third book) where the tablatures of 1567 would not. The resultant paradox, that the tablatures that are accompanimental in style (1567) are published without melodies, whereas those that are soloistic in nature (1552) appear with melodies, adds further weight to the argument that Le Roy did not regard any of his tablatures as accompaniments at all, but merely tolerated their use as such.

The voix de ville and air de cour collections

The three remaining French prints of secular music were produced by Le Roy. The two guitar books (**Le Roy 1554** and **1555**)[61] contain *voix de villes*, though only the earlier of them, the *Second livre*, names them as such. The *airs de cour* of **Le Roy 1571** were, as Le Roy states in the preface, closely related to the *voix de ville,* and for this reason it makes sense to discuss the contents of all three books together.

In his retrospective compendium of *voix de villes*, the *Receuil des plus belles et excellentes chansons en forme de voix de ville* of 1576, Jehan Chardavoine describes these songs as characterised by a variety of dance forms (pavanne, gaillard, bransle etc.) 'that are danced and sung commonly in the towns'.[62] It is certainly true that *voix de villes* are essentially simple melodies with a light, homophonic accompaniment if any at all, and that they very often adhere to dance rhythms. We can also say that the songs are almost always strophic, that the texts tend towards courtly lyrics (which somewhat undermines the idea that the songs are the popular pieces that Chardavoine implies), and that these are usually set syllabically. There is also evidence (reviewed below) to suggest that this repertoire may have had its roots in lute-song performance, and it is possible that the *voix de ville*'s publication in part-song format was as much a convention of publishing as a reflection of performance practice. Variants between Le Roy's *voix de ville* melodies and related versions in Chardavoine highlight an essential characteristic of the *voix de ville*: we are dealing here primarily with a body of melodies or *timbres* which might be harmonised in various ways, not the least of which was to provide a simple instrumental accompaniment.[63]

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[61] Because **Le Roy 1555** is a reprint and originally appeared before **Le Roy 1554**, I shall for the sake of clarity refer to these books as the *Second livre* and *Cinquiesme livre* respectively.

[62] *... les differences qu'il y a des uns aux autres desdites voix de ville: assavoir de la pavanne double, à la simple, et de la commune à la rondoyante et à la héroique, et de la gaillard semblablement double, commun, rondoyante, moyenne ou héroqieuq: du bransle gay, du bransle simple, du bransle rendoyant, du tourdion et finalement de tant d'autres chansons que l'on danse et que l'on chante ordinairement par les villes.* **ChardavoineS 1576,** Preface.

[63] For further information on the genre of the *voix de ville* see especially **Levy 1954, Heartz 1972**, and **Ozenberger 1981**, as well as articles in MGG and New Grove.

Two polyphonic publications are clearly associated with Le Roy's second guitar book (**Le Roy 1555**): one is the *Premier livre de chansons ... nouvellement composées en musique à quatre parties par M. Pierre Certon* (**CertonP 1552**), the other the *Premier livre de chansons en forme de vau de ville composé à quatre parties, par Adrian le Roy* (**Le RoyP 1573**), both published by Le Roy and Ballard (see Table 1.9).

*Table 1.9: Contents of **Le Roy 1555** (Second guitar book) and concordances with **CertonP 1552** and **Le RoyP 1573***

Incipit	Fo	Composer	Poet	Concordances[64]
Laissez la verte couleur	1v	Le Roy	[Saint-Gelais]	CertonP 1552 f.2 Le RoyP 1573 f. 1
J'ay le rebours de ce que je souhaite	2v	Le Roy	[Marot, Jean]	CertonP 1552 f. 3 Le RoyP 1573 f. 2
Puis que vivre en servitute	3v	Le Roy	[Saint-Gelais]	CertonP 1552 f. 11; Le RoyP 1573 f. 2
Pour m'eslongner et changer de contrée	4v	Le Roy	[Saint-Gelais]	CertonP 1552 f. 6; Le RoyP 1573 f. 20
O combien est heureuse	5v	Le Roy	[Saint-Gelais]	CertonP 1552 f. 18; Le RoyP 1573 f. 23
Je ne suis moins aimable	6v	Le Roy		CertonP 1552 f. 8; Le RoyP 1573 f. 7
Mes pas semez et loing allez	7v	Le Roy		Le RoyP 1573 f. 15
Quand j'entens le perdu temps	8v	Le Roy		CertonP 1552 f. 15; Le RoyP 1573 f. 13
Je ne veux plus à mon mal	9v	Le Roy		CertonP 1552 f. 13;
Plus ne veux estre à la suite	10v	Le Roy		Le RoyP 1573 f. 18
L'Ennuy qui me tourmente[65]	11v	Le Roy		CertonP 1552 f. 9 Le RoyP 1573 f. 5
C'est de la peine dure	12v	Le Roy		Le RoyP 1573 f. 11
Helas mon dieu, y ha il en ce monde	13v	Le Roy	[Saint-Gelais]	CertonP 1552 f. 14 Le RoyP 1573 f. 19
A mes peines et ennuits	14v	Le Roy	[Saint-Gelais]	CertonP 1552 f. 10; Le RoyP 1573 f. 17
Puis que nouvelle affection	15v	Le Roy	[Saint-Gelais]	Le RoyP 1573 f. 16
J'ay cherché la science	16v	Le Roy	[Saint-Gelais]	CertonP 1552 f. 5;
Vous estes la personne	17v	Le Roy		CertonP 1552 f. 12; Le RoyP 1573 f. 14
Une m'avoit promis	18v	Le Roy		CertonP 1552 f. 7; Le RoyP 1573 f. 6
O la mal assignée	19v	Le Roy		CertonP 1552 f. 4; Le RoyP 1573 f. 3
Oyez tous amoureus	20v	Le Roy		
Maintenant c'est un cas estrange	21v	Le Roy	[Chappuys]	Le RoyP 1573 f. 12
O ma dame per-je mon temps	22v	Le Roy		Le RoyP 1573 f. 10
Mon dieu vostre pitié	23v	Le Roy		Le RoyP 1573 f. 5

[64] Confined to **CertonP 1552** and **Le RoyP 1573**.

[65] This song, as it appears in Certon's collection, is related to the pavane *Si je m'en vois* as found in **Le RoyI 1551** and other sources (see the entry in **Brown 1965**).

Howard Mayer Brown describes the polyphonic versions in **Le RoyP 1573** as the models for the guitar songs, a suggestion that Daniel Heartz has disputed.[66] The relationship between these three volumes is quite complex. The songs in each publication generally employ the same melodies, or close variants on them, but in each case the harmonisations of them are distinct. We can see this in Examples 1.8, 1.10, 1.11, and 1.13. Le Roy clearly drew on the Certon publication for the melodies of both his subsequent collections, though at times adapting them freely and very likely aware of other variants of these tunes, many of which probably did not originate with Certon. Le Roy then provided his own harmonisations, and it is in this sense that the 1573 songs are *composé à quatre parties* by Le Roy. Nonetheless, at times Le Roy seems to have taken slightly more than the melody from Certon, if the change of texture to three upper voices in the first statement of the fourth line of *Laissez la verte couleur* (Example 1.11) is any indication.

It is also noticeable that, despite the many differences between the guitar versions and Le Roy's polyphonic settings, they still remain closer to each other than either one does to the Certon harmonisations. For one thing, Le Roy at times uses the tenor of Certon's arrangements. When he does so, this version of the tune appears in both the guitar book and the 1573 publication. There are also a few places in the songs where points of detail cross the two publications - the scale passages on the repeat of 'subjecte à changement' in *Vous estes la personne*, for instance (Example 1.12). Furthermore, variants in the harmony between the second guitar book and **Le RoyP 1573** can often be explained in terms of the limitations of the four-course guitar. In *J'ay le rebours* (Example 1.13), for instance, it is a similarly transposed version of Certon's tenor that appears as the melody in both Le Roy books. In those cases where the harmony differs between the two, it is usually for want of notes pitched below Le Roy's open fourth course (in this case, a nominal G) on the guitar. Since the open third course (C) can also act as a bass note, it is the notes D to F sharp that Le Roy avoids in the bass, which often leads him to attempt a different harmony in those cases where he is not content with an inversion (another solution to which he sometimes resorts, and which is a characteristic of guitar music). So in bars 2 and 5 Le Roy harmonises a melodic A with F major on the guitar, rather than the D major he uses in 1573. Want of F sharp in the bass similarly leads him to avoid the D major harmony he uses in 1573 at bar 4. The thinning of texture necessary to accommodate a full harmonic range can be seen at bar 17, where retaining the E minor chord leads to simple writing in thirds on the guitar - a texture prepared by the decorated bass line in the previous bar that again simplifies the harmony, as Le Roy, writing in the *Instruction*, says is often necessary. Such changes sometimes necessitate others, as at bar 28, where Le Roy harmonises G with C major rather than G minor to avoid consecutive octaves in the outer voices. The variants in the guitar version that cannot be explained this way can all reasonably be interpreted as simplifications, often in the interests of more idiomatic writing: thus Le Roy arpeggiates 'tonic' C major chords in typical guitarist fashion at 18, 24, and 27 rather than change harmony. As we shall see, Le Roy makes similar adjustments when intabulating the songs of Arcadelt in his fifth guitar book, and there is little doubt here that Arcadelt's songs were the basis for Le Roy's tablatures.

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[66] **Brown 1965** pp. 172-3 (1556[8]) and **Heartz 1972** p. 123. Much of Heartz's article is devoted to comparing songs in these publications, and he provides a careful discussion of the nature of the *voix de ville* as revealed in these books.

Given that the limitations of the guitar encourage such compromises, it is quite possible that the polyphonic versions of the *voix de villes* published in 1573 did act, at least in part, as models for some or all of the guitar versions of 1555, or else that both these publications were Le Roy's adjustments and revisions of draft polyphonic versions he made in preparing the guitar book. It is perhaps for this reason that the pieces in the second guitar book are described as '*nouvellement* remises en tabulature' (my italics) while the 1573 versions are simply 'composé à quatre parties'. The reference to the songs being 'remises' (re-set) probably refers to the melodies having originally been set in Certon's book, though it is tempting to think that Le Roy might also have been alluding to the usual and prior manner of performance of these melodies as lute-songs.

The sources for Le Roy's fifth guitar book (**Le Roy 1554**) and the *airs de cour* of 1571 are only slightly more straightforward. For his *Cinquiesme livre de guiterre* Le Roy looks above all to songs by Jacques Arcadelt, at this time probably in the service of Charles of Lorraine in France. These are mostly to be found in the *Tiers livre de chansons ...à 3* of 1553 and the *Tiers livre de chansons ...à4* of 1554, and collected in a book devoted to Arcadelt in 1573 (**ArcadeltP 1573**). (See Table 1.10).

*Table 1.10: Contents of **Le Roy 1554** (Cinquiesme livre de guiterre)*

Incipit	Fol	Composer	Poet
Escoutez ma complainte	1v	De Bussy	
L'esté chault bouilloit	2v	Le Roy	
Je ne me confesseray point	3v	Arcadelt	
Au jour au jour au jour	4v	Bonard	
Quand viendra la clarté	5v	Arcadelt	[Saint-Gelais]
Je ne sçay que c'est qu'il me faut	6v	Arcadelt	[Saint-Gelais]
Que te sert amy d'estre ainsi	7v	Arcadelt	[Saint-Gelais]
J'ay tant bon credit qu'on voudra	9v	Arcadelt	
Dieu inconstant pourquoy as tu laissé	10v	Arcadelt	
Ce n'est bien ne plaisir	12v	Arcadelt	
Amour ha pouvoir sur les dieus	13v	Arcadelt	
Qui pourra dire la douleur	14v	Arcadelt	
Si ce n'est amour qu'est-ce donc	15v	Arcadelt	
Si j'ayme ou non je n'en dy rien	16v	Le Roy	[Saint-Gelais]
Nous voyons que les hommes	17v	Arcadelt	
La pastorella mia	19v	Arcadelt	
Margot labourez les vignes	20v	Arcadelt	
Jamais femme ne sera	21v	Certon	
Amour me sçauriez vous apprendre	22v	Arcadelt	[Saint-Gelais]
Je sonne la retraitte	23v	Certon	

For his *airs de cour* of 1571 Le Roy refers principally to the works of Nicolas La Grotte (who, it is sometimes argued, may also be the 'Nicolas' frequently mentioned in chanson anthologies)[67] found in the

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[67] The evidence for this identification is reviewed in **Ozenberger 1981**, 216f.

Chansons de P. de Ronsard, Ph. Desportes, et autres, mises en musique par N. de la Grotte, first printed by Le Roy and Ballard in 1569. (See Table 1.11).

Table 1.11: Contents of ***Le Roy 1571*** *(Airs de cour). Songs marked * are missing from the surviving copy. Contents are reconstructed from the Table, and the contents of* ***Le RoyI 1574****.*

Incipit	Fol	Composer	Poet
Le ciel qui fut large donneur	2v	[La Grotte][68]	Sillac
Quand ce beau printens je voy	3v	[La Grotte]	Ronsard
Las que nous sommes miserables	4v	[La Grotte]	Desportes
Quand j'estoys libre ains que l'amour	5v	[La Grotte]	Ronsard
Mais voyez mon cher esmoy	6v	[La Grotte]	Ronsard
Quand le gril chante au son gringoulin	7v	[La Grotte]	
Or voy-je bien qu'il faut vivre en servage	8v	[La Grotte]	De Baif
Has-tu point veu ce grand vilain	9v	[Le Roy]?	
La terre n'agueres glacée	10v	[La Grotte]	Desportes
Ah Dieu que c'est un estrange	11v	[La Grotte]	[Desportes]
Las je n'eusse jamais pensé	12v	[La Grotte]	Ronsard
Autant qu'on voit au cieux de flames	13v	[La Grotte]	Ronsard
Tant que j'estoys à vous seul agréable	14v	[La Grotte]	
Je suis amour le grand maistre des dieux	15v	[La Grotte]	Ronsard
Demandes-tu, douce ennemie[69]	16v	[La Grotte]	[Ronsard]
Ma maitresse est toute angelette*	17v	[La Grotte]?	[Ronsard]
Douce maistresse touche*	18v		[Ronsard]
J'estoys pres de ma maitresse*	19v		
J'ay bien mal choisi[70]	20v	[Nicolas]?	
Ce n'est point pour t'estrenner	21v		Pa[s]quier
D'un gosier machelaurier	22v	[Cléreau]?	[Ronsard]
Mon coeur, ma chere vie	23v		Ronsard

We should be wary of regarding either of these books as straightforward intabulations of (principally) Arcadelt and La Grotte respectively, however. The compromises that Le Roy makes when intabulating his 1573 *voix de villes* in the second guitar book also apply to his arrangements of Arcadelt's simpler, three-part chansons for the fifth book (**Le Roy 1554**). Such alterations are part and parcel of the process of intabulating for the four-course guitar - a process involving compromise at every turn. With a simple piece, such as Arcadelt's *Si ce n'est amour* (Example 1.14), Le Roy can produce an almost literal reproduction of the original, with the tablature taking account of the part-crossing at cadential points (at bar 17, for instance). We see him applying his own discretion in his decorated repeat of the second half of the piece, but this does not undermine the fact that Arcadelt's piece was obviously Le Roy's model. With slightly more sophisticated chansons, however, we find changes almost as significant as those between the second

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[68] All the songs attributed here to La Grotte are to be found in **La GrotteP 1569**. However, for a discussion of the extent of La Grotte's authorship see below. The song attributed to Nicolas is not found in this La Grotte publication.
[69] Only the tablature survives in the book: the melody is missing.
[70] Only the melody survives in the book: the tablature is missing.

guitar book and the *voix de villes* of 1573. In his intabulation of Arcadelt's *Je ne me confesseray point* (Example 1.15) Le Roy alters the inversion of the harmony in virtually every bar (bars 2-8 all contain such an alteration, for instance), and combines this with simplification (e.g. at bars 13 and 30) and the usual runs (e.g. bars 7, 26, and 27) and *brisé*-style alterations (e.g. bar 18) which make for idiomatic writing. In a chanson such as *Quand viendra la clarté* (Example 1.16) changes in inversion give way to changes in the harmony itself, as in bars 2, 5, and 9, and less seriously at bars 7 and 10, in this case largely the consequence of the extensive voice-crossing in Arcadelt's original chanson which Le Roy tends to observe only at the cadences. An extreme case of simplification is Le Roy's intabulation of Arcadelt's four-part *Margot labourez les vignes* where Arcadelt's harmony is reduced to simple passages in thirds, except for the section for the two lower voices alone (bars 16-20), which Le Roy intabulates literally. And as a final example, Le Roy's four-voice version of *Si j'ayme ou non* printed in his 1573 *voix de villes* seems clearly to be the basis of his guitar version in the fifth book, despite the harmonic alterations (mostly replacing A minor with F major) at bars 21, 26, 27, 32, 33, 34, and 35 (see Example 1.17).

More contentious still is the relationship between Le Roy's *airs de cour* of 1571 and La Grotte's chansons first published in 1569. La Grotte's songs are usually regarded as the models for Le Roy's tablatures, but this is a simplification. La Grotte was certainly the source for Le Roy's melodies, but not in any straightforward way. While all of La Grotte's melodies relate to those surviving in Le Roy's book, only one of them is reproduced unaltered in the 1571 volume - *Las que nous sommes miserables.*[71] Alterations to the others are largely a matter of re-notation, with Le Roy preferring a change of mensuration sign to La Grotte's insistent use of coloration. But these changes also affect the melody itself, ranging from the insignificant, such as replacing a beat with a rest, to substantial rhythmic alterations. There are also some minor and some quite significant pitch alterations between Le Roy's versions and La Grotte's. At no point does Le Roy alter the superius to take account of the voice crossing that occasionally affects the melodic line in La Grotte's arrangements, however.

Le Roy's freedom with the La Grotte melodies is reminiscent of his approach to the Certon tunes. That is, he treats them as pre-existent *timbres* capable of varied manipulation and with no version the definitive one. This impression is reinforced by the reappearance of several of La Grotte's melodies in Chardavoine's mighty compendium of *voix de ville* melodies of 1576, in yet different arrangements avoiding La Grotte's and Le Roy's rhythmic complexities. It is also the case that several of the melodies demonstrate the sort of rhythmic formulae that are common in *timbres* - the openings of *Tant que j'estoys* and *Je suis amour* for example (see Examples 1.3 and 1.19: Le Roy obscures the similarity with an opening flourish to *Je suis amour*). It is ultimately difficult to say whether La Grotte's melodies were his own, or whether some of them at least were based on *timbres*, but even if the latter we can be sure from their distinctive, largely polymetric rhythmic profiles that they bear the stamp of La Grotte's musical judgment much more than the melodies set by Certon, say, were manipulated by him.

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[71] The song *Demandes-tu*, missing from the sole extant copy of **Le Roy 1571**, can also be related to La Grotte's tune by the tablature found in Book 3 of the *Instruction* (**Le RoyI 1574**).

When we turn to the harmonisations of the airs the situation is more complex still. There is little doubt that Le Roy referred to La Grotte's polyphony in preparing his tablatures. Some pieces look more or less like direct intabulations of La Grotte. *Quand le gril chante* is an example, where Le Roy even reproduces voice-crossing in La Grotte's version at one point, though there are many other cases where Le Roy intabulates above the melody where there is no such voice crossing in La Grotte (in *La terre nagueres* - Example 1.18 - for instance). But some of Le Roy's other tablatures are quite different from La Grotte's (*Tant que j'estoys* or *Je suis amour* - Example 1.19 - for instance), and in others still (such as *Las je n'eusse jamais pensée*) there clearly seems to be a reference to La Grotte's version, but not a strict intabulation of it.

This independence from La Grotte is stressed in the 1571 book itself. Not only does Le Roy make no reference to La Grotte on the title page or elsewhere, but above each song he prints his own name, just as he names Arcadelt and others as the composers of the *voix de villes* he intabulates in the fifth guitar book (see Facsimile 1.4). Given his debt to La Grotte this is somewhat disingenuous of Le Roy, but there is no doubt that he meant the book to be regarded as not just his own intabulations, but also his own arrangements of the *air de cour* melodies used, but not necessarily composed, by La Grotte. And to a large extent this is justified, for even when he follows La Grotte's harmony quite closely (which can, in any event, often be coincidental), Le Roy elaborates these arrangements with passing-note passages and similar refinements that go well beyond La Grotte's almost puritanically plain harmonic and homorhythmic arrangements. Rhythm was the interesting, innovative element in La Grotte's chansons, but in a single part, not in the interaction of parts. It is Le Roy who adds to this the textural dimension of idiomatic inner part movement, and in this he may be seen to be rather conservative. It is precisely the melodic-rhythmic element that is one of the defining, characteristic features of the *air de cour* as it developed in the later sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries.

This all adds to the impression that Le Roy treated La Grotte's book almost exactly as he did Certon's *voix de ville* collection over fifteen years earlier: as a starting-point for his own arrangements rather than as a source for intabulation. It is an approach that makes sense when we consider the nature of the sources Le Roy uses. Each is a key polyphonic publication in the history of the *voix de ville* and *air de cour*. **CertonP 1552** (*Premier livre de chansons*) is the first print devoted to songs in the style of the *voix de ville* and, as Ozenberger puts it, helps to define, isolate, and demarcate that style, even without naming it as such.[72] The *Tiers livre de chansons* of 1554 marks the first published appearance of Arcadelt's three-voiced *chansons en forme de voix de ville*, with Arcadelt largely dominating the genre from then on in the Le Roy/Ballard prints. Similarly, La Grotte's 1569 collection is the first publication to signal some of the musical changes that make the distinction between *voix de ville* to *air de cour* more than a matter of terminology.[73] The

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[72] **Ozenberger 1981** p. 63. All such statements inevitably depend on what we know from surviving prints, of course, and have to be received with such a proviso in mind.

[73] The first use of the term 'air' to describe strophic chansons appeared in Guillaume Costeley's *Musique* of 1570, where the tenor and bassus partbooks bear the rubric 'Meslange de Chansons en façon d'Airs' on f. 47 before a group of twenty such pieces, while the first reference to the *air de cour* appears in the title and dedication of **Le Roy 1571**.

significance of La Grotte's book as well as the others can partly be measured by their popularity, each of them appearing in one or more revised editions over many years.[74]

Le Roy looked to the repertoires of both *voix de ville* and *air de cour* for intabulation because of their fashionability. But he must also have been aware of their suitability for lute-song arrangement, quite apart from the *air de cour*'s facility as solo lute music. Those features that made the Parisian chanson apt for treatment in a form that is bound to be heard as melody and accompaniment are doubly evident in the *voix de ville* and *air de cour*, with their strophic texts and emphasis on melodic interest with an essentially chordal texture. Also, Arcadelt's exploration of the three-voice chanson was especially helpful to Le Roy working within the limitations of the four-course guitar, and this undoubtedly explains why he did not feel the need to provide his own harmonisations as he had with the melodies he takes from Certon and, to an extent, La Grotte.

When we look into the nature and origins of the *voix de ville* and *air de cour* we find that the relationship between these forms and the development of lute-song in France is still more intimate than the surviving musical sources imply. In each case the poetic sources for these genres provides an essential insight into them. By far the favoured poet in the two guitar books is the courtier Mellin de Saint-Gelais (1487-1558), a contemporary of Marot and, with him, the most significant court poet before the middle of the century: eight poems from the second guitar book and five from the fifth book can be securely attributed to him. Daniel Heartz sums up the relevant aspects of Saint-Gelais's biography thus:

> Mellin de Saint-Gelais, sent to Italy in 1508 as a young man to study law at the University of Bologna, was seduced instead ... by the enchantments of the Muses. He returned to France after a decade on the peninsula, to become the man of whom Gabrieli Simeoni said, 'He understands and speaks the Tuscan language better than anyone else in France,' the man who introduced the sonnet into France, according to Du Bellay, who had the *Courtier* translated and published, the translator of Ariosto, Trissino, and Petrarch, the plagiarizer of Bembo, Sannazzaro, and Petrarch. Saint-Gelais wrote in Italian as well as French, and it was he who polished the verses of Francis I, if indeed he did not actually write them, as some believe. The mainspring of his poetic art was not the academic Petrarchism of Bembo, but the school of courtly improvisers, whose theme was 'Carpe diem' and whose chief was Serafino dall'Aquila, the leading poet of *strambotti*. Under his influence Mellin became, according to his biographer Molinier, 'Le premier des strambotistes français,' or, to put it another way, the leading inventor of 'poesia per musica'. Like Serafino, he put his verses to music, sang them himself to the accompaniment of the lute, and was careful never to publish them, so that they might pass continually for improvisations.[75]

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[74] A revised edition of **CertonP 1552** appeared in 1564. Revised editions of the *Tiers livre* (**Le Roy..P 1554b**) appeared in 1557, 1561, 1567, and 1573, the last three bearing Arcadelt's name in the title. Revised editions of **La GrotteP 1569** appeared in 1570, 1572, 1573, 1575, and 1580.

[75] **Heartz 1964** p. 118. Heartz cites Molinier: *Mellin de Saint-Gelays (1490?-1558)* (Rodez, 1910), Joseph Vianey: 'L'Influence italienne chez les précurseurs de la Pléiade,' *Bulletin italien* (University of Bordeaux), III (1903), 86-117, and Ph. Auguste Becker, *Melin de Saint-Gelais: Eine kritischer Studie*, Akademie der Wissenschaften in Wien, philos.-hist. Klasse, vol. 200, pt. 4 (1924). It is worth noting that Castiglione's *Il Cortegiano* (1528), which Saint-Gelais arranged to publish in French, not only includes music as a desirable skill for the courtier, but specifies lute-song (*il cantare alla viola*) as the ideal art. See **Strunk 1965** 91-95.

Saint-Gelais's reputation as an exponent of lute-song is supported from various sources. The humanist poet Ronsard ascribed a particular status to Saint-Gelais as the first poet to revive the classical ideal of singing to the lute or lyre:

> Saint-Gelais who was the ornament of our age,
> Who first in France has restored the practice
> Of knowing how to tickle the ears of kings
> With a lute married to the charms of the voice[76]

while Pontus de Tyard compared him with the greatest of French lutenists, Albert de Rippe:

> Sing my lute
> Using the finest-sounding string
> That Albert touches
> Or Saint-Gelais sounds.[77]

The scholar Thomas Sebillet, in his *Art poétique françoys* of 1548, in identifying the *Ode* with the *chant lyrique* (that is, poetry designed and intended to be sung), cited Saint-Gelais as one of three exponents of the art (the other two were Pindar and Horace), and mentioned as examples five poems by him, four of which appear in **Le Roy 1555**: *O combien est heureuse*, *Laissez la verde couleur*, *Puys que nouvelle affection*, and *Hélas mon Dieu y a il en ce monde*. This is in the course of a discussion in which Sebillet had specified the lute as a likely instrument for the accompaniment of such *chants lyriques*.

The strong implication of the comments by Ronsard and Sebillet is that Saint-Gelais introduced lute-song to France as the ideal manner of performing his own poetry, and that he did so by combining the roles of both poet and musician (composing and performing). Given what we know of his background, this may have been the fruit of Saint-Gelais's experience in Italy, where he would have been exposed to the *frottola* being performed as lute-song. Herein lies the strongest evidence for the Italian origins of, or at least influence on, the French practice of lute-song.

As we shall see in the next chapter, musical performance of verse became a crucial issue for a later generation of French poets, and Saint-Gelais as the progenitor of it became the object of some debate. In 1549, a year after Sebillet's endorsement of the talents of Saint-Gelais, the humanist poet Joachim Du Bellay published his *Deffence et illustration de la langue françoyse*. In it he extolled the virtues of musical performance of poetry, but not of the sort that Saint-Gelais had produced. Like Sebillet, Du Bellay referred to texts such as *Laissez la verd couleur*, but this time as models of 'chansons vulgaires' - not the quality of verse to which French poets should aspire. Such comments inspired a rebuttal which appeared initally as an appendix to Sebillet's book in 1550, and later as a pamphlet. The *Quintil Horatien* (Lyons, 1550) may have been written by Barthélemy Aneau, principal of Trinity College at Lyons, or possibly by his colleague,

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[76] 'Sainct Gelais qui estoit l'ornement de nostre aage, / Qui le premier en France a ramené l'usage / De sçavoir chastouiller les aureilles des Rois / Par un luth marié aux doulceurs de la voix ...' Ronsard: *Le Proces*, from *Oeuvres complètes*, ed. Laumonier, XIII, Paris, 1948, 25-26, lines 193-6. Cited in **Heartz 1972** p. 119 n. 14.

[77] 'Chant mon leut / Y employant la mieux parlante corde / Que touche Albert / Ou que Saint-Gelais sonne.' Quoted in **Heartz 1964** p. 119. In this essay, and also in **Heartz 1972**, Daniel Heartz provides a thorough discussion of Saint-Gelais's influence on the early development of the *voix de ville*, and in the later article relates this to the Le Roy guitar books.

Charles Fontaine.[78] This pamphlet comes to the defence of Saint-Gelais, regarding him as an exception to the rule that the ancients, like the moderns, gave their verses to professional minstrels for musical setting:

> And if you others place before me a Mellin Monsieur de Saint-Gelais, who composes, better than all others, lyric verses, sets them to music, sings them, plays them, and sounds them on instruments: I know and proclaim what he can do, but that is for him ... And in this he adopts various roles, and is Poet, Musician, vocal and instrumental ... but such as is rarely seen.[79]

Later in the *Quintil* the author returns fire on Du Bellay, again referring to poems such as Saint-Gelais's *Laissez la verde couleur*, but this time making a favourable contrast with Du Bellay's own works:

> And if they can be sounded to the lyre (as they are), they deserve to be called lyric verses, better than the 'leaves' of his [Du Bellay's] *Olive* may be, which can barely be sung or sounded.[80]

The features that might have made *Olive* unsuitable for lute-song performance are hinted at in Sebillet's original treatise, the *Art poétique françoys*. In the section where he refers to Saint-Gelais, Sebillet also says what makes for a good Ode, and notes that: 'the shortest and smallest lines are most often used and most fitting, because of the lute or other similar instrument to which the Ode should be sung.'[81] It is a difficult remark to interpret. The most likely reason for preferring short lines of poetry is that they are easier to sing, but this has nothing to do with the accompanying instrument. One possibility might just be that Saint-Gelais's accompaniments (about which we have no information) took the form of a simple chord played at the start of each line of poetry. Short lines would then mean more accompaniment, and would suffer less from the short sustaining power of the Renaissance lute. Such a manner of accompaniment would also be in keeping with the air of an improvised performance in which the music was entirely subordinated to the poetry. However, we should note that Ronsard, in his *Abrégé de l'art poétique français* of 1565, makes a similar observation, noting that short poetic lines, as opposed to the weighty alexandrine, 'are marvellously suited to music, the lyre and other instruments'[82] and goes on to argue for the benefits of varying line lengths in lyric verse, so long as all the strophes are regular. Here the value of shorter or varied lines would seem to be for the benefit of the composer, permitting musical invention and variety.

How far should what we know about Saint-Gelais affect our reading of the mid-century *voix de ville* publications? The only direct connection we have here is the presence of a substantial number of texts by

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[78] The text of the *Quintil* is reproduced in the Chamard edition of **Du Bellay 1549**. For authorship see **Dobbins 1992b** 73-77.
[79] 'Et si vous autres me mettez en avant un Mellin Monsieur de Saint-Gelais, qui compose, voire bien sur tous autres, vers lyriques, les met en Musique, les chante, les joue, et sonne sur les instruments; je confesse et say ce qu'il sait faire, mais c'est pour luy ... Et en cela il soustient diverses personnes, et est Poete, Musicien, vocal & instrumental ... mais de telz que luy ne s'en trouve en la grande douzaine.' Quoted in **Dobbins 1992b** p. 76. The passage also carries the implication that, with exception of poet-composers such as Saint-Gelais, pre-existent poems were written independently of the music, which might be expressely composed, or borrowed and adapted for the purpose.
[80] 'Et si elles peuvent estre sonnées à la lyre (comme elles sont), meritent le nom de vers lyriques, myeux que les bayes de ton *Olive* ne la suyte, qui ne furent onque chantées ne sonnées, & à peine estre le pourroient.' *Quintil*, in **Du Bellay 1549**, Chamard edn., 115 n. 1.
[81] '... les plus cours et petis vers y sont plus souvent usités et mieus séans, a cause du Luth ou autre instrument semblable sur lequel l'Ode se doit chanter.' **Sebillet 1548**, Ed. Gaiffe, 146-150. Only two of the texts known to be by Saint-Gelais in the Le Roy books contain lines of more than eight syllables: *Hélas mon dieu* and *Pour m'eslongner* both use ten-syllable lines.
[82] 'Tels vers sont merveilleusement propres pour la musique, la lyre et autres instrumens...' Ronsard, Op. cit.

Saint-Gelais being used in the *voix de ville* repertoire. There is no surviving musical setting known to be by Saint-Gelais, and at most it is the melody and an essentially harmonic style that the publications could have inherited from him: the harmonisations and arrangements we know to be new. Nonetheless, it is plausible to suppose that some of melodies in Certon's book originated with Saint-Gelais, and there is circumstantial evidence supporting this.[83]

For example, Heartz has argued for the origins of the melody of *Puisque vivre en servitude* (**Le Roy 1555** f. 3v) in Giacomo Fogliano's *frottola - La pietà chiuso ha le porte*, and suggested that Saint-Gelais brought back not only poetic forms from Italy, but dance tunes as well.[84] Further circumstantial evidence for the origins of some of the melodies with Saint-Gelais comes from the song *Fortune a bien couru* from **Attaingnant 1529**. This melody is virtually identical to Le Roy's arrangement of *Si j'aime ou non* in **Le Roy 1554** (the fifth guitar book) and **Le RoyP 1573** (compare Examples 1.20a and 1.17). Moreover, the text of *Fortune* is printed as the fourth verse of *Si j'aime* in the Le Roy books, and can hence be attributed to Saint-Gelais, as perhaps can its melody, which appears in no polyphonic source from this period. It is notable too that despite the fact that the piece is clearly in a triple metre (see Example 1.20b), Le Roy notates it like Attaingnant in imperfect mensuration.[85] This is contrary to his usual practice of indicating perfect mensuration in his *voix de villes*,[86] and may even suggest that Le Roy looked to the old Attaingnant print as his source. The only important difference is the addition of three beats rest to the start of the melody, which may have been a device used by Le Roy to signal the metre. Since the tune was attached to this Saint-Gelais text twenty years before Certon set it, we may be sure that Certon was not the composer, and Saint-Gelais is the most likely candidate for its source. It is also worth mentioning that the simple accompaniment to this song in **Attaingnant 1529**, with the tenor following the melody in sixths and the bass leaping between root position chords, has a good deal in common with many of the Certon and Le Roy settings, and implies an unbroken tradition of the performance of this type of music, rather than a mid-century revival.

On a different tack, Heartz notes that the nature of some of these tunes as little more than recitation tones could also suggest their origins in a quasi-improvisational, declamatory style that might have been imported from Italy and used by Saint-Gelais. One such melody that is set to a text by Saint-Gelais is *Helas mon dieu* (see Example 1.21). In a 1547 collection this poem is intriguingly titled 'Complainte amoureuse pour dire au luth en chant italien', and it is tempting to identify the 'chant italien' with such a style. Heartz also cites the monotonous *Une m'avoit promis* as an example which, while not using a poem known to have been written by Saint-Gelais, certainly functions better as a vehicle for the text than as a melody in any

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[83] As previously suggested, the reference in the title of **Le Roy 1555** of the songs being 'remises en tabulature' might also suggest that they were first performed as lute-songs by Saint-Gelais.
[84] **Heartz 1972** p. 120
[85] The 'error' in the second bar after the double bar line (silently corrected in **La Laurencie.. 1934**) may relate to this. Whilst the most likely explanation for the misplaced semibreve is the change of line at the point where there should be a tied note, it is also noticeable that retaining the semibreve compensates for the missing beat before the repeat bar line, where Le Roy in his version adds a minim rest in order to maintain the triple metre.
[86] The only triple time piece in **Le Roy 1555** that does not indicate perfection in the melody is *Mes peines et ennuits*, and this is clearly an oversight, since perfection is indicated in the tablature opposite.

conventional sense (see Example 1.8).[87] Further evidence for the Italian origins of this melody is found in **Le Roy 1555** where the tablature is titled 'Paduane'.[88]

Heartz's argument here is tempting, but nonetheless speculative. One should be aware of an alternative explanation for such 'non-melodies': they may simply reflect the primacy of rhythm over melodic interest in dance pieces, and most of the *voix de ville* melodies found in Certon's book, while by no means recitation formulae, do have a restricted range and make considerable use of repeated notes. Given the importance of dance characteristics to the genre of the *voix de ville*, we do not need to look further for the rationale for such non-melodies. The reference that Heartz makes to Galilei's *Dubbi* where the theorist argues that 'texts should be recited with many repeated tones and minimal melodic ambitus',[89] as found in simple airs and dances, simply reinforces the observation that dance tunes often have such a flat melodic profile, and that they provide a good model for the composition of recitative. It does not show that this characteristic has its origins in declamatory practices.

Still, awareness of these uncertainties should not lead us to understate the case for saying that the *voix de ville* as we find it in the Le Roy publications may well have developed out of the simple, accompanied recital of poetry, that accompaniment being most often on the lute, as practised by poets like Saint-Gelais and very likely introduced by him to France from Italy. It also seem quite plausible that at least some of the melodies found in Certon's book are related to those to which Saint-Gelais originally set his texts, and that they may be of Saint-Gelais's creation, or may have originated in Italy.

Our understanding of the origin and nature of the *voix de ville* must inevitably colour our view of the early development of the *air de cour* as well. In his *airs de cour* of 1571 Le Roy implies that 'air de cour' is simply the new term for 'voix de ville', and it would be wrong to exaggerate the difference between the two simply because of a new terminology.[90] We have seen how closely his treatment of La Grotte's arrangements reflects his approach to Certon's earlier in the century, and also how some of the melodies in Le Roy's book of *airs de cour* are described as *voix de villes* in later publications, such as **ChardavoineS 1576**. But in several respects there is a marked change between *voix de ville* and early *air de cour* as we find it in La Grotte and Le Roy. One of these is the nature of the texts that are set. It is the humanist poets of the *Pléiade* that dominate these early *airs de cour*, with Ronsard now providing the majority of the texts in the La Grotte (and hence Le Roy) publications. With these poets comes a new seriousness of purpose and greater degree of refinement in the words, realised in part through longer poetic lines than found in, for example, Saint-Gelais. The importance of this is stressed in both the title of La Grotte's book (*Chansons de*

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[87] Other songs with similar characteristics in **CertonP 1552** are *Helas mon Dieu* and *Quant j'entens le perdu temps.*
[88] **Heartz 1972** p. 128-30
[89] **Heartz 1972** p. 130. Heartz cites Palisca's article 'Vincenzo Galilei and Some Links Between 'Pseudo-Monody' and 'Monody',', *Musical Quarterly*, XLVI (1960), 344-360.
[90] A similar connection is asserted by the printer Jacques Mangeant as late as 1615, where the title of his *Recueil des plus beaux airs* states that these airs, along with *chansons à dancer, ballets, chansons folastres et bachanales* may be 'autrement dites Vaudevire' (**MangeantS 1615**).

P. de Ronsard, Ph. Desportes, et autres ...), and in the preface to **Le Roy 1571**, where Le Roy contrasts the simplicity of the music with the quality of the words.

We have already seen one musical consequence of this. Regardless of whether La Grotte employed *timbres* as the basis of his settings, as Certon probably did, the melodies themselves show greater emancipation from the dance rhythms that are emphasised in **Le Roy 1555**, and this almost certainly derives from La Grotte. In songs with a consistent imperfect mensuration, duple time metrical implications are often undermined by uneven note groupings. The tactus indicated by tablature division lines, often but not always equivalent to metre in the *voix de ville* publications, is here (in **Le Roy 1571**) often quite distinct from metre (compare La Grotte's and Le Roy's melodies in Example 1.18 - *La terre n'agueres glacée*), while many of the songs primarily in triple metre now have extended passages in duple time (see Example 1.22 - *Autant qu'on voit*), quite apart from the common application of syncopation and hemiola. Such changes of metre are by no means new to the genre. They are quite common in **CertonP 1552** (such that Heartz conjectures the existence of a dance form that employs just such an alternation of triple and duple time sections). But their use here is different. In Certon they are frequently used to punctuate cadence points (e.g. Examples 1.10 and 1.21 - *L'ennuy que me tourmente* and *Helas mon Dieu*). In La Grotte such passages are much more disruptive of metre, and in **Le Roy 1571** Le Roy makes little or no attempt to make them conform to consistent dance metres, unlike his treatment of the Certon tunes he arranged for the guitar in **Le Roy 1555**. The role of La Grotte in the creation of such rhythmic fluidity is emphasised when we compare his melodies to those in **Le Roy 1571** which Le Roy does not draw from La Grotte's book, all of which are in a consistent imperfect mensuration, and can be counted in duple time throughout.

It is tempting and quite reasonable to see in such changes a musical response to Du Bellay's call for a superior and French national style of poetry in the *Deffence et illustration.* Just as the refined texts of the *Pléiade* come to dominate French poetry in the last third of the century, so the increasingly considered musical settings of those texts in the form of the *air de cour* replace the largely dance-based *voix de ville*. This is one example of the impact of humanist thought on the development of music generally and on lute-song in particular, a theme to which we shall return in later chapters when we consider, amongst other things, the influence of Baïf's *Académie*.

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Our survey of the contents of the lutes-song sources reveals that, with the exception of the fully 'composed out' works in **Phalèse 1553**, the books contain repertoires highly adaptable to lute-song, and as likely to have been conceived as such as in polyphonic form. This is most obviously true of the essentially melodic genres of the psalm, *voix de ville* and *air de cour*, but it may also be the case with the more sophisticated, but still essentially melodic, lyrical Parisian chanson.

However, it is also possible to relate most of the songs in these publications to polyphonic versions already in print. It therefore seems likely that, while the contents of the books may well reflect a common practice of lute-song, it is a practice to some extent mediated and possibly distorted by their reference to pre-existent

polyphonic realisations. The paradox is most apparent in the Le Roy prints, which contain those *timbre*-based repertoires that are most intimately connected with lute-song, but present them in what are essentially solo lute arrangements that may be far removed from genuine lute-song practice. A study of the lute-song arrangements found in these books may therefore help clarify the extent of the relationship between polyphonic and lute-song sources, and the conception of lute-song that they imply.

The lute-song arrangements

Several aspects of the ways in which the varied repertoires of the sixteenth-century publications were arranged as lute-songs have already been discussed. We have seen, for instance, that Le Roy's tablatures are indistinguishable from solo lute pieces, and were indeed reprinted as such by other publishers. Le Roy spells out what appears to be his usual method of solo lute intabulation in the 1574 *Instruction*, where he advocates the intabulation of one voice at a time from the vocal model, starting with the superius and working downward, refingering earlier parts as necessary. This method clearly offers the best chance of maintaining the polyphonic integrity of the model, and makes no concession towards reflecting the homophonic tendencies that increasingly dominated French music at the end of the century (though one might argue that the addition of the *Airs de cour* of 1571 to the *Instruction* represented just such a concession). However, we should also note that this is also probably the quickest method of intabulation when working from separate part books, whatever the nature of the music, and indeed, Le Roy expressly dismisses the alternative method of arranging the models into score before intabulating them vertically simply because it is too long-winded.[91] The arrangements in the guitar books are up to a point consistent with this approach (directed at writing for the lute), with the emphasis on adjusting lower parts rather than melody to fit the instrument's restricted range.

Also in the *Introduction* Le Roy is explicit about the need to adjust the tessitura of the vocal model to that of the lute by the use of varied, nominal, lute pitches. In the method he intabulates for lutes pitched nominally in G, A, B flat, C, and D, making it plain that this has no implications for the sounding pitch of the lute. In theory, Le Roy relates his choice of lute pitch to mode (each mode being comprised of a section of the gamut, and hence identified partly in terms of tessitura), but in practice it is clear that his choice of lute-pitch is based primarily on a desire to exploit the full range of the lute by matching the lowest note of the composition to the open sixth course of the instrument (this also, as a rule, ensures that the player will not need to play above the seventh fret), and to ensure comfortable fingering patterns.[92]

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91 'We knowe well that the same might bee practised in an other sorte, that is to saie, to set first the Musicke in measures, assemblyng all the partes together one over the other, whereby there could bee none occasion to race out [erase], but then ye must after doe as muche to bryng the same into Tablature for the instrumente, whiche would bee twoo labours for one ...' **Le RoyI 1574** f. 26v

92 For a discussion of the difference between theory and practice in Le Roy on the matter of mode and intabulation see **Jacquot.. 1977** Vol. I p. xxvi-xxviii.

The last stage in intabulation, according to the *Instruction*, is the addition of runs, passing notes and similar forms of decoration. It is here, Le Roy tells us, that the real art of arrangement for the lute lies:

> To make this woorke in all poinctes parfite, and to shewe you (as a man might saie) not onely the plaine and rude Grammer, but also further somewhat like the eloquence of Rhetorike, I have thought good ... to add an example of the same song, adorned with running poinctes and passages...[93]

This, Le Roy says, will more than compensate for the necessary omission of some notes of the harmony. It is these more refined versions that appear in the tablature books, including **Le Roy 1571,** marked *autrement* or *plus diminuées* (translated in the *Instruction* as 'more finely handled'), but such refinements appear to some degree or other in his 'normal' tablatures too. Unfortunately, while Le Roy gives plenty of examples of these elaborated versions, he does not explain the principles that guide him in making them, nor does he discuss his alternative tablatures *en autre ton* ('in a different mode' - i.e. transposed).

We have already largely seen to what extent Le Roy applies this advice in his four tablatures with accompanying melodies. The elaboration of a piece with passing notes, ornaments, *brisé*-style extension of plain chords and so on is present in all four books to a greater or lesser extent, and in choosing lute-pitch Le Roy appears to have been governed by ease of performance just as the *Instruction* suggests. But what we do not see here is the strict approach to the intabulation of parts that is at the heart of the advice given by the *Instruction*, and this is largely due to the nature of the repertoires in question. Psalms, *voix de villes*, and *airs de cour* are all melodic genres, to which a composer may freely attach usually simple forms of accompaniment, and the melodies themselves tend not to be fixed compositions, but rather frameworks which are open to elaboration. While Le Roy takes his cue from the polyphonic collections of other composers (such as Certon and La Grotte), he is essentially true to these genres by being free with the sort of accompaniment he provides. Of the four books we have looked at, only the fifth guitar book, where Le Roy intabulates Arcadelt's chansons, is a clear exception to this, and even here the limitations of the guitar make a free approach to intabulation unavoidable. The relationship between the tablatures of the second guitar book and Le Roy's 1573 polyphonic versions may well be due to the origins of both in score arrangements Le Roy might have made before intabulating the songs.[94] All this may help explain the presence of melodies in what are, it has been argued, collections of music that are primarily conceived as solo lute arrangements. These subjects are not the melodies of homophonic compositions for which Le Roy has adapted the accompaniments for lute. They are rather the basis for the whole of the tablature: the only independent music to which the tablatures are intended to refer. As such they really do function very much like the dance subjects that are sometimes attached, without words, to solo tablatures.

There are two principal ways in which Le Roy's publications differ from those of Morlaye, Attaingnant, and Phalèse: he works with an essentially monophonic repertoire, whereas the other publishers are arranging 'composed-out' polyphonic works as lute-songs, and he intabulates all the voices, which suggests that he

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[93] **Le Royl 1574** f. 13v

[94] Le Roy's injunction against scoring out chansons prior to intabulation given in the *Instruction* implies that he had at least explored this approach, and it is one that would make perfect sense in preparing his own arrangements directly for intabulation.

gives priority to solo-lute performance. But in other respects all the books are stylistically similar. In each case the arranger retains the part-movement of a polyphonic version more or less exactly (or, in the case of Le Roy, produces an original tablature, perhaps from his own score, which has part-movement as its basis), and adds to this repeated notes, diminutions, and *brisé*-style arpeggiations identical to those found in solo lute intabulations. These function in part to compensate for the short sustaining power of the lute, and in part as an exercise of the arranger's skill and judgment in adapting the music for his instrument.

As a test of an intabulator's ability to reproduce dense counterpoint quite literally on the lute, the pieces in **Phalèse 1553** are unmatched. The transcription of *Aymer est ma vie* (Example 1.23) has been made so as to maximize the correspondence between Clemens's original five-voice chanson and the tablature. The two are remarkably close, with the intabulator maintaining all four lower voices almost consistently. Only minor omissions appear at bars 15, 18, and 32 in the tenor, and 23 and 34 in the second alto, while a part is shared between voices at bars 28 and 38-9. Despite this the intabulator finds room for a limited amount of ornamentation in the form of neighbour and passing notes, most prominently in bars 8, 25, 31, and 33. Such restraint is more a matter of judgement than necessity, for the intabulator does not make significantly more use of it in his intabulations of chansons *à quatre*, where his tablature is less cluttered. There is, in this contrapuntal texture, little room for the *brisé*-style treatment of chords that we see in Le Roy, but as with any intabulation we see hints of at least one of the origins of *stile brisé* in the repetition of notes that compensates for the absence of sustain on the lute - the repetition of c' and g' at the final cadence being a good example. This literal approach holds true not just for the contrapuntal pieces in the collection, but also the exceptional villanella, *Si purte guardo*. There is no doubt that Phalèse's intabulator was competent and experienced in the practice not just of intabulation (probably for solo lute), but also in playing the instrument, for the resultant tablature is quite difficult to realise fluently. On the whole this is an approach that is entirely in keeping with the suggestion given above that the primary function of the lute in these pieces was to act as a replacement for missing voices, or even as a continuo-like support for them, rather than as an accompanying instrument per se.

Morlaye's approach to Certon's psalm arrangements is harder to assess, since only the superius and tenor of the above survive, and in different editions by different publishers. We have already noted, however, that the tenor of Morlaye's tablatures, while clearly based on Certon's, tends to be more ornate, with repeated notes and neighbour or passing notes maintaining more continuous movement on the lute than in the voice or tenor. It is likely that Certon's original arrangement was fairly simple, then, resembling the reconstruction in Example 1.24 (*Je te suppli*), and reminiscent of the style of his 1552 *voix de villes*.

If we take this as a basis for comparison, we can see in this example that Morlaye very likely holds true to Certon's original part movement, such that one can imagine him following a procedure much like that outlined in the *Instruction*. He also applies a certain amount of diminution to the inner parts (at bars 1-2, 12-13, or 24-26, for instance), and makes a good deal of use of *brisé*-style sustaining of chords (bars 3, 8, 16, 18, 30). Especially interesting is Morlaye's use of four-note chords in the tablature (where only three notes can derive from Certon's setting) - a clear indication of him thinking harmonically rather than contrapuntally (bars 12-15, 18, 27, and 38, where he adds the third at the final cadence).

We might compare one of the psalms based on texts common to Le Roy's and Morlaye's publications, making use of a related melody. In *Estans assis* (Example 1.25), the presence of Certon's tenor is partially obscured by its constant migration between the two upper voices of the lute, probably the result of voice-crossing between alto and tenor in the polyphonic version of this low-tessitura song. Nonetheless, it can clearly be related to the subject of Le Roy's version (Example 1.25b). With regard to the tablatures, the difference in texture is one of degree rather than of kind. Both make good use of diminutions of various sorts, including some quite fast runs (e.g. bar 8 in Morlaye, 29-30 and especially 34 in Le Roy) which inevitably limit the speed of performance, especially for an amateur lutenist. Both composers also use *brisé* chords (e.g. bar 9 in Morlaye, and almost everywhere in Le Roy, starting at bar 3). Apart from differences of detail (and the comparison provides a good demonstration of how much room for manouevre an intabulator could enjoy), what distinguishes the two is first that barely a bar of Le Roy's version is free of this kind of refinement, whereas it is more controlled in Morlaye, and secondly the fact that it is applied equally freely to Le Roy's intabulation of the melody which, as we have seen, leads to disparities between this and the vocal line, from the mild, if constant, delayed resolutions that start at bar 6, to the more aggressive dissonance of bar 44.[95] Morlaye, of course, does not intabulate the melody, and as an accompaniment it seems fair to say that his version, while subtle and refined, is the least distracting and most effective of the two.

The arrangements in **Attaingnant 1529** show the same literal approach to the intabulation of parts, with the same added ornamentation, including the fast runs that are likely to inhibit speed of performance. One might argue that such additions to the polyphony function more often to compensate for sustained notes than they do in the later tablatures, where their purpose is more frequently decorative than pragmatic (see Example 1.26), but if so then this is a matter only of emphasis.

One exceptional feature of Attaingnant's print is that some four-part chansons are arranged *à trois*, with only two voices intabulated. This is the case with six chansons: *Secoures moy*, *D'ou vient cela* (Example 1.28), *Las pourquoy*, *Le jaulne et blanc*, *Jouissance*, and *Si j'ay pour vous*. There are cases of four-part chansons starting life in three parts, and we should not rule out the possibility that the lute-song versions were based on these, or even represent prior self-contained versions. However, what evidence there is suggests that the 1529 lute-songs were in fact intabulated from the four-part versions in Attaingnant's contemporary polyphonic *chansonniers*.[96] In each case the lower two voices (tenor and bass) are intabulated accurately (with the usual idiomatic ornaments and rhythmic adjustments). There are occasional departures from the original line (the song *Las pourquoy* is most prone to these) but they can easily be accounted for by careless intabulation. Moreover, in two chansons (*Le jaulne et blanc* and

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[95] Again, one should note that dissonances of this sort are unusual only in their frequency and appearance in one octave. Several examples of them can be found in the polyphonic versions of the chansons arranged in these books, though not with the regularity that they appear in the Le Roy prints, and most usually an octave apart between superius and tenor.

[96] An exception is *D'estre amoureux*, which is intabulated *à*3 where the surviving polyphonic version is *à4*, but the two differ too significantly for one to have been considered the model for the other.

Jouissance) the intabulator does add the alto voice for brief passages (see Example 1.27),[97] while in two others (*Secoures moy* and *D'ou vient cela*) he occasionally draws on alto rather than tenor to provide the third of a chord when and only when it is present in the alto voice of the polyphony (see Example 1.28). This is not a practice that he follows in other chansons however. All of this argues for the four-part chansons being the models for these three-part arrangements.

The reduction of the lute-songs to three parts may be related to the practice of solo lute intabulation. The solo lute versions of the chansons in **Attaingnant 1529** are all intabulations of superius, tenor, and bass, with the alto in each case omitted, and one might argue that Attaingnant's intabulator simply follows this practice in the lute-songs. But if so, this was not due to the practical expedient of simply reproducing his solo tablature with the top part omitted to make the lute-song, for the two arrangements often vary considerably. This is partly a matter of the arranger changing the position of diminutions to take into account the intabulated superius or its absence, but more critically, in four of the six chansons where the voices are reduced from four to three, the solo version uses a different nominal lute pitch to the lute-song version, which means that the two tablature arrangements are completely different, such that one could not be used as the basis for the other (see Example 1.28).

Perhaps the most interesting aspect of this practice is that the major precedent for it lies not in solo lute tablatures, but in Bossinensis's lute-song arrangements of *frottole*, the first two volumes published by Petrucci in 1509 and 1511 (a third volume appeared in the 1520s), where he intabulates tenor and bass and omits alto. The relationship between solo lute intabulation and lute-song arrangements is an intimate one in all these publications, but we should be cautious in assuming that priority belongs to the former. In reducing the accompaniment to two parts the intabulator is as likely to be responding to established practice in the *frottola*, or possibly an equivalent practice in the three-voiced *chanson rustique*, as he is following habits learned in the solo intabulation of songs for the lute.

Given this background, it is the lute-song arrangements that preserve the alto, and hence reproduce all four voices (three in the tablature, one in staff notation) that are the innovation, and their presence in Attaingnant's book may well indicate a departure for the intabulator. In two of the chansons (*Le jaulne et blanc* and *Jouissance*) we have seen that the fourth voice is included only for brief sections, in each case in the opening line and its later repetitions. In neither case is there an obvious reason for this (such as the desire to include the third of a chord that we see in other songs), or for the abandonment of the alto later in the tablature. In eight other songs the arranger maintains three tablature parts consistently, producing a convincing arrangement of the entire polyphony. There is nothing to distinguish these songs from those where the alto is omitted, and it is possible that we are here seeing the intabulator breaking away from the earlier practices on which he based the other arrangements.

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[97] This transcription is, like others given here, literal. By failing to provide a second time bar for the repeat of the first section, Attaingnant's division lines cease to be an accurate guide even to tactus (let alone accentuation) in this song. For a more accurate barring see the lute-song transcription in **La Laurencie.. 1934** p. 42.

The last issue that affects intabulation is that of nominal lute-pitch, which we have already raised with regard to the Le Roy publications. Le Roy we have seen makes considerable use of a wide variety of nominal lute-pitches, and the reason appears to be ease and elegance of performance on the lute. Of the other three sources, only **Phalèse 1553** comes close to rivalling Le Roy in this, using the nominal pitches G (nos. 8, 9, 16, 17, 20, 23, 24), A (1, 3, 4, 6, 12, 15), C (10, 18, 22), and D (2, 5, 7, 11, 13, 14, 19, 21, 25, 26). But Phalèse's treatment of pitch is different from that of Le Roy. In his two lute books, Le Roy uses lute pitch to ensure that his final (or tonic) can be found on the open fifth course (which one can abbreviate as V^0),[98] or more rarely open fourth course (IV^0), regardless of the key of the melody. In **Le Roy 1552** almost all of the pieces are arranged to favour V^0, so that, for instance, pieces in G are set to a D-lute (fifth course tuned to G), while pieces in D are set to an A-lute (fifth course tuned to D). Similarly, in **Le Roy 1571** pieces in G and some in F are set to C- and D-lutes respectively (V^0) while others in F are set to a G-lute (IV^0). As we can see, this leads to quite a close correlation between key (mode) and lute-pitch.

With Phalèse however there is less consistency. There is less correlation between lute-pitch and key, with pieces in G being set to all four lute pitches (A, C, D, and G), pieces in F being set to C-, D-, and G-lutes, pieces in D being set to A- and D-lutes, and so on. This is partly because Phalèse favours a greater variety of fingering patterns than Le Roy, with a more or less equal preference for the final falling on VI^0, VI^3 (i.e. sixth course, 3rd fret), V^0, and IV^0. Of these, Le Roy's preferred position, V^0, is the least favoured pitch in Phalèse, with five songs set to it compared to the seven for the two other open positions.

Both arrangers are naturally concerned to use comfortable hand positions on the lute, which largely means favouring open bass courses for the final (which, due to the tuning of a fourth between courses, means that some related chords also use open courses). But this appears to be Le Roy's exclusive preoccupation, such that he can, in these publications at least, select lute-pitch almost immediately upon recognising the final of the polyphonic model. Where he does choose between different lute-pitches for the same key, it will probably be on the basis of facility of performance. Comparing his two versions of *Tant que j'estoys* in **Le Roy 1571**, each exploiting a different lute-pitch, is instructive. In the first version, using a nominal G-lute gives Le Roy the final on IV^0. This gives him an extended bass range, allowing him to reach subdominant and supertonic notes on the sixth course, but the hand positions are rather difficult, as we see in the opening bars located in fifth position. In his alternative tablature, using a C-lute (final V^0) he is often forced into higher octaves in the bass, but the hand position is more comfortable and familiar, making less use of the higher positions (see Example 1.3).

With Phalèse it is much harder to find a consistent rationale for his choice of lute-pitch, once he is assured of a fairly familiar hand-position. There is, however, a tendency for Phalèse's intabulator to relate lute-pitch to the tessitura of the vocal melody, so that songs with a lower tessitura starting at about d' or lower take D-lutes, while songs with a higher range, starting at about f' or above, take A- and G-lutes. The effect of this

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[98] In this notation, the roman numeral (V) indicates the course (numbered from treble (I) to bass (VI and lower), and the superscript numeral the fret at which the course is held by the left hand, with ^{0} indicating an open course. One may use the same system to identify a root-position triad and/or key built on the note identified in this way, in which case a superscript $^+$ or $^-$ may be added to indicate a major/minor chord/key.

on the transposition of the voice is to bring most of the songs into roughly the same range. That is, if we assume that the lute is pitched at G in real terms, writing for a nominal D-lute, also in reality pitched at G, will force the voice to transpose up a fourth so that a written d' will sound as g'. Thus, whatever the range of melody in the polyphonic source, the intabulator ensures that one singer will be able to sing all or most of the songs in the collection to the same lute. This is a pragmatic device that is employed consistently in the seventeenth-century lute-song publications, as we shall see.

In the Le Roy lute books there is also some correlation between lute-pitch and tessitura, but it is weaker. There is some tendency for D-lutes to accompany melodies with the higher tessitura starting at about f', and for G- and A-lutes to take the lower tessitura starting about c'. This would mean transposing songs with a D-lute down to the lower tessitura range starting at about c' or below if we assume that the real tuning of the lute is near to G. But this also means that a few songs are forced into a very low tessitura when played on a lute pitched in real terms at G. Thus *Quand ce beau printemps*, and *D'un gosier machelaurier* from **Le Roy 1571** both have g as the lowest note of the melody when transposed down.[99] Similar exceptions in **Phalèse 1553** merely mean that some songs remain in the familiar, lower tessitura starting at about c'. On the whole, it is much easier to understand the thinking behind the Le Roy publications in terms of hand position rather than melodic transposition, but the evidence is slightly in favour of regarding the Phalèse intabulations in terms of the latter.

In neither of the two remaining publications is the use of lute-pitch such an issue. Morlaye transcribes for a G-lute for all but three of Certon's psalms, when he uses a D-lute.[100] The transposing effect on the voice of the latter is not serious, since they all have a fairly low tessitura of c' to c" (in one case, a'), and would go up a fourth to f' to f" that is the most common range for the G-lute pieces. This may have been Morlaye's intention, but it is no more a strict rule than in Phalèse, for three pieces with the lower tessitura starting at c' (two of them with a D final) are still set to a G-lute, and the tablatures do not supply enough information to show how Morlaye made such choices to reach a firm conclusion. This may come down to a personal preference for the appropriate tessitura for a particular song: it is noticeable that the psalm *Du fons de ma pensée* (De profundis) remains in a lower tessitura, for instance, and one can imagine Morlaye making such a decision on the basis of the text, though there are no such obvious cues in the other songs.

Attaingnant too intabulates mostly for a G-lute, so problems of transposition barely arise. The only exceptions are the two songs he intabulates for a D-lute, *Secoures moy*, and *D'ou vient cela*, which are the only two pieces with D as final (the other songs are in F or G). Both have a low tessitura (c'-c" and c'-a') so transposition up a fourth does not pose a problem. This may relate to mode, for in effect it puts the only two songs in Dorian mode into transposed Dorian mode (on G) like the handful of other minor mode pieces in the book (most of the songs are in the major mode on F). But why the intabulator should have felt the need to do this is unclear. The matter is further confused because the solo lute versions occasionally use lute-pitch differently to the lute-songs. The two lute-songs using D-lute both use a G-lute in their solo

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[99] Adrianne Mairy, transcribing Le Roy's *airs de cour* in **La Laurencie..1934**, is aware that this tessitura is problematical, and transposes these airs down a further octave into the bass clef (see p. 136 and 172).
[100] These are *Estans assis*, *Des qu'adversité*, and *Or laisse createur*.

versions, while two other lute-songs using a G-lute (*Jouissance* and *Si j'ay pour vous*) are intabulated for an A-lute in the solo version. The retention of a G-lute for the first two pieces might add weight to the idea that the reason for using a D-lute in the lute-song versions was to make the voice transpose, for whatever reason. But there is no clear reason why the arranger departs from using a G-lute for only two of the solo intabulations, where the songs differ in no significant way from their companions. It is always possible that little more than whim may lie behind such phenomena.

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While the repertoires that Le Roy sets, essentially monophonic and, where arranged in parts, homophonic, are the most forward-looking with regard to the development of lute-song in the seventeenth century, his settings of them reveal little about an emerging sense of lute-song as a distinct genre. Their primary conception was probably as solo lute music, and this is what they most closely resemble. But up to a point the other publications, while clearly designed as lute-songs, show similar preoccupations. They remain arrangements of polyphonic models, with a literal if decorated reproduction of parts that remains close to the practice of solo intabulation, and this is only one symptom of the intimate relationship between solo lute music and lute-song in the early repertoire. It is again primarily the choice of pieces for lute-song arrangement that shows an awareness of the form having distinctive characteristics, for only Phalèse selects the inappropriate contrapuntal chanson for intabulation, for reasons that have been suggested. Yet we shall see when we turn to sources from the late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries that surviving lute-songs are no longer dependent in any straightforward sense on polyphonic models, and have a development that is largely independent of solo-lute composition. Making some attempt at filling the gap between the two practices will be the object of the next chapter.

2: THE DEVELOPMENT OF THE LUTE-AIR TO 1608

Between 1571 and 1608 no further collections of songs with lute accompaniment seem to have been printed in France. This makes the few sources which do survive from the intervening period all the more valuable. These consist of two foreign anthologies of lute music which include a few lute-airs (**Adriaensen 1592** and **Besard 1603**), and manuscript sources from France (principally the **Croy ms.** and **Aix ms.**) and England (**Tessier ms.**). But that style of music most suited to lute-song performance, the homophonic *air de cour*, flourished at the end of the century, and these sources along with other evidence suggest that the *air* was commonly and increasingly performed as lute-song.

In the following we look at the evidence for lute-song performance in the sixteenth century going beyond that provided by the surviving sources, and in doing so we can trace some of the forces that led to the increasing popularity of the genre. Then we turn to the sources mentioned above, as the earliest surviving examples of the lute-air after **Le Roy 1571** and see, amongst other things, how these compare with printed lute-song from earlier in the century.

Literary evidence for lute-song

In our preceding discussion of the *voix de ville* we have seen evidence for a broader practice of lute-song than the published sources allow. Saint-Gelais's manner of singing his own verses to the lute, possibly derived from his experience of the *frottola* in Italy, may be poorly reflected in Certon's four-part settings of 1552 or Le Roy's soloistic tablatures in the second guitar book. And while Certon's collection marks the start of the history of the *voix de ville* in musical publications, this lighter form of song had a history stretching back to the early part of the century at least, and with it, very possibly, a practice of lute-song accompaniment not necessarily related to the sorts of arrangement we see later in the century.[1] The monophonic *chansons rustiques* that Brown regards as crucial in the development of the Parisian chanson in the first quarter of the century are also a repertoire that would have been susceptible to lute-song realisation, and may be intimately related to the early *voix de ville*.

Such speculation aside, there are many literary references that testify to the practice of lute-song in the sixteenth century, most commonly in poetic sources, and it is most unlikely that these can related exclusively to music from the printed books already discussed. One example does tie in loosely with the

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[1] Evidence of the early appearance of the *voix de ville* as a musical genre comes from Nicolas de la Chesnaye's *Moralité - La Condamnacion de Bancquet* (Paris, 1507) where a list of chanson incipits is followed by a distinction between chansons that are 'musical, and vaudevilles' - that is, erudite as opposed to light and simple ('Icy dessus sont nommez de plusieurs chansons, tand de musique que de vaul de ville...', op. cit., reedition in P.-L. Jacob (Paul Lacroix) ed., *Recueil de farces, soties et moralités du quinzième siècle*, Paris: Delahaye, 1859. Cited in **Levy 1954** p. 187. For the list of songs see **Lesure 1954c** p. 173 n. 11. This distinction also occurs in Bourgeoys's 1547 psalter, where the composer contrasts settings that are '...common, or vaudeville' with 'others more musical' ('... diversité de Musique: à scavoir, familière, ou vaudeville; aultres plus musicales ...'. Loys Bourgeoys: *Le Premier livre des Pseaulmes de David contenant XXIIII Pseaulmes*, Lyon: Beringen, 1547. Cited in **Levy 1954** p. 187).

arranger of one of the mid-century printed books, however. The poet Jacques Grévin (1538-70) was a friend of Guillaume Morlaye, and was also enamoured of his daughter, Anthoinette, herself a lutenist. In a poem entitled 'Le Lut' and dedicated to Morlaye, Grévin states that he would be untrue to his art if:

> ... wishing to speak of the lute
> I did not give the crown
> To him who best fashions
> To its harmony and sweet sound
> A honeyed song[2]

The reference to a 'song' (chanson) here may be a poetic term for music in general, or the intabulation of vocal music for solo lute, rather than lute-song. But a poem addressed to Anthoinette is more explicit:

> Anthoinette I give you
> Some lines for a song,
> And if by chance at the sound
> Of your lute I am struck
> Believe, believe firmly
> That it is not the instrument
> That pierces me
> Charming my affection
> But the perfection
> Of the lady who plays it.[3]

Grévin also tells us that he spent 'mainte et mainte nuicts' singing to his own lute accompaniment,[4] and his interest in lute-song is further suggested by the introduction of two serenades, sung in Italian to lute accompaniment, in Acts II and V of his comedy *Les esbahis* (1562).[5]

The image of a lady amateur accompanying herself on the lute is far from unusual in poetic sources. There are several such references in the poems of Pierre de Ronsard (1524-1585), mostly describing his beloved 'Cassandre' (Salviati). He refers, for instance, to her 'song gently married / With my lines given life by her thumb',[6] this being a conventional way of describing lute-playing, with further examples given below. He also gives us this verse, where the reference to the Branle de Bourgongne suggests that the piece in question is a *voix de ville*:

> Neither more nor less than when Jupiter is at ease
> When with her lute some Muse calms him
> Thus am I taken with her songs,
> When with her lute her fingers are busy

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[2] 'Je feroy tort à mes vers,/ A ma muse et à mon livre,/ Qui ja désireux de vivre/ Se décele à l'univers;/ Je feroy tort à sa gloire,/ Et n'est celuy qui ne fust/ Envieux de ma méoire,/ Si voulant parler du lut,/ Je ne donnoy la couronne/ A celuy qui mieux façonne/ A l'accord et au doux son/ Une mielleuse chanson.' *L'Olimpe*, Paris, 1560, Ode VII, p. 164. Cited in **Lesure.. 1957** p. 9

[3] 'Anthoinette je vous donne/ Des vers pour une chanson,/ Et si d'avanture au son/ De vostre lut je m'estonne,/ Pensez, pensez fermement/ Que ce n'est point l'instrument/ Qui me point et m'esguillonne,/ Charmant mon affection,/ Mais bien la perfection/ De ladame qui le sonne.' *Gélodacrie* Book 1, p. 109.

[4] **Lesure.. 1957** p. 12

[5] See **Dobbins 1994** p. 111

[6] '... son chant marié gentement / Avec mes vers animez de son poulce.' *Amours*, 1552 no. XXXVIII in Laumonier ed., *Oeuvres Complètes,* 1914-75, Vol. IV p. 41.

> And when she sings [dit] the *branle de Bourgongne*,
> Which she sang and played, so that I was taken[7]

The same might be true of a verse by Jacques Tahureau (1527-55), who again seems to be describing a *chanson à danser*:

> Then, skipping on the ground
> To the happy sighs of a song
> Blending with the gentle sound
> Of a lute, cittern, or guitar.[8]

The Lyonnais poet Pontus de Tyard (1521-1605) addressed two books, the *Solitaire premier* (1552) and *Solitaire second ou prose de la musique* (1555),[9] to the pseudonymous 'Pasithée', since identified as Marguerite de Bourg, 'a lady distinguished in the literary circles of Lyons'.[10] In the *Solitaire Premier* Tyard describes how:

> I found her seated and holding a Lute in her hands, mingling her sweet and easy voice with the sound of the strings which she touched divinely; so graciously did she measure a French [Italian] Ode that I was ravished, as by a celestial harmony, and refrained from entering, remaining silent so as not to interrupt her pleasure or the contentment which I received from the contemplation of her graces.[11]

In the early editions of the book it is an Italian ode that Pasithée 'measures' to the lute, whereas in the later, 1575 edition, the ode is now French; this is an indication of the extent to which French lyric poetry had developed under the influence of Tyard and other members of the *Pléiade* during the century, and also perhaps a further suggestion of the Italian origins of French lute-song.

'Pasithée' has also been taken to refer to Catherine de Clermont, Countess and later *Maréchale* of Retz, the dedicatee of **Le Roy 1571**, whose literary salon at Paris (one of the earliest of its kind) was visited by Tyard and other poets of the *Pléiade* in the 1570s.[12] This is one of two pseudonyms used in a manuscript

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[7] 'Ne plus, ne moins, que Juppiter est aise, / Quand de son luth quelque Muse l'apaise, / Ainsi je suis de ses chansons, épris, / Lors qu'à son luth ses doits elle embesogne / Et qu'elle dit la branle de Bourgongne , / Qu'elle disoit, le jouer que je fus pris.' *Amours* 1553 no. CVII, in Laumonier ed. *Oeuvres Complètes*, Vol. V, 138-9

[8] 'Puys bondissant dessus la terre / Aux gays soupirs d'une chanson / Contr'accordante au gentil son / D'un luc, d'un cistre, ou de guiterre'. *Les Première Poésies* (1554) in Trevor Peach, ed., *Jacques Tahureau: Poésies Complètes*, Geneva: Droz, 1984, no. XXXIV, p. 169. In a similar verse, Tahureau says: 'Ca, ça, mignardes, à la dance, / Suyvons main à main la cadance / De ce luc accordant au son / De l'armonieuse chanson / Dont l'immortelle Caliope / Ravist desja toute la trope'. Op. cit. no. LX, p. 222.

[9] Modern editions of these books are: *Solitaire Premier* (Lyons 1552), ed. S.F. Baridon, Geneva, 1950. *Solitaire Second*, (Lyons 1555), ed. C.M. Yandell, Geneva 1980.

[10] **Dobbins 1992b** p. 95. 'Pasithée' has also been taken to refer to the Countess of Retz, dedicatee of **Le Roy 1571**. For the attribution to Marguerite de Bourg see **Fontaine 1984**.

[11] 'Je la trouvay assise et tenant un leut en ses mains, accordant au son des cordes, que divinement elle touchoit, sa voix douce et facile, avec laquelle tant gracieusement elle mesuroit une ode italienne que desjà je me sentois ravi comme d'une célest harmonie et sans entrer plus avant, demeurois coy, pour n'interrompre son plaisir, ny le contentement que je recevois de la contemplation de ses grâces.' *Solitaire Premier*, f. 1v. Translated in **Yates 1947** p. 79 (in the above, Yates translates 'cordes' as chords).

[12] It is quite possible that Tyard allowed 'Pasithée' to become associated with Catherine, despite her not being the original object of his adoration in the *Solitaires*.

belonging to her (the other is 'Dictynne').[13] The mansucript includes the following 'Stances à Madame Pasithée', which probably refer to lute-song:

> Was I not only just now with you
> Hearing you pluck the Lute with such sweet harmony
> And singing a little with a sovereign voice
> When with secret sighs you lifted up your eyes
> Head half-lowered, and spirit lost
> You seemed to lament a great absence[14]

In 1585, Loys Papon praises the musical ability of an unidentified 'Panfile' in a publication at Lyons, reminiscent of Tyard's admiration for 'Pasithée':

> But while she wishes, with more active zeal
> To mingle the sweet sounds that she fingers,
> With an angelic voice, in the celestial harmony,
> That she calls an echo, with the reprise of her verse,
> That she herself enraptures on the wings of her airs.
> Those pleased by the resonances of this lute
> Faint under the [influence of the] two, and die in awe.[15]

Frank Dobbins notes that 'Panfile's singing and lute-playing belong to the time of Claude Le Jeune, when *rechants* and echos were favoured in settings of strophic airs; the poem even mentions an 'academy', which might have been an echo of Baïf's *Académie de Poésie et de Musique*, rather than of any such establishment in Lyons.'[16]

The use of such pseudonyms as 'Pasithée' and 'Panfile' is common in sixteenth-century verse. Amadis Jamyn, in his *Amours d'Oriane*, provides another example:

> When I see her so kind and beautiful
> So sweetly handling the tongues
> Of the friendly lute, and marrying her voice
> To the pretty sound made by the Chanterelle[17]

Other poems make no attempt to conceal the identity of their dedicatees. Etienne Jodelle (1532-73) addresses to Louise Larcher a 'Fantasy on a verse well sung and sounded on the lute':

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[13] Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, Ms. fr. 25455. Since most of the poetry in the book addresses Catherine as the *Maréchale de Retz*, it cannot pre-date the middle of 1573 when her husband became *maréchal*. See **Brooks 1995** for a full discussion of this manuscript and the circle of poets and musicians surrounding Catherine de Retz. I am grateful for Dr Brooks for allowing me to consult her paper prior to its publication.

[14] 'Encor n'est ce tout, l'heur que j'eus aupres de vous, / Oyant pinser le Luth en ces acors si doux, / Et chanter quelque temps d'une voix souveraine / Quand de soupirs secrets les yeux levez en haut, / La test mi-baissée, & l'ame en son defaut, / Vous sembliez regreter une absence lointaine.' Ms. op. cit. f. 66

[15] 'Mais alors qu'elle veut, d'un zelle plus actif / Mesler a ces douceurz des tons qu'elle manie, / d'une angelique voix, la celeste armonie / Qu'elle appelle un Echo, de rechant de ses vers / Qu'elle mesme s'extase aux ayles de ses airs. / Ceux a qui de ce leuth, les resonances plurent, / Se pasment soubz les deux, surmerveillent, se meurent.' *Oeuvres du chanoine Loys Papon*, Lyons, 1581. Quoted and translated in **Dobbins 1992b** p. 84.

[16] **Dobbins 1992b** p. 84. The elusive reference to an 'academy' appears later in the poem.

[17] 'Quand je la voy si gentille et si belle, / Si doucement les langues manier / Du Lut aimable, et sa vois marier / Au son mignard que dit la Chanterelle', *Oeuvres poétiques*, Paris: Willem, 1879, Vol. I p. 74, cited in **Fontaine 1995** p. 469

Sing these lines, sound this sound as well
This sound which is the spirit of these lines
Animate one, and the other too
It is your your voice and your fingers they praise
So excellent (O Louise) that they
Are worthy of you, and make you worthy of them[18]

Similarly, Olivier de Magny (1529-60) addresses a poem to his mistress, Castianire, in which he might possibly be describing her singing to the lute, and playing other instruments beside:

When a song to the lute my mistress sounds
It seems that I am hearing 'le Poulac' play:
And when I hear her playing the flute
It seems that I hear Jan Davit play[19]

There is an ambiguity in both the words 'chanson' and 'fredonner' which could suggest singing but probably means playing in this example. In a longer version of this poem, however, Magny is more explicit:

If she tunes with her sweet voice
The double strings with her thumb
Lambert although companion to Kings
Does not sing with finer voice[20]

Such unadulterated praise of the lady's musical abilities is most likely hyperbole, and is in line with poetic convention. But in all these examples we may assume that we are not dealing purely with poetic imagery (as we probably are with, for instance Rémy Belleau's description of shepherds singing sonnets to the lute),[21] but with an idealistic description of what was almost certainly a genuine practice of lute-song. Such accounts testify to the status of music generally, but particularly to the refined art of lute-song as an accomplishment for a Renaissance lady. It is not only a mark her talent, but also an aspect of her charms - the sort of skill that made her at once both desirable and respectable. This chimes well with the sorts of texts we find in use in the sixteenth-century lute-song books: the devout psalm or motet, and the elegant, courtly chanson. There is no reference to the humorous, at times vulgar, narrative Parisian chanson, and we have seen that the *voix de ville*, while ostensibly a simple and popular genre, in fact cultivated the courtly texts of poets such as Saint-Gelais.

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[18] *Fantaisie sur un vers bien chanté et bien sonné sur le Lut*: 'Chanter ce vers, sonner ce son aussi, / Ce son qui est l'esprit au vers enclos, / Animer l'un, animer l'autre aussi, / C'est de ta voix et de tes doigts le los, / Tant excellent (ô Loyse) qu'iceux / Dignes de toy, te rendent dignes d'eux.' Etienne Jodelle, *Oeuvres complètes*, ed. Enea Balmas, Paris: Gallimard, 1965, Vol. I p. 130, cited in **Fontaine 1995** p. 469.

[19] 'Quand un chant sur le luth ma Maistresse fredonne, / Il me semble que j'oy le Poulac fredonner:/ Et quand je l'oy parfois une fluste entonner/ Il me semble que j'oy Jan Davit qui l'entonne.' *Les Soupirs* (1557) in D. Wilkin, ed., Geneva, 1978, Sonnet CXX p. 118, cited in **Fontaine 1995** p. 468.. **Lesure.. 1934** p. xxix identifies Jean David as a flautist in the King's service in 1559, but is unable to identify 'le Poulac', unlikely to be the famous 'Jacob le Polonais' at this date.

[20] *S'elle accorde avecq sa voix douce, / Les doubles fredons de son poulce, / Lambert bien qu'il hante les Roys / Ne chante de plus belle voix*. Olivier de Magny, *Les Odes amoureuses de 1559* ed. M. S. Whitney, Droz, 1964, 10-14, cited in **Fontaine 1995**, 467-8. Lambert is usually regarded as referring to Lambert de Beaulieu, but on the identity of de Beaulieu see below, Chapter 2 n. 68.

[21] See **Lesure 1954c** p. 171. Belleau himself may well have sung his poetry to the lute, however, for both a lute and a cittern are listed among his possessions. See **Fontaine 1995** n. 5.

After descriptions of ladies (often the object of a poet's affections) singing to the lute, the most common image is of the poet himself doing so. The two are combined in the case of the Lyonnaise poet Louise Labé (also known as 'la belle Cordière'), who resembles Saint-Gelais in combining the roles of poet, singer, and lutenist (though not, so far as we are told, composer). In a collection of poetry singing her praises we learn that:

> Louise has a voice that Music avows
> Louise has a hand that so well the lute plays[22]

while Labé herself writes that:

> While my hand may touch the strings
> Of the sweet lute to sing your graces
> While my spirit will to be contented
> With wishing nothing more than to know you[23]

At the end of the *Solitaire Premier*, the 'solitaire' (Tyard himself) snatches up a lute and sings to it, as though in emulation of his beloved 'Pasithée'. While this may be pure fancy, there is little doubt that this humanist thinker regarded lute-song as an ideal medium for the delivery of poetry, for in the *Solitaire Second* Tyard gives a defence of monody not unlike that which motivated the Italian humanists of the Florentine *camerate*:

> If the intention of music seems to be to give a tune to words, so that anyone hearing it will have his passions roused and will let himself be drawn to the poet's affection, he who can properly accommodate a single voice seems to me better able to achieve the end to which he aspires, in view of the fact that figured music (or *res facta* [i.e. polyphony]), usually conveys to the ear nothing but a great noise, for which you cannot effectively feel anything. But the simple, single voice, sweetly flowing and continuing according to the need of its mode chosen to enhance the verse, delights the part it wants to.[24]

In 1557 Philibert Bugnyon praises the talents of the poet Guillaume de la Taissonnière (*c*.1530-*c*.1590) with an ode which does not name but almost certainly describes the lute:

> An Orpheus leaping
> To the semiquavers of his cithara,
> Does not so sweetly separate
> The Sisters, from the flowering mountain,
> As you do with your Greek lyre

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[22] 'Louïze h'a voix que la Musique avoue,/ Louïze h'a main que tant bien au lut joue.' Various: *Euvres de Louïze Labé Lionnoize*, Lyon: Durand and Perrin, 1824, p. 113

[23] 'Tant que ma main pourra les cordes tendre / Du mignard luth, pour tes grâces chanter: / Tant que l'esprit se voudra contenter / De ne vouloir rien fors que toi comprendre'. Sonnet XIV, in Karine Berriot, ed. *Louise Labé La Belle Rebelle et le François nouveau suivi des Oeuvres Complètes*, Seuil, 1977, p. 382. Labé makes five references to the lute in her poems, mostly citing it as a source of personal consolation (see also Keith Cameron ed., *A Concordance to Louise Labé Oeuvres Poétiques*, Exeter, 1986).

[24] '...si l'intention de Musique semble estre, de donner tel air à la parole, que tout escoutant se sente passionné et se laisse tirer à l'afeccion du Poëte: celui qui sçet proprement acommoder une voix seule, me semble mieus ateindre à sa fin aspirée: vu que la Musique figurée (ou chose faite) le plus souvent ne raporte aus oreilles autre chose qu'un grand bruit, duquel vous ne sentez aucune vive eficace. Mais la simple & unique voix, coulée doucement, & continuée selon le devoir de sa Mode choisie pour le mérite des vers, vous ravit la part qu'elle veut.' Op. cit. p. 133; Yandell ed. p. 214. Translated in **Dobbins 1992b** p. 99.

Enlivening down here
The ladies of Mâcon at their dances,
In which all noble souls participate.
When I see the fingers of your left hand
Controlling the pattern of your chords,
Which you pluck in tuneful accompaniment
To the sweet sound of your voice.
I seem to be hearing
A musical Amphion,
A Phoebus, an Arion
For whom the Dolphin waits at sea...[25]

And as one might expect, the lute figures in La Taissonière's own poetry, including this likely reference to lute-song:

Silvery sound, musical harmony,
Grave chords clearly articulated,
Lute resounding when you are played
By the one who holds me so entranced,
Don't you know that, filled with pity,
She was sorry for my past suffering?
So she said, melting in sad tears,
To the lute of the one who caused my sadness.[26]

Many accounts of poets singing to the lute are probably wishful thinking. Ronsard suffered from deafness, claimed to have a poor singing voice, and stated that he rarely sang. But this does not discourage him from addressing numerous poems to lyre, guitar, or lute, and making exhortations such as the following:

Come to me, my Lute, that I may harmonise
An Ode to sing
Above the best sounding string
That Phoebus has chosen to give you[27]

What such passages reflect above all else is the importance that the poets of the *Pléiade*, and especially Ronsard, attached to lyric verse: that is, the musical performance of verse designed to be sung. Ronsard took an extreme position, stating for instance that:

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[25] 'Un Orphée bondissant/ Aux fredons de sa cithare, / Si doucement ne sépare/ Les Soeurs, du Mont florissant, / Que de ta grecque Tortue / Tu fais bravader ça-bas / Les Mâconnises aux bals, / Ou tout gent coeur s'éverture./ Quand je voy gaucher tes doigts / Dessus le plan de tes cordes, / Qu'en pinsetant tu accordes, / Avecq' le doux de ta voix: / Il me semble que j'entend / Un musical Amphion, / Un Phébus, un Arion, / Qu'en mer le Dauphin attend... '. *Erotasmes de Phidie et Gélasine*, Lyons, 1557, p. 69. Translated in **Dobbins 1992b** p. 93-4.

[26] 'Son argentin, musicale armonie / Graves acors nettement prononcés / Luth resonant quand celle te manie / Qui me tient tant mes soleils asconcés, / Connois tu point que de pitié munie / Elle ait regret de mes travaus passés? / Ainsi disoit fondant en tristes pleurs, / Au luth de cell' qui causoit mes douleurs.' *Amoureuses Occupations*, Lyons 1555 p. 13. Translated in **Dobbins 1992b**, 90-91.

[27] 'Vien à moi mon luc que j'acorde / Une ode pour la fredonner / Dessus la mieus parlante corde / Que Phebus t'ait voulu donner', *Second livre des Odes* (*Les Quatre Premiers livres des Odes*), (1550), Ode III 'A la Roine de Navarre sur la Mort de Charles, duc D'Orleans' (d. 1545) in Laumonier ed. *Oeuvres Complètes*, 1914-75, Vol. I, p. 179.

> ... poetry, without instruments, or without the grace of a single or several voices, is in no way agreeable, no more than are instruments when they are not animated by the melody of a pleasing voice.[28]

He also took credit for having championed lyric verse, claiming that 'I was the first among us to enrich my language with this word: Odes',[29] though as regards lute-song we have seen him give precedence to Saint-Gelais as the first in France 'to marry a lute to the charms of the voice'.[30] Finally, he gave advice for the creation of verse that was apt for musical setting, the two main principles being strophic regularity (i.e. a similar scheme of syllable and rhyme for each verse, so that each could be sung to the same music), and the alternation of masculine and feminine line endings.[31]

This emphasis among the poets of the *Pléiade* on the musical performance of poetry is a consequence of their desire to elevate French poetry by looking to classical precedents - a typically humanist vision. The examples of Orpheus singing to the lyre, or of Homer, Pindar and Horace as masters of lyric verse, was a potent one, and coupled with the desire for intelligibility of the lyrics, made some form of monodic delivery an ideal, as Tyard quoted above suggests. Thus du Bellay, who criticised Saint-Gelais for his 'chansons vulgaires' in his *Déffence et illustration de la langue française* of 1549, in effect a manifesto for these humanist ambitions, nonetheless called on poets to:

> Sing for me those odes still unknown of the French Muse, with a lute, well tuned to the sound of the Greek and Roman lyre, and let there be no line which does not display some vestige of rare and ancient learning.[32]

Similarly, in a poem dedicated to the Queen (Catherine de Medici), Du Bellay refers to:

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[28] '... car la Poësie, sans les instrumens, ou sans la grace d'une seule ou plusieurs voix, n'est nullement aggreable, non plus que les instrumens sans estre animez de la melodie d'une plaisante voix.' *Abrégé de l'Art poétique*, 1565, in Laumonier ed., *Oeuvres Complètes*, 1914-75, Vol. XIV, p. 9.

[29] '[J']osai, le premier des nostres, enricher ma langue de ce nom Odes.'. *Odes*, Preface. In Laumonier ed., *Oeuvres Complètes*, 1914-75, Vol. I, p. 44.

[30] See Chapter 1 p. 42

[31] The rationale behind Ronsard's call for alternating masculine and feminine endings is rarely discussed. It may have been intended to allow for musical variety of rhythm at the cadence. Chailley has also suggested that a common pattern of alternating endings, such as *m-f-m-f*, would allow various poems to be sung to the same music (see **Lebègue 1954** p. 116). This is a practice that Ronsard tolerated, for he allowed a handful of musical settings in the *Supplément Musical* to accomodate the whole of his *Amours* of 1552 (see **Tiersot 1907** for transcriptions of these settings, which are by Certon, Goudimel, Janequin, and Muret, and also **Ouvrard 1988** for further discussion of the *Supplément*). A regular alternation of endings also facilitates the even musical phrasing that one finds in the simpler forms, like the *voix de ville*, which Ronsard probably considered most appropriate for his lyric verse. Du Bellay, in the preface to his own *Vers Lyriques* of 1549, notes that he has not been unduly concerned to observe the alternation of masculine and feminine endings 'comme on use en ces vaudevilles et chansons qui se chantent d'un mesme chant pour tous les couplets, craignant de contraindre et gehinner ma diction...'. See **Ouvrard 1988** p. 153 and also, for Ronsard's relationship with the *voix de ville*, **Dottin 1988**. Both articles are found in an edition of the *Revue de Musicologie* devoted to Ronsard (Vol. 74 no. 2, 1988).

[32] 'Chante moy ces odes incongnues encor' de la Muse Françoyse, d'un luc, bien accordé au son de la lyre Greque & Romaine: & qu'il n'y ait vers, ou n'aparoisse quelque vestige de rare & antique erudition', *Joachim du Bellay Oeuvres Poétiques* (1549), Chamard ed., 112-115.

The lines that I have married
To my Lyre, which attunes
Their diverse sounds to the string
Dedicated to your grandeur[33]

References to the lyre, including singing to its accompaniment, abound in French verse,[34] as do musical references generally, including specific references to the lute. Attempting to recreate the ancient practice of singing to the lyre, with its promise of reproducing the marvellous 'affects' attributed to ancient music, naturally posed a problem for the humanist poets, for contemporary instruments had to stand in the place of the ancient instrument. D.P. Walker has tentatively argued that for the Renaissance humanist the most common replacement for the Orphic lyre was the viol or violin.[35] But in poetic sources at least identification of the lute with the lyre is most common. Saint-Gelais, in his last poem, proclaims 'May you be taken, beautiful lute, for Orpheus's lyre',[36] and the sentiment is matched among the poets of the *Pléiade*. Du Bellay associates the two in the first of the verses quoted above, and so does Bugnyon in praise of La Taissonière. Similarly, Tahureau clearly refers to a plucked instrument in the following:

Bring forth your Apollo, who will please the Gods
Tickling with his fingers a melodious song,
Which from the speaking nerves [strings] of his gilded lyre
Will sing [*Dira*] of my Pascal honoured praises[37]

We might similarly note the implicit identification of lute and lyre in much of Ronsard's verse. Indeed, one has the impression that bowed instruments figured little in these poets' thoughts, with Ronsard for instance referring to the violin only twice in his poetic works, and the viol only once, as opposed to one hundred and thirteen references to the lute, while du Bellay refers to the lute thirty-two times, but to viol and violin not at all. Thus while the *lira de braccio* may sometimes be intended in references to the lyre, there is little direct evidence for this in French poetry.[38]

Ronsard's particular interest in the lute is further indicated in his dedicating a sonnet to two famous lutenists, Vaumesnil and Edinthon, in successive editions,[39] and especially in his epitaph for the great lutenist Albert de Rippe, where again the identification of lute and lyre is apparent:

What do I hear from this tomb resound? - A lyre ...
It is that of Albert, who fair-haired Phoebus
Taught from the cradle and to whom he gave the harp

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[33] 'Les vers que j'ay mariez / A ma Lyre, qui accorde / Leurs sons divers sur sa chorde / A ta grandeur dediez', *Recueil de Poesies* (1549) in Chamard ed. (rev. Bellinger), *Joachim du Bellay Oeuvres Poétiques*, Paris: Droz, Vol. III, 1912, p. 86.

[34] Ronsard uses the word some 170 times in his poetic works. The verb 'chanter' appears 616 times. See **Creore 1972.**

[35] **Walker 1954** p. 19-20. Walker offers this hypothesis on the basis of iconographical evidence, and also Mersenne's description of the *Lira da gamba*, which Mersenne simply calls a Lyre, as an instrument that 'on en use pour accompagner la voix et les recits', (*Harmonie Universelle*, Paris, 1636, Book IV, *des Instruments*, x, p. 204).

[36] 'Qu'on te prenne, beau luth, pour la lyre d'Orphée.' See **Heartz 1972** p. 135

[37] 'Menez vostre Apollon, qui paistra tous les Dieux / Chatouillent de ses doys un chant melodieux, / Que sus les nerfz parlans de sa lire dorée / Dira de mon Pascal la louange honorée'. 'A Pierre de Pascal', *Les Premieres Poésies* (1554) no. XXIV in Trevor Peach, ed. *Jacques Tahureau: Poésies Complètes*, Geneva: Droz, 1984 p. 137.

[38] For musical and other references in these poets' works see **Creore 1972** and **Cameron 1988**.

[39] The dedication is to Vaumesnil in 1567, and Edinthon in 1578. The sonnet includes the lines: 'Oyant ton chant sur tons mélodieux / Je vi, je meurs, je suis plein de manie, / Et tellement ton accord de manie / Que je deviens et sage et furieux.' Laumonier ed., *Oeuvres Complètes*, 1914-75, Vol. XIII, p. 251.

> And the best lute that ever he held
> So well that after his death his lute though enclosed
> In his tomb sounds still against his bones.[40]

To what extent, and in what ways, such ideals were born out in practice is hard to say. Certainly Ronsard's verse was frequently set by composers in the second half of the century, with several musical collections devoted to it.[41] But what about the 'day-to-day' recital of poetry? Here one might simply guess that performance, possibly to a very simple accompaniment on an instrument - preferably the lute - was an ideal that was widely held and sometimes realised, but with the ideal alone enough to encourage the popularisation of lute-song in the second half of the century. And while the nature of any such casual performances must remain uncertain, it is reasonable to expect that if they differed from the worked out tablatures we find in the publications, they were probably simpler and more chordal in nature, and moving in the direction of the sort of accompaniment we see in the seventeenth-century lute-air, and in the sources studied later in this chapter.

The humanist vision of the *Pléiade* had another embodiment in France in the form of the *Académie de poésie et de musique*, and this too very likely encouraged the development of lute-song, and for similar reasons. The *Académie* was in a sense a more rigorous version of the *Pléiade*, and one of its founders, Jean-Antoine de Baïf, was also a leading figure in the earlier group alongside Ronsard, du Bellay, and Belleau. The *Académie*'s ultimate goals were similar to those of the *Pléiade*: the elevation of French art through reference to ancient practices, but involving the union of not only poetry and music, but also dance. In setting out the way to achieve this, however, the *Académiciens* were more precise than Ronsard. Baïf and his fellow founder of the *Académie*, the musician Thibaut de Courville (*d.* 1581), called for the application of Greek poetic metres to French verse. The theory was that a poetic line should be constructed so that its long and short syllables fell in a recognised pattern derived from classical verse. This in turn meant establishing a system for identifying long and short syllables in French which, it has often been pointed out, cannot really be done rigorously. Baïf's rules were diverse and not always consistent, identifying length in terms of, for instance, specific combinations of vowels with consonants, or simply by relating duration to accent (itself an elusive aspect of the French language). The resultant type of verse was known as *vers mesuré à l'antique*. In setting it to music the rule was that the composer should follow the pattern of the verse in the rhythm of the music, with a long syllable set to a note value twice that used to set a short syllable. The resultant *musique mesurée à l'antique* is therefore characterised by using, in theory at least, only two note values, one twice the length of the other.[42] This rule has two further consequences for musical settings. One is that polyphonic *musique mesurée* is bound to be strictly homorhythmic, since all

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[40] 'Qu'oi-je dans ce tombeau resonner? - une lyre ... / C'est celle là d'un Albert, que Phebus au poil blond / Aprist des le berceau et lui donna la harpe, / Et le luc le meilleur qu'il mist onc en écharpe, / Si bien qu'apres sa mort son luc mesmes enclôs / Dedans sa tombe, encor sonne contre ses ôs.' Laumonier ed., *Oeuvres Complètes*, 1914-75, Vol. VI, pp. 24-5

[41] These include Bertrand's and Maletty's *Les Amours de P. de Ronsard* of 1576 and 1578, Clereau's *Les Odes de Pierre de Ronsard* of 1575, Regnard's *Poésies de P. de Ronsard*, 1579, and the *Sontez de P. de Ronsard* by Boni (1576) and de Monte, 1575. There are other publications in which Ronsard's name figures among others on the title page (such as La Grotte's *Chansons de P. de Ronsard* of 1569) and Ronsard's poetry features widely in publications from the 1550s.

[42] In practice, composers like Claude Le Jeune often use shorter note values, or 'loose change' as Masson described it, so that a two quavers, say, might stand in for a crotchet. The basic rule of *musique mesurée* was still observed so long as the notes equivalent to a crotchet in this example set only one syllable of the text.

the voices in following the same rule must have an identical rhythm. The other is that, when the syllabic pattern is irregular (i.e. contains an uneven mixture of longs and shorts), this will be true of the music as well, and it is this that gives most *musique mesurée* its most distinctive feature - the absence of musical metre, and the appearance of additive rhythms.[43]

In its organisation too the *Académie* was a much more rigorous affair than the simple association of poets that constituted the *Pléiade*. Baïf and Courville began working informally on their theories of *vers mesurés* and *musique mesurée* in about 1567, but by 1570 and despite opposition things were sufficiently advanced for the *Académie* to be made a royal institution with the personal support of Charles IX. It had two kinds of member: professional musicians who performed *musique mesurée*, and 'Auditeurs' who listened to it. It met regularly, under stringent conditions of secrecy, at Baïf's house in Paris, with the aim of developing the art until its superiority was sufficiently well established that it could be widely disseminated or even imposed. In the event it is unlikely that the *Académie* in this form survived the death of Charles IX in 1573, though its founders continued to promulgate the practice of *vers* and *musique mesurée*.

Because meetings of the *Académie* were held in secret it is difficult to know what form musical performance took, but there is evidence to suggest that lute-song figured in it, possibly quite prominently. That musical performances included instruments as well as voices is certain. In 1616 Scévole de Sainte Marthe described the meetings of the *Académie* thus:

> It was in this pleasant residence [Baïf's house] that he [Baïf] established an Academy where the best musicians in the world came in troops to accord the melodious sound of their instruments with that new cadence of measured verses which he had invented. The fame of these new and melodious concerts was so widespread that the King himself and all the princes of the court wished to hear them; and they did not disdain to divert themselves by often visiting our Baïf whom they found always in the company of the Muses or amongst the accords of music.[44]

Such performances were likely to involve some kind of solo song. Not only was Orphic imagery as likely to affect the thinking of the *Académiciens* as it was the poets of the *Pléiade*,[45] but the notion that music should primarily be a vehicle for the text, with intelligibility a pre-requisite, makes some form of monodic delivery very likely. Such music could also be easily arranged from the strictly homorhythmic settings in parts of composers like Le Jeune, and perhaps equally importantly, would overcome the requirement for homorhythm that holds true only when all the parts are sung. The lute, with its history of acting as an

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[43] For a more detailed discussion of the *Académie*, and the theory of *vers* and *musique mesurée*, see **Augé-Chiquet 1909**, **Masson 1921**, **Walker 1940**, **Yates 1947**, **Bonniffet 1988**, and the various essays collected retrospectively in **Walker 1985**. The ametrical nature of much *musique mesurée* is often regarded as a vital influence on the later character of the *air de cour*, and hence of course the lute-air. This question is discussed in more detail in Chapter 4.

[44] Scévole de Sainte Marthe: *Scaevolae Sammarthianae Opera tum Poetica, tum eaque soluta oratione scripsit*, Paris, 1616, II pp. 18-19 (French translation as *Eloges des hommes illustres*, G. Colletet, 1644, pp. 47-8). Translated in **Yates 1947** p. 20.

[45] In the following verse dedicated to Baïf long before the foundation of the *Académie*, Jacques Tahureau gives us reason to think that his friend, Baïf, had long been familiar with monodic delivery of his own verse: 'Combien avons nous passé / De chaleurs soubz la ramée, / Et tes beaux vers compassé / A ma guiterre animée? / Ma guitarre qui jadis / Par ses chansons nompareilles / Ouvroyt un beau Paradis / Aux plus friondes oreilles'. *Les Premiers Poésies* (1554), in Trevor Peach, ed. Op. cit., no. XXVIII, p. 149.

accompanying instrument to solo song, and its identification with the lyre by the poets of the *Pléiade*, would be a natural choice in supplying such an instrumental support.[46]

There is some direct evidence that the lute was used this way. One of the musicians closely attached to the *Académie* from its inception, Jacques du Faur, was apparently considered primarily as a lutenist by Baïf himself. Baïf says as much in refering to what appears to be du Faur's departure from Paris in 1573:

> Since, du Faur, your return [i.e. departure] is at hand,
> We shall no longer hear your sweet music,
> No more from your lute will gentle ravishments
> Make fly our minds through [the medium of] our ears.[47]

In the following verse Mersenne implies that Du Faur acted as accompanist in the performance of *musique mesurée*, possibly to settings by Claude Le Jeune, the most talented and prestigious composer to adopt the system:

> Du Faur, who handled so well his sweet lute,
> Claudin [Le Jeune], expert in the fine art of music,
> Have with their harmony honoured in these verses
> Their given measures.[48]

The third musician closely associated with the foundation of the *Académie*, de Courville, was also known as a lutenist and harpist as well as a composer and singer. Baïf acknowledged his debt to Courville for the creation of *musique mesurée* while praising him as a singer:

> ... Courville ...
> Master of the art of singing:
> Who made me, for the art of music
> Reform in the ancient manner
> Creating *vers mesurés*.[49]

Lefevre de la Boderie refers to Courville as a lyre player, and an exponent of accompanied song:

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[46] In a letter to Mersenne written in 1622, the elderly organist-composer Jehan Titelouze mentions that 'one solitary musician playing his lute would arouse more emotion than a large ensemble of musicians, whose words would often sound indistinct because of the diversity of so many voices, unless they were extremely well matched.' This is in the context of a discussion of *vers* and *musique mesurée*, as developed by Baïf, as a means of reviving the affective power of ancient music. In the same discussion Titelouze refers to opinions expressed by Claude Le Jeune himself. See **Hockley 1996** p. 17.

[47] 'Puis que, du Faur, ton retour s'apareille, / Nous n'orrons plus tes musiques douceurs, / Plus de ton lut les doux sons ravisseurs / N'envoleront nos esprits par l'oreille.' See **Walker 1940** p. 32. Du Faur apparently left Paris in 1573.

[48] 'For, ki son dous lut maniét savanment, / Klôdin, ô bel art de la Musik'instruit, / Ond d'accors çoezis onoré de se-vers / Lez mezurés çans.' Mersenne: *Quaestiones celeberrimae in Genesim*, p. 1686. Cited in **Prunières 1914**.

[49] '... Courville ... / Maistre de l'art de bien chanter: / Qui me fit, pour l'art de Musique / Reformer à la mode antique, / Les vers mesurez inventer.' Marty-Levaux ed., II, 461. Quoted in **Walker 1940** p. 30.

> Come winged Mercury and with a clever hand
> Place your curved lyre in the hand of de Courville
> Who knows how to vary the modes so sweetly
> And match the odes to its stretched strings.[50]

It seems likely that the 'curved lyre' here refers not to the lute, but to an eleven-string bowed instrument, possibly an attempt to recreate an ancient lyre, built for Courville by the spinet maker, Antoine Potin.[51] But there is also evidence that Courville played the lute, and that in function it was interchangeable with the lyre. This is an *ordonnance* signed by Charles IX on 6 October 1572, making a payment of 125 *livres tournois* to 'Joachim Thibault dict Corville, lyre player to the above named seigneur ... to allow him to complete the composition of music begun by him, to be sung in several parts, verses in rhythm and music, which shall be sung to the lyre and the lute.'[52] The reference to 'verses in rhythm and music' is almost certainly to *musique mesurée*, and the quotation hints at what was very likely a common practice in the *Académie* of performing the same music both in parts and monodically with lute accompaniment. Indeed, we might here see the origins of alternating monodic/choral sections of a song that is a prominent feature of the later *air de cour*. It may also be a reflection of a common practice of writing in parts music that nonetheless was equally or even primarily intended for quite a different sort of delivery - a practice that might well apply to many or most publications of polyphonic *airs de cour* from the later sixteenth century, and certainly to those containing *musique mesurée*.

The composer Fabrice Marin Caietain, acknowledging his debt to *musique mesurée* in the dedication to his *Airs mis en musique à quatre parties* of 1576, similarly refers to both Courville and another musician, de Beaulieu as 'excellent in singing [*recits*] to the lyre',[53] and Vauquelin de la Fresnaye also relates Courville's abilities on the lyre to his position in Baïf's *Académie*:

> The songs and harmonies, which have pleased you,
> Sire, hearing so well a David singing
> From Baïf and Courville; O what may a lyre [do]
> Marrying to the voice both sound and fine speech.[54]

Courville apparently did little to disseminate his own music. His name appears against three airs in **CaietainP 1576**, probably as the source of the melodies rather than the full arrangements, and there are five retrospective lute-airs by him in two of the seventeenth-century anthologies (**Bataille 1614** and **1615**).

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[50] 'Vienne Mercure ailé et d'une main habile / Ente sa lyre courbe en la main de Courvile / Qui sçait si doucement les modes varier / Et aux nerfs bein tendus les odes marier.' Lefevre de la Boderie: *La Galliade, ou la revolution des arts et des sciences,* Paris, 1578, f. 126. Quoted in **Walker 1940** p. 30.

[51] See **Dobbins 1980c**

[52] 'Joachim Thibault dict Corville, joueur de lire dudict seigneur ... pour luy donner moyen de parachever la composition de musique par luy commencée, pour chanter à plusieurs voix des vers en rhitme et musicque, qui se réciteront sur la lire et le luth.' See **Prunières 1914** p. 61, n. 5.

[53] *[J']ay frequenté l'escole de Messieurs de Courville et Beaulieu, l'ung Orphee l'autre l'Arion de France, leur vertu et nostr amitié me permettent de les apeller ainsi. car ilz ne sont seulement excelents aux recits de la Lyre, mais tres doctes en l'art de Musique, et perfaits en la composition des Airs, que les grecs appellent Melopoee, suivant leurs avertissements et bons avis J'ay corrigé la plus part des fautes que Jàvoy peu faire en n'observant les longues et breves de la lettre*. **CaietainP 1576** f. 2. On the identity of de Beaulieu see below, Chapter 2 n. 68.

[54] 'Les chants et les accords, qui vous ont contenté, / Sire, en oyant si bien un David rechanté / De Baif et Courvile; O que peut une lyre / Mariant à la voix le son et le bien dire.' Vauquelin: *Art Poetique Français*, Caen, 1605, II, line 577 *seq*. Quoted in **Walker 1940** p. 31. See also **Yates 1947** p. 66

Given that these were intabulated by Gabriel Bataille, they provide little evidence of lute-song performance in the sixteenth century. Nonetheless, one of them, the beautiful *Si je languis d'un martire incongneu*,[55] is unusual in its degree of written-out ornamentation, and its necessarily sparse accompaniment may well be a reflection of the earlier practice (see Facsimile 3.8). The references to 'recits' in the above examples tie in with this type of song. Examples of *vers* and *musique mesurée* make other appearances in the seventeenth-century lute-air publications and this, coupled with the influence that *musique mesurée* appears to have exerted on the form of the *air de cour* well into the century, might also testify to its role in the development of the lute-air.

There is one other area in which literary sources suggest that lute-song may have figured in sixteenth-century musical life, and especially so towards the end of the century. That is, in various forms of music theatre, notably the early *ballet de cour* and its antecedents such as the *mascarade* and the *intermède*. It is, for example, intriguing to find that Ronsard's *Je suis amour*, set to music by La Grotte in 1569 and reworked in **Le Roy 1571**, was an *entremet* (intermedi) for the comedy *La Belle Genevievre* presented for Catherine de'Medici at Fontainebleau in 1564. This may have been sung to La Grotte's melody, and given its later history lute-song performance is not out of the question.[56]

Guillaume Paradin describes a set of allegorical intermedi decorating Dovizi's tragicomedy *La Calandria* staged in honor of the entry of Henri II to Lyons in 1548, and mentions that:

> ... with the entertainment of varied music, changing according to the seven ages, intervening as intermedi between the acts, accompanied by Apollo singing and reciting to the sound of his lyre several fine Tuscan rhymes in praise of the King; ...[57]

Paradin goes on to refer to 'a new mode not previously used in the recitals of plays, which began with the advent of Dawn who came across the perspective set singing on a chariot drawn by two cocks ...,'[58] which Dobbins interprets as 'the novelty of the Florentine dramatic song and recitative,' and is presumably in contrast to Apollo's air.[59] Apollo singing to the lyre is such a common classical image, and one so plainly representative of music, that it could well be purely symbolic, just as the lute and lyre were often symbolic in, say, Ronsard's poetry. Nonetheless, the reference to both reciting and singing to the lyre (which we have seen can often, but by no means invariably, be identified with the lute) suggests that this may be a literal reference to an obvious dramatic gesture. The same literal interpretation may hold good for Henri II's *entrée* to Paris organised by the poet Jodelle in 1558, where Orpheus is seen 'sounding and singing a little

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[55] **Bataille 1614** f. 67v, transcribed in **Verchaly 1961** no. 33
[56] See **Dobbins 1994** p. 111
[57] '... avec la recreation de diversité de la musique changeant selon les sept aages intervenans aux intermedes des actes accompaignez de Apollo chantant et recitant au son de sa Lyre, plusieurs belles rithmes Toscanes à la louange du Roy; ...' Paradin: *Mémoires de l'histoire de la ville de Lyon*, Lyons, 1573, 346-7. Quoted and translated in **Dobbins 1992b**, 112-3.
[58] '... une nouvelle mode, et non encore usitée aux recitemens des Comédies, qui fut qu'elle commença par l'advenement de l'Aube qui vint traversant la place de la perspective et chantant sur son chariot trayné par deux coqz ...' **Dobbins 1992b**, 112.
[59] **Dobbins 1992b**, 112.

chanson in praise of the King'.[60] That lute-song might have figured in such *Mascarades* is further suggested by an imaginary production created by Jodelle, the *Epithalame de Marguerite, soeur du roy Henri II, duchesse de Savoye*, which is rich in musical allusions, described in detail in **Fontaine 1995**.[61] Jodelle's ideal musicians include Guillaume - probably Morlaye - and Jean Dugué, who play the lute while singing a sonnet, and an unidentified actor playing Sapho accompanying herself on the cittern.

Similarly, in the non-imaginary *Masquarade du Triomphe de Diane* performed at Bordeaux before 1576, Phoebus comments on the action apparently while accompanying himself on the lyre, at one stage 'd'une voix plaintive et douloureuse', hinting at an early form of *récit*.[62] Similar examples may be found in the five intermedi composed for Nicolas de Montreux's pastorale *L'Arimène ou berger desesperé*, which includes 'Orpheus in the Underworld with his lute in his hand ... charming the spirits with his song', and later verses performed by Monsieur d'Arenes 'chantant sur sa lyre'.[63]

Given the status of the lute as a possible alternative to the lyre, it is reasonable to conjecture that lute-song figured in such performances, and the use of the term 'réciter' might suggest a free style of delivery similar to that probably being attempted in the *Académie* which fits in well with Orphic or Apollonian imagery. Most such examples are admittedly ambiguous, but we might note one example from Ronsard that appears to be more explicit, where he refers to a *Mascarade* from the later sixteenth century:

> When shall we see throughout Fontainebleau
> From room to room pass the Mascarades?
> When shall we see in the morning the dawn
> Of diverse lutes blended to the voice[64]

It is in the pastorale plays of the later sixteenth century that musical references, including occasional references to lute-song, are most common. Ronsard's *Bergerie*, written for a performance at Fontainebleau in 1564, which includes choral chansons, begins and ends with two 'Joueurs de lyre' delivering alexandrines in what may be a sung performance.[65] More explicitly, François de Belleforest's *La Pyrenée et pastorale amoureuse* of 1571 includes a seventeen-strophe 'Villanesque' sung to the 'Mandourre' and an air to the lute.[66] There is also evidence of lute-song featuring in plays in the Low Countries at about this time. In the *Comédie de la fidelité nuptiale d'une honeste matrone envers son mari* by Gérard de Vivre of Ghent, two

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[60] '... sonnant et chantant une petite chanson en la louange du Roy.' *Recueil des inscriptions, figures, devises et mascarades, ordonnées en l'hostel de Ville à Paris, le jeudi 17 febvrier 1558*. Cited in **Prunières 1914**. Jodelle's own activity as an amateur musician ('Je musique, je sonne, et poétise encore') helps encourage such an interpretation: see **Fontaine 1995** p. 475.

[61] Op. cit. 475-8

[62] See **McGowan 1963** p. 34-5. This *Mascarade* was designed by Pierre de Brach (1548-*c.*1604), who was acquainted with Baïf.

[63] See **Dobbins 1994** p. 121

[64] 'Quand voirrons-nous par tout Fontainebleau / De chambre en chambre aller les Mascarades? / Quand voirrons-nous le matin les aubades / De divers luths mariez a la voix.' *Elegie a La Magesté de la Royne ma Maistresse* (Catherine de Medicis) in *Elegies, Mascarades et Bergerie* (1565), Laumonier ed., *Oeuvres Complètes, 1914-75,* Vol. XIII, p. 147. The verse goes on to refer to other instruments, including 'tabourins, fluttes, espinettes', replaced by 'tabourins, violons, espinettes' in the 1587 edition, where the verse appears as part of the *Bocage Royale*.

[65] Further references to self-accompanied singing in theatrical entertainments durin Charles IX's *tour de France* of 1564-66 may be found in Victor E. Graham and W. McAlister Johnson, *The Royal Tour of France*, University of Toronto Press, 1979.

[66] Both examples are described in **Dobbins 1994** pp. 114-5.

characters 'tune their lute and voice' and sing various chansons, including *Susanne un jour* and *Douce mémoire* many of which appeared in solo lute or polyphonic form in recent publications by Phalèse.[67]

Perhaps the most likely appearance of lute-song in a theatrical setting is one which also ties in quite closely with the *Académie*. The famous *Circé*, or *Ballet comique de la royne* of 1581, is the first true *ballet de cour*, and the aims of its creators, to produce a union of poetry, music, and dance, restate those of Baïf's *Académie*. Moreover, the ballet's composer, de Beaulieu, was almost certainly associated with the *Académie* to judge by Caietain's reference to him (see above). And Caietain's claim that he, like Courville, was 'excellent in singing to the lyre' is confirmed by the Emperor Rodolphe II who, in writing to his ambassador in Paris, described Beaulieu as 'a bass with an admirable voice who accompanied himself on the lute ...'[68]

In the performance of *Circé*, Beaulieu played Glaucus, and his wife played Tethys, Goddess of the Sea, who makes her entry holding a lute. They sing a dialogue, *L'arc d'amour est victorieux*, which is one of three pieces in the ballet in ornate, monodic style, for which no accompaniment is provided - that is, it is a type of song most aptly described as a *récit*. The two other monodies are the 'chanson de Mercure' (*Je suis de tous les Dieux*), and the 'chant de Jupiter' (*En ta faveur je viens ici)*. While no precise indication is given to this effect, it does seem likely that each of these monodies was supported by a simple lute accompaniment, as Rodolphe's observation suggests.[69] If so, it is easy to imagine such a practice showing the influence of both early dramatic forms involving Apollo or Orpheus singing to the lyre, but more specifically, monodic experiments in Baïf's *Académie*.[70]

There is little information on subsequent *ballets de cour* in the sixteenth century, and by all accounts the non-dramatic *Mascarade* outstripped it in popularity until early in the seventeenth century. Nonetheless, the classical image of Orpheus or Apollo accompanying himself on the lyre (or lute) may well have continued to be exploited in execution as well as appearance. When, for instance, Lacroix refers to Mercury, in the *Mascarade de la foire Saint-Germain* (*c.*1606) 'who recited the subject of the principal

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[67] See **Dobbins 1994** p. 112-3. In the next century, the anonymous *Comoedia D. Guilielmus Dux Aquitaniae*, performed in Brussels in 1614, includes notated music, with at one point strophes being sung alternately by a chorus, and a solo voice with French lute tablature and viol accompaniment. Op. cit. p. 114. Dobbins notes that the musical style is that of the contemporary airs of Pierre Guédron and Gabriel Bataille.

[68] '... un bassiste d'une voix admirable et qui s'accompagnait sur le luth ...'. See **Prunières 1914** p. 87, n. 2. Rudolph refers to a Lambert de Beaulieu, and this is commonly regarded as the identity of the singer (for a further such reference to Lambert, see above Chapter 2 n. 20). However, in recent archival research Dr Jeanice Brooks has found that all likely references are to the *basse-contre* Girard de Beaulieu (*d.*1590), *valet de chambre et chantre du roi*, and his wife, the soprano Violante Doria, both described in 1584 as *musiciens et joueurs de luth de la Royne*. He also had a daughter, Claude, described in 1589 as *musicienne et jouëse de lut de la reyne*. Brooks argues convincingly that Rudolph's reference to Lambert was simply an error. I am grateful to Dr Brooks for conveying these findings to me.

[69] An account of *Circé*, with music, was published by Le Roy and Ballard in the year of its performance, 1581. A modern edition and translation has been produced by Carol MacClintock, and published by the American Institute of Musicology in 1971 (**MacClintock 1971**). The role of Jupiter was played by 'le Sieur Savornin', probably the composer Savorny who appears in the seventeenth-century lute-song anthologies. One of these airs (*Chanvallon les roys*, **Bataille 1614** f. 30v) has a suggestive third verse, as follows: 'Ha! que n'ay-je encor'ma premiere fierté, / Pour chanter d'amour encor'en liberté, / Et toucher mon Luth de vieillesse terny, / Pres de Savorny'.

[70] Further evidence for the involvement of the *Académie* in theatrical productions may be found in **Dobbins 1994**, 106-108, where Dobbins identifies 'chansons en façon d'airs' in Guillaume Costeley's *Musique* of 1570 with choruses from Garnier's tragedy *Porcie*. A link between Costeley and the *Académie* is made in two introductory sonnets by Baïf, and Dobbins notes that the music for these choruses 'have all the characteristics of later *musique mesurée*'.

masquerade with a lute in his hand ...',[71] it is possible that the performance in this work and similar ones went beyond mere symbolism. By the seventeenth century, these links between the cultivation of lute-song and music theatre in the form of the *ballet de cour* become explicit and very close-knit, as we shall see, and this is reflected in the content of the printed lute-song books. It would be wrong to let the absence of printed sources from the later sixteenth century prevent us from supposing that the practice had its earlier antecedents.

The early air de cour

In the above we have seen evidence for a practice of lute-song in the sixteenth century that goes well beyond the printed sources, and that also offers some suggestions as to why the form might have been increasingly cultivated in France towards the end of the sixteenth century, and flourished in the first half of the seventeenth. The humanist ideals of the *Pléiade* and the *Académie* both provided an impetus for the practice of singing to the lute, as did the rise of sophisticated forms of music theatre, such as the *ballet de cour*. More tentatively, one might suggest that the emergence of the *salon*, of which that of Catherine de Retz is one of the earliest examples, might also have provided a forum for lute-song performance, given the way in which this form of music-making seems to have been esteemed in a Renaissance lady, and its Orphic associations were so attractive to the humanists in her circle.

But the fate of lute-song is also intimately bound up with the ascendant popularity of that type of music to which it can most naturally be accommodated - a homophonic as opposed to contrapuntal style. We have already seen from the French sixteenth-century sources an awareness that the most suitable form of music for lute-song arrangement was that which had a clear melodic basis and where the lower parts could most easily be separated into the role of a largely chordal accompaniment. It is precisely this style of music that flourished in the last quarter of the century with the *air de cour*, and that gradually ousted the contrapuntal chanson from its formerly pre-eminent position.

One notion that has almost certainly passed its sell-by date is the idea that there was a gradual evolution during the century away from equal-voiced modal polyphony towards tonal-harmonic homophony. Equally implausible is the opposite view of a revolutionary paradigm-shift from one to the other during a brief period at the end of the century. And attempts to combine either view with historicist visions of 'logical' and unstoppable forces at work on musical style are surely equally insupportable. The happy cohabitation of contrapuntal and harmonic styles throughout the century undermines all these historical interpretations. But it is undeniable that there was a shift of emphasis among composers towards the end of the century in favour of a homophonic style that had long been exploited to a greater or lesser extent in a good deal of instrumental dance music, and in vocal forms such as the Parisian chanson and *voix de ville*.[72] And while

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[71] '... avec un luth à la main qui récita le sujet de la grande masqeurade en ces vers; "L'amour volage, plein de gloire ..." '. Lacroix ed., I, 204, quoted in **Prunières 1914** p. 103-4.

[72] **Lowinsky 1961** provides a stimulating discussion of the nature of tonality and the existence of tonal-harmonic thinking in the early sixteenth century.

such changes in taste are the results of a huge variety of influences, and can probably never be explained fully or satisfactorily, it is fair to say that they must have acted on and been acted on by the practice of lute-song and similar forms of, in the broadest sense, monodic delivery.

For example, just as the humanist ideas of the *Pléiade* and the *Académie* made lute-song a desirable commodity through its association with Orphic imagery, they also presumably gave an impetus to a more vertical and melodic compositional style as the most effective means of supporting without obscuring a text, and perhaps too as a revival of the classical chorus. Much the same is true of the involvement of music in theatrical productions, and here there is the added factor that the demands of the 'drama', however attenuated in this period in France, could make solo song especially desirable. This is what we appear to see when Orpheus or Apollo sing to the lyre or lute in some of the accounts given above.

To this we may add the likelihood of a rising demand for simpler forms of music, more easily performed and more immediately attractive, that a vertical style could meet. Jeanice Brooks has suggested that the rise of the *air de cour* very likely had much to do with a change in the pattern of patronage from that of the older military nobility to the new breed of educated aristocrat such as the Countess of Retz.[73] One can extend this approach, which looks to the influence of the musical consumer rather than its producer, and suppose that the commercial success of Le Roy's air-style publications encouraged both the composition and publication of further works in this style. The multiple editions of two air publications in particular, **La GrotteP 1569** and **PlansonP 1587**, point in this direction, with La Grotte's being the first book devoted to a marriage between the vertical style of the *voix de ville* and the humanist texts of the *Pléiade*, while Planson's collection, more than any other, introduced into the repertoire of the air and its printed ancestors those rustic and popular texts which, somewhat paradoxically, had never seriously featured in it before.

We might also briefly take note of two other influences that might help explain the popularity of the air towards the end of the century. One is the impact of similar styles from abroad, and in particular the Italian villanella. This and its French imitation, the *villanelle*, feature in several air publications, including Caietain's *Second livre* of 1578, Guillaume Tessier's 1582 book, Bonnet's *Airs et villanelles* of 1588, and in publications of Orlande de Lassus, whose compositions dominated prints by Le Roy and Ballard from the 1570s, and largely kept the contrapuntal chanson and motet alive in French publications in the last quarter of the century. The villanella is the nearest foreign relative to the early air, and it is no surprise to find it arranged as lute-song alongside French airs in the lute-song sources described below. K. J. Levy, in considering likely causes for the transformation of the *voix de ville* into the *air de cour* in the latter part of the century, has suggested that while the polyphonic chanson was influenced by the Italian madrigal, the *air de cour* not only remained immune from Italian influence, but benefited from a quasi-nationalist reaction against Italian fashions.[74] But the evidence of such a reaction is slim, and the association of the villanella with the air in the publications mentioned above tends to work against Levy's position.

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[73] See **Brooks 1995** p. 311
[74] **Levy 1954** p. 193

The second influence on the rise of the style of the air is the vernacular psalm which, we have seen, began to appear in various polyphonic and lute-song settings from the 1540s, and continued to flourish in musical collections in the seventeenth century. One should not underestimate the popularity of these devotional songs, not only for protestant sympathisers but among all sections of French society, and their aptness for lute-song performance is indicated in their arrangement as such in the Morlaye and Le Roy publications, and also in a limited amount of independent evidence.[75] The natural musical arrangement for psalm settings was a homophonic one, because of the primacy of the text (which should not be obscured or adulterated by sophisticated, contrapuntal treatment), and because of its amenability for congregational singing. This too may have stimulated a taste and a demand for secular music in a similar style.

Finally, it may be of value, in offering a different perspective on the same information if nothing else, to consider what we see at the end of the sixteenth century not so much as the triumph of the air (which after all, in related forms such as the *voix de ville* had flourished throughout the century) as the decline of contrapuntal vocal music. If we were to exclude the works of Lassus, whose music enjoyed an exceptional vogue in the 1570s and 80s, a survey of the prints put out by Le Roy and Ballard in the last quarter of the century would show a great contraction in the contrapuntal repertoire. In a period of political, religious, and social instability the conditions may not have existed where such sophisticated forms of music could thrive, and the success of the air may have had as much to do with the decline of its musical rivals as any intrinsic merits.

Under the influence of these and no doubt many other factors, the comparatively simple, homophonic *air de cour* flourished in the last quarter of the century.[76] Over twenty polyphonic publications (excluding re-editions) containing or devoted to airs were printed in Paris between La Grotte's collection of 1569, and 1608, when Bataille's first collection of lute-airs appeared, and other books were also printed at Caen (two books composed or compiled by Chastillon de la Tour in 1592 and 1593, and three anthologies printed by Mangeant in 1608). Most of these books are devoted to the works of a new generation of composers, notably Fabrice Marin Caietain (1576 and 1578), Didier Le Blanc (1579), Guillaume (1582) and Charles (1597 and 1604) Tessier, Pierre Bonnet (1585 and 1588), Claude Le Jeune (between 1583 and 1608), Je(h)an Planson (1587), Denis Caignet (1597), Pierre Cerveau (1599), and Pierre Guédron, whose collection of 1602, revised in 1608, in many ways marked the establishment of the 'classical' seventeenth-century *air de cour*. There are also a number of anthologies containing mostly anonymous airs, the most

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[75] For example, Anne du Bourg is said to have sung psalms to the lute in his cell in the Bastille prior to his execution in December 1559. See J. Viénot, *Histoire de la Réforme française*, I, 1926, p. 296. This source is cited in **Lesure.. 1957** p. 13, who also notes Marot's recommendation that 'sainctes chansonnettes' might be sung to the lute. More information on du Bourg's arrest and execution may be found in Barbara Diefendorf, *Beneath the Cross: Catholics and Huguenots in Sixteenth-Century Paris*, OUP, 1991.

[76] Such a general description of events is inevitably a simplification, and the repertoire of the air varies widely from the simplest form of harmonised tune, to settings of strophic texts which, in the interplay of parts, are all but indistinguishable from the contrapuntal chanson. However, the general tendency towards homophony in this period and in these publications is clear.

substantial being those published by Le Roy in 1595, 1596, and 1597, and the inheritor of the firm, Pierre Ballard, in 1606.[77]

In many ways the songs found in **La GrotteP 1569**, reworked in **Le Roy 1571**, set the tone for at least the next fifteen years of the *air de cour*, which remains an essentially homophonic and strophic genre. In particular, the rhythmic freedom of most of La Grotte's melodies which more than any other musical factor helps distinguish the air from the dance-based *voix de ville*, continues to characterise these early airs. As for the choice of text which also distinguishes La Grotte's book, this too has its parallels in the books printed prior to the mid-1580s at least. In the early air collections of Caietain (1576 and 1578) and Le Blanc (1579), the authors of the texts are named on the title pages, in the table of contents, and/or against the songs, just as they are in La Grotte's book, and it is the humanist school that again predominates, with Ronsard and Baïf being joined by the slightly younger generation of Amadis Jamyn (1540-93) and especially Philip Desportes (1546-1606).[78] It is clearly in this period that the influence of the *Pléiade* and the *Académie* was most strongly felt, and is visible in Caietain's dedication of the 1576 book to Henry de Lorraine, quoted above.

The evidence is that this influence receded in the 1580s. Neither title pages nor contents refer to poets in and after Guillaume Tessier's *Premier livre d'airs* of 1582, and comparatively few texts can be attributed to these poets. This is combined with the appearance of much lighter, popular poems alongside the more elegant, courtly airs, in the prints of the 1580s. As suggested above, Planson's much-reprinted *Airs mis en musique à quatre parties* of 1587 may well have been a landmark publication in this respect.[79] Not only do such texts feature prominently in the book, but they are clearly associated with consistently metrical airs which are rare in the earlier publications, but occupy about half of Planson's book. The more usual ametrical air continues to be the medium for the courtly as opposed to the amorous lyric. Musically, this may be seen as a revival of the dance-based character of the *voix de ville* in the air (one of Planson's lighter airs is described in the book as a *chanson à danser*) and Planson's metrical airs share the preference for duple time melodies that characterises Chardavoine's 1576 collection of *voix de villes*. But we may also be seeing the influence of the villanella at work here; in Bonnet's collection of 1585, the smaller number of French-texted airs of this sort are described as *villanelle*.

After Planson's publication the distinction between the two types of air becomes clearer, and in his *Traité de la Musique* of 1639, Parran labels the ametrical, courtly air as being 'en musique d'air', and the metrical sort as 'en musique légère', a useful distinction to which we shall continue to refer.[80] In his second book of airs of 1593, Chastillon de la Tour also alludes to the different types of air in his preface 'Au lecteur', where he

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[77] For details of these publications and a thorough study of their contents see **Durosoir 1986**. A list of these publications may also be found in the bibliography of primary sources below.

[78] **CaietainP 1576** is titled: *Airs mis en musique a qutre parties par Fabrice Marin Caietain sur les poësies de P. de ronsard et autres excelens poëtes de nostre tems*; **Le BlancP 1579** is similarly titled: *Airs de plusieurs musiciens. Sur les poësies de P. Desportes, et autres des plus excelants poëtes de nostre tems*.

[79] For an example of this lighter type of verse see Example 2.1 below of a lute-song arrangement of an air drawn from Planson's collection. A modern edition of Planson's book is published as **Verchaly 1966**.

[80] **Parran 1639** p. 85. Verchaly, in his modern edition of **PlansonP 1587**, identifies the two sorts of air, and distinguishes between them in his transcriptions by adding barlines to the metrical airs.

states that 'The music where you will find bar-lines [at the ends of phrases] is without metre: the other is sung with metre.'[81] This is not a practice found in Planson or the other Parisian publications, but Planson is the first to introduce barlines at the ends of musical phrases and poetic lines, and this becomes standard practice in the later *air de cour*.[82]

This may be an appropriate moment to raise the troublesome question of terminology regarding this repertoire, for there is disagreement in practice as to how broadly one should apply the term '*air de cour*'. The first use of the term is in **Le Roy 1571**, where *air de cour* is identified with *voix de ville*, and this connection is perpetuated in the *privilège* of the next book of airs, **CaietainP 1576**, where Caietain is given permission to have printed '... his book of Airs, or vau de ville ...'.[83] But the term *air de cour* does not reappear till the second of Le Roy's anthologies, the *Airs de court mis en musique à quatre et cinq parties de plusieurs autheurs* in 1596, after which it becomes fairly common. The intervening polyphonic publications confine themselves to the term 'air', almost certainly derived from the Italian 'aria'. There is no obvious reason to distinguish the repertoires of books titled 'Airs' from those describing their contents as '*airs de cour*' in the sixteenth or seventeenth centuries, but there is a tendency for modern scholars to confine the term *air de cour* to the usually ametrical airs (i.e. those *en musique d'air*) with refined, courtly texts, and to distinguish them from airs *en musique légère*, which might also be described as *airs* or *chansons à danser* (if they can be related to recognised dance forms), or retrospectively as *voix de villes*, and also from the *air à boire* (drinking song) which became popular in the seventeenth century. The broad term 'air' covers all these types, of course.

However, while such distinctions are useful, indeed essential, for understanding the nature of the air, the terminological distinction between the *air de cour* and other types of air is not really supported in the contemporary publications, where these forms and others (such as the *air de ballet, dialogue* or *récit*) are often mixed freely under the general titles of *air* or *air de cour*. It is possible that some composers at least wanted the designation *de cour* to be confined to airs composed by musicians of the royal court, and hence to songs performed there, but this distinction is in no way upheld rigidly, and is in any event not one of style but of origin. Reserving the term *air de cour* for the most refined form of air is tempting, given the absence of an alternative label, but it does not reflect seventeenth-century practice and is not used this way in the present study. One distinction that can be upheld, however, is between the *air de cour* and the *air sacré*, including the psalm, which also appears in *air de cour* anthologies. The air is primarily a secular genre, but there are some substantial collections of sacred airs, including contrafacta on *airs de cour*, and the latter term is not used to cover these. Again, this distinction is not a stylistic one, although some psalm settings especially do have distinctive characteristics, discussed below.

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[81] 'La musique où tu trouveras des barres est sans mesure: l'autre se chante avec mesure.' Quoted in the modern edition of Chastillon's *Airs et Chansons* of 1611 (**Leroy 1986**) p. 22 n. 4.

[82] Musical phrase and poetic line almost invariably coincide in this repertoire, but in at least one exceptional case (the refrain of *Dessus l'herbe fleurie*) Planson appears to be guided primarily by the musical phrase.

[83] *Il est permis à M. Fabrice Cayetan de choisir & commettre tel imprimeur, docte & diligent qu'il verra & conoistra estre suffisant pour fidelement imprimer ou faire imprimer son livre d'Airs, ou vau de ville & autres, qu'il composera & fera par cy apres*. From the *privilège* attached to the *Airs mis en musique à quatre parties par Fabrice Marin Caietain* ..., Paris: Le Roy and Ballard, 1576, f. 40v, dated 14 October 1574.

One thing that is clear from the titles of these publications is that the term 'air (de cour)' refers primarily to melodies, and only by association to the lute- or polyphonic song as a whole. Thus publications are typically titled 'Airs *mis en musique à quatre parties*', or, in the seventeenth century, '*mis en*' or '*avec' tabulature de luth*. In this the air is like the *voix de ville* - an essentially melodic genre susceptible to various forms of arrangement and accompaniment. Indeed, it is still to some extent a *timbre*-based genre, with related melodies appearing in more than one publication, and sometimes related to *voix de ville* melodies in **ChardavoineS 1576**.[84] The titles of several of the publications testify to this conception of the air. Thus we have the *Airs de plusieurs musiciens ... reduiz à 4 parties par M. D Le Blanc* (1579), and the *Airs mis en musique à quatre parties par Jean Planson Parisien tant de son invention que d'autres musitiens* (1587). This approach to the air is much less common in the seventeenth century, and one can probably argue that the air is increasingly 'composed' towards the end of the century, such that one can plausibly attribute the melodies in Guédron's collections to the composer himself, say.[85] But for many of the earlier books it can be extremely difficult to assert authorship, and as we shall see, the melodic conception of the air often affects the early lute-song sources, which display free arrangements of melodies that are concordant with the polyphonic publications.

The polyphonic *air de cour* of the later sixteenth century was an entirely appropriate source for lute-song, and while there is little direct evidence in the publications to suggest lute-song performance, this must be regarded as likely given past practice in the *voix de ville*, and future practice in the seventeenth-century *air de cour*.[86] It should not be surprising that publishers would produce an essentially melodic genre in a format that was most complete, authoritative, conventional, and flexible, and let the performer adapt it as he would. We might speculate that in the early period of the *air de cour*, the years between 1570 and the mid-1580s were ones of experimentation, with new styles of accompaniment on the lute being tried out by, for instance, members of the *Académie*, or poets and musicians attracted to the ideas of the *Pléiade*, or involved in productions of *mascarades* and *ballets*. Then from the 1580s one perhaps sees both a growth and popularisation of the lute-air, increasingly divorced from the humanist aspirations that had helped nurture it, as an effective vehicle for the homophonic style of the air that was increasingly the most common form of secular music. But this is largely speculation, and most of what we can hope to know about the performance of the early *air de cour* as lute-song lies in that small number of sources in which it was arranged as such. It is to these that we now turn.

The early lute-air

The surviving sources of French lute-song from the late sixteenth century are few, and are confined to publications made outside France, and to French manuscripts. They are nonetheless revealing, and almost

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[84] For a comparison between some of these concordances see **Durosoir 1986** p. 55-59, and also the comparison between lute-song and polyphonic settings below.
[85] This is implied by the title of Guédron's polyphonic books, and those of later publications.
[86] There is, in fact, a strong hint at lute-song performance in Chastillon's 1593 collection of airs, which includes the anagramme on his name - *Son clair luth guide l'ame*.

certainly represent quite a common practice considerably removed from that which we have seen in the earlier lute-song publications discussed in the last chapter.

The two publications containing lute-airs are the *Novum Pratum Musicum*, edited by Emanuel Adriansen and published by the younger Phalèse in 1592 (**Adriaensen 1592**, as described in Chapter 1), and the *Thesaurus Harmonicus* edited by Jean-Baptiste Besard, published at Cologne by Greuenbruch in 1603 (**Besard 1603**). These are both compendia of lute music, most of it for solo lute, but some for two or more lutes and some for lute and voice. Adriaensen's book also includes a substantial section on arranging music for the lute, reminiscent of Le Roy's *Instruction*, but rather less successful. Both men were specialists in the lute, and were responsible for other publications of lute music. Adriaensen opened a school for lutenists in Antwerp and is frequently mentioned by other lutenists in their collections. Besard enjoyed the status of a gentleman, combining the professions of law and medicine with that of lute teacher. He published the *Thesaurus Harmonicus* at his own expense. Both men composed for the instrument and included their own music in these collections, though in each case most of the compositions are by others, with Besard in particular giving pride of place to the Italian lutenist Laurencini in his book. Both had studied in Rome, and include Italian as well as French lute-songs in their collections. In both books the usual instrument is now the seven-course lute (which, in the 1574 *Instruction*, Le Roy describes as coming into fashion), though Besard also requires an eight-course instrument for some of his airs.

Adriaensen includes six *airs de cour* between folios 52v and 55 (foliated as 57) in his collection. He refers to 'Airs' as forming part of the contents of the book on the title page, but lists the pieces as 'Cantiones Napolit[ana]' (i.e. villanellas) in the table of contents on folio 1v, alongside Italian lute-songs, an intriguing and plausible association of the two forms. Four of the French airs are drawn from Jehan Planson's collection of *airs de cour* first published in 1587, with subsequent reeditions in 1588, 1593, and 1595 (**PlansonP 1587**): *Chamberiere chamberiere* (the piece described in Planson as a 'chanson à dancer'), *Nous estions trois jeunes filles*, *La rousée du joly mois de May*, and *Par un matin*. In emphasising Planson's book Adriaensen was, as we have seen, acknowledging the popularity of one of the most successful of the sixteenth-century air publications, and all of the airs Adriaensen chooses are of the lighter type in which Planson excelled. *Belle bergere sans cesser* is closely related to an anonymous polyphonic version in the Le Roy/Ballard anthology of airs, published five years after Adriaensen's book (**Le Roy..P 1597** f. 5v). One song, *Dibedibedon*, has no known concordance.

Each of these songs is printed with the tablature at the top of the page, and up to four parts below (*Chamberiere* and *Belle bergere* include only superius and bassus, probably due to lack of space). Also in the book are five imitative chansons which also combine tablature with parts (superius and bassus or, in one case, tenor and bassus), this time on facing pages.[87] These are listed separately with the 'Madrigali' in the contents. They differ from the airs not only in musical style, but also in intabulating the superius, allowing them to stand as solo lute music. The difference is spelt out in a rubric attached to one of the airs, *La*

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[87] These are: *Le Rossignol plaisant* (Lassus), two versions of *Susanne un jour* (one by Lassus, one by Le Jeune), *La nuict le jour* and its second part, *Haste le pas* (Pevernage).

rousée, which states that the superius of the air must be sung, and hence implying that this is not true of the chansons.[88] This indicates both the importance of ensemble performance for the Netherlander, with the lute able to replace or double parts of the imitative chansons, as well as act as a solo instrument (an emphasis which is stronger in Adriaensen's 1584 *Pratum Musicum*, and is reminscent of the approach taken in **Phalèse 1553**), but more importantly it shows the different status that Adriaensen attaches to the *airs de cour*, which he here conceives of primarily and necessarily as lute-songs, compared to the chansons. That he chooses to include superius and bassus when he cannot include all the voices also reflects the new priority being given to the outer voices, and one can easily imagine these lute-airs being reinforced by a bass viol, as was usual in the English ayre.

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Jean-Baptiste Besard included thirty-six *airs de cour* or sacred chansons in Book 4 of his *Thesaurus Harmonicus*. Six of the airs are purely instrumental arrangements for solo lute (one of them given twice in different versions). In one other air - Planson's *Bergere de quelle facon* - the tablature is clearly an accompaniment (it omits the melody) and the text is reproduced below it, but no melody is given.[89] This gives us twenty-eight lute-songs, or twenty-nine including *Bergere.* In the table of contents on folio 3v Besard describes them as 'cantiones gallicae & airs de court', the former referring to the three sacred chanson (including psalm) arrangements at the start of the collection. The remaining twenty-six airs follow.[90] They are set out in score, with barlines used to separate musical phrases (and hence usually poetic lines as well) - a practice first seen in Planson's polyphonic collection. Besard attempts to align melody and tablature without a great deal of success. Subsequent verses of the text are printed below the music (see Facsimile 2.1).

Like Adriaensen, Besard does not name the composers of these works, with one exception where he names himself. But they can often be identified from concordances (see Table 2.1).

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[88] 'Le sup. doit estre chante.' f. 54. *La rousée* is the fourth air in the set, but the message clearly applies to all but one of them. One can easily imagine Adriaensen attaching this note to the top copy of this group of songs, to find it positioned fourth by the publisher, though it may also be used to separate *La rousée* from the next air, *Par un matin*, which is unique in intabulating the melody as well as lower parts.

[89] Planson's melody requires some adjustment to fit Besard's accompaniment, and one can imagine that the problems were realised late on in production, and the voice part was simply omitted. But given the difference between Besard's versions and other sources, a more likely explanation may simply be lack of space on the page.

[90] These are, incidentally, the airs used by Respighi for his third suite of *Ancient Airs and Dances* of 1932. The airs that he incorporates are nos. 4, 5, 8, 12, 15, and 22 in Table 2.1. He also uses Boesset's air *Divine Amarillis* in his second suite of 1923.

Table 2.1: Lute-airs contained in **Besard 1603** *with concordances. Songs marked * are for solo lute.*

Incipit	Composer	Poet	Concordances[91]
Cantiones gallicae			
1. Delivre moy seigneur		[Desportes]	
2. Esprit qui fais mouvoir			
3. Seigneur, helas ne reprens	[Savorny]	[Desportes]	Bataille 1608; BallardP 1615
Airs de court			
4. Si c'est pour mon pucellage	[Guédron]		GuédronP 1602; GuédronP 1608
5. Beaux yeux qui voyes			
6. Aminte un jour revoiant			
7. Je meurs de revoir	[Guédron]		GuédronP 1608
8. Quelle divinité s'imprime[92]			
9. Ou luis tu soleil	[Guédron]		GuédronP 1602; GuédronP 1608; Bataille 1608; BallardP 1615; Filmer 1629; Ms. Aix
10. En place marchande	[Guédron]		GuédronP 1602; GuédronP 1608
11. En quelque lieu que tu sois			
12. Adieu bergere pour jamais	[Guédron]		GuédronP 1602; GuédronP 1608
13. Belles deesses des amours			
14. Ma belle si ton ame[93]			
15. La voila la nacelle d'amour	[Guédron]		GuédronP 1602
16. Plus tost que je la die	[Guédron]		GuédronP 1602; GuédronP 1608
17. Si je puis une foys			
18. Cruelle departie	[Guédron]		GuédronP 1602; GuédronP 1608
19. Blond est le filet d'or			
20. Le destin m'est si rigoureux			
21. Rosette pour un peu d'absence[94]	?[Beaulieu]	[Desportes]	?CaietainP 1576 and 1578b
22. Cest malheur	Besard		
23. Beauté vivant pourtrait[95]		[Bertaut]	?Tessier ms.; ?Bataille 1608
24. Arme arme o mes loyaux pensers[96]	?[Courville]	[Baïf]	?CaietainP 1576 and 1578b
25. Lieux de moy[97]		[Desportes]	Bataille 1608
26. Estendu parmy ces fleurs[98]	?[Bonnet]		BonnetP 1585 and 1586
27. A ce boys si beau			
28. Moy pauvre fille infortunee			

[91] Besard's arrangements are often very free, and the degree of correspondence between Besard's versions and the following concordances varies. Those marked with a question mark are most distant, with *Arme arme*, for instance, showing rhythmic correspondances with Beaulieu's version as arranged by Caietain, but with quite different melodic profiles.

[92] A different version of this song appears in collections of airs by Guillaume Tessier (**TessierP 1582**, **1582b** and **1585**).

[93] On the history of this tune, best known as *Une jeune fillette* and traceable well back into the sixteenth century, see **Wendland 1976** and **Spencer 1995**.

[94] The melody is closely related to that in Caietain's collections, where it is attributed to Beaulieu, but the harmonisations are probably independent.

[95] A version of this song, with only the faintest similarity to Besard's, appears in the anthology of airs **Le Roy..P 1597**.

[96] While the pattern of paired repeated notes relates this air to the melody attributed to Courville in Caietain's publications, the melodic profiles are entirely independent, as are the harmonisations.

[97] This song is apparently unrelated to a version in Guillaume Tessier's 1582 collection.

[98] Related to Bonnet as a melodic variant only.

Incipit	Composer	Poet	Concordances
29. Si jamais mon ame blessee	[Guédron]		GuédronP 1602; GuédronP 1608; Bataille 1611; MangeantP 1615
30. Bergere de quelle facon[99]	[Planson]		PlansonP 1587 (dialogue)
31. Jay treuve sur l'herbe*			
32. Jay treuve sur l'herbe* (transposed)			
33. Sur l'herbe fleurie*			
34. Mon pere m'a donne mary*			
35. La fille d'un bon homme*			
36. Aux logettes de ces boys*			
37. Vous me juries Bergere*			Le Roy..P 1597 (dialogue)

The dominant figure in this collection is now Pierre Guédron, who had published his first book of polphonic *airs de cour* in 1602 (revised in 1608), and in 1603 had just become the *valet de chambre du roi*, and *compositeur et maistre des enfants de la Musique de Chambre*. Some of the pieces in Besard can be traced to older collections of airs, but always in versions quite far removed from them (see below). Many other songs cannot be related to surviving sources, and it is possible that a number of them are by Besard himself, or make use of *timbres* which Besard sets anew. This is almost certainly the case with *Ma belle si ton ame*, for instance, which is based on the tune more often known as *Une jeune fillette*, and other songs such as *Rosette,* found in an arrangement by Caietain and ascribed there to Beaulieu, may be best viewed in this way as well.

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Of the surviving manuscript sources that of Charles Tessier is the most interesting, both for the quality its contents, and as being the source that is most likely to represent lute-song practice in Paris at the end of the century.[100] Although Tessier is described as 'Musitien de la chambre du Roy' in his two books of polyphonic airs, this is not corroborated in court records. He was in England seeking employment from about 1596, and his first polyphonic collection, the *Premier livre de chansons et airs de court*, was published by Edward Blount and Thomas Este at London in 1597 (**TessierP 1597**). Several airs by Tessier were also published anonymously at Paris in the same year in **Le Roy..P 1597**. Tessier's book was dedicated to Lady Penelope Rich, sister of the Earl of Essex, and two songs are addressed to her, the first praising her voice and the harmony of her lute. There is little evidence for Tessier having found lasting employment in England, however, and his next polyphonic collection of *Airs et villanelles* was printed in Paris in 1604, with a dedication to the Landgrave of Hesse who had admired Tessier's lute-playing while visiting Poitiers in 1602 (**TessierP 1604**, revised edition in 1610). There is circumstantial evidence that

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[99] Besard includes the text and tablature for this song, but not the melody, which requires some adjustment from Planson's *dialogue* to fit Besard's accompaniment.

[100] This manuscript is discussed in detail in **Dobbins 1976**, which includes a full list of concordances. Further discussion of it and Tessier's biography may be found in **Ungerer 1975** and **Ward 1976**. See also **McBride 1977**, which is an unpublished Masters thesis on Tessier, and includes a transcription of and commentary on all of his works. The reader is referred to these sources for more detailed information on Tessier and his manuscript, which are here described only in brief. The manuscript itself is located at the Bodleian library, Oxford (GB-Ob Ms. Mus. Sch. d. 237).

Charles was the son of Guillaume Tessier, whose 1582 collection of airs was dedicated to Queen Elizabeth. Charles includes two songs from Guillaume's book in the manuscript.

Tessier's manuscript collection of lute-airs was almost certainly compiled during his stay in England in the 1590s, and it may well pre-date the polyphonic book of 1597.[101] It carries a dedication to 'Monseigneur Giorge Brouc', probably George Brooke, youngest son of Lord Cobham, executed for treason in 1603. Twenty-eight songs are signed by Tessier, and the musical notation, consisting of melody and tablature in score, is presumably in his own hand. Another, much tidier hand, has provided the texts, probably before Tessier supplied the music, for the text is much better spaced than the frequently cramped musical notation. Tessier's tablature versions are simplistic, untidy, and careless: rhythm signs are included only sporadically, there are occasional mis-harmonisations, and rests are sometimes omitted, as on 'je chante' in *Parmy tant de viperes* (see Facsimile 2.2). Given this, one suspects that the intention of giving the manuscript to Brooke was abandoned, and Tessier used it as his own, rough, working book. If so it provides an especially valuable insight into the working practice of lute-song composers at this period, and if the reason for abandoning the project was the arrest of Brooke, then this places Tessier in England considerably longer than usually thought.

Other hands have also added songs, mostly with melody and bass, to the end of the manuscript, and bass lines have also been added to four of Tessier's airs. The twenty-eight songs arranged by Tessier are given in Table 2.2 below.

Table 2.2: Contents of the Tessier Manuscript (GB-Ob Ms. Mus. Sch. d.237)

Incipit	Folio	Composer	Poet
1. Quand premier je vis	2v	[Planson]	[Bertaut]
2. Beauté vivant pourtraict	3v		[Bertaut]
3. Quand le flambeau du monde	4v	[Guédron]	[Davy du Perron]
4. O beaux yeux qui scavez	5v	[Planson]	[Bertaut]
5. Esprits qui soupirez	6v	[Guédron]	[De La Salle et des Termes
6. Or que la nuict et le silence	7v		[De La Roque]
7. Thirsis vouloit mourir	8v	[Tessier, G.]	[Guarini - trans.]
8. Mon pere mariez moy ou je suis fille perdue	9v		
9. En fin voila que c'est	10v		[Bertaut]
10. Ne vous ofencez point belle ame	11v		[Bertaut]
11. S'il m'en souvient	12v	[Tessier, G]	[Du Bellay]
12. Je ne veux plus endurer	13v		
13. Non vous n'estes pas yeux	14v	[Tessier, C.]	
14. Je suis amoureux d'une fille	15v	[Tessier, C.]	
15. Or que la nuict d'un ban d'eau	16v	[Tessier, C.]	

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[101] **Dobbins 1976** discusses the evidence for this, which includes the likely French origins of the manuscript, poetic and orthographic variants between the polyphonic collection and manuscript, and choice of texts which reflects the taste of the French royal court in the late 1580s and early 1590s (p. 33).

Incipit	Folio	Composer	Poet
16. Mais je vous prie contentez vous	17v	[Tessier, C.]	
17. Amans qui d'amour pipez	18v	[Tessier, C.]	
18. Parmy tant de viperes	19v	[Tessier, C.]	
19. As tu encore envye	20v		
20. Au joly bois je m'en vois	21v	[Tessier, C.]	
21. Le soir quand je considere	22v	[Bonnet]?	
22. Mon pere mariez moy car je suis asez agée	23v		
23. A lombrage de ses ormeaux	24v		
Responce: Je croy que tu n'en as envye	24v		
24. Ou t'en vas tu sy tost Morfée	25v		
25.Ores que les aspres chaleurs	26v		
26. Cache toy celeste soleil	27v	[Tessier, C.]	
27. Amour n'avance le trépas	28v	[Tessier, C.]	
28. Quand loin de palestin	29v		[Davy du Perron]

This is a repertoire of *airs de cour* of the late sixteenth century. The songs ascribed here to Tessier all have versions in his 1597 book, while the two by Guillaume Tessier may be found in his 1582 publication. Two can be related to Planson's collection (**PlansonP 1587**), and two use melodies related to Guédron's 1602 and 1608 collections. *Le soir quand je considere* has a melody resembling one used by Pierre Bonnet in his collection of airs published in 1600 (**BonnetP 1600**), but we may again be dealing here with Bonnet's arrangement of a *timbre*. The harmonisations vary. Several songs may be found in *air de cour* anthologies compiled by Le Roy in 1596 and 1597.[102] In all these cases, as with Besard's book, authorship is a questionable notion however, with composers presenting different versions of related melodies, and adding to them more or less original accompaniments. In this, as we have seen, the *air de cour* of the later sixteenth century is often a true descendent of the *voix de ville*.

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The two other significant French manuscript sources are provincial in origin, and are rather less revealing because neither of them includes a vocal melody. One is a manuscript (henceforth described as the **Croy ms.**) located at the municipal library at Valenciennes[103] which, on folio 1v, describes itself as 'Libvre de Musicque. Libvre tout escrit de ma propre main appertient à moy, Charles Syre et Duc de Croy et d'Arschot', and dated 1 January 1601.[104] But different parts of the manuscript carry or imply different dates, ranging from 1586 to 1606 (the latter implied by a dedication on folio 3 to 'Madame Dorothée, duchesse de Croy et d'Arschot, ma femme' whom Charles only married in 1605), and it is clear that the

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[102] Versions of nos. 3, 5, 12, and 20 may be found in **Le Roy..P 1596**, and nos. 2, 6, 10, 24, 26, and 27 in **Le Roy..P 1597**. One song, no. 7, also appears in a later anthology, **BallardP 1610**. **Dobbins 1976** incorrectly asserts that no. 17 also appears in the 1597 Le Roy anthology.

[103] Manuscript 429, listed as no. 409 in Mangeart's *Catalogue ... de la Bibliothèque de Valenciennes*, Paris, Valenciennes, 1860.

[104] Charles, Duc de Croy, was born in 1560, and died in 1612. The manuscript is described in great detail by Gunter Birkner in **Birkner 1963**, and the reader is referred to this article for further information on Charles. Birkner also includes a list of contents and facsimiles of several pages from the manuscript.

manuscript is a compilation of several sections, put together over time, but mostly in the last decade of the sixteenth century. Charles's letter to his wife also reveals his musical interests, when he notes that:

> ... I have never had enough spare time to spend on poetry and music and other things that I have done, since from my youth I have also learned and practised music and lute playing, I have set myself to write a book of songs [i.e. chanson texts] composed by several authors and among these have added several verses, devices and lute tablature according to my ability... [105]

The manuscript, comprising some three hundred and fifty folios, contains mostly chanson texts, but three sections also include French lute tablatures.[106] One of these is essentially a neat copy of the other, with some additional songs. Between them they contain twenty chanson tablatures with texts, thirteen of them written out twice (see Table 2.3). They are probably the residue of a much larger collection of tablatures at one time attached to the manuscript, but now lost. The titles of these missing tablatures are given in an index to the manuscript, and are listed alphabetically in **Birkner 1963**.

Table 2.3: Surviving contents of the **Croy ms.** *incorporating lute tablature.*

Incipit	Folio	Poet
La fille du roy est au piedt	2v and 40v	
J'endure un facheux ennuy[107]	4 and 40	
Puis que l'on ne m'at donné	4v and 41	
Hélas si je suis né	5 and 41v	
Mon dieu que pourray-je fayre	5v and 42	
La fille d'un bon homme	6 and 42v	
En me revenant de Sainct Nicolas[108]	6v and 43	
Celuy pert bien ses espris	7 and 44v	
Allons mes amourettes	7v and 45	
Me vouldriés-vous ma guerière	8 and 45v	
Ma mignone je me plains	8v and 46	
Mon esprit n'a point de cesse	9 and 46v	La Roque
Amie il ne faut pas encore	10 and 47	
Fortune me pourmeine	12v	
Dieu vous gard belle bergère	43v	
Je seré gay, j'aime aultreux	47v	
Belle main dont l'amour	48	La Roque
Mon père m'a marié à un jeun advocat	48v	
Baiser tu m'as cruellement ravy	49	
Fuggon le stelle	49v	

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[105] 'Je me suis doncques aucune fois à heures perdues pour aussy pouvoyr recréer iceluy me mis à passer le temps tant à la poésie qu'à la musicque et entre aultres choses que j'ay fait comme dès ma jeunesse j'ay aussy esté assez instruict et pratiqué tant à la dicte musicque qu'en jeu de lucq, je me suis mis à escrire ung livre de chansons composées par plusieurs aucteurs et entre icelles y ay adjousté quelques vers, devises et tablature de lucq forgées de ma teste ...' Quoted in **Birkner 1963** p. 21

[106] These sections are found between folios 1-12, 37-53, and 338-351 of the manuscript.

[107] Birkner finds a concordance between this song and what is presumably a contrafactum in La Cauchie's *La pieuse alouette* of 1619, p. 110, and provides a transcription (**Birkner 1963** p. 40).

[108] A setting of this text appears on Guédron's second book of airs, first published in 1612 (**GuédronP 1612** f. 32v) as *Je suis bon bon garçon* - the refrain.

The third musical part of the manuscript, which Birkner dates from 1601-2, is titled the 'Libvre de Tabelature contenant tous les hymnes et pseaumes des Heures de Nostre Dame', and consists of Latin-texted sacred songs with tablatures; some also include four staff-notated parts. Several tablatures belonging to a similar repertoire are also found mixed in with the chanson tablatures earlier in the book.[109]

Few of the surviving songs can be related to contemporary sources. But Birkner notes that the lost tablatures (if this is what they are) use texts by contemporary poets associated with the *air de cour*, including Ronsard, de Baïf, Du Perron, Jamin, and Desportes, and show a very large number of concordances with songs found in Chardavoine's two collections of *voix de villes* (the earliest and most authoritative being **ChardavoineS 1576**).

Given that no vocal melodies are included with these tablatures, it is fair to wonder whether they represent solo lute music or accompaniments. As Birkner argues, the evidence tends to favour the latter. This is partly because of the juxtaposition of the tablatures with the texts (though the two are separated on the page - that is, the text is not aligned with the tablature), partly because tablature division lines are abandoned in favour of the now usual practice of placing barlines at the end of musical and textual phrases, and also because of the simple chordal style of the pieces, with almost no ornamentation, and often fewer chords than there are syllables to the text. The tablature probably does reproduce the melody of the songs, but not consistently, and not consistently in the same part.

Many of these features also hold true for the other important manuscript source, located in the library of the Marquis de Méjanes at Aix-en-Provence.[110] The second part of this manuscript consists of solo tablatures by lutenists such as the Gaultiers dating from the 1650s, but the first consists almost exclusively of *air* accompaniments in Italian lute tablature for a six-course lute, with one verse aligned beneath the tablature and subsequent strophes written below, but no staff melody.[111] Division lines now follow the usual custom in the air of demarcating musical and textual phrases. The compiler of the manuscript, still unidentified, has signed himself 'Reynaud' on three folios, and the date 1599 appears after one of these signatures, on folio xxvi.[112] There is a total of ninety-five songs, ninety French, four Italian, and one in dialect (see Table 2.4). Even more than with the **Croy ms.**, there is little doubt that these tablatures represent accompaniments rather than solo lute tablatures. Like the Croy collection, they double the melodies of concordant songs only sporadically, and there are usually fewer notes than syllables of the accompanying texts. Moreover, the alignment of text with tablature seems to put the matter beyond doubt, as does the abandonment of the tactus division line in favour of one demarcating phrase endings.

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[109] There are eighteen such pieces in all, three of them duplicated in different parts of the manuscript. They are listed in **Birkner 1963** p. 37-8.

[110] Ms. 147 (203) - R312. The manuscript is described in **Verchaly 1958b**. Much of the following discussion is indebted to this source.

[111] The second part of the manuscript in fact begins with two airs in French tablature, clearly added to the collection rather later than those in the first part, and not listed in the index to the manuscript. These are *Charme secret des maux les plus puissants* (f. 96), and *Enfarinez bien vos testes* (f. 97).

[112] The pages are numbered with roman numerals from i-xxx, then in arabic numerals from 31 to 147.

Table 2.4: Contents of **Aix ms.**

Incipit	Folio	Poet
1. J'ayme la belle violette	1	[Durant de la Bergerie]
2. Mars de jalousie atteint	2	
3. Puis que vos beaux yeux	3	
4. O beaux yeux qui savés	4	[Bertaut]
5. J'ay couru tous ces bocages	5	[Durant de la Bergerie]
6. Quand je voy ce bel oeil vainqueur	6	
7. Je meurs de revoir ce bel oeil	7	
8. Par un matin la belle s'est levée	8	
9. Mon pere et ma mere leur foy ont juré	9	
10. Vous me juriez bergere	10	[La Roque]
11. Hé bonjour ma commere	11	
12. Le voulez vous ainsi	12	
13. Belle qui futtes jadis	13	
14. Enfin ce coeur vollant qui tenoit	14	[Bertaut]
15. Venez ça, belle, dites moy	15	[La Vallettrye]
16. Lors que ce desloyal	16	
17. Mon esprit honoré de vostre obéissance	17	[Bertaut]
18. Ou t'en fuis tu si tost Morphée	17	
19. Esprit ingrat et sot	19	
20. Quand l'infidelle usoit envers moy	20	[Du Perron]
21. Las il n'a nul mal	21	
22. En renouvellant mes peines	22	
23. Aussy tost qu'une belle ame	23	[Le Digne]
24. Hé! bien qu'en voulez vous dire	24	
25. Philon a qui feust si chere	26	
26. J'endure un fascheux ennuy	27	
27. Tous ceulx qui ont voulu chanter	28	
28. Que ne puis-je trancher la trame	29	
29. Enfin le changement nous met dans l'ame	30	
30. Mon dieu si l'amour est amer	31	
31. Si j'ayme autre que vous	32	
32. On disoit qu'Amour estoit fils	33	
33. Que de doulxeurs d'une douleur	34	
34. Morphée eust debat un jour	35	
35. Que vous estes cruels pensers de tant penser	36	
36. Sous quel astre suis-je née	37	
37. Quand je me branle tout branle	38	
38. Aupres des beaux yeux de Philis	39	[Caillier]
39. Maistresse pourquoy donnes tu	40	
40. Cesdres qui esmaillés tout l'air	41	
41. Madelon tu n'aimes pas	42	
42. Dedans une chambrette	43	
43. Puis que l'inhumaine beauté	44	
44. Pourquoy le ciel à mon malheur	45	
45. Il est vray, je le confesse	46	
46. Je pensais que vostre ame	47	
47. Quittons ce fascheux point d'honneur	48	

Incipit	Folio	Poet
48. O crudi mei souspir[113]	49	
49. Lors qu'un amant de cour harangue	50	
50. Pourquoy suis-je tant à faire	51	
51. Mon pere n'a pas voulu	52	
52. Leandre pour trop aymer	53	
53. Quand loing de Palestine et des champs	54	[Du Perron]
54. Je m'en vais dire adieu	55	
55. Allez legere et inconstante	56	
56. Puis que de vos beaux yeux	57	
57. Allons vieille imperfecte	58	
58. De quelle ingrate récompense	59	
59. Bergere en passant	60	
60. Entre les roses Cupidon	61	
61. Ceste beauté dont la constance	62	
62. Et ma beauté et ma constance[114]	62v	
63. Ores ce beau soleil a calmé sa demeure	63	
64. Il ne faut pas que ce volage	64	
65. Un jour ma belle me disoit	65	
66. J'adore uniquement une beauté divine	66	
67. Janot poussé d'un amoureux destin	67	
68. Nautres sian ley requinquados	68	
69. Mon pere outre mon gré	69	
70. J'ayme une belle bergere	70	
71. Le petit enfant amour	71	[Ronsard]
72. Belles amies voyez mes fleches	72	
73. A Paris y a un petit pont	73	
74. Que je vive sans vous privé de vos appas	74	
75. Quel fruit esperes-tu	74	
76. Mon âme est si fort blessée	75	
77. Beaux yeux lumière de mon âme	76	
78. Si je puis une fois	77	
79. Ainsi se plaignant Aminte	78	
80. Aux logettes de ces bois	79	
81. Puis qu'il faut desormais	80	[du Perron]
82. Bergere vos mignardises	81	
83. Si l'amour est un dieu	82	
84. Le boiteux mary de Venus	83	[Ronsard]
85. Je n'ayme rien tant que les bois	84	
86. Como fara cor mio	85	
87. Non posson amor piu vitta	86	
88. La piaga con nel cor	87	
89. Cruelle despartie	88	
90. Les grands palais admirables	89	
91. Ou luis-tu soleil de mon âme	90	
92. Que nous sert-il d'aymer ces parfaites beautés	91	
93. Adieu bergere pour jamais	92	
94. A la fin ce berger	93	
95. Quand je mesprisois les loix	94	
96. Cloris au mal qui me possede	95	

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113 A song of this title appears in Giovanni Battista Massarengo's *Canzonette alla Napolitana* of 1591 (**RISM** 1591[22])
114 The text is a 'responce' to the previous air, to be sung to the same tablature on folio 62 recto.

The contents are entirely consistent with a compilation date of about 1600. Twenty-two airs have concordances with anonymous airs in Le Roy's three polyphonic *air de cour* anthologies published in 1595, 1596, and 1597 (nos. 1, 5, 7, 9, 10, 11, 13, 18, 23, 24, 26, 38, 42, 44, 57, 59, 64, 66, 75, 76, 77, 88), but after this more texts, eighteen, are concordant with Guédron's first air collections of 1602 and 1608 than those of any other composer (nos. 1, 7, 20, 44, 46, 56, 58, 59, 73, 75, 76, 81, 89, 90, 91, 92, 94, 95), and this may suggest that much of the manuscript was compiled in 1602 or later. Four titles relate to Charles Tessier's two books of 1597 and 1604 (nos. 9, 30, 36, 55), and three to Planson's book of 1587 (4, 8, 14).[115] Curiously though, only one piece has a version in **ChardavoineS 1576** (no. 71). *Par un matin*, presumably drawn from Planson's collection, is also found in **Adriaensen 1592**, while six other airs have versions in **Besard 1603**: *Adieu bergere pour jamais*, *Cruelle despartie*, *Je meurs de revoir ce bel oeil*, *Puis que de vos beaux yeux*, *Aux logettes des bois*, and *Vous me juriez bergere*, the last two for solo lute in Besard. Three titles are also found in the Tessier manuscript: *O beaux yeux*, *Ou t'en vas tu*, and the psalm paraphrase *Quand loin de Palestine*.[116]

One other group of manuscripts should also be mentioned here: Uppsala manuscripts 76c and 87 contain French tablatures by Guillaume Morlaye, according to recent research by Jean-Michel and Nathalie Vaccaro (**Vaccaro 1989** is a modern edition of parts of the Uppsala manuscripts with an introduction arguing for the attribution to Morlaye). They contain several tablatures with text underlaid (but again no staff melody), two of them Latin, three French. The French songs included in the collection are *Je ne fais rien que requerir* (ms. 76c f. 114v), *Amys avant que l'aurore* (ms. 76c f. 139v), and *Ce nest rien que de fuir* (ms. 87 f. 1).[117] There are also three, short, untexted pieces that may well be intabulations of airs: *Mon pere ma donne mari* (ms. 412 f. 3), and two without title (both ms. 76b f. 13v). These pieces are often rough copies, either showing a draft stage of intabulation, or were intended only for Morlaye's use. In the comparatively ornate tablatures, with a consistently four-part texture for a six-course lute, it is fair to say that these pieces resemble Morlaye's mid-century lute-song publication more than they do the other lute-air sources from the end of the century, and none of these songs can be traced to *air de cour* publications. Concordances with other parts of the manuscripts relate to sources from the 1570s, with 1576 the date of the latest concordant publication (that of Bertrand).[118]

Late sixteenth-century lute-song arrangements

If we exclude the Morlaye Uppsala mansucripts, the only one of these sources which shows a manner of arrangement similar to that found in the earlier printed books is **Adriaensen 1592**. Here Adriaensen takes

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[115] Other concordances include four airs related to Cerveau's 1599 collection (46, 47, 49, 70), five to Bonnet's of 1600 (9, 43, 47, 54, 70), and one each in collections by Guillaume Tessier (71), Le Jeune (21), Caietain (71), and Caignet (75).

[116] **Dobbins 1976** also asserts a connection between Tessier's *Au joly bois* and no. 9 (*Mon pere et ma mere* - described as a *chanson à danser* in the collection of chanson texts, *La fleur de chansons amoureuses* published at Rouen in 1600) in the Croy manuscript.

[117] Facsimiles of all three pieces are included in the introduction to the Vaccaro edition.

[118] A version of *Je ne fais rien* by Vuildre appears in the *Mellange de chansons tant des vieux autheurs que des modernes ...*, Paris: Le Roy and Ballard, 1572 f. 47.

the airs of Planson, reproduces the parts, and intabulates them fairly literally, such that there can be no doubt that he was working from a copy of Planson's book. *Nous estions* is an entirely literal reproduction of Planson's song, and so is *Chamberiere*, apart from a few added passing notes in the melody, and the occasional expanded chord in the tablature. *La rousée* is a slightly freer version, however, for by filling out the harmonies to produce common tablature chords, Adriaensen effectively destroys the tenor line (see Example 2.1). Expanded harmonies of this sort, which involve sacrificing original part-movement to a scheme of conventional chord shapes, are rare in the earlier French publications. On the other hand, the passing note, *brisé*-style, or ornamental embellishments that are virtually absent from Adriaensen's book and the later lute-air are common to all the earlier publications.

Par un matin is also a literal reproduction of Planson's song, but uniquely Adriaensen reproduces the melody in the tablature, allowing it to be performed as a lute solo. This may help account for the rubric *Le sup. doit estre chanté* above the previous song, *La rousée*, which like the others does not double the melody. *Par un matin* is the only one of these songs to make the slightest concession to the sort of embellishment mentioned above, by introducing a common cadential ornament at the end of the piece (see Example 2.2).

Belle bergere is not drawn from Planson's book, nor is it derived from the polyphonic arrangement in **Le Roy..P 1597**, though the two pieces are obviously based on the same *musique légère* melody (Example 2.3). Here, then, is one of many cases of the air as *timbre* - a common domain melody, often of unknown origin, harmonised in various ways by different composers. The melodic differences between the two versions of the tune are typical of the variants one finds in such *timbres*. But Adriaensen does intabulate the bassus that he also includes in the book, and it seems likely that he was working from some polyphonic version rather than arranging the tune directly as lute-song.

When we compare Adriaensen's lute-song arrangements with those in the other sources, we can see that this relatively literal approach to intabulation is now far from the norm, and it probably stems from Adriaensen's desire to produce flexible arrangements that can be performed as solo songs or ensemble pieces, with the lute replacing missing parts: a practice that is common in the Phalèse publications, and that we have seen at work in **Phalèse 1553**. In the other sources, however, we are dealing with pieces conceived of entirely as lute-songs, with a more distinctive type of arrangement.

The arrangements of songs by Guédron in **Besard 1603** provide a good example of the new approach to lute-song arrangement in these sources. As we have seen, nine songs in Besard relate to pieces in **GuédronP 1602** and/or its revised version of 1608. Both the surviving copies of these books are fragmentary, though it is possible to reconstruct most of the airs by combining these and other sources.[119]

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[119] Only one copy of Guédron's *Airs de court mis à quatre et cinq parties par Pierre Guédron* (**GuédronP 1602**) survives in Paris, Conservatoire Rés. 517, and this lacks the superius part-book. Most of the airs in the revised edition of this collection - the *Airs de cour à quatre et cinq parties par P. Guédron* (**GuédronP 1608**) - are transcribed by Don Royster in his unpublished doctoral dissertation on Guédron (**Royster 1973**). All but twelve of the forty-three airs in the 1602 book are reprinted in 1608 and only one of these, *La voicy la nacelle d'amour*, appears in Besard (as *La voila la nacelle*). We might note, incidentally, the change in title between the two editions of Guédron's book. The earlier formula of airs (melodies) being 'set in four and five

Examples 2.4 and 2.5 (*Adieu bergere*; *Si jamais*) are typical of the extent to which Besard manipulates Guédron's songs. Melody, bass, and harmony are intimately related to Guédron's polyphonic versions, but with a few significant alterations, especially to the rhythm of the airs which Besard up to a point simplifies, and in a slightly different approach to ornamentation. But Besard makes no attempt whatsoever to reproduce the inner parts of Guédron's polyphonic versions. His arrangements are derived from a melody and bass (the latter making free use of octave transposition, and to that extent conceived of as a harmonic framework rather than as a melodic line), and possibly a harmonic scheme as well (although there are few cases where the combination of melody and bass leaves room for manouevre with the implied harmony, in a style still largely dependent on diatonic root-position chords). Against these he constructs chords on the lute in the manner most characteristic of the instrument, usually producing four-note chords, but sometimes slipping freely into three- or five-note chords as well.

Was Besard working from Guédron's complete polyphony, or just from a two-part (melody-bass) model? Given that the first edition of Guédron's book appeared in 1602, only a year before Besard's own, one might expect the former, and this remains a possibility.[120] But there is some reason at least to think that he worked from two-part versions (similarity between Guédron's basses and Besard's rules out the possibility of his having had access to only the melodies, as was probably the case with songs like *Ma belle si ton ame* and *Rosette pour un peu d'absence*, for instance). Manuscript versions of Guédron's airs would help explain the differences between Besard's versions and those printed in 1602 and 1608, especially when those differences are rhythmic and ornamental (i.e. use of passing notes and the like), and hence very likely representing a particular performer's realisation of those songs. Moreover, some of the songs, while still plainly derived from Guédron, vary considerably more from his published versions than the examples given above. Besard's bass to *La voila la nacelle* (which appeared - as *La voici* - only in **GuédronP 1602**, and hence lacks a superius, though Besard's fits quite well) is quite different at the opening, shifting the colour of the harmonisation away from F major, towards D minor (see Example 2.6), while the melody in Besard's arrangement of *Si c'est pour mon pucellage* requires considerable adjustment at the opening to match Guédron's harmony, though thereafter the two versions correspond quite well.

The question of the likelihood of melody-bass arrangements of *airs de cour* is one to which we shall return in Chapter 4. For current purposes, however, it does not really matter whether Besard worked from such outlines, or from the complete polyphony, for even if the latter all that he took from it was melody and bass. The process of intabulating parts has been abandoned in favour of a harmonic and idiomatic conception of lute-song, the result of three decades of exploration of the homophonic air and, no doubt, its arrangement and sometimes perhaps origination as lute-song. This is a considerable departure from the sort of piece that we see in the earlier sixteenth-century publications.

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parts' is replaced with the statement that the airs are simply 'by P. Guédron', indicating the virtual abandonment of the *timbre*-based approach found in the sixteenth-century collections of airs. The new form of title becomes the norm thereafter.

[120] A version of Guédron's *Je meurs de revoir*, which did not appear in the 1602 book, but only in 1608, had already been printed anonymously in Le Roy's 1596 anthology (**Le Roy..P 1596** f. 3).

A similar pattern holds true for the other sources, of which the Tessier manuscript, the only other collection to contain both melody and tablature, is the most useful example. Tessier includes two Guédron airs which, while closely related to what we might call the definitive versions of 1602 and 1608, display like Besard's arrangements the sort of freedom and variation attached to this repertoire. In both *Quand le flambeau* and *Esprits qui soupirez* we see similar melodies, where differences consist mostly of subtle changes of rhythm and ornamentation, and also related basslines. With *Quand le flambeau*, in fact, we find Tessier drawing on the version of the song that had been published by Le Roy anonymously in 1596, and that Tessier might have seen before compiling his manuscript (see Example 2.7).[121]

The 1596 anthology and manuscript versions are too close to the **GuédronP 1608** arrangement to be completely different harmonisations of the same air, and one possibility is that the 1608 version is Guédron's own reworking of his original air. However, it is also worth bearing in mind that such alterations to the bass are possible, even likely, when it becomes detached from the inner voices. The bass of the 1596 anthology is considerably more suitable for Tessier's manner of lute-song arrangement than that of 1608 because it is simpler, and in particular because it makes more use of root position chords (the transposition down a 3rd on 'qui trouble' being the most striking example of this). A glance at Tessier's tablatures throughout the manuscript reveals why root-position chords would be preferred to first inversions. Tessier's accompaniments consist almost entirely of chord-shapes as they are most frequently found on the lute - positions into which any experienced lutenist's hands would fall effortlessly and without thinking - and this means mostly root position chords at this period (almost every chord of Example 2.7 is of this sort). With such a style there is no question of preserving inner part movement, or even making much concession to producing a musical top line for the lute. In this Tessier's lute-airs are simpler even than Besard's, and he switches between two-, three-, and four-note chords freely.

The other Guédron air, *Esprits qui soupirez*, also has a melody close to that of 1608, the difference lying mostly in ornamentation. There are also passages where the basses are almost identical suggesting more than a coincidental relationship. But elsewhere Tessier's bass is quite distinct from Guédron's (where Guédron's arrangement goes into three parts, for instance), and here there is no connection with the version in the 1569 anthology, which has a bass-line still further removed from Guédron's than is Tessier's (see Example 2.8).

The two airs concordant with Planson's 1587 collection, *Quand premier je vis* and *O beaux yeux*, also show closely related melodies. There is little evidence that Tessier made use of Planson's bass for *Quand premier*, but his bass of *O beaux yeux* is quite close to Planson's, after the first half of the song at least (see Example 2.9 - *O beaux yeux*). There is, again, no question of Tessier intabulating the inner parts, or seeking effective inner part-movement.

The most interesting aspect of Tessier's collection is the total of nine airs that are common to the manuscript and also Tessier's own polyphonic book, printed in London in 1597, a unique and invaluable example from

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[121] **Le Roy..P 1596** f. 38v. Only the bassus part-book of this anthology survives.

this period of a composer producing airs in both lute-song and polyphonic form virtually contemporaneously. Some, if not all, of these airs are probably Tessier's own compositions.

Tessier's polyphonic airs are quite skilfully worked part-songs, with a fair amount of musical interest in the inner voices, while his lute-airs follow precisely the same pattern as the others in the book of reproducing melody and bass, but producing the rest of the harmony from stock chords. *Non vous n'estes pas yeux* provides a typical example. The melody and bass of the two versions are virtually identical, but the inner parts of the polyphony have no connection with the harmonisations of the lute-airs, which use the usual stock of root-position tablature chords. There is very little octave transposition of the bass, compared to Besard, say, which might suggest that Tessier worked out such pieces on the lute (see Example 2.10). In *Amans qui d'amour* we have a rare example of Tessier using slightly different harmonies between the two versions (see Example 2.11). The first of these, replacing a G minor chord with B flat major at the start of the piece, probably stems from Tessier's using a simplified bass for the lute version, and we see more simplification at the end of the piece, where Tessier extends the simple semibreves of the bass to the melody of the lute-song. This song also provides a good example of rhythmic variants between the two melodies, with the duple metre of the first half of the piece in the polyphonic version replaced in the lute-song by the uneven note groupings of *musique d'air*. This difference appears several times between the two sources, and may represent a concession to English taste in the polyphonic book.

We might finally note the occasional error in the lute-song versions, which probably stems from Tessier's style of arrangement. In *Au joly bois*, at 'ma mere ont leur foy', Tessier harmonises a D in the melody with an F major chord, and the following E with a G major triad. The polyphonic version shows us his true intentions, but one can easily understand such an error in an approach that, continuo-like, builds up a harmony in root-position chords from the bassline.

The Aix and, so far as one can tell, Croy manuscripts show a similar approach. With an air such as *Ou luis tu soleil* found in the Aix ms., Guédron's melody matches the tablature almost perfectly, and the bass in the tablature virtually replicates Guédron's, with only the occasional simplification such as the now familiar replacement of a first inversion with a root-position chord at 'Et du sein de Thetis' (see Example 2.12). The 'error' in the first chord may reflect Reynaud's resistance to starting the piece on the leading-note, or it may be a mistranscription of the bass of a manuscript model. The tendency to drift in and out of doubling the melody in the tablature is typical of the manuscript, as is the chordal realisation of the bass, unrelated to Guédron's part movement. In other songs the correspondance of both melody and bass to a published source is less precise, but still suggestive. Thus in Guédron's *Quand l'infidelle usoit*, where the Aix tablature doubles the melody virtually throughout, while the bass is more or less distinct from Guédron's in the second phrase, elsewhere the correspondence is too precise to be accidental.

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These lute-song sources are unified by a common practice (with the partial exception of **Adriaensen 1592**) and a common repertoire. The repertoire is that of the *air de cour*, the history of which from this time on is

intimately bound up with that of lute-song in France, though the vernacular psalm and sacred air also continue to enjoy a prominent position in French musical publications. We can see this as the natural culmination of the tendency to favour a melodic and homophonic repertoire for lute-song earlier in the century. The practice is that of working from a melody, or increasingly from a melody and bass, and providing a purely harmonic filling based on common lute chords - the triumph of the homophonic style, and an approach that can most readily be described as 'continuo-like'. In both areas the consistency between the sources suggests a well-established practice, and while the sources mostly date from the turn of the century, they draw on sources from the 1580s and probably the late 1570s, and it is fair to assume that lute-song performance of the *air de cour* repertoire occurred throughout its history. The continuo style that we see in the sources may well have received its initial impetus from the humanistic ideas of the *Pléiade* and the *Académie*, but, in the 1580s if not earlier, very likely become a common practice not just of arrangement of the *air de cour*, but also in its composition, a possibility considered further in Chapter 4.

The thirty-nine-year publishing silence

Before turning to the lute-air as we find it in abundance in the early seventeenth century, we might speculate on why lute-song ceased to be published in France between 1571 and 1608, all the more puzzling when the surviving sources and literary evidence suggest that it was commonly and no doubt increasingly practiced in this period.

Nigel Fortune, one of the few to consider this issue, has suggested that this silence may reflect the expense involved in printing lute tablature in these decades of civil conflict and commercial uncertainty, and also that Le Roy's *Instruction* in do-it-yourself chanson intabulation might have destroyed the market for such publications.[122] Neither explanation seems very satisfactory, however. While social conditions may well have affected the market for musical publications in this period, it is unlikely to be in the way that Fortune suggests, for there is little reason to believe that printing tablature was especially expensive, and solo tablatures also cease to appear in print until Antoine Francisque's *Le Trésor d'Orphée* of 1600. As for the influence of Le Roy's *Instruction*, not only is Fortune surely optimistic in attributing so much success to a 'teach-yourself' manual, but the sort of literal intabulation of parts that Le Roy advocates in the book bears no relationship to the style of lute-song we find in the sources after Le Roy's own of 1571.

Perhaps the first point to make here is that the situation is better viewed as a delay in the publication of the lute-air in France, rather than as a gap in its production. Regardless of whether we see the pieces in **Le Roy 1571** as solo lute music or as genuine lute-songs, we can say that in the way he sets La Grotte's melodies to the lute Le Roy holds true to the old tradition of intabulating parts that we see in all the earlier prints. The differences between his tablatures and La Grotte's part-songs cannot be ascribed to Le Roy producing a simplified, more idiomatic accompaniment on the lute, but rather to his using La Grotte's melodies as *timbres* and supplying them with his own harmonisations based on the principle of part-

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[122] See **Fortune 1968** p. 187

movement, albeit often greatly indebted to those of La Grotte. The lute-songs we see in the manuscript and non-French sources are, with the partial exception of Adriaensen's arrangements, far removed from this approach, and there is no concession in Le Roy's book to such modern tendencies: his tablatures, with their part-movement and decorative embellishments, remain firmly rooted in the past.

Such a delay is in many ways easier to understand than a gap, and two factors may help explain it. One is the possibility of a declining interest in the lute as a solo instrument, or at least a change in its status from the prestigious but common instrument for the musical amateur in the middle of the century, to the preserve of the specialist and genuine enthusiast at its end. The absence of any form of printed tablature - accompanimental or solo - from the end of the century testifies to this: a stark contrast compared to the abundance of it in, say, the 1550s, and a phenomenon that finds a less extreme parallel in Italy. As with the increasing preference for homophonic vocal music in the same period, it is difficult to account for such changes in taste, but in so far as changing social conditions affected the publication of lute music, it would probably be by altering the market for it in this way rather than by inhibiting its production, as Fortune suggests.

Such a change in the market for and status of the lute and its music would stimulate and be stimulated by rapid developments in the construction of the instrument in the closing decades of the century. This is what we see in the expanding number of courses from six in the 'classic' Renaissance lute to, eventually, ten required for the seventeenth-century lute-song or solo repertoire, the latter also affected and in a similar way by the use of 'experimental' or 'transitional' tunings.[123] One might also speculate that there was no composer for the instrument able to sustain interest in it, as de Rippe in France, and Milano in Italy had undoubtedly been able to do earlier in the century - an unlucky call for the lute in history's genetic lottery.

Any such decline in the status of the lute as a solo instrument would be likely to affect seriously the publication of lute-song, for we recall that in the sources up to 1571, solo and accompanimental forms of lute music were closely interlinked. Most of the publications from the earlier part of the century have a dual function in one way or another, able to act as sources for solo and accompanimental music or, in the case of **Phalèse 1553**, ensemble performance. And this holds true even of the two publications where lute-songs do appear after 1571 - **Adriaensen 1592** and **Besard 1603** - for both are primarily collections of solo lute music. One could argue that the revival of lute-song in printed form awaited its independence from the solo repertoire, and this is precisely what we see in the seventeenth-century French publications. In these books, the musical style of the accompaniment is often quite different from that of the solo repertoire, the tuning of the lute, in retaining *vieil ton*, is increasingly different, and the songs are intabulated by composers who, unlike Le Roy, Morlaye, and, one presumes, the anonymous intabulators of the Phalèse and Attaingnant publications, have little obvious connection with solo lute music. To take an example we have already studied, there is no evidence of Charles Tessier having produced any solo lute music, and the tablatures in his manuscript, like those in the later French publications, are considerably easier to play than the solo lute

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[123] Neither term is sufficiently adequate to be able to dispense with scare quotation marks, for the solo lute music using these varied tunings is satisfactory and well-conceived in its own right. It can be understood and appreciated without reference to either its origins in *vieil ton*, nor its 'destination' in *nouveau ton*.

music that survives from the period. He may, like Courville in the references to him quoted above, have been best known as a singer who accompanied himself on the lute, rather than as a lutenist, just as the Italian Caccini was renowned as a singer and composer rather than as a theorbo player. For such musicians the lute became a tool for accompaniment and, no doubt, composition, not the primary object of their musical interests. And if, as suggested above, solo lute music became the preserve of specialists and enthusiasts while the simpler lute-air became a wholly distinct genre aimed at quite a different and much larger market, this would help explain the abundance of printed songs in the seventeenth century, compared to the solo lute music that was circulated and now survives principally in manuscript form.[124]

The new style of the lute-air that we find in, say, the Tessier manuscript, one divorced from the solo repertoire, called for a new type of tablature publication, and this ties in to the second factor that might help us understand the delay in the introduction of printed lute-song in France: the need for a publisher willing to undertake it. The Le Roy/Ballard firm, which held a virtual monopoly on music printing in France by the end of the century, had no experience of printing lute-song as a distinct genre. Not only were Le Roy's tablatures conceived soloistically, but they were presented this way too, with no attempt at alignment between melody and any form of accompaniment, let alone a purely idiomatic, chordal one. Publishing the lute-air would require both a new production style, and the initiative to introduce it. It is surely no coincidence then that the first lute-song prints begin with the next generation both of publishers and arrangers. Robert Ballard died in 1588 and Le Roy, the practical musician of the firm, in 1598. The business was controlled by Ballard's widow and son Pierre until 1608, when we have the earliest air publications which name Pierre alone as publisher, also the year of the first lute-air publication. Moreover, where Le Roy had himself been the arranger in the firm's previous publication of lute accompaniments, Pierre Ballard employed the talents of a new figure, Gabriel Bataille, as arranger for the first six books of the series, after which the occupation was briefly carried out by 'les autheurs ... eux mesmes', and then later by Antoine Boesset.

The lute-song books of 1608 and after employ a new type-face which may have been acquired by Pierre Ballard in 1606, two years before the first collection of lute-airs (**Bataille 1608**) appeared, and no doubt commissioned earlier still.[125] When it appeared, the 1608 collection set new standards in alignment and overall production quality, and indeed, these highly attractive, eminently collectable books are far ahead of the quality of vocal prints for most of the century (compare Facsimiles 4.3 and 4.9), and bear comparison with the best musical prints of any age or any country. The time and expense involved in preparing this type of publication must have been considerable, and while it may be regarded as an entrepreneurial gamble by Ballard, it is one which by this time he may have been convinced was likely to pay off. The time required to develop this new type of publication, to be convinced that sufficient market existed to justify the expense involved (itself contingent on the development of a common practice of lute-song arrangement), and

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[124] The relative decline in the status of the lute is suggested by the composer Titelouze (1562/3-1633) who, in a letter to Mersenne of 1622, notes that: 'In my youth, I remember seeing everyone lost in rapturous admiration for a man playing a lute (and rather badly at that!). Yet nowadays I see countless musicians a thousand times more talented than he, whom the public hardly deign to listen to.' Translated in **Hockley 1996** p. 17.

[125] See **Jurgens II** p. 869

the need for a publisher willing to take this step, coupled with the absence of competition (and hence innovation) from other printers, could all have conspired to delay the production of the printed lute-air.

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In these first two chapters we have surveyed the sources of lute-song between 1529 and 1608, and noticed a significant change in style between the prints that appeared up to 1571, and the sources that survive from the turn of the century. We have also looked at evidence for the practice of lute-song independent of the surviving repertoire, and in doing so have suggested possible reasons for the eventual success of the genre. In the next two chapters we turn our attention to the 'golden age' of French lute-song, the period of the *air de cour* between 1608 and 1643, presenting an outline of the repertoire, and more detailed studies of the compositional and intabulation technique, and of the aesthetics of the genre as a whole.

3: FRENCH LUTE-SONG IN THE SEVENTEENTH CENTURY

SOURCES AND COMPOSERS

In 1608 Pierre Ballard, now sole controller of the publishing firm that had come to all but monopolise the printing of music in France by the end of the sixteenth century, at last turned to the publication of lute-song. His anthology of *Airs de differents autheurs mis en tabulature de luth* was to be the first of sixteen such collections which, together with nine books devoted to the works of individual composers, comprise the principal corpus of French lute-song in its golden age. Taken together they contain about a thousand airs,[1] mostly secular *airs de cour* but also a number of *airs sacrés* (especially psalms), for one or more voices with lute (occasionally guitar) accompaniment notated in tabulature.

More precise information on these editions appears below. But as an outline, the Parisian sources are as follows:

The anthology series[2]

The bulk of the sources comprises a numbered series of sixteen books, mostly anthologies. We can think of this series as falling into three groups, according to the person(s) responsible for the arrangement and, very likely, selection of airs in the volumes.

1. The first group consists of the first six anthologies, which appeared between 1608 and 1615, intabulated by Gabriel Bataille:

Book I - 1608; II - 1609; III - 1611; IV - 1613; V - 1614; VI - 1615.

2. The second group consists of books arranged for lute anonymously or by 'the composers themselves'. The latter comprise Books VII and VIII of 1617 and 1618 respectively. Book XI of 1623 is described simply as *Airs de differents autheurs avec la tablature de luth*, with no reference to who was responsible for the intabulation of the airs, though it is safe to assume that some of its contents at least were arranged by the composers.

3. The third group consists of books which name Anthoine Boesset on the title page as intabulator and/or composer. This includes all the remaining books after 1618 except Book XI:

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[1] A number of airs are in more than one part, and these may be regarded as one or more distinct airs. Difficulties such as this make an attempt to specify an exact number of airs in these publications rather pointless. On a reckoning which tends to regard airs as distinct wherever possible, the Parisian collections contain 998 different airs, with two more airs containing tabulature in a primarily polyphonic collection by de Chancy, mentioned below. This number includes a few airs in languages other than French, and some songs with guitar accompaniment.

[2] The numbered series is mostly but not exclusively made up of anthologies. The term is used to cover the entire series for convenience.

Book IX - 1620; X - 1621; XII - 1624; XIII - 1626; XIV - 1628; XV - 1632; XVI - 1643.

The books contained in the third group, those associated with Boesset, can be further divided into books which are genuine anthologies, containing the works of various composers (IX, XII, XIV, and XV), and those which contain only airs by Boesset (X, XII and XVI). This is somewhat artificial, however, because Boesset dominates as composer in all but Book IX (1620). The titles of these later collections appear to make this distinction, with some books described as *Airs de cour avec la tablature de luth de Anthoyne Boesset* (suggesting Boesset as sole composer), and others as *Airs de cour mis en tablature de luth par Anthoyne Boesset* (suggesting Boesset as arranger). But in fact these formulae are not applied consistently, so that Book X of 1621, although 'mis en tablature de luth', in fact contains airs only by Boesset, while Book XIV of 1628, which is 'avec la tabulature de luth', does not.

The dedicated editions

Apart from Books X, XII, and XVI in the numbered series, there are nine books dedicated to the lute-airs of single composers, as follows:

Jean Boyer - 1621; Louis de Rigaud - 1623; Denis Caignet - 1625; Etienne Moulinié - 1624, 1625, 1629, 1633, 1635; François Richard - 1637. Two airs using tablature also appear in a polyphonic collection by de Chancy published in 1635. These are all collections of mostly secular *airs de cour* except for Caignet's book, which contains fifty psalm settings.

Transcriptions of the titles of all the above books are given below, arranged in chronological order, with the sigla used to identify them (see Table 3.1).[3] It is these books that comprise what is described as the 'core repertoire' of the remainder of this chapter and elsewhere:

Table 3.1: The Parisian lute-air publications, 1608-1643

Bataille 1608	AIRS \ DE DIFFERENTS \ AUTHEURS, \ *MIS EN TABLATURE DE LUTH.* \ PAR GABRIEL BATAILLE \ [cut] \ A PARIS, \ Par PIERRE BALLARD, Imprimeur en Musique du Roy, de- \ meurant ruë S.Jean de Beauvais, à l'enseigne du mont Parnasse.\ [line] \ 1608.\ *Avec Privilege de sa Majesté.* [Re-ed. 1612]
Bataille 1609	AIRS \ DE DIFFERENTS \ AUTHEVRS, \ *MIS EN TABLATVRE DE LVTH.*\ PAR GABRIEL BATAILLE. \ *SECOND LIVRE.* \ [cut] \ A PARIS, \ Par PIERRE BALLARD, Imprimeur de la Musique du Roy, demeurant \ ruë sainct Iean de Beauuais, à l'enseigne du mont Parnasse. \ [line] \ 1609. \ *Avec Privilege de sa Majesté.* [Re-ed. 1614]

[3] One of the books, **Moulinié 1629/1629b**, exists in two states, with an extra air added to the end of one version. With regard to re-editions, changes are confined to occasional changes to secondary tablature symbols among the early books.

Bataille 1611	AIRS \ DE DIFFERENTS \ AUTHEURS, \ *MIS EN TABLATURE DE LUTH* \ PAR GABRIEL BATAILLE.\ *TROISIESME LIVRE*. \ [cut] \ A PARIS,\ Par PIERRE BALLARD, Imprimeur de la Musique du Roy, demeurant \ ruë sainct Jean de Beauvais, à l'enseigne du mont Parnasse. \ [line] \ 1611. \ *Avec Privilege de sa Majesté*. [Re-ed. 1614]
Bataille 1613	AIRS \ DE DIFFERENTS \ AUTHEURS, \ *MIS EN TABLATURE DE LUTH* \ PAR GABRIEL BATAILLE. \ *QUATRIESME LIVRE*. \ [cut] \ A PARIS, \ Par PIERRE BALLARD, Imprimeur de la Musique du Roy, demeurant \ ruë sainct Jean de Beauvais, à l'enseigne du mont Parnasse. \ [line] \ 1613. */ Avec Privilege de sa Majesté*.
Bataille 1614	AIRS \ DE DIFFERENTS \ AUTHEURS, \ *MIS EN TABLATURE DE LUTH* \ PAR GABRIEL BATAILLE. \ *CINQUIESME LIVRE*. \ [cut] \ A PARIS,\ Par PIERRE BALLARD, Imprimeur de la Musique du Roy, demeurant \ ruë sainct Jean de Beauvais, à l'enseigne du mont Parnasse.\ [line] \ 1614. \ *Avec Privilege de sa Majesté.*
Bataille 1615	AIRS \ DE DIFFERENTS \ AUTHEURS, \ *MIS EN TABLATURE DE LUTH* \ PAR GABRIEL BATAILLE. \ *SIXIESME LIVRE*. \ [cut] \ A PARIS, \ Par PIERRE BALLARD, Imprimeur de la Musique du Roy, demeurant \ ruë sainct jean de Beauvais, à l'enseigne du mont Parnasse. \ [line] \ 1615. \ *Avec Privilege de sa Majesté*.
Ballard 1617	AIRS \ DE DIFFERENTS \ AUTHEURS, \ *MIS EN TABLATURE DE LUTH* \ PAR EUX MESMES. \ *SEPTIESME LIVRE*. \ [cut] \ A PARIS, \ Par PIERRE BALLARD, Imprimeur de la Musique du Roy, demeurant \ ruë sainct Jean de Beauvais, à l'enseigne du mont Parnasse. \ [line] \ 1617. \ *Avec Privilege de sa Majesté*. [Re-ed. 1622]
Ballard 1618	AIRS \ DE DIFFERENTS \ AUTHEURS, \ *MIS EN TABLATURE DE LUTH* \ PAR EUX MESMES. \ *HUICTIESME LIVRE*. \ [cut] \ A PARIS, \ Par PIERRE BALLARD, Imprimeur de la Musique du Roy, demeurant \ ruë sainct Jean de Beauvais, à l'enseigne du mont Parnasse. \ [line] \ 1618. \ *Avec Privilege de sa Majesté*.
Boesset 1620	AIRS DE COUR \ MIS EN TABLATURE DE LUTH \ PAR ANTHOYNE BOESSE'T, \ *Maistre de la Musique de la Chambre du Roy,* \ *et de la Reyne*. \ NEUFIESME LIVRE. \ [cut] \ A PARIS, \ Par PIERRE BALLARD, Imprimeur de la Musique du Roy, demeurant ruë sainct Jean de Beauvais, à l'enseigne du mont Parnasse. \ [line] \ 1620. \ *Avec Privilege de sa Majesté*.
Boesset 1621	AIRS DE COUR \ MIS EN TABLATURE DE LUTH \ PAR ANTHOYNE BOESSE'T, \ *Maistre de la Musique de la Chambre du Roy,* \ *et de la Reyne*. \ DIXIESME LIVRE. \ [cut] \ A PARIS, \ Par PIERRE BALLARD, Imprimeur de la Musique du Roy, demeurant \ ruë sainct jean de Beauvais, à l'enseigne du mont Parnasse. \ [line] \ 1621. \ *Avec Privilege de sa Majesté*.
Boyer 1621	AIRS \ DE JAN BOYER \ PARISIEN, \ *MIS EN TABLATURE DE LUTH* \ PAR LUY MESME \ [cut] \ A PARIS, \ Par PIERRE BALLARD, Imprimeur de la musique du Roy, demeurant \ ruë sainct Jean de Beauvais, à l'enseigne du mont Parnasse. \ [line] \ 1621. \ *Avec Privilege de sa Majesté*

Ballard 1623	AIRS \ DE DIFFERENTS \ AUTHEURS \ AVEC LA TABLATURE DE LUTH. \ UNZIESME LIVRE. \ [cut] \ A PARIS, \ Par PIERRE BALLARD, Imprimeur de la Musique du Roy, demeurant \ ruë sainct Jean de Beauvais, à l'enseigne du mont Parnasse. \ [line] \ 1623. \ *Avec Privilege de sa Majesté.*
De Rigaud 1623	AIRS \ FAITS, ET MIS EN \ TABLATURE DE LUTH, \ *PAR LOUYS DE RIGAUD,* \ *SIEUR DE FONLIDON.* \ [cut] \ A PARIS, \ Par PIERRE BALLARD, Imprimeur de la Musique du Roy, demeurant \ ruë sainct Jean de Beauvais, à l'enseigne du mont Parnasse. \ [line] \ 1623. \ *Avec Privilege de sa Majesté*
Boesset 1624	AIRS DE COUR \ AVEC LA TABLATURE DE LUTH \ DE ANTHOYNE BOESSE'T, \ *Surintendant de la Musique de la Chambre* \ *du Roy, & de la Reyne.* \ DOUZIESME LIVRE. \ [cut] \ A PARIS, \ Par PIERRE BALLARD, Imprimeur de la Musique du Roy, demeurant \ ruë sainct Jean de Beauvais, à l'enseigne du mont Parnasse. \ [line] \ 1624. \ *Avec Privilege de sa Majesté.*
Moulinié 1624	AIRS \ AVEC LA TABLATURE \ DE LUTH, \ DE ESTIENNE MOULINIÉ. \ [cut] \ A PARIS, \ Par PIERRE BALLARD, Imprimeur de la Musique du Roy, demeurant \ ruë sainct Jean de Beauvais, à l'enseigne du mont Parnasse. \ [line] \ 1624. \ *Avec Privilege de sa Majesté.*
Caignet 1625	CINQUANTE \ PSEAUMES DE DAVID, \ MIS EN VERS FRANCOYS \ PAR PHILIPPES DES-PORTES, \ ABBÉ DE THIRON. \ ET EN MUSIQUE, ET SUR LE LUTH, \ PAR DENIS CAIGNET, \ ORDINAIRE EN LA MUSIQUE \ de la Chambre du Roy. \ [cut] \ A PARIS, \ Par PIERRE BALLARD, Imprimeur de la Musique du Roy, demeurant \ ruë sainct Jean de Beauvais, à l'enseigne du mont Parnasse. \ [line] \ 1625. \ *Avec Privilege de sa Majesté.*
Moulinié 1625	AIRS DE COUR \ AVEC LA TABLATURE DE LUTH \ DE ESTIENNE MOULINIE'. \ *SECOND LIVRE.* \ [cut] \ A PARIS, \ Par PIERRE BALLARD, Imprimeur de la Musique du Roy, demeurant \ ruë sainct Jean de Beauvais, à l'enseigne du mont Parnasse. \ [line] \ 1625. \ *Avec Privilege de sa Majesté.*
Boesset 1626	AIRS DE COUR \ AVEC LA TABLATURE DE LUTH \ DE ANTHOYNE BOESSE'T, \ *Surintendant de la Musique de la Chambre* \ *du Roy, & de la Reyne.* \ TREZIESME LIVRE. \ [cut] \ A PARIS, \ Par PIERRE BALLARD, Imprimeur de la Musique du Roy, demeurant \ ruë sainct Jean de Beauvais, à l'enseigne du mont Parnasse. \ [line] 1626. \ *Avec Privilege de sa Majesté.*
Boesset 1628	AIRS DE COUR \ AVEC LA TABLATURE DE LUTH \ DE ANTHOYNE BOESSE'T, \ Sur*intendant de la Musique de la Chambre du Roy,* \ *& de la Reyne.* \ QUATORZIESME LIVRE. \ [cut] \ A PARIS, \ Par PIERRE BALLARD, Imprimeur de la Musique ue Roy, demeurant \ ruë sainct Jean de Beauvais, à l'enseigne du mont Parnasse. \ [line] \ 1628. \ *Avec Privilege de sa Majesté.*

Moulinié 1629

AIRS DE COUR \ AVEC LA TABLATURE DE LUTH \ ET DE GUITARRE \ DE ESTIENNE MOULINIE', \ *Maistre de la Musique de Monseigneur le Duc d'Orleans,* \ *frere unique du Roy.* \ TROISIESME LIVRE. \ [cut] \ A PARIS, \ Par PIERRE BALLARD, Imprimeur de la Musique du Roy, demeurant \ ruë sainct Jean de Beauvais, à l'enseigne du mont Parnasse. \ [line] \ 1629. \ *Avec Privilege de sa Majesté.*

Boesset 1632

AIRS DE COUR \ AVEC LA TABLATURE DE LUTH \ DE ANTHOYNE BOESSE'T, \ *Surintendant de la Musique de la Chambre* \ *du Roy, & de la Reyne.* \ QUINZIESME LIVRE. \ [cut] \ A PARIS, \ Par PIERRE BALLARD, Imprimeur de la Musique de Roy, demeurant \ ruë sainct Jean de Beauvais, à l'enseigne du mont Parnasse.\ [line] \ 1632. \ *Avec Privilege de sa Majesté.*

Moulinié 1633

AIRS DE COUR \ AVEC LA TABLATURE DE LUTH \ DE ESTIENNE MOULINIÉ, \ *Chef de la Musique de Monseigneur le Duc d'Orleans,* \ *frere unique du Roy.* \ QUATRIESME LIVRE. \ [cut] \ A PARIS, \ Par PIERRE BALLARD, Imprimeur de la Musique de Roy, demeurant \ ruë sainct Jean de Beauvais, à l'enseigne du mont Parnasse. \ [line] \ 1633. \ *Avec Privilege de sa Majesté.*

Chancy 1635

AIRS DE COUR, \ à quatre parties. \ DU SEUR Chancy. \ Maistre de la Musique de la Chambre du Roy. \ A PARIS. \ Par PIERRE BALLARD, Imprimeur \ de la Musique du Roy. \ *Avec Privilege de Sa Majesté.* \ 1635.

Moulinié 1635

AIRS DE COUR \ AVEC LA TABLATURE DE LUTH, \ DE ESTIENNE MOULINIÉ, \ *Chef de la Musique de Monseigneur le Duc d'Orleans,* \ *frere unique du Roy.* \ CINQUIESME LIVRE. \ [cut] \ A PARIS, \ Par PIERRE BALLARD, Imprimeur de la Musique de Roy, demeurant \ ruë sainct Jean de Beauvais, à l'enseigne du mont Parnasse. \ [line] \ 1635. \ *Avec Privilege de sa Majesté.*

Richard 1637

AIRS DE COUR \ AVEC LA TABLATURE DE LUTH, \ DE FRANCOIS RICHARD, \ *Compositeur de la Musique de la Chambre du Roy.* \ [cut] \ A PARIS, \ Par PIERRE BALLARD, Imprimeur de la Musique de Roy, demeurant \ ruë sainct Jean de Beauvais, à l'enseigne du mont Parnasse. \ [line] \ 1637. \ *Avec Privilege de sa Majesté.*

Boesset 1643

AIRS DE COUR \ AVEC LA TABLATURE DE LUTH \ DE ANTHOYNE BOESSET, \ *Surintendant de la Musique de la Chambre* \ *du Roy, & de la Reyne.* \ SEIZIESME LIVRE. \ [cut] \ A PARIS, \ Par ROBERT BALLARD, seul Imprimeur de la Musique du Roy, demeurant ruë sainct Jean de Beauvais, à l'enseigne du mont Parnasse. \ [line] \ 1643. \ *Avec Privilege de sa Majesté.*

We can see from this list that the peak period in the production of the lute-air is from 1608 to 1635, with only two further books published up to 1643. The earlier collections consist entirely of books in the anthology series, nine of them appearing by 1620. Between 1621 and 1643 the dedicated collections increasingly become more common than the anthologies, especially if we count among them those books which form part of the anthology series but are in fact dominated by the airs of Boesset.

In the remainder of this chapter we shall sketch out the nature and contents of these publications, as well as the small number of foreign sources containing French lute-airs. A more detailed study of the nature of the songs will be the subject of the next chapter. First, however, we shall look at the nature of the books as musical editions.

The nature of the Ballard prints *- design and notation*

The Parisian prints are beautifully designed examples of music publishing, with richly decorated title pages, initials, and space-filling engravings. This quality extends to the music type as well. For purely vocal ensemble music, Pierre Ballard's firm retained the diamond-headed notation it had used in the sixteenth century right through the seventeenth, and continued to do so well after the development of copper plate engraving made an anachronism of it. In the lute-song prints, however, Ballard switched to a stylish, distinctive, round-headed notation that was not only extremely clear, but highly attractive and ultra-modern (see Facsimile 3.1). Slurs or beams are used to indicate melisma, and a natural sign, distinct from the double cross used to denote a sharp, is used to cancel out B flats when they occur in the key signature (no other key signature is used in these collections). Division lines are used to separate musical phrases (which usually coincide with line endings in the poem), though the extent to which they are used varies. They have no metrical significance.

In the use of clefs and 'time signs' (neither time signature nor mensuration sign are appropriate terms) Bataille or Ballard followed the practice of the composers of the airs without regard for consistency within the publications. The vast majority of airs use a G2 clef (over 70% of the solo airs) or C1 clef (over 20%), with a handful using C2, C3, F3, and F4 clefs, often due to their association with *ballets de cour* or for other special purposes (for instance, Coffin's use of an alto clef for three psalm settings in **Ballard 1618**). The less common clefs mostly appear in publications of the 1620s or later, and various combinations of these clefs appear in the *dialogues*.

The appearance of time signs in the airs reveals changing practice that is reflected in the lute-air collections rather than developed in them. These symbols are rare in the early air collections, but become increasingly common till they are the norm from about 1614 onwards. **Bataille 1608** uses the time sign '3' in five airs (the first being *Bien qu'un cruel martire* on f. 27v), and there are four uses of the same symbol in **Bataille 1609**. In **Bataille 1611** there nineteen time symbols used, including the first use of 'C' (*Quel espoir de guarir*, f. 2v) and '¢' (*Amour j'avouerai*), while **Bataille 1613** includes twenty-eight airs with time signs, among them the first use of '2' (Guédron's *C'en est bien fait*, f. 1v). In **Bataille 1614,** forty-five airs use time signs, and thereafter songs without them become increasingly rare. The last song to make no use of such symbols is Moulinié's *Paisible et tenebreuse nuit* (**Moulinié 1624** f. 14v), which is a unique exception in that collection, and there are a few other exceptional cases in **De Rigaud 1623** and **Boyer 1621**. In all these later books not only do time signs appear in most airs, but frequent changes of sign within an air become commonplace too.

The tablature type, like the staff notation type, was a distinct advance on that used by Le Roy, though here the firm had already made significant progress with yet another form of type used for Antoine Francisque's collection of solo lute music *Le Trésor d'Orphée* of 1600, in part at least a necessary consequence of developments in the instrument and its music. Here, as in the lute-song books, Ballard uses a six-line tablature 'stave', with courses below the system indicated by the tablature equivalent of ledger-lines. Bataille's first four books (1608-1613) require a lute with a maximum of nine courses, and in his fifth book of 1614 some airs are clearly arranged with a nine-course lute in mind as well. But this book also contains the first airs requiring a ten-course lute (starting with *Ou faut il ô dieux!* on f. 13v), and in the remaining collections this is the standard instrument expected. All the airs use *vieil ton* tuning.[4] The rhythm symbols above the 'stave' are now identical in shape to the notes used on the vocal stave.

While the tablature system itself, of letters denoting finger positions, remains unchanged, all the lute-air collections employ what might be called 'secondary' symbols in ways that differ from those found in solo lute publications both in France and abroad. Indeed, the use of three symbols, the slur, vertical line and oblique slash, appears to be unique to the Ballard lute-song collections, a peculiarity noticed only comparatively recently by Annie Coerdevey.[5] Whereas in solo lute music the slash and, occasionally, slur indicate when and for how long a note is to be held (or more precisely, a finger is to be held down), in the lute-song publications such symbols in fact show the relationship between melody and accompaniment. Both slurs and oblique slashes show when the accompaniment is moving faster than the melody: these symbols embrace two or more successive notes or chords on the lute that are played against one note of the melody, and are thus a guide to co-ordination between lute and voice. From these symbols the lutenist will know when a note or chord that he plays will coincide with a new note in the melody. Vertical lines, which in solo lute music connect melody and bass notes to be sounded together, in the Ballard prints are used in conjuction with slurs to connect notes on different courses, since the slurs themselves operate only horizontally (see Example 3.1a-e).

On this unquestionably accurate interpretation of the symbols used in the lute-song tablatures, Annie Coerdevey has built an elaborate theory of their use for expressing nuances of dynamics and phrasing in the songs that is more questionable. In answer to the question why two different symbols (slur and slash) should be used to denote the same correspondence between voice and lute, she suggests that the slash indicates a left-hand slur, and is also more likely to join different harmonies, whereas neither of these things is true of the slur. This, she argues, has repercussions for dynamics; hence we have in these and other symbols early, highly subtle, indications of musical expression.

While intriguing, this account is barely plausible. In reality, the slash and slur are identical in function, and Ballard selects one rather than the other purely as a matter of typographical convenience. The slurs are always horizontal in orientation (they begin an end at the same height), and so are always used to join notes

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[4] Songs not requiring a tenth course, but with diapasons otherwise tuned like a ten-course lute, had already appeared in earlier publications. Whether these represent an earlier use of a ten-course lute, or are anomolous tunings for a nine-course lute, is hard to say.

[5] See **Coerdevey 1990** and **1995**

on the same course (Example 3.1a).[6] They may also join notes one course apart when an additional symbol (such as a dot) fills up the intervening space (Example 3.1b). Otherwise Ballard generally prefers to use an angled slash to connect notes on different courses (Example 3.1c), although when the angle is too steep (Example 3.1d), or where a slash would mean cutting through the notes of intervening chords (Example 3.1e) he is forced to use the more versatile slurs in conjunction with vertical lines. In the first two anthologies of 1608 and 1609 he uses both ascending and descending slashes (see Example 3.1c), but after the eleventh air of **Bataille 1609** (*C'est un amant*, f. 10v) he abandons the descending slash in favour of the slur combined with vertical line (Examples 3.1d & e).[7] In all these cases the function of the symbols is precisely the same - to help co-ordinate melody and accompaniment - and they tell us nothing at all about dynamics or phrasing.

In the prints these signs are barely necessary, for alignment between melody and tablature is so clear that there is little room for misunderstanding. In this they resemble the vertical lines in sixteenth-century solo lute prints showing that a melody and bass note are to be sounded together, also largely redundant in printed copy with its unambiguous alignment. Both practices make sense in much less tidy manuscript copies, however, and are almost certainly a legacy of manuscript practices. We cannot be sure whether the symbols are the culmination of thirty years or more of the development of lute-song in manuscript form, or whether their use is the comparatively recent invention of Gabriel Bataille, Ballard's arranger for the first six prints of French lute-airs. The absence of the practice in the Tessier or Aix manuscripts, or in any foreign sources, suggests the latter. If so, this adds weight to Bataille's role in the development of the lute-air, for those composers, including Anthoine Boesset, who arranged the airs as lute-songs after Bataille, maintained the system. We might also bear in mind that such explicit symbols make more sense in publications like these intended for amateur use.

One secondary symbol used in the Ballard prints is straightforward. This is the star after a note which indicates that it should be held (Example 3.1f), the role played by the slash in earlier sources. The star has the advantage of being tidy and versatile (it can be placed after any number or combination of notes), but less precise than the slash, since it gives no indication of where a held note should end. This is, however, rarely ambiguous in these songs.

Dots placed beneath notes mostly indicate right-hand fingering. In the principal theoretical treatise for this period, Mersenne's *Harmonie Universelle* of 1636, these dots are associated with individual notes and fingers, so that one dot beneath a note means use of the index finger, two dots refers to the second finger, three dots to the ring finger (see Facsimile 3.2), and this is borne out in solo lute collections such as Vallet's *Le Secret des Muses* of 1615-16. In the lute-air prints, however, these dots are associated with single notes (one dot), or two- or three-note chords (two and three dots respectively - see Example 3.2a), and it seems

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[6] A unique exception occurs in *Nous languissons pour la richesse* (**Bataille 1611** f. 18v), where Ballard replaces the curved slur with a straight line below the 'stave', possibly due to problems of space on this page.

[7] The fact that Ballard uses the descending slash only for the first eleven airs of this book suggests that their intabulation preceded that of later songs in the collection. Indeed, these intabulations might initially have been prepared, even typeset, for the previous publication of 1608.

safe to assume that two and three dots at least indicate playing with two or three fingers, rather than referring to individual fingers.[8] In fact, the primary function of two and three dots is to show that the bass note of the chord is not played by the thumb, and also perhaps to stress that the chord is not strummed or otherwise arpeggiated. Thus in a case such as Example 3.2b the chord marked with two dots would probably be played with the index and third fingers and not with the second finger at all. Similarly, the single dot implies use of a finger, but not necessarily the index, as commonly implied in sixteenth-century tablatures. This is all in keeping with the use of the new, seventeenth-century 'thumb-out' right hand technique in place of the older 'thumb-under' style better suited to music with fast divisions.

The most variable secondary symbols are the single or multiple dots placed either besides single letters, or below a vertical group of letters (a chord). It is virtually certain that these all mean broadly the same thing - an arpeggiation or partial arpeggiation of the chord - but that they also imply different ways of achieving this. Unfortunately, treatises such as Mersenne's *Harmonie Universelle* are not very helpful here, either because the symbols in question do not appear, or because in the lute-air sources they are clearly not used in the way that Mersenne states.[9] This is the case with the one, two, or three dots placed beneath notes or chords of one, two or three notes respectively. Mersenne holds that these identify individual fingers (index, middle, third). For striking a three-note chord with the three fingers without thumb, he gives a single dot below the chord (a common usage in solo lute tablatures). We have seen how these symbols are used differently in the Ballard prints. The only symbol that Mersenne usefully identifies is that for *tirer et rabattre*, described below. Moreover, the publications of solo lute music made by Pierre Ballard do not employ such symbols, and usage in manuscript sources is generally either too late or too distant to be of much help. The only reliable approach then is a close study of the lute-song sources to interpret the meaning of these symbols.

There are eight forms in which such dots, indicating an arpeggiation, appear. These are given in Table 3.2, which is also reproduced in Appendix 1 of Volume 2 for ease of reference. These symbols appear in the prints with differing frequencies. As a group they become increasingly rare during the 1620s and all but disappear after 1625. The most common variant by far is **Type 1**, which appears in a total of about one hundred and eighty airs. This symbol is attached to only a few airs in **Bataille 1608**, **1609** and **1611** where its function is often cadential, and it does not appear at all in **Bataille 1613**. But from **Bataille 1614** onward it is used freely and frequently in all the prints up to **Moulinié 1624**. It then appears only once each in **Moulinié 1625**, **Caignet 1625**, and **Richard 1637**. In Richard's book it is not in fact used in a lute-air, but in a solo lute *sarabande* attached to a *récit* (*Dans ce beau sejour*, f. 22v). Its late, exceptional, appearance here is suggestive of the origins of such practices in solo lute music. **Type 2** occurs in only about forty airs, appearing once each in **Bataille 1609** and **1613**, and then more commonly in **Bataille 1614**

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[8] When including French airs from **Bataille 1608** in his international anthology of lute-song, the *Musicall Banquet* of 1610, Robert Dowland replaces two and three dots with a single dot beneath a chord, the symbol given in Mersenne for playing a chord with the fingers and not using the thumb.

[9] Mersenne explains tablature symbols in the *Livre Second des Instruments*, Proposition X, pp. 82-6. For his table of symbols see Facsimile 3.2.

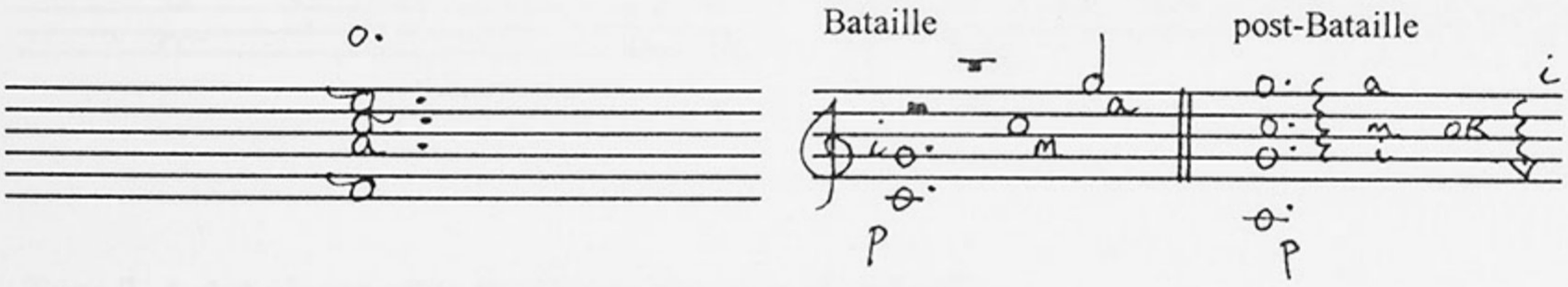
Table 3.2: Secondary tablature symbols used in the core repertoire (left column), with probable realisations (right column). For discussion of the various realisations see below pp. 107-109. Key: p = thumb; i = index; m = middle; a = ring finger; ⦚ = free arpeggio

Type 1. A dot placed after every note of a chord

- Used in **Bataille 1608**, **1609**, **1611**, **1614**, **Ballard 1617**, **1618**, **Boesset 1620**, **1621**, **Boyer 1621**, **Ballard 1623**, **de Rigaud 1623**, **Moulinié 1624**, **1625**, **Caignet 1625**, and **Richard 1637**. e.g.

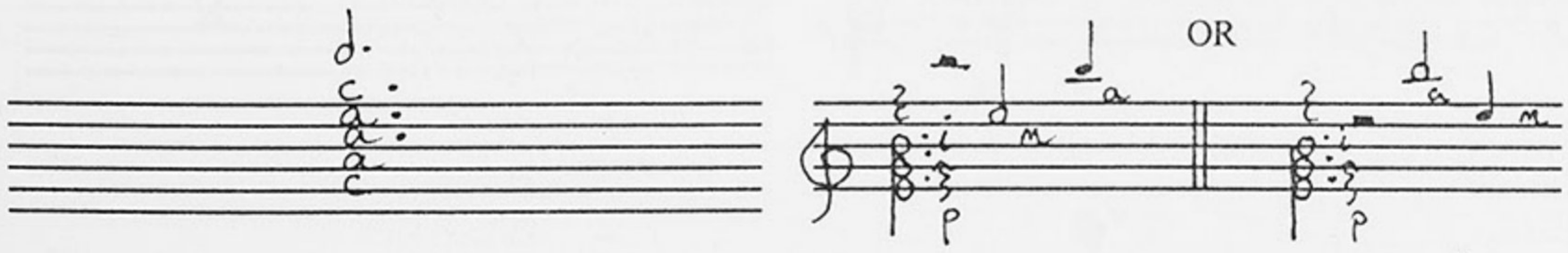
Type 2. A dot placed after all but the lowest note of a chord

- Used in **Bataille 1609**, **1613**, **1614**, **1615**, **Ballard 1617**, **Boesset 1620**, **1621**, **Boyer 1621**, **Ballard 1623**, **de Rigaud 1623**, **Moulinié 1624**, **1625** and **1635**. e.g.



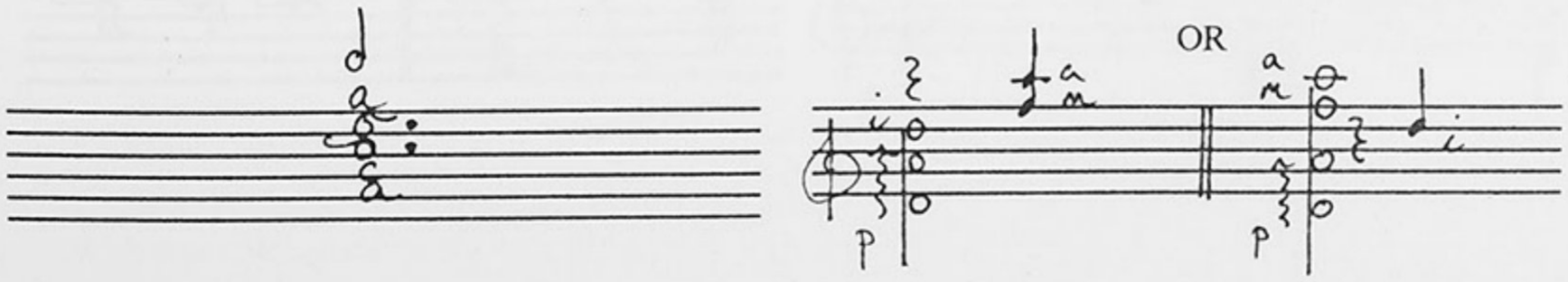
Type 3. A dot placed after all notes of a chord except for two or more of the lowest notes

- Used in **Bataille 1614**, **1615**, **Moulinié 1625** and **1635**. e.g.



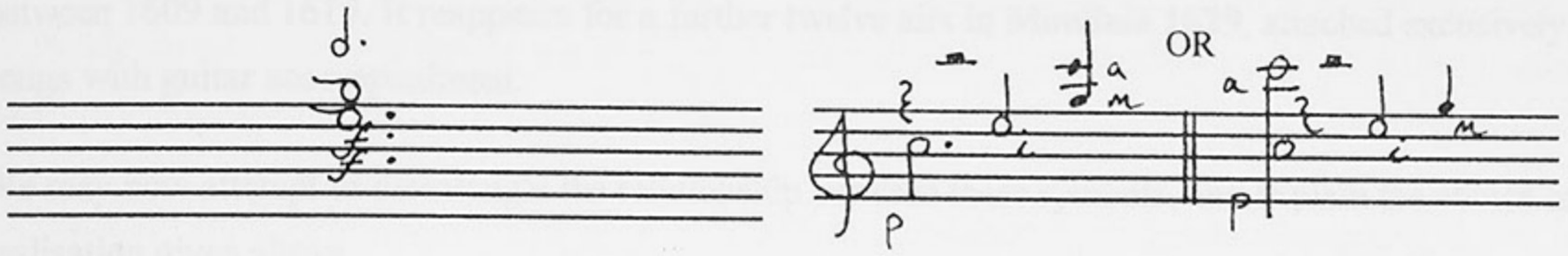
Type 4. A dot placed after two or more of the inner notes of a chord only

- Used in **Bataille 1614** and **1615**. e.g.



Type 5. A dot placed after two or more of the lowest notes of a chord only

- Used in **Bataille 1614** and **De Rigaud 1623**. e.g.

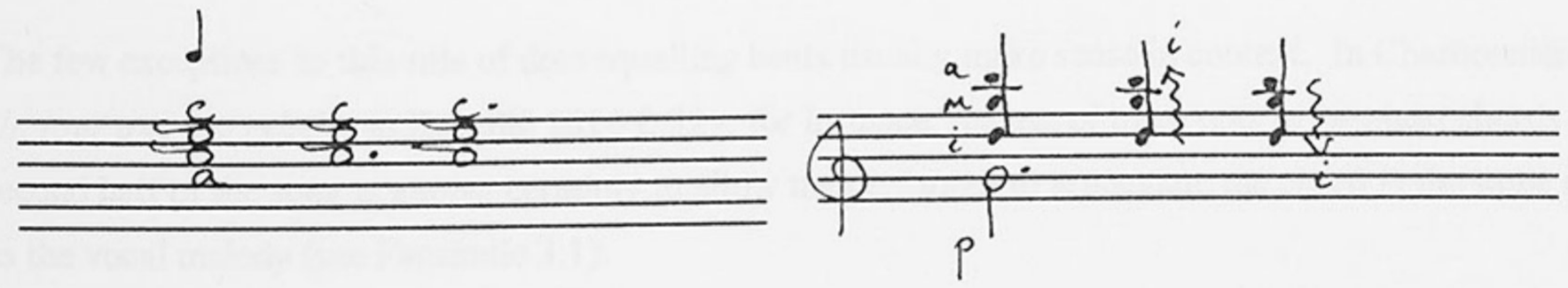


Type 6. A dot placed after the highest note of a chord only

- Used in **Bataille 1609** and **1613**. e.g.

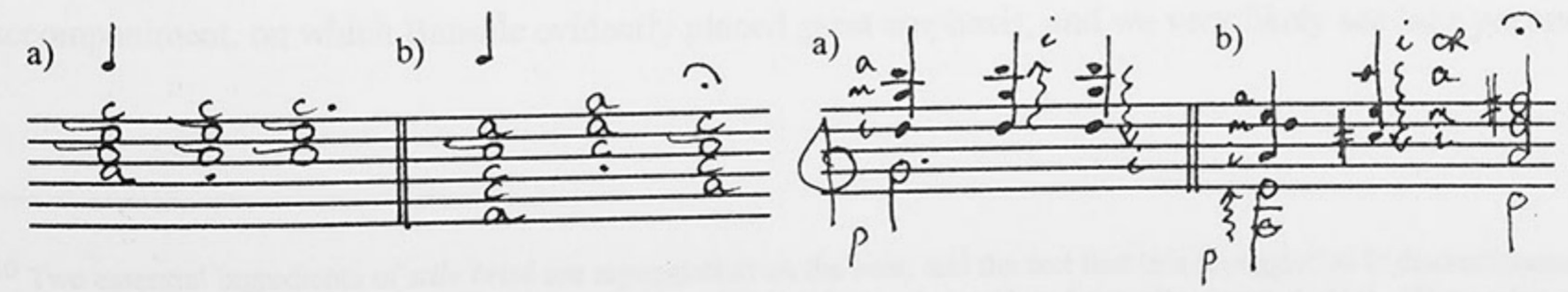
Type 7. A dot placed after the lowest note of a chord only

- Used in **Bataille 1613**. e.g.



Type 8. A dot placed beneath a chord

- Used in **Bataille 1609, 1613, 1614, 1615, 1617**? and **Moulinié 1629**. e.g.



and **1615**. From 1617 onwards it appears only rarely up to 1625, and makes a single appearance in **Moulinié 1635**. **Type 3** appears in only about twenty airs. Bataille makes some use of it in his prints of 1614 and 1615, and then it appears once only in **Moulinié 1625** and **1635**. **Type 4**, where only the inner notes of the chord are dotted, appears only in **Bataille 1614** and **1615**. **Type 5** is very rare. Bataille uses it once in 1614, de Rigaud three times in 1623. The same is true of **Types 6 and 7**, which appear briefly in **Bataille 1609** and **1613**. **Type 8**, a dot below a chord, is more common, appearing in about thirty airs between 1609 and 1615. It reappears for a further twelve airs in **Moulinié 1629**, attached excusively to songs with guitar accompaniment.

We may now attempt to disentangle the relationship between these symbols, and explain the choice of realisation given above.

Types 2 to **5**, dots after some but not all notes of a chord, have a common feature which should encourage us to treat them as a group. In the Bataille prints published up to 1615, in all but six out of sixty cases the number of dots attached to the chord equals the number of beats for which the chord is held, the beat usually being measured in crotchets, less often in minims. Example 3.8 (Guédron's *Aux plaisirs aux delices*, **Bataille 1614** f. 4v) is typical in revealing this precise correspondence. Since there is no other obvious link between the number and position of the dots and the melody, only one explanation would seem to account for this: that the symbol represents an arpeggiation of the chord with each note of the arpeggio falling on the beat. To make a consistent rule of this, one might suppose that undotted notes and the first adjoining dotted note would be played together, dotted notes successively afterwards (i.e. that the arpeggio begins with the first dotted note). The first realisation of **Types 3** to **5** in Table 3.2 follows this rule. However, just as the placement of the dots is at the discretion of the intabulator, so may the direction of the arpeggio be at that of the performer, and more *brisé*-style, discontinuous arpeggiation as given in the alternative realisations to these types may also be intended, and more effective.

The few exceptions to this rule of dots equalling beats usually make sense in context. In Charbonnière's air *Un jour que ma rebelle* in **Bataille 1614** f. 32v, for instance, the use of three dots in two-beat chords in the second half of the song is almost certainly to allow the performer to arpeggiate the chord in the same rhythm as the vocal melody (see Facsimile 3.1).

The origins of and rationale for this type of arpeggiation are not hard to see. Arpeggiation on the beat (or half beat) is an essential aspect of *stile brisé*, which was becoming the hallmark of solo French lute music in the early seventeenth century, and it was natural to extend this device to these harmonic air accompaniments.[10] Moreover, arpeggiating on the beat further assists the coordination of voice and accompaniment, on which Bataille evidently placed great emphasis, and we very likely see here yet another

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[10] Two essential ingredients of s*tile brisé* are arpeggiation on the beat, and the fact that this arpeggiation is discontinuous (i.e. the music does not arpeggiate from, say, bass to treble, but in a free order, such as bass, alto, tenor, treble). Given what was happening in solo instrumental music in this period, it might well be appropriate to adopt such discontinuous arpeggiation in these *air de cour* accompaniments as well, and the very existence of **Type 4** above hints at this.

example of the arranger, no doubt working closely with the publisher, tailoring the publications towards the needs of amateur musicians.

This concern for the limitations of the performer appears to have been unique to Bataille. Not only do these symbols become quite rare after Bataille stops intabulating the airs, but after Bataille's books the correspondence between dots and beats is much less common, and probably only accidental. Thus when Moulinié or de Rigaud use these symbols, while it is safe to assume that they still represent an arpeggiation of the chord, this is now probably meant to be a free arpeggiation, related to the beat at the discretion of the performer (Facsimile 3.3).

This ties in with the interpretation of **Type 1**. There is a correspondence between dot and beat in **Type 1** only in the first half of **Bataille 1614**. Before and after this (which is to say, for the vast majority of cases) there is no such link, and it is safe to assume that with these exceptions it represents a free, non-rhythmic arpeggio. We can make sense of this by looking at the natures of **Types 6** to **8**.

If **Types 2** to **5** were Bataille's notation for rhythmic plucked arpeggios in these songs, then **Types 6** and **7** indicate different directions of *strum*, where the index finger runs across several strings. This is confirmed in Mersenne, where he uses this notation to indicate *tirer et rabattre* (see Facsimile 3.2). When **Type 6** first appears in **Bataille 1609** it is exclusively in airs with Spanish texts, and always in groups of two or three repeated chords in conjunction with **Type 8** as shown. This almost certainly describes a down and up (i.e. bass-melody, then melody-bass) strumming action (*tirer et rabattre*) in imitation of guitar style, a connection borne out by Moulinié's use of the symbol in his airs for guitar in 1629, many of which also have Spanish texts. In **Bataille 1613**, **Type 6** is used in an identical fashion for airs with French texts, but this time in conjunction with **Type 7** (as in the example for Type 7).

Type 8, a dot beneath a chord, is clearly identical in function to **Type 7** in the 1609 collection and possibly all subsequent books in which it appears. Its association with **Type 6** in *tirer et rabattre* patterns seems to put this beyond doubt in 1609, and its use in a Spanish air, with a sarabande-like accompaniment, in **Bataille 1614** (Le Bailly's *Yosoy la locura* - see below Example 3.13), also strongly suggests a strumming action.

The only difficulty is that **Types 7** and **8** appear together in six airs in **Bataille 1613** (see Facsimile 3.4). The simplest, and probably the preferred, explanation for this is that Bataille uses them arbitrarily and carelessly in these songs. It is, however, possible to find a different, rather convoluted explanation for the juxtaposition of the two symbols in this collection. If **Types 7** and **8** are different, then a possible reason is that, in his 1613 book, Bataille replaced **Type 8** with **Type 7** in order to use **Type 8** to describe a different kind of stroke - the free arpeggio. This would be necessary if he was using **Type 1** to indicate a rhythmic arpeggio. This would explain why he abandons the use of **Type 1** in the 1613 book, and for the first half of the 1614 collection relates the number of dots in **Type 1** to the beat. Half way through intabulating the 1614 book he might have realised that the original use of **Type 1**, as a free arpeggio, was too well

established to be interpreted differently as he intended, and abandoned the attempt. At the same time he virtually gave up using **Type 8** altogether.[11]

Related to this is the nature of the arpeggio implied by **Type 1**. In those cases where Bataille is not trying to make it indicate arpeggiation on the beat, does it demand a plucked arpeggio, or a strum? Given that in **Types 2** to **5** dots after notes clearly imply a plucked arpeggio, this would seem to be the most likely interpretation of **Type 1**, especially if we accept that there exists a different symbol for a strum - **Type 8** (a dot beneath a chord). On the other hand, **Type 8** disappears after the Bataille series (except in the guitar-airs of **Moulinié 1629**), and there is in any event only one air in which **Types 1** and **8** appear together - *Auparavant que je vi* in **Bataille 1614** (f. 22v). In the later sources, **Type 1** usually appears against relatively long-held chords, but occasionally it is found against a chord with the duration of only a quaver, in which case a strum would be the most natural manner of rapid arpeggiation (see Facsimile 3.5). And in the case of longer dotted chords, such as the five-note chord in Guédron's *Beaux yeux, dont j'estimois les regards* in **Ballard 1617** (Facsimile 3.6), a slow downward strum from treble to bass would follow naturally from the previous six-note chord requiring a partial bass to treble rapid strum with the thumb. Perhaps the simplest conclusion is that the same symbol can stand for either technique (that is, a free plucked arpeggio, or a, usually slow and physically upward, strum), the main point being that a non-rhythmic arpeggio is required, regardless of the method used to achieve it.

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The last aspect of the tablature in these books that needs some discussion is the single tablature letter at the start of the air to give the singer his pitch against the lute (see Facsimiles 3.1, 3.3 and others from the Parisian prints). These appear in all the airs (and often at the start of sections of airs, such as settings of second couplets or refrains in *airs de ballet*), and the one or two cases where they are omitted are certainly accidental. This device is familiar from the sixteenth-century publications (with the exception of those by Le Roy), but a new dimension is added here by the use of different positions on the lute to give the opening pitch in various octaves. This raises the question of whether these different positions imply different octaves in the melody, or whether their choice is arbitrary.

When different positions are given that produce the same pitch, the reason can only be a matter of individual taste, or else to give the note in the position where it is found in the first chord played on the lute. Thus while holding the third course at the first fret (III^1), or the fourth course at the fifth fret (IV^5) produces the same note (the note c' on an A-lute, for instance), we may account for the arranger's choice of one or the other on the basis of the first appearance of that note in the tablature proper (Example 3.3).

When the same pitch class is given in different octaves, however, the reason may well be to reflect the octave in which the song is expected to be sung. For example, it is noticeable that the melody note c" (or in

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[11] It appears in only a couple of airs in the second half of the 1614 book, and only once more in his 1615 collection. In the latter case (*Tandis que jestois ton plaisir*, f. 21v), an air of his own composition, Bataille may revert to the symbol because he needs to place a star after one of the notes of the chord, leaving less room for placing a dot after the same note as required by **Type 1**.

one case c') is given on III^1 or IV^5 for ninety airs on an A-lute, but the low C that begins a song such as Boesset's *Mes combattans* (**Boesset 1626** f. 7v) is given an octave lower on VI^3. Similarly, while the melody note e" (and occasionally e') is set to II^0 or III^5, the pitch V^2 is used only for airs beginning with e', and where II^1 is used to set the pitch f" as well as f', the lower octave V^3 sets only f'. There are similar examples for airs using a G-lute: for example, III^3 is used to set the note c" (in one case c'), while V^0 is used for two airs starting on c' and c.

This tendency raises the possibility that, when different octaves of singer's pitch are used for the same pitch in the melody, they indicate the expected vocal range in which the song is to be performed (or at least, tell us something about the pitch at which the composer or intabulator tried out the melody). Thus in the two airs *A la fin ce tiran des coeurs* and *Quoy? ne suis-je pas assés belle*, both from **Bataille 1614** (ff. 6v and 16v respectively), it is at least conceivable that while both begin on g' and have a similar written tessitura, the different octave positions of singer's pitch (IV^0 and II^3) implies that they should be sung in different octaves, by different types of voice (see Example 3.4).

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We have seen various features of the Ballard lute-air prints that offer hints about their conception and intended reception. They are in many respects 'designed' publications in ways that the sixteenth-century prints, and indeed contemporary vocal prints, were not. They have their own format, typeface, and notational practices (especially in the tablature) that show the influence of the two key figures in their production, Pierre Ballard and Gabriel Bataille. This raises the question of who they were designed *for*. The remarkably attractive packaging and clear, highly explicit tablature designed to make life as easy for the lutenist as possible, suggest a market not of enthusiasts for the lute, but rather enthusiasts for the music of the French court, in the most practical format for home consumption. Indeed, one might argue that the elegance, taste, even *hauteur* of the French court, to which every *honnête homme* should aspire, is reflected in these publications, and that it is this that they sell as much as the music they contain.

The relationship between the lute-song books and other sources

Before examining the contents of the books and their composers, it is important to clarify the relationship between the core repertoire of the lute-air, and other Ballard publications of *airs de cour* and related genres produced in conjunction with them. The lute-songs are in fact only one presentation of the repertoire of the *air de cour* or the *air sacré*. The majority of the lute-songs contained in the above publications exist in other forms, also produced by the Ballard firm more or less simultaneously. The principal sources for these concordances can be divided into three groups: polyphonic anthologies in four and five parts, editions dedicated to the songs of a single composer, again mostly polyphonic in four and five parts, and solo-voice anthologies. These are as given in Table 3.3.

Table 3.3: Sources concordant with the lute-air

1. Polyphonic air anthologies

Le Roy..P 1595	*Airs mis en musique à quatre et cinq parties de plusieurs autheurs ...*, Paris: Le Roy and veuve Ballard, 1595. Only the cinquième partbook survives.
Le Roy..P 1596	*Airs de court mis en musique à quatre et cinq parties de plusieurs autheurs ...*, Paris: 1596. This is an expanded edition of Le Roy..P 1595 above. Only the bassus partbook survives.
Le Roy..P 1597	*Airs de court mis en musique à quatre et cinq parties de plusieurs autheurs*. Paris: Le Roy and veuve Ballard, 1597
BallardP 1606	*Airs à quatre de differens auteurs recueillis et mis ensemble par Pierre Ballard ...*, Paris: veuve and P. Ballard, 1606
BallardP 1610	*Second livre d'airs à quatre de differens auteurs recueillis et mis ensemble par Pierre Ballard ...*, Paris P. Ballard, 1610
BallardP 1613	*Airs à quatre de differents autheurs recueillis et mis ensemble par Pierre Ballard ...*, Paris: P. Ballard, 1613

2. Dedicated Editions

(i) Collections of songs by Pierre Guédron:

GuedronP 1602	*Airs de court mis à quatre et cinq parties par Pierre Guédron ...*, Paris: veuve and P. Ballard, 1602. The superius of this edition is lost, and pages are missing from the remaining surviving partbooks.
GuédronP 1608	*Airs de cour à quatre et cinq parties par P. Guédron ...*, Paris: Ballard, 1608
GuedronP 1612	*Second livre d'airs de cour à quatre et cinq parties par Pierre Guédron ...*, Paris: Ballard, 1612. Second edition in 1613.
GuédronP 1617	*Troisième livre d'airs de cour à quatre et cinq parties par P. Guédron ...*, Paris: Ballard, 1617. Second edition in 1618.
GuédronP 1618	*Quatrième livre d'airs de Cour à quatre et cinq parties par P. Guédron ...*, Paris: Ballard, 1618
GuédronP 1620	*Cinquième livre d'airs de cour à quatre et cinq parties par P. Guédron ...*, Paris: Ballard, 1620

(ii) Collections of songs by Anthoine Boesset:

BoessetP 1617	*Airs de cour à quatre et cinq parties par Anthoine Boesset* ..., Paris: Ballard, 1617
BoessetP 1620	*Second livre d'airs de cour à quatre et cinq parties par Anthoine Boesset* ..., Paris: Ballard, 1620
BoessetP 1621	*Troisième livre d'airs de cour à quatre et cinq parties par Anthoine Boesset* ..., Paris: Ballard, 1621
BoessetP 1624	*Quatrième livre d'airs de cour à quatre et cinq parties par Anthoine Boesset* ..., Paris: Ballard, 1624
BoessetP 1626	*Cinquième livre d'airs de cour à quatre et cinq parties par Anthoine Boesset* ..., Paris: Ballard, 1626.
BoessetP 1628	*Sixième livre d'airs de cour à quatre parties par Anthoine Boesset* ..., Paris: Ballard, 1628
BoessetP 1630	*Septième livre d'airs de cour à quatre et cinq parties par Anthoine Boesset* ..., Paris: Ballard, 1630
BoessetP 1632	*Huitième livre d'airs de cour à quatre et cinq parties par Anthoine Boesset* ..., Paris: Ballard, 1632. This book also includes airs by Boesset's son, Jean-Baptiste Boesset.
BoessetP 1642	*Neufième livre d'airs de cour à quatre et cinq parties, par Anthoine de Boesset* ..., Paris: R. Ballard, 1642

(iii) Collections of songs by Etienne Moulinié:[12]

MouliniéP 1625	*Airs de cour à quatre et cinq parties de Estienne Moulinié* ..., Paris: Ballard, 1625
MouliniéP 1635	*Troisième livre d'airs de cour à quatre parties par Estienne Moulinié* ..., Paris: Ballard, 1635
MouliniéP 1637	*Quatrième livre d'airs de cour à quatre et cinq parties par Estienne Moulinié* ..., Paris: Ballard, 1637
MouliniéP 1639	*Cinquième livre d'airs de cour à quatre et cinq parties par Estienne Moulinié* ..., Paris: Ballard, 1639

(iv) Collections of songs by other composers:

CaignetP 1607	*Cinquante Pseaumes de David ... mis en musique à 3, 4, 5, 6, 7, et 8 parties par Denis Caignet* ..., Paris: Ballard, 1607
CaignetS 1624	*Cent cinquante Pseaumes* ..., Paris: Ballard, 1624. This book is for solo voice only.
Le FevreP 1613	*Meslanges de musique de Jacques Le Fevre* ..., Paris: Pierre Ballard, 1613

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[12] The *Second Livre* in this series is lost.

SignacP 1618	*Airs de cour à quatre parties* ..., Paris: Ballard, 1618. Second edition in 1622.
SignacP 1625	*Troisième livre d'Airs à quatre parties du Sieur Signac* ..., Paris: Ballard, 1625
BoyerP 1619	*Airs à quatre parties par Jean Boyer, Parisien* ..., Paris: P. Ballard, 1619
RichardP 1637	*Airs de Cour à quatre parties de François Richard* ..., Paris: Ballard, 1637

3. Solo voice anthologies

BallardS 1615	*Airs de cour et de différents autheurs* ..., Paris: Pierre Ballard, 1615
BallardS 1617	*Second livre d'airs de court et de différents autheurs* ..., Paris: Ballard, 1617
BallardS 1619	*Troisième livre d'airs de cour et de différents autheurs* ..., Paris: Ballard, 1619
BallardS 1620	*Quatrième livre d'airs de cour et de différents autheurs* ..., Paris: Ballard. Second edition in 1621.
BallardS 1621	*Airs de court et de différents autheurs* ..., Paris: Ballard, 1621. This book is exceptional in not forming part of the numbered anthology series.
BallardS 1623	*Cinquième livre d'airs de court et de différents autheurs* ..., Paris: Ballard, 1623. Second edition in 1624.
BallardS 1624	*Sixième livre d'airs de court et de différents autheurs* ..., Paris: Ballard, 1624
BallardS 1626	*Septième livre d'airs de cour et de différents autheurs* ..., Paris: Ballard, 1626. Second edition in 1628
BallardS 1628	*Huitième livre d'airs de court et de différents autheurs* ..., Paris: Ballard, 1628

The polyphonic anthologies

Taking the polyphonic anthologies first, we see that they are comparatively few, and are all early, the last being printed in 1613. This book, moreover, contains a large number of airs already found in the earlier collections, though not in identical versions, and might be seen as a revised edition of them. These anthologies are supplanted by the dedicated editions of, in particular, Boesset and Moulinié, and the solo-voice anthologies that begin to appear in 1615. These two alternative ways of printing the repertoire must have made the polyphonic anthology redundant. The solo anthologies catered for the 'popular' end of the market, the dedicated collections the more musically literate, even 'high-brow' enthusiast, and the lute-song collections probably occupyied something of a middle ground between these two.

The seventeenth-century anthologies contain interesting prefaces by Pierre Ballard. **BallardP 1606** contains a dedication to the Bishop of Carcassone, Master of the King's Chapel, where Ballard recognises the favours he has received from the bishop, and notes that, through the negligence of their authors, the airs which he has gathered would otherwise have 'legerement passé comme un songe'. In his preface to **BallardP 1610**, the printer notes again that he is responsible for selecting the airs contained in the book, has had parts provided when the composers of the airs refused to release them, and is ignorant of the identities of many of these composers.[13] He refers to the last point again in his preface to **BallardP 1613**, taking satisfaction from the fact that this collection names some of the composers represented in it.[14] This is the first anthology to identify composers, and it can be helpful in supplying the authorship of airs in the early lute-song books.

Like all of Ballard's polyphonic collections (including the dedicated editions), the anthologies use the old-style lozenge-shaped notation familiar from the sixteenth century. The collections of 1595 and 1596 survive only in fragmentary form (the cinquième and bassus partbooks respectively), but they are probably closely related editions: all of the airs *à5* from 1595 reappear in 1596. With the parts surviving it is difficult to establish concordances, but there are six airs with texts common to **Le Roy..P 1596** and the early lute books (1608 to 1611), two of which are among the surviving airs from 1595.[15] Of the thirty-nine airs in **Le Roy..P 1597**, five have melodic concordances with the first three lute-books (1609-1611), though often with substantial differences in melodic outline.[16]

As one might expect, concordances between the seventeenth-century anthologies and the lute-song collections are increasingly common. Ten of the thirty-eight airs found in **BallardP 1606** are found in the lute-air collections published shortly afterward, with seven concordant with **Bataille 1608**, and one each

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[13] *L'Imprimeur au lecteur. J'ay fait ce recueil d'Airs de differens auteurs, desquels on peut mieux voir le merite que le nom: encores ne me suis-je pas du tout contenté de les abandonner seuls au public, mais je les ay acompagnez de leurs parties, & mesme en ay fait faire expressement d'autres à ceux qui n'en avoyent point, avec beaucoup de regret de ne pouvoir plus aisément recouvrer celles des auteurs qui reservent leur gloire à de plus grandes oeuvres. Toutesfois je ne les ay point ainsi remis pour m'en rien attribuer, au contraire, si j'avois l'honneur de cognoistre particulierement les peres de tels enfans, je leur offrirois tout ce qui pourroit despendre de mon industrie pour les faire durer a jamais. Neantmoins en attendant qu'ils se descouvrent pour leur donner le signe paternel, je les expose au contentement du public, à qui mon travail est entierement dedié: ce m'est assez de recompense qu'ils puissent autant plaire comme ils sont observez & biens faits, Adieu.*

[14] *AU LECTEUR. Ami Lecteur, J'ay plusieurs fois imprimé des Airs sans y mettre le nom des autheurs ne m'estant point voulu hazader de donner l'honneur a l'un pour oster a l'autre la gloire de son travail: il y en a qui sont passés au jour sans aveu, & demeurés comme enfans orfelins transportés de leurs pais des le berceau en quelque lieu estranger, sans sçavoir a qui ils apartenoyent, & seulement parvenus a la cognoissance du monde par la gentilliesse de leur merite. Ceux cy auront plus d'avantage, d'autant qu'ils porteront la marque de leur maison & du lieu de leur naissance: m'asseurant qu'ils seront bien avoués de ceux a qui veritablement ils apartiennent. Je serois bien aise d'honorer de tiltres convenables à l'avenir ceux qui m'obligeront tant que de mettre les noms a leurs ouvrages, afin de ne fraudence qui particulierement apartient a chacun. Cependant je te donneray ceux cy avec esperance que l'on me pourra favorablement excuser des noms que je n'ay peu donner à ceux qui sont jaloux de leur propre vertu: te priant de les reçevoir d'une personne qui n'ayme rien tant que de servir au public. P. BALLARD.*

[15] These six airs are: *Esprits qui soupirés* (f. 21v) - **Bataille 1608** f. 65v; *Quel fruit espere-tu* (f. 22v, also in **Le Roy..P 1595**) - **Bataille 1608** f. 60v; *Belle main dont l'amour* (f. 25v) - **Bataille 1611** f. 50v; *Aupres des beaux yeux* (f. 29v, also in **Le Roy..P 1595**) - **Bataille 1609** f. 18v; *Beaux yeux lumiere* (f. 35v) - **Bataille 1609** f. 52v; *Quand le flambeau du monde* (f. 38v) - **Bataille 1608** f. 54v.

[16] These are as follows: *Il est vray je le confesse* (f. 9v) - **Bataille 1611** f. 49v; *Or que la nuict et le silence* (f. 11v) - **Bataille 1609** f. 45v; *Pourquoy le ciel à mon malheur* (f. 29v) - **Bataille 1608** f. 68v; *Pressé d'ennuis* (f. 31v) - **Bataille 1609** f. 56v; *Un amant répandit un jour* (f. 33v) - **Bataille 1611** f. 41v.

with **Bataille 1609**, **Bataille 1611**, and **Ballard 1617**. All but one of these airs remains anonymous.[17] Fourteen airs in **BallardP 1610** have lute-song concordances with the core repertoire, with one drawn from **Bataille 1608**, eight from **Bataille 1609**, and five related to **Bataille 1611**. Two other songs have textual but not melodic concordances with **Bataille 1614**. By the time we get to **BallardP 1613** the majority of the songs can be related to the lute-song sources. Of its fifty-one airs, four are drawn from **Bataille 1608**, four from **Bataille 1609**, seven from **Bataille 1611**, nine from **Bataille 1613**, nine from **Bataille 1614**, and one is concordant with **Ballard 1618**. There is, then, evidence here of both the early lute-song books and the polyphonic anthologies drawing on a pool of songs composed several years beforehand. This is a pattern that changes with the later collections, with songs frequently finding their way into print as soon as they are written, and with very few airs being printed that are more than a couple of years old, testimony to the overwhelming success of the *air de cour* in the second and third decades of the century.

The dedicated editions

The dedicated polyphonic editions are dominated by the three most celebrated composers of *airs de cour* from the early seventeenth century - Pierre Guédron, Anthoine Boesset, and Etienne Moulinié - though it is noticeable that those composers who brought out a single dedicated collection of lute airs, such as François Richard, Jean Boyer, and Denis Caignet, also brought out a polyphonic edition in tandem. The exception is Louis de Rigaud, who was not, apparently, closely involved in the music of the French court, and probably had his collection privately sponsored.

These single-composer editions differ from the lute-song or the solo-voice collections in containing prefaces, laudatory poems and dedications, and in this sense at least they are more exclusive, less functional, collections. For example, Guédron's 1608 collection is dedicated to the King, his second to the Queen. Boesset's first, fourth, seventh, and ninth books are dedicated to the King, his second to the Queen, and others to notable aristocrats such as the Duc de Luynes, M. de Bradat, and M. Anthoine Ruzé. Moulinié's polyphonic collections included dedications to his principal patron, Gaston duc d'Orleans (the brother of the King), Cardinal Richelieu, and M. de Thoulouse. Richard's polyphonic collection is dedicated to the King, that of Boyer to Prince Henry de Savoie. Among the many laudatory poems to Boesset are verses by poets such as Cotourier and by musicians such as Bataille and Chancy. Among those to Guédron are poems by Guillaume de Baïf, Hodey, and Bataille. Prefaces by the publisher (Pierre or Robert Ballard) are also common - the contents of these are discussed below. Similar material is extremely rare in the lute books until the later 1630s, when printed intabulations of *airs de cour* themselves become a rarity.

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[17] *Que douce est la violence* in **BallardP 1606** f. 25v and **Bataille 1608** f. 11v is by Gabriel Bataille.

Concordances between the dedicated editions and the core repertoire of lute-songs are given in Tables 3.4 to 3.6 below.

Table 3.4: Concordances between the Guédron polyphonic collections and the core lute-song publications

GuédronP 1608 (contains 70 airs)[18]	**Bataille 1608** (36 concordant airs)[19] **Bataille 1611** (3) **Bataille 1614** (1)
(Eight of these concordant airs also appear in **GuédronP 1602**, including two of those which appear in **Bataille 1611** and the air intabulated in **Bataille 1614**).	
GuédronP 1612 (36)	**Bataille 1608** (1) **Bataille 1609** (8) **Bataille 1611** (16) **Bataille 1613** (7)
GuédronP 1617 (24)[20]	**Bataille 1613** (2) **Bataille 1614** (8) **Bataille 1615** (8) **Ballard 1617** (5)
GuédronP 1618 (11)	**Ballard 1617** (6) **Ballard 1618** (5)
GuédronP 1620 (14)	**Ballard 1617** (1) **Ballard 1618** (2) **Boesset 1620** (10)

All but forty-four of Guédron's polyphonic airs appear as lute-airs in the core repertoire (a few others appear in sources such as **Besard 1603**), with almost all of the airs from 1617 onwards appearing in lute-song form. The concordant songs are dispersed over between two and four lute-song books, frequently printed prior to them or in the same year. This pattern of production largely holds true for the dedicated editions of Boesset and Moulinié as well (Tables 3.5 and 3.6).

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[18] Or seventy-three airs if one includes settings of second couplets.
[19] **Durosoir 1986** gives different numbers of concordances for several of the following sources.
[20] The one air from this book that is not intabulated, *Las! fuiras-tu toujours* (f. 11v), does have a lute-song version in **Filmer 1629**, a source that otherwise draws exclusively and explicitly on the Bataille anthologies. It is therefore possible that one of the three Bataille collections related to **GuédronP 1617** (**Bataille 1613**, **1614**, or **1615**) existed in two states, the second of

Table 3.5: Concordances between the Boesset polyphonic sources and the core lute-song collections

BoessetP 1617 (24 airs)[21]	**Bataille 1608** (1 concordant air) **Bataille 1609** (2) **Bataille 1613** (1) **Bataille 1614** (5) **Bataille 1615** (5) **Ballard 1617** (5)
BoessetP 1620 (19)	**Ballard 1617** (4) **Ballard 1618** (4) **Boesset 1620** (10)
BoessetP 1621 (13)	**Boesset 1621** (11)
BoessetP 1624 (28)	**Ballard 1623** (12) **Boesset 1624** (13)
BoessetP 1626 (25)	**Boesset 1626** (24)
BoessetP 1628 (18)	**Boesset 1628** (18)[22]
BoessetP 1630 (14)	**Boesset 1632** (13)[23]
BoessetP 1632 (13)	**Boesset 1632** (13)
BoessetP 1642 (39)	**Boesset 1632** (1) **Boesset 1643** (20)

Boesset's first polyphonic collection is clearly a compendium of airs that had appeared in the preceding six lute-song books, with his second book of 1620 drawing on airs from the next three lute-song books. Thereafter, the polyphonic collections run in parrallel with lute-air collections printed in the same year, until the last two books where the tendency is for the polyphonic sources to precede the lute-song versions. All but thirty-two of Boesset's polyphonic airs appear in lute-song form. Eighteen of these 'missing' airs appear in the late, 1642, collection, where Boesset simply intabulates the first twenty airs from the book for the edition of 1643.

The situation with the Moulinié books is different, owing to the late publication of the polyphonic collections (see Table 3.6).

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which incorporated this song hot off the composer's pen. There is a parallel case of this with the two states of **Moulinié 1629**, also distinguished by a single air.

[21] Or twenty-six airs, including settings of second couplets.

[22] Two of these airs, both with Italian texts, have melodic concordances in **Moulinié 1629**.

[23] One air, *Divine Amarillis*, also appears in polyphonic and lute-song form in **Mersenne 1636**, where it is presented as a model of its kind.

Table 3.6: Concordances between the Moulinié polyphonic collections and the core lute-song collections

MouliniéP 1625 (19 airs)	**Moulinié 1624** (5 concordances)[24] **Moulinié 1625** (11)
A second polyphonic collection is lost.	
MouliniéP 1635 (18)	**Moulinié 1635** (16)
MouliniéP 1637 (15)	**Moulinié 1635** (1)
MouliniéP 1639 (14)[25]	No concordances

Moulinié's earlier books follow the pattern of being closely related to a contemporary lute-song print, with his first polyphonic book (1625) drawing on his first and second tablature books of 1624 and 1625, and his third polyphonic collection (1635) drawing on his fifth and last tablature book of the same year. His second polyphonic collection, now lost, almost certainly reflected the contents of the third and fourth tablature books. There are almost no concordances with his last two polyphonic books of the late 1630s, however, a reflection of the fact that tablature was being replaced by continuo practice in this decade.

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The relationship between the remaining dedicated editions and the lute-song sources is more varied. Eighteen of the fifty psalms and the *Cantique de Siméon* found in **CaignetP 1607** relate to his lute-song collection of 1625, and fifty-six of the psalms and other sacred songs in the latter collection are also found in Caignet's solo voice compendium of 1624. Neither of the two airs by Jacques Le Fevre found in **Bataille 1615** are drawn from his polyphonic collection of 1613, and the same is true of Signac and his polyphonic book of 1618. However, four of the ten airs by Signac found in **Ballard 1618** reappear in his polyphonic collection of 1625. The most surprising case is that of Jean Boyer, whose polyphonic book of 1619 contains thirty-seven airs, only thirteen of which appear in the lute-song sources: two in **Ballard 1617**, eight in **Ballard 1618**, and only three in his dedicated edition, **Boyer 1621**. François Richard, on the other hand, matches up virtually all of the twenty-five airs in his polyphonic collection of 1637 with lute-song versions in his dedicated edition of the same year (there are twenty-three concordances, one of which, *Je suis l'effroy*, also appears in **Boesset 1626**). With relatively few airs finding their way into print, perhaps it is not surprising that composers such as Le Fevre, Signac, and Boyer should have been less inclined to duplicate songs than composers such as Boesset and, in the earlier books, Moulinié, who probably had the satisfaction of seeing virtually all of their airs published.

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[24] This includes the song which goes under the title *Versez mes tristes yeux* in **MouliniéP 1635** but *Allés tristes soupirs* in **Moulinié 1624** f. 3v. The identity of these two songs is noted in **Coerdevey 1991** p. 252.
[25] In addition to these airs, this source contains an 'air pour les instruments', and three 'fantasies à quatre pour les violes'.

The solo anthologies

The solo voice anthology series was initiated by Pierre Ballard in 1615, and was produced at a rate of at least one book every two years till the last collection of 1628. Eight of these books appear in a numbered series, and in addition Ballard produced an extra book external to the series in 1621 (**BallardS 1621**). Like the lute-air series, they are practical publications, without prefaces or dedications. They do, however, name composers of airs, and like the 1613 polyphonic anthology occasionally help identify anonymous airs in the early lute-song sources.

The books contain air melodies and texts, but no accompaniment of any kind. These melodies and texts (including the number of additional strophes) are usually identical to the versions in the lute-song books, and Ballard employs the same production design, including typeface, that he does with the lute-song collections. These solo anthologies were probably designed as a comparatively inexpensive way of acquiring copies of the courtly airs, again with the likelihood that they were valued for their provenance as much as their contents; indeed, that such a flourishing market existed for them speaks volumes for the status of the *air de cour*. But they were also a versatile format for the *air de cour*, for not only could the songs be performed solo, but also no doubt with a simple, improvised accompaniment on any instrument or instruments available.

Ballard's first solo anthology of 1615 draws heavily on songs found in **Bataille 1615** (the sixth lute-air collection), which had just appeared or was just about to. But a significant number of airs are also drawn from the earlier books in Bataille's series. Fourteen songs are concordant with **Bataille 1608**, five with **1609**, nine with **1611**, five with **1613**, seventeen with **1614**, and twenty-nine with **1615**.

With the exception of Ballard's first solo anthology of 1615, which draws on airs found in the previous lute-song collections, the books in the numbered series draw on airs found in lute-song collections printed more or less concurrently (see Table 3.7).

Table 3.7: Relationship between monophonic anthologies and lute-air collections

BallardS 1615 (80 airs)	**Bataille 1608** (14 concordant airs) **Bataille 1609** (5) **Bataille 1611** (9) **Bataille 1613** (5) **Bataille 1614** (17) **Bataille 1615** (29)
BallardS 1617 (62)	**Ballard 1617** (60)
BallardS 1619 (61)	**Ballard 1618** (51) **Boesset 1620** (1)
BallardS 1620 (34)	**Boesset 1620** (32)

BallardS 1623 (51)	**Boesset 1621** (23) **Ballard 1623** (6) **Moulinié 1624** (2)
BallardS 1624 (60)	**Ballard 1623** (21) **Boesset 1624** (4) **Moulinié 1624** (17) **Moulinié 1625** (2)
BallardS 1626 (56)	**Boesset 1624** (4) **Moulinié 1625** (8) **Boesset 1626** (6) **Moulinié 1629** (1)
BallardS 1628 (50)	**Boyer 1621** (1) **Boesset 1628** (21) **Moulinié 1629** (2)

The remaining anthology, **BallardS 1621**, is unusual not only in not being part of the numbered series, but also in drawing so few airs from the lute-song sources. Six airs in this collection are drawn from **Boyer 1621**. The remaining twenty-eight songs, by composers such as Coffin, Auget, Grand-Rue, and Sauvage (names familiar in the lute-air anthologies of the same period, but not found in dedicated collections) have no lute-song versions. This may help explain exceptional status of this book, for with the initiation of the solo anthology series, it is clear that Ballard is printing airs with the three different formats, aimed at different markets for the same repertoire, in mind. A collection of songs that do not appear in polyphonic or lute-song form stands apart from the norm, and might therefore not have been thought appropriate for the numbered series.

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The similar pattern of production of these concordant sources with the lute-song publications is clear. Anthologies, fairly common in the early part of the century, increasingly (or, in the case of the polyphonic sources, entirely) give way to dedicated editions in the second decade onwards. The same composers dominate the dedicated editions of polyphonic books as do the lute-air collections and, increasingly, for every lute book there is a corresponding polyphonic collection. After the last solo-voice anthology of 1628, anthologies of any sort, lute-song or otherwise, are abandoned altogether, and the genre of the *air de cour* comes to depend heavily on its two most celebrated exponents, Anthoine Boesset and Etienne Moulinié. This similar pattern, and the fact that airs increasingly appear in their various forms within a year or two of each other, demonstrates that Ballard published the *air de cour* with these various incarnations in mind. While it is clear that lute-song versions of the songs are frequently published prior to or contemporary with solo voice or polyphonic versions, questions of the priority of one form over the other (that is, whether the airs should be primarily considered as lute-songs arranged in parts, or as part-songs arranged for lute) are, seen in this light, somewhat false. Ballard clearly had the various forms equally in mind from the second decade of the century onwards, and they are in this sense equal. The bearing this has on the compositional design of the songs will be considered in the next chapter (see below p. 211ff).

The Bataille anthologies, 1608-1615

The role of Gabriel Bataille (*c*1575-1630) in initiating the lute-air collections is hard to determine, but we have already seen the extent to which he introduced and refined notational practices, and his approach to intabulation may also have influenced the later composers and arrangers. He was described as *maître de la musique* in 1614 (though there is no evidence that this related to a court position),[26] as *maître de la musique de la chambre du roi* in 1617,[27] and in 1619 as *maître de la musique de la reine*,[28] a position he apparently held until his death in 1630. His role in the court establishment is further suggested by the status of his children, with Pierre Bataille described as *ordinaire de la musique des reines*, Gabriel (II) Bataille as *maître de la musique de la reine*, and his daughter Madeleine was married to Mathieu Lalemant, *ordinaire de la musique de la chambre du roi*.[29]

It is worth noting that the reference to each of Bataille's own court positions post-dates the publication of the lute-song anthologies, and that in a marriage contract of 1600 a Gabriel Bataille is described as 'clerc de Germain Regnault, conseiller au parlement'.[30] This suggests that he began as an amateur musician, and established his musical reputation largely through his work on the anthologies. Descriptions of Bataille as 'bourgeois de Paris' in 1617 and as 'noble homme' in 1626 also suggest a status beyond that of professional musician.[31]

As to why Ballard should have looked to Bataille for intabulating *airs de cour* we can at least say that his connections at court were already well established and that his musical background was appropriate. That Bataille was primarily a lutenist is demonstrated by his role as intabulator of the early anthologies, by a 1611 reference to a Bataille as 'joueur d'instruments',[32] and by a contract of 1616 in which he was engaged for eighteen months to teach the merchant Jacques Pihour to sing and play the lute. We also know that, unlike most composers of *airs de cour*, he wrote solo lute music, for a few pieces are attributed to him in the Lord Herbert of Cherbury lute manuscript,[33] and there are some forty-five lute-airs composed by him in the anthologies between 1608 and 1620. Moreover, Bataille's *inventaire après décès* of 1631 reveals not only that he was the owner of five lutes valued at twenty-four livres, but that he owned twenty-nine packets of music books valued at no less than forty *livres*, suggesting that he may have had an arrangement with Ballard as joint publisher of the lute-air anthologies similar to that of Morlaye and Fezandat.[34]

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[26] See **Jurgens I** p. 305
[27] See **Jurgens II** p. 129. In this document he is also described as 'bourgeois de Paris'. The context is an agreement between Bataille and Anthoine Boesset that if either of them is given the office of *maître de la musique de la reine*, they will share the duty and income on a six-monthly basis.
[28] See **Brossard 1965**. In 1624 Bataille further describes himself as *maître de la musique des Roynes*. See **Jurgens I** p. 306.
[29] See **Jurgens I** p. 306. These posts are mentioned in Bataille's *inventaire après décès*, and it is likely that his sons inherited their father's titles.
[30] See **Jurgens I** p. 304
[31] See **Jurgens II** p. 129 and **Brossard 1965**
[32] See **Brossard 1965**. Brossard apparently regards this as a different Bataille.
[33] See **Craig-McFeely 1991**. The pieces attributed to Bataille are a fantasie (f. 12), prelude (f. 19) and a courante (f. 69v). The manuscript is generally accepted as dating from 1624 to 1640, but containing music collected long before it was copied, in part no doubt during Herbert's visits to France which began in 1608.
[34] See **Jurgens I** p. 306

On the face of it, Bataille remains relatively anonymous in the collections he intabulates. Only the first anthology includes a preface by him, and this is essentially a homage to Pierre Guédron whose songs dominate the collection, though Bataille notes that he has also included a few other songs by various other composers as well as himself.[35] About half of the first anthology is, as the preface suggests, a reworking of the airs that Guédron published in polyphonic form in the same year (though this book was itself a revised and expanded edition of his first collection of 1602). Thirty-six of its seventy-three airs are drawn from **GuédronP 1608**, and two others are also by Guédron.[36] Five airs are also to be found in **GuédronP 1602**, and there are other concordances with the Tessier and Aix manuscripts, **Besard 1603**, **BallardS 1615**, and solo voice anthologies published by Jacques Mangeant at Lyons in 1608 and 1615. Neither Guédron nor any other composer is named in this collection, which is in keeping with Ballard's polyphonic anthologies up to and including that of 1610.

In choosing to initiate the lute-song series with so many airs by Guédron, Bataille and Ballard were allying the songs with a composer well established in the court musical hierarchy, and with a repertoire that was fashionable, modern, and of proven popularity. In 1601 Guédron had succeeded Claude le Jeune as *compositeur de la chambre du roi*, in 1603 he was described in addition as *valet de chambre du roi* and *maître des enfants de la musique*, and in 1604 he became *maître en la musique de la chambre de sa majesté*. Thus by 1608 Guédron had obtained the position second only to that of *surintendant des musiques de la chambre du roi*, for which he had to wait until 1613. His only surviving works are *airs de cour*, the success of which is evident from their appearance in the manuscripts and anthologies from the 1590s onwards, as well as the five polyphonic books devoted to his songs. The status of his first two polyphonic books is established by their dedication to the King and Queen respectively, while the following books contain prefaces by Ballard indicating the great demand for Guédron's airs, forcing Ballard to drag them from the composer one at a time.[37]

The first song in **Bataille 1608**, *Sejour de la divinité*, appears in no polyphonic source and is nowhere directly ascribed to Guédron, but its position in the book makes it likely that he is the composer, and it is typical of the expressive style in which Guédron excelled, and which he had an opportunity to develop in writing *récits* for the *ballet de cour* (see Example 3.5). Indeed, the florid ornamentation, repeated notes,

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[35] The preface is as follows: *A Monsieur, Monsieur Guedron, Maistre et Compositeur de la Musique de la Chambre du Roy. Monsieur, Ce petit melodieux scadron vous va saluer & rendre hommage, la plus part porte sur le front le glorieux tiltre d'estre de vos enfans, que s'estoyent espendus par le monde si dignement, que leur harmonie & douceur a forcé d'autres qu'ils ont rencontrez, non seulement à les honorer mais encore à les suivre. Si je les conduis avec peu d'ornement & appareil, c'est avec beaucoup de submission respect: à quoy desirant mesmes contibuer de ma part, il m'a semblé digne de mon affection de prendre la charge de vous les offrir. Ils r'emportent avec eux tant de delicieux tesmoignanges de l'honneur de leur geniteur, qu'ils ne sçauroyent estre que bien reçeus de vous, pour moy je me persuade que déja la presence des vostres de se doit promettre qu'un heureux accueil, avec ceste humble recognoissance qu'ils vous font (MONSIEUR) que vous estes leur vray & digne Pere, & l'assistance que leur font quelques autres, tant de divers autheurs que des miens, assemblez seulement pour les accompagner & honorer, espere toute bien-veillance & faveur tant pour la sincerité de leur desirs, que comme vous estant offerts & recueillis par, MONSIEUR, Vostre tres-affectionné & obeissant serviteur, GABRIEL BATAILLE.* **Bataille 1608**, f. 2.

[36] *Ne vous étonnez point* (f. 73v) appears in polyphonic form only in Guédron's second collection of 1612 (f. 23v), and its position at the end of Bataille's collection suggests that it was newly-composed. The other song, *Séjour de la divinité*, appears in no polyphonic source, but in her index Durosoir ascribes it to Guédron, and associates it with the *Ballet des Bacchantes* performed in 1608.

[37] Ballard begins his preface to **GuédronP 1618** as follows: 'Votre impatience & mon affection m'ont forcé à imprimer ce petit nombre d'Airs de Monsieur Guedron, que par grande importunité je luy ay tiré de mains ...'.

free rhythm (the second phrase, for instance, contains a 'spare' half beat), sudden shifts between major and minor, and wide melodic leaps and ambitus are all characteristic of the early *récit* which does not appear by name until Bataille's third book of 1611. Placed at the start of the 1608 collection, this air stands out as a statement not only of Guédron's art, but of the possibilities of the air with instrumental accompaniment, and it is no surprise to find it without an equivalent polyphonic setting.

No other air in the collection quite rivals this one for its expressive force, although the plangent qualities of this air find a reflection in Guédron's simpler songs and are, indeed, a hallmark of the *air sérieux*. *Vous que le bon heur r'appelle*, one of three Guédron airs culled from the collection by Robert Dowland for his *Musicall Banquet* of 1610, is more typical of Guédron, and of the *air de cour* in general, in its restrained but affective ornamentation, harmonic consistency, simple form with repeated last line or lines, and smooth melodic profile (Example 3.6). While simpler than *Sejour*, it is no less effective a vehicle for its unassuming text on the ubiquitous theme of unrequited courtly love.

A notable feature of the collection is the omission of the lighter airs that appear in **GuédronP 1608** and **1602**, and this makes Bataille's selection stand in direct contrast to **Besard 1603**, for it is towards precisely such airs that Besard gravitates. Songs such as *Si c'est pour mon pucellage*, *Adieu bergere pour jamais*, or *La voila la nacelle d'amour*, all demonstrating Guédron's flair for quick, attractive, and memorable melodies, find no place in Bataille's book, and it is only in later collections that they begin to make their presence felt. While airs such as these are overwhelmingly outnumbered in Guédron's output by *airs sérieux*, one nonetheless suspects that in his choice of airs Bataille was deliberately associating the *air sérieux* with the lute-air, for no song in the 1608 collection can be easily described as *en musique légère*.

Guédron's airs continue to figure prominently in the later Bataille editions. There are ten songs by Guédron in **Bataille 1609**, nineteen in **Bataille 1611**, eleven each in **Bataille 1613** and **1614**, and twelve in **Bataille 1615**, a fair representation of his output bearing in mind that only one polyphonic collection by him, his second, was published in these years. A Guédron air stands at the head of each of these collections except the last, where he gives way to a *récit* by Le Bailly. Increasingly Guédron is represented in these books by metrical airs, often with dance characteristics (Example 3.7) and with the lighter airs that were avoided in **Bataille 1608** (Example 3.8).

Two Guédron songs in the later Bataille prints have interesting histories, well elaborated by Verchaly and others but worth repeating here. The air *Belle qui m'avez blessé* in **Bataille 1609** (f. 69v) is mentioned by Pierre de Deimier in *L'Académie de l'Art Poëtique* of 1610, who notes that:

> M. Guédron who is a very good poet and most excellent musician, made recently at Fontainebleau two songs in which one sees the metre of Latin verse [*la cadence des vers latins*] is used in several lines, as one may see at the start of the following couplet which is the start of one these songs: *Belle qui m'avez blessé d'un trait si doux ...* [38]

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[38] 'M. Guédron qui est très bon poète et très excellent musicien, fist dernièrement à Fontainebleau deux chansons où l'on voit que la cadance des vers latins est employée en quelques vers, comme on peut le voir au premier de ce couplet suyvant qui est le

Gilles Ménage, informed by Racan, reports that Malherbe composed his poem *Objet divin de mes ames et des yeux* for this melody, but made no allowance for the feminine endings required by it, and so his text was unsuitable. Racan went on to say that Malherbe had no ear for music and was never able to set text to airs given him by musicians.[39] Taken at face value this might seem to imply that airs were customarily composed first, and given words later. But in fact Malherbe's incapacity in this area may well indicate the reverse, this being an exceptional case of a poet attempting to provide a new text for a melody that had already acquired considerable popularity.

A final complication is added by the fact that in **BallardS 1615** the melody of this air is attributed to Ballard, despite the fact that the song appears in **GuédronP 1612**. Verchaly regards Deimier's discussion of the air as confirming Guédron's authorship, but we may be dealing with Guédron's setting of a pre-existent melody, which would help explain why Malherbe should have sought to provide the melody with a new text. Some weight is given to this explanation by Daniel Heartz's observation that the song 'has the three-measure phrases in 4/4 of a Branle Simple'.[40] The melody may well have begun life as a dance composed by Robert Ballard, before finding its way into the repertoire of the *air de cour*.

The second Guédron air with a documented background is *Que n'estes vous lassées* which appears in **Bataille 1611** (f. 4v) and in **GuédronP 1612**.[41] The text is by Malherbe, who refers to the song in a series of letters to his friend Pereisc written in 1610. This is one of five poems written for Henri IV relating to his infatuation with Charlotte-Marguerite de Montmorency, Princesse de Condé.[42] In a letter of February 12 Malherbe reports that he has set several couplets on an air sung to him by M. le Marquis d'Oraison. He asks Pereisc to have the Marquis send on the melody, and states that he will have another air set to these words in Paris, and will choose the better of the two. The poem on Oraison's melody is not, in fact, *Que n'estes vous lassées* but *Infidèle mémoire, pourquoi fais-tu gloire*, but Royster notes that the line lengths and rhyme scheme of the two poems are identical.

On February 18 Malherbe wrote to Pereisc that the King had that evening requested of him an elegy, which he would compose shortly. He sang him Oraison's song 'on which he had taken his measure'. But the King sent for Guédron that same evening, read him Malherbe's verse (which one presumes was *Infidèle mémoire* rather than *Que n'estes vous*), and told him to begin working on it that night. *Que n'estes vous* is the song that Guédron finally produced, which Malherbe sent to Pereisc with the new words set out as melody and bass. Oraison's song does not survive, and Guédron's was presumably felt to be the better of the two.

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commencement de l'une des dites chansons: *Belle qui m'avez blessé d'un trait si doux ...*' **Deimier 1610** p. 21. Quoted in **Verchaly 1961** p. lxxxvi.

[39] See *Les Poésies de M. de Malherbe avec les observations de M. Menage*, Paris: Louis Billaine, 1661, p. 401. Cited in **Verchaly 1961** p. xxxvi-xxxvii. See also **Durosoir 1986** p. 114.

[40] **Heartz 1962** p. 359

[41] The most detailed account is given in **Royster 1973**, 173-185. See also **Verchaly 1961** xxxix-xl, where the Bataille version of the air is transcribed (no. 18). The manuscript version is given in Example 4.32 below.

[42] The others are *Quelque ennui donc qu'en cette absence, Revenez, mes plaisirs, ma dame est revenue, Que d'épines, Amour, accompagnent tes roses,* and *Donc cette merveille des cieux*. The last two were both set as *airs de cour*.

The story is revealing on three counts. One is the implication it has for the ways in which airs were composed, with melody-bass outlines. The second is the relationship between poet and musician, poem and melody. While Guédron's air was probably completed with Malherbe's final poem in his possession, he appears to have begun work on it with nothing more than a poetic scheme of syllables and rhymes. If this was common practice in the composition of airs, it goes some way towards explaining the frequently poor association of word and musical accent, and has a bearing on the rhythmic character of many airs. And finally, modest notational and rhythmic differences between this manuscript version and the air as it appears in **Bataille 1611** are indicative of the flexible treatment of such basic outlines.[43] All these issues are considered further in the next chapter.

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No composer is as well represented in the Bataille series as Guédron, partly because of his domination of the 1608 publication. Only three other composers appear to any significant extent - Bataille himself, Vincent, and Anthoine Boesset (see Table 3.8).[44] Indeed, of the four hundred or so airs contained in these books, almost half remain anonymous, many no doubt the work of dilettantes such as the Marquis d'Oraison mentioned above.

After Guédron, the most represented composer in **Bataille 1608** is Gabriel Bataille himself, with five airs that are later attributed to him in **BallardP 1613** or **BallardS 1615**. Bataille's airs are in the *air sérieux* mould that characterises the 1608 volume, with the exception of an Italian air, *Creditu per fugire*, based on a model by Giovanelli.[45] These five airs also include a psalm setting (Desportes's *O Pasteur d'Israël*), for which Bataille clearly had a passion. Bataille includes psalms in all his later books except **Bataille 1614**, some of them in conventional air style, others in an antique polyphonic style, and some with a clear reference to *musique mesurée*. None of Bataille's airs is explicitly described as a *récit* in these books, but one or two lean in this direction, with *Sortés soupirs tesmoins de mon martire* (**Bataille 1614** f. 12v) the clearest example (see Example 3.9).[46] There are also two or three lighter songs in the later collections, including one *air à boire*, and while these are by no means typical of Bataille, he does display something of a flair for them (see Example 3.10). The *air à boire - Qui veut chasser une migraine* (**Bataille 1615** f. 59v) - is the only example of a drinking song found in the numbered series. In the core repertoire, such songs are elsewhere found only in Moulinié's lute books, though they had a substantial previous history (Adriaensen intabulates two in **Adriaensen 1584**, for instance), and they enjoyed a huge vogue later in the century.

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[43] In addition to rhythmic differences, such as the replacement of long-note cadences with short-long, the ¢ sign in the manuscript is replaced with '3' in the printed lute-song.
[44] Durosoir has compiled a similar table in **Durosoir 1986** p. 154. Our figures vary, at times quite significantly. For example, Durosoir attributes only fifty-one airs to Guédron, thirteen to Boesset, and thirteen to Vincent.
[45] See **Verchaly 1947** and **1953** p. 53.
[46] The complete air is transcribed in **Verchaly 1961** no. 35

Table 3.8: Composers represented in the Bataille anthologies. Types of air are given in brackets after the total number. Key: ab= air à boire; b=air de ballet; r = récit; p=psalm; d=dialogue; f=foreign language air; ?=doubtful attribution. Types may be combined: e.g. br=récit de ballet.

Composer	1608 (73 airs)	1609 (72 airs)	1611 (69 airs)	1613 (69 airs)	1614 (67 airs)	1615 (58 airs)	Total
Anon.	26 (2b;1f)	48 (1b;9f)	36 (7b;1d)	38 (7b;1br;1d)	25	16 (4b)	189
Bataille	5 (2p;1f)	4 (1p)	5 (2p)	7 (4p)	6 (1f)	8 (1d;1ab;1p)	35
Boesset	1	2		2 (1r)	6 (2d;1b)	5	16
Bonnet				1			1
Castro			1 (1?d)				1
Cerveau			1			1 (1?)	2
Charbonnière				3 (3b)	1		4
Chevalier		3 (3b)					3
Courville					3	2	5
Expilly			1 (1?)				1
Guédron	38 (4b)	10 (1?f;1b)	19 (3b;2r)	11 (1b;1d;1?r)	11 (4b;1d)	12 (4b;3br;1d)	101
La Roque		1 (1?)					1
Le Bailly					3 (2b;1bf)	2 (2br)	5
Le Blanc				1 (1?)			1
Le Fevre						2	2
Mauduit			1 (1?)		2		3
Père Courias						1	1
Salmon	1					1	2
Sauvage					4		4
Savorny	1 (1p)				1 (1?)	1	3
Tessier C		1					1
Tessier G		2 (2?)		1 (1?)			3
Vincent	1	1	5	5 (1r)	5 (3b)	7	24

The composer Vincent is unique amongst the composers of *airs de cour* in having a substantial number of airs published without, so far as we are aware, ever holding a court appointment, though it appears that he did hold the position of director of music for the Duc d'Angoulême. He is also unusual in being well known as a lutenist and composer of lute music, not just *airs de cour*. A letter survives written to a 'Monsieur Vincent' by Constantin Huyghens in 1636, where he praises Vincent's playing while revealing that Vincent had visited him in Holland and brought him either a lute or some lute music.[47] Vincent is also mentioned in the Mary Burwell lute tutor, where his playing is compared with that of Pinel, and he is praised for the dance-like quality of his music.[48] Annibal Gantez mentions him as one of 'the most famous and famished' musicians in Paris.[49] In addition to the *airs de cour*, solo pieces survive in various manuscripts, including a sarabande in the Burwell tutor, and Vincent is reported to have played in and written music for the *ballet de cour*, and to have taken part in concerts at the house of Pierre de la Barre.

There are twenty-four airs by Vincent in the Bataille series, and they become increasingly prominent with the third book of 1611. The airs in the first three books are all simple, straightforward examples of *airs sérieux*, and throughout Vincent tends to avoid both the more frivolous air, and the more dramatic, *récit*-style air of Guédron. Only one song in these books is described as a *récit* by virtue of its association with public celebrations of 1612, but while in its rhythmic flexibility this song is clearly designed for monodic delivery, there is little expressive force here (see Example 3.11 - *Donc apres*). Also in the 1613 book we begin to find more attractive airs by Vincent that show the influence of the dance forms with which he must have been well experienced through his compositions for solo lute, and with them the use of idiomatic accompaniments, such as strummed patterns, on the lute (see Example 3.12 - *Je sçay Philis*).

With the exception of Boesset, discussed below, the other attributable airs in the Bataille series are either by relatively minor contemporary figures, or else look back to composers more prominent in the previous century. They do include some notable works, however. The airs by Charbonnière (three in 1613, one in 1614), Chevalier (three in 1609) and Le Bailly (three in 1614, two in 1615) tend to reflect these composers' association with the *ballet de cour*. Charbonnière remains an elusive figure,[50] and Chevalier little less so. Chevalier (*fl. c.*1585-*c.*1617) is most often cited as a composer of dance music for the *ballet de cour*, and was apparently a 'joueur de quinte de viole' among the *24 Violons*. There may be a connection with the several Chevaliers mentioned in the Paris archives, including a Charles Chevalier who was a 'maitre joueur de luth'.[51]

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47 ' ... un present si beau et si Romain qu'il vous a pleu me faire. Il ne manqueroit que vos mains à animer ces chordes: mais de cela la grace se souhaittent en vain ...'. **Jonckbloet.. 1886** no. 6.

48 'Then came Pinel, whose play was very gay and airy: he made his lessons with a great deal of facility. ... Vincent, whose play is almost like that of Pinell ...' **Dart 1958** p. 14.. 'Old Gaultier ... said that Mr Pinel, Mr Dubut and Mr Vincent would have made good fiddlers, because their lessons were airy and might be turned into singing or dancing corants and sarabands.' **Dart 1958** p. 60.

49 See **Gantez 1643**

50 These airs are almost certainly too early to be associated with the composer and harpsichordist Jacques Champion de Chambonnières, who was born around 1601-2, and is only known to have been active in the French court by about 1632.

51 See **Jurgens I** pp. 242, 464, 507.

Of Henry Le Bailly we know rather more. He was described as *valet de chambre du roi et maitre joueur de luth* in 1601, and as *chantre de la chambre du roi* in 1606. He went on to become *surintendant de la musique de la chambre du roi* some time before 1622. He was best known as a singer, especially in *ballets de cour*, though in 1613 Malherbe also refers to him singing at intimate gatherings for the queen.[52] His *inventaire après décès* of 1637 includes among his instruments a large theorbo, a large 'lire', a 'guitaron', guitar and 'petit luth, façon de theorbe'.[53] Benigne de Bacilly claimed that Le Bailly never composed, but the five airs contained in **Bataille 1614** and **1615** belie that. He was, however, chiefly esteemed as a singer, and is described in the *Discours au vray du ballet* as having had 'the finest and most charming voice of his time', while Mersenne commended his clear pronunciation and articulation of syllables.[54] Mersenne also includes a *Diminution de Monsieur le Bailly* on an air by Boesset (see Facsimile 3.7), as an example of the extreme form of vocal ornamentation which Le Bailly practised.

All five of the airs attributed to Le Bailly relate to *ballets de cour*. None of these exhibits the extreme diminution given in Mersenne, but one may suppose that Bailly would have treated them thus. The three airs in **Bataille 1614** are drawn from the *Ballet de la Folie* of the same year.[55] *Ysoy la locura* is interesting as the earliest *air de cour* to describe itself as a *Passacalle*, and the first to open with an instrumental introduction that became typical of the continuo air of the second half of the century. The bass pattern is initially repeated in true passacaille fashion, but is not based on the usual descending tetrachord (see Example 3.13). The two songs in **Bataille 1615** from the *Ballet de Madame* are described as *récits*, but are stylistically little different from the *air sérieux*.

Chevalier's three airs from the *Ballet de la Royne* in **Bataille 1609** are more varied. *Pleine de langues et de voix* (f. 7v) is interesting for its slow harmonic movement against lengthy *roulade*-type ornaments, while the preceding air, *Nos esprits libres et contents* (f. 6v), is a true *air de danse* more typical of what one would expect from an instrumental composer (see Example 3.14). *Ces Ninfes pleines de mespris* (f. 5v) is a more conventional *air sérieux*. Charbonnière's three airs in **Bataille 1613** are from the *Ballet de Monseigneur le duc de Vendosme*.[56] The first is a tiny *entrée*, which would have accompanied the procession of the dancers prior to the ballet proper, while the others are both described as 'ballets' and are, with their triple metres, straightforward examples of *airs à dancer*. The single air in **Bataille 1614** (*Un jour que ma rebelle*, f. 32v), is also metrical, switching from triple to duple time at the repeat, and is a fine example of an air *en musique légère*.

Among the other composers represented in the Bataille series, we may distinguish between those who are retrospective inclusions, and composers who were active in the second decade of the century. Into the latter group fall Le Fevre, Sauvage, and probably Père Courias, La Roque, and Expilly.

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[52] See **Gérold 1921** p. 4 n. 6
[53] See **Jurgens I** p. 59
[54] *L'une des grandes perfections du chant consiste à bien prononcer les paroles, et à les rendre si distinctes, que les auditeurs n'en perdent pas une seule syllabe; ce que l'on remarque aux reits de Baillif, qui prononce fort distinctement, et qui fait sonner toutes les syllabes, au lieu que la plus part des autres les étouffent dans la gorge, et les pressent si fort entre la langue, les dents, et les levres, que l'on n'entend quasi rien de ce qu'ils recitent ...*, **Mersenne 1636**, Embellissement des Chants p. 356.
[55] *Yosoy la locura* (f. 57v), *Quelque chose que l'amour puisse* (f. 58v), *Reyne je ne puis endurer* (f. 59v)
[56] *Approchons du tournoy* (f. 53), *Comme à l'assaut* (f. 53v), *Astre qui luisés* (f. 54).

The attribution of a single air each to Expilly (*Belle dont la douceur*, **Bataille 1611** f. 19v) and the poet La Roque (*Or que la nuict et le silence*, **Bataille 1609** f. 45v) is made by Durosoir in the index of *airs de cour* attached to her 1986 doctoral thesis. I have been unable to corroborate these. *Or que la nuict* also appears in **Le Roy..P 1597**, while the melody of *Belle dont* appears in one of Mangeant's anthologies of 1615.

The identity of Père Courias is a mystery. The single air attributed to him, *Je te hay si parfaitement* (**Bataille 1615** f. 36v) is interesting, however, in moving from a virtual *récit* style, with careful matching of musical and poetic rhythm, to a courante-based refrain in triple time, with ambiguous accents between melody and accompaniment that are a feature of this type of melodic pattern (see Example 3.15). This is a procedure reminiscent of the *récit*-choral refrain design of some airs from the *ballet de cour*.

The two airs by Jacques Le Fevre in **Bataille 1615** (*N'emprisonnés pas je vous prie* (f. 45v) and *S'il est vray* (f. 46v)) do not appear in his polyphonic collection published two years earlier. This book does, however, contain a laudatory ode to him written by Bataille, and we know that he held the position of *compositeur de la chambre du roi* at least between 1613 and 1636.[57] Neither air is remarkable.

It is difficult to identify the Sauvage who has four airs printed in the Bataille anthologies. A dynasty of musicians by this name was active in Paris in the 1630s and 40s, the oldest and hence strongest candidate for our composer being Je(h)an Sauvage, who in the 1630s was a player and teacher of instruments, engaged in 1637 to teach an apprentice 'to play violin and bass, with all types of airs old and new'.[58] All four of the composer's airs appear in **Bataille 1614**, and are unexceptional examples of *airs sérieux*.[59]

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Songs in the Bataille series representing older composers provide examples of the persistence of earlier practices well into the second decade of the century, including the continued use of *timbres* that had been a characteristic of the *voix de ville*.

The two airs by Jacques Salmon (*O beau laurier*, **Bataille 1608** f. 66v and *Baisés ô déesses*, **Bataille 1615** f. 40v) are both drawn from the *Vingtquatrième livre d'airs et chansons* published by Le Roy and Ballard in 1583, though *O beau laurier* was clearly a *timbre* also set by Bonnet and Guillaume Tessier in 1585 and 1582 respectively. Salmon was principally active in the 1580s, was a *chantre et valet de chambre du roi*,[60] and was apparently involved in the *Ballet comique de la Reine* of 1581. Fétis refers to him as a violinist, and he may have been principally involved in instrumental music. Savorny was probably the 'sieur Savornin' described as an excellent singer and composer of airs, also involved in the *Ballet comique* where he sang the role of Jupiter, who sings a monodic *récit*.[61] His setting of the psalm *Seigneur helas* in **Bataille 1608** f. 53v is concordant with that in **Besard 1603**. His air in **Bataille 1614** f. 30v (*Chanvallon les roys*)

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[57] See **Gérold 1921** p. 7, and **Brossard 1965**
[58] See **Jurgens I** p. 343 and **II** p. 346. See also **Brossard 1965.**
[59] *Pourquoy soubs la rigueur* (f. 36v), *Medor si mirant aux beaux yeux* (f. 37v), *Faut il qu'une absence* (f. 38v), and *Amour tu veux donc* (f. 44v)
[60] See **Prunières 1914** p. 88
[61] See **Gérold 1921** p. 4 n. 1

is notable for the third couplet which mentions the composer by name, and associates him with the lute.[62] He also has an air in **Bataille 1615** (*En deux le coeur*, f. 38v).

The connection between these composers and the *Ballet comique* also suggests a link with Baïf's *Académie* and *musique mesurée*, and it is noticeable that in their airs both Salmon and Savorny confine themselves to two note values. But a much stronger connection with Baïf's humanist movement is found in the airs of Thibaut de Courville and Jacques Mauduit. We have already seen the role of Courville (*d*1581) in founding Baïf's *Académie*, and the five airs in these books are extremely late offerings.[63] In many ways Mauduit acted as Courville's replacement, becoming associated with Baïf around 1581, publishing a set of *Chansonettes Mesurées* in 1586, and rescuing the works of Baïf and Le Jeune during the seige of Paris in 1589. According to Sauval, on the death of Baïf in 1589 Mauduit transferred the *Académie* to his own house, and there can be little doubt that he did a great deal to maintain interest in *vers* and *musique mesurée* in the early seventeenth century. At around the time that Mauduit's airs appeared in the Bataille books,[64] he was enjoying some prominence in the French court conducting large-scale productions: one was the performance of an *Ode Mesurée* of his own composition for a large number of performers, celebrating the King's return to Paris from Brittany in 1614, which Verchaly suggests was the air *Soit que l'oeil pourveu* surviving only in its lute-song version.[65] The other was the acclaimed *Ballet de la Délivrance de Renaud* of 1617, including music by Guédron, Boesset, and Bataille.[66]

One of Mauduit's airs, *Eau-vive sourse d'amour*, on *vers mesurés* by Baïf, is attributed to Mauduit by Mersenne, though the melody is also loosely concordant with a version in **CerveauP 1599**. Mersenne reproduces the melody, holding it up as an example of the proper setting of *vers mesurés* (i.e. Mauduit's interpretation of *musique mesurée*; given the rhythmic differences between Cerveau's version and Mauduit's we may here be seeing the 'measured' recomposition of a *timbre*).[67] Courville's airs are not so explicitly associated with *musique mesurée* (though they do conform to the long-short 'rule'). One of them, however, *Si je languis*, is extremely heavily ornamented - moreso than any other *air de cour* in these publications (see Facsimile 3.8). One reason for this may simply be that the song was so well known by this time that it was ripe for this sort of treatment. But it is tempting to conjecture that this is how Courville, experimenting with various forms of monodic delivery in Baïf's *Académie*, conceived and performed in it, and that the humanist experiments of the French *Académie* had led it in similar directions to those of Florence.

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[62] See Chapter 2 n. 69

[63] **Bataille 1614**: *Mais voyés comment abusé* (f. 51v), *Baisés moy* (f. 55v), *Si je languis* (f. 67v). **Bataille 1615**: *Sont-ce dards* (f. 37v), *Quand passeray-je bienheureux* (f. 39v)

[64] *Eau vive sourse d'amour* (**Bataille 1611** f. 65v), *Soit que l'oeil pourveu* (**Bataille 1614** f. 53), *Par vos yeux doux guerriers* (**Bataille 1614** f. 53v)

[65] See **Verchaly 1961** p. xxxvii. This song has an unusually large number of verses (fourteen), and is described as an *Ode a la Reyne*.

[66] The principal source for information on Mauduit is Mersenne, who delivers a eulogy on him in *Harmonie Universelle*, Livre Septiesme, Des Instrumens de Percussion, p. 63, translated in **Yates 1947.**

[67] **Mersenne 1636**, Embellissement des Chants, p. 419

The remaining attributable airs demonstrate the persistance of the *timbre* in the Bataille publications. The dialogue *Patoureau m'ayme tu bien?* (**Bataille 1611** f. 67v) has its origins in a fully polyphonic chanson by Jean de Castro in Phalèse's *Chansons à cinq parties* of 1586.[68] In addition to *Eau-vive*, two other airs have melodic resemblances to songs in **Cerveau 1599**: *Des maux si déplorables* (**Bataille 1611** f. 25v) and *Lors qu'un amant de cour* (**Bataille 1615** f. 34v). Similarly, *Lieux que j'ay tant aymés* (**Bataille 1613** f. 43v) can be related to a version in **BonnetP 1600**, as can *Qui prestera la parole* (**Bataille 1613** f. 57v) to a chanson by Didier Le Blanc in **Le BlancP 1579**, though with substantial melodic and especially rhythmic differences.

The air *La plus miserable amante* in **Bataille 1609** has melodic similarities to a song in **TessierP 1597b**. The concordance between two more airs in **Bataille 1609** (*Pleurez ô demons*, f. 35v, and *Pressé d'ennuis*, f. 56v) and one in **Bataille 1613** (*Amans qui vous plaignés*, f. 64v), and songs in Guillaume Tessier's polyphonic collection of 1582 is stronger, going beyond the use of a *timbre*.

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Before leaving the Bataille anthologies we might briefly summarise a few 'landmark' characteristics of them. The composers are not identified in the first four books; only from **Bataille 1614** are they sometimes named. In **Bataille 1608** the only heading given to any of the songs is simply *Airs*. Starting with **Bataille 1609** titles begin to identify *airs de ballet* (e.g. Chevalier's *Ces Ninfes pleines de mespris* is headed 'Ballet de la Royne'), and other descriptions appear, such as *La plus miserable amante* being described as 'Complainte de Biblis'. From **Bataille 1611** onwards we find the occasional air with a dedication - the first air in the book, *Voy-je pas un soleil* is dedicated 'Au Roy', for instance - and we find the first two cases of airs being explicitly described as 'Récit': Guédron's *Desers tesmoins* and *Donc cest merveille*, apparently the first time this term is used in an explicitly musical context. This book also describes two more airs as 'Complainte' (*Las! pourquoy ne suis-ne née* and *Quel point m'a reduit le sort*). This term occurs only rarely in the collections, and principally concerns the texts which are lengthy lamentations. This is also the first book to make an explicit reference to both a poet and the use of *vers mesurées* (above the air *Eau-vive*). The heading *Dialogue* appears for the first time against two airs, one of them Castro's, and for the first time psalms are named as such rather than simply described as 'Airs'. The two psalms at the end of the book are numbered and name Desportes as the poet. From **Bataille 1613** onwards all the above designations become fairly common, and the 'Second' and 'Troisieme Couplet' of a song begins to be identified. With **Bataille 1614** references to *airs de ballet* become more explicit with, for example, three songs by Vincent from the *Ballet des Trois Ages* identifying the characters intended to sing them ('Les Enfans', 'Les Adolescens', and 'Les Vieillars'). This is also, as we have seen, the only lute-song book to contain an air explicitly labelled a 'Passacalle'.

These landmarks in the labelling and identification of airs should not mislead us into thinking that they represent the first time these various types of air appear, however. **Bataille 1608** contains three psalms that

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[68] See **Verchaly 1961** p. xxxviii

are simply described as 'Airs' in the book (though they are identified as psalms in the *Table*), and all six books contain between one and four psalms with the exception of **Bataille 1614**, which contains none. Similarly, we have seen that the first book opens with an air bearing all the hallmarks of a *récit*, despite the fact that songs described as such appear only three years later. This song, *Sejour de la divinité*, is apparently related to the *Ballet des Bacchantes* of 1608, and here again is an example of an *air de ballet* appearing in the collections long before being named as such.

The three Ballard anthologies: 1617, 1618, 1623

The most likely reason why Bataille ceased to act as Ballard's intabulator is that suggested by the titles of the next two anthologies in the series (1617 and 1618) - that the composers of the airs were willing or preferred to supply the tablature versions themselves.[69] With anonymous airs now comparatively rare, Bataille's services may not have been required. An exception may support this explanation. Five airs that are presented anonymously in **Ballard 1617** are listed in the *Table* as being 'de plusieurs autheurs mis sur le luth par Bataille', suggesting either that Ballard had a number of airs arranged by Bataille 'in hand', or else that he was unable to obtain tablature versions of these airs (one of which is in fact by Jean Boyer) from the composers, and still required Bataille's skills. The decision may, however, also have been Bataille's. On 2 March 1617 Bataille entered into an agreement with Boesset that if either of them were to be given the office of *maître de la musique de la reine*, they would share the duty and income on a six-monthly basis.[70] Since Boesset did obtain this position in 1617, and Bataille is also mentioned as holding it in 1619, we may assume that he did obtain this post in 1617. It may well be that, assured of a musical position at court in 1617, Bataille no longer needed to undertake the arduous work of intabulation that had almost certainly helped him obtain it.

The status of the 1623 collection is more exceptional. After the two anthologies of 1617 and 1618, the next two collections in the series (Books IX and X of 1620 and 1621) were intabulated by Anthoine Boesset. The first contains airs by Guédron, Bataille, and Boesset himself, the second is devoted entirely to Boesset's own airs. Following the 1623 anthology Boesset returned as the series's arranger and, for the most part, composer. In the meantime, **Ballard 1623** appeared, an anthology which, alone among the prints from 1614 onward, does not name any composers (although twelve of its thirty-four airs are in fact by Boesset), and which does not carry the name of any intabulator: it is simply titled *Airs de differents autheurs avec la tablature de luth, unziesme livre.*

It is hard to account for this departure. The reason may in part be bound up with the unusually large number of anonymous airs in the collection - all twenty-two of the remaining airs that cannot be attributed to Boesset. The tendency from the fifth book (1614) onwards was towards fewer anonymous airs, and for fewer composers to dominate the collections (see Tables 3.8, 3.9 and 3.10), a tendency suddenly and

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[69] According to the title pages the airs in these books are *mis en tablature de luth par* [*les autheurs*] *eux mesmes*.
[70] See **Jurgens II** p. 129

temporarily reversed in the 1623 print. Perhaps Ballard, having accumulated a stock of airs from diverse sources, many of their composers anonymous or wishing to be so (quite plausible if the composer were a noble amateur), and with some of these airs already intabulated, others intabulated by Boesset, decided that this fully anonymous presentation of the airs was the most straightforward solution.

Taking these three anthologies as a group, we can see in Table 3.9 that many composers present in the Bataille anthologies disappear in these volumes, though the major figures, Bataille, Boesset, Guédron, and Vincent, still feature strongly. Perhaps surprisingly, three airs by Savorny also appear in **Ballard 1618**. It is also noticeable that no foreign-language airs appear in these anthologies, and the *récit* does not appear by name in the 1617 and 1618 volumes, though *airs de ballet* continue to feature strongly and explicitly. Anonymous airs, on the other hand, become a rarity (with the exception of 1623), as do airs traceable back to the later sixteenth century, suggesting the gradual disappearance of the *timbre* tradition.

Several new names appear in these collections, many of them difficult to identify. Paul Auget was, around 1615, in the service of Jean-François de Gondy, abbé of Saint-Aubin, who became archbishop in 1622. Auget is still mentioned as *maître de la musiqe de M. de Saint-Aubin* in 1620, though by that time he had already acquired a position in the musical establishment of the new queen, Anne of Austria. He is described as *musicien de la reine* in 1619, and as *chantre ordinaire de la chambre de musique du roi* in 1622.[71] By 1626 he held the supreme position of *surintendant de la musique du roi*. It appears that he continued to hold this position, nominally at least, until his death in 1660. There is no record of an *inventaire après décès*, but a document of 1629 mentions that he was the owner of 'trois lutz de Padou et Boulongne' valued together at 90 livres.[72]

Perhaps the most notable feature of Auget's airs, and indeed the other composers who appear for the first time in these books, is a quite careful matching of musical and word accent. *Ne vous offencés pas de voir* (**Ballard 1617** f. 39v) is not unusual in this (see Example 3.16), and in the quantity of shorter note values Auget employs to achieve it. Also interesting is *Les charmants attraits de vos yeux* (**Ballard 1618** f. 53v), with its solo lute introduction on a descending bass pattern, quite a rare feature of the *air de cour* until the 1640s, and a sure sign of the song's soloistic conception (it has no polyphonic version).[73]

Virtually all that we know of Claude Coffin is that in 1625 he was described as a *chantre de la chapelle de musique du roi*.[74] He provides a good example of a composer of semi-metrical airs: that is, airs with an underlying metre likely to be obscured in practice by syncopation, word accent, or added beats at openings or cadences. *En fin le secours* (**Ballard 1618** f. 43v), for instance, obscures a simple triple metre with a

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[71] In the same year he is described as a *chantre ordinaire de la chapelle de musique du roi*. See **Jurgens I** p. 54 and 117. Durosoir states that he was a counter-tenor (haute-contre).
[72] See **Le Moël 1968** for a study of Auget.
[73] Transcribed in **Verchaly 1961** no. 52
[74] See **Jurgens I** p. 94

Table 3.9: Composers represented in the Ballard anthologies. Types of air are given in brackets after the total number. Key: b=air de ballet; r = récit; p=psalm; d=dialogue.

Composer	**1617 (64 airs)**	**1618 (62 airs)**	**1623 (34 airs)**	**Total**
Anon.	5 (1b)	3 (1b)	22 (1br)	30
Auget	6	4 (1b)		10
Bataille	5 or 6 (1b)[75]	1		6 or 7
Boesset	10 (1b)[76]	5 (2b)	12 (5b, 1br)	27
Boyer	2 (1b)	9 (1b)		11
Coffin	4	7 (3p)		11
Le Fegueux	6			6
Grand-rue	4	10		14
Guédron	14 (9b, 1d)	7 (1b, 1d)		21
Savorny		3		3
Signac		10 (4p)		10
Vincent	7 or 8[77]	3 (1p)		10 or 11

heavily syncopated opening, a trick repeated in its 'suitte' - *Bien que je fus heureux* (f. 44v) - where the composer inserts rests to clarify his intention (see Example 3.17). The sense of metre emerging during a song is a notable and deliberate characteristic of such airs.

Of Le Fegueux, Grand-rue, and Signac we know almost nothing. Brossard mentions a Eustache de Grand-rue, 'musicien', who in 1617 baptised a son, Pierre. Signac published three books of airs between 1618 and 1625, and a collection of psalms in 1630, the former dedicated to the bishop of Toulouse, the latter to François II duc de Lorraine, so there is some suggestion here of his being a provincial musician.[78]

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[75] The air *Ce qui vit* (f. 30v) is attributed to Vincent in its heading, but to Bataille in the *Table*.
[76] A further air, dedicated to the King, carries a text strongly suggestive of a ballet: *Grands soleils des Françoys* (f. 17v).
[77] See above n. 75
[78] See **Durosoir 1986** p. 266

The few surviving airs by Le Fegueux are characterised by their combining the rhythmic sophistication of the *air sérieux* with the liveliness of the metrical air *en musique légère* and its associated light, usually amorous, texts (see Example 3.18 - *J'estois baisottant*, **Ballard 1617** f. 53v). To some extent this is true of Grand-rue also, with the lighter airs his most individual.[79] Signac's relationship with the bishop of Toulouse may help explain the four psalm settings in **Ballard 1618**. Like most psalms they take a minim rather than a crotchet beat, and avoid ornamentation.

The other new figure to appear in these collections is Boyer who, like Boesset, produced a collection devoted to his own airs. Both composers are discussed below. Of the rest, Guédron's airs stand in contrast to those of the newcomers in a freer approach to matching word and musical accent, and in often being associated with the *ballet de cour*. Guédron provides one exceptional air with a solo lute introduction (placed separately at the end of the air) marked 'la choconne' [sic] on a descending bass line - the first use of this term in an *air de cour* - which does not appear in the polyphonic version (the song is transcribed in **Verchaly 1961** no. 50). Vincent includes an expressive air dedicated to 'M. le duc de Rethellois', but perhaps more characteristic are airs which demonstrate his credentials as a composer of dance music, such as *Fascheuse nuits* (**Ballard 1617** f. 37v - see Example 3.19). Unsurprisingly, perhaps, airs by Bataille appear less frequently after 1617, but the examples in these books are attractive, and the sole offering in **Ballard 1618** is unusual for its chromaticism, however fleeting (see Example 3.20 - *Depuis que le flambeau du jour*, **Ballard 1618** f. 14v).

As mentioned above, the only composer who can be identified with the airs in **Ballard 1623** is Boesset. His twelve airs (including *refreins* which can function as independent airs), are all grouped at the start of the book. Among the anonymous airs is a ballet *récit* (*Delivrés des horreurs de Mars*, f. 31v), and a fair number of the airs in the collection are stylistically similar to this, with free, quasi-declamatory rhythms. There is also a group of six consecutive airs from ff. 19v to 24v inclusive all on the theme of the charms of and unrequited passion for Cloris. The air *Mes yeux il est temps de pleurer* (f. 23v) serves as an example on both counts (see Example 3.21).

The Boesset series, 1620-1643

Following the two anthologies of 1617 and 1618, Boesset took over the numbered series of lute-books. On the face of it, he was fulfilling the function previously performed by Bataille. In reality, under Boesset, the series rapidly ceased to be one of anthologies and soon became a vehicle for the airs of a small group of composers, and principally for Boesset himself (see Table 3.10).

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79 See, for instance, *Lorsque tes beaux yeux* transcribed in **Verchaly 1961** no. 54.

Table 3.10: Composers of airs in the Boesset series (Books, 9-10 and 12-16). Types of air are given in brackets after the total number of airs. Key: b=air de ballet; c=concert; d=dialogue; f=foreign language air; r=récit.

Composer	**1620 (35 airs)**	**1621 (23 airs)**	**1624 (22 airs)**	**1626 (29 airs)**	**1628 (22 airs)**	**1632 (27 airs)**	**1643 (24 airs)**	**Total**
Auget				1 (1br)	2 (1b, 1br)			3
Bataille	3 (1b, 1r)							3
Boesset, A	13 (3b, 1r, 1br)	23 (1b, 17br, 1bd)	22 (8b, 1r, 7br, 1f)	27 (1d, 1f, 1r, 14br)	15[80] (2b, 2bc, 1bd, 2f, 1d)	23 (3d, 1f)	24 (6br)	147
Boesset, J-B						4		4
Guédron	19 (4br, 4r)							19
Richard				1 (1b)	5 (1b)			6

As we can see, three of these collections (1621, 1624, and 1643) are in fact devoted to Boesset's airs alone, and two others (1626 and 1632) make only nodding gestures towards the works of other composers. The inclusion of a single air each by Auget and Richard in **Boesset 1626** is undoubtedly because they happened to contribute to ballets for which Boesset supplied most of the airs, while in the 1632 collection Boesset takes the opportunity to include four airs by his son and successor, Jean-Baptiste Boesset. Only the collections of 1620 and 1628 can really be regarded as anthologies, and even the last of these is dominated by Boesset. The 1620 book, on the other hand, is the last to include airs by Guédron and Bataille, including the only lute-song to be explicitly described as a *récit* by Bataille (*C'est aujourdhuy, grand Monarque*, f. 35v). In effect, then, after 1623 the anthology has all but disappeared in favour of dedicated editions, with the success of the *air de cour* resting in the hands of a small group of composers prominent in the musical establishments of the French court. That these composers, Boesset and Moulinié in particular, could sustain five books in the numbered series after 1624, and nine dedicated editions from 1621 onwards, is a testament to their status and popularity.

By the time of his first lute-song publication of 1620, Boesset had already achieved a significant position in the court musical hierarchy. In 1613 he became Guédron's son-in-law, and received Guédron's office of *maître des enfants de la musique de la chambre* at a bargain price by way of dowry. His close relations with Guédron are further established by his becoming godfather to another of Guédron's children, Marie, and Guédron in turn became godfather to his son-in-law's daughter, Claire, in 1614. There is also some

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[80] One of the two Italian airs shares a melody with a song also arranged by Moulinié in **Moulinié 1629**.

evidence of a close relationship with Pierre Ballard, since in September of 1617 an 'Antoine Brisset', now described as *maître de musique du roi et de la reine*, became godfather to Pierre, son of Pierre Ballard printer and Sansonne Coulon.[81] The position of *maître de la musique de la reine* was, we recall, shared with Bataille.[82] Boesset's first polyphonic collection was published in the same year, bearing a laudatory poem by Bataille among others, and a dedication to the King suggesting the great favour in which Boesset was already held,[83] and in 1620 he dedicated his second collection to the Queen. Within about three years Boesset had obtained the superior position of *surintendant de la musique de la chambre du roi et de la reine*.[84] By 1643, the year of his death, Boesset had arranged for his son, Jean-Baptiste, to inherit the position of *surintendant*, having already secured for him the position of *maître de la musique*.[85]

Among his other polyphonic collections, it is worth noting that the third is dedicated to the Duc (Albert) de Luynes, noted for his performances in the *ballet de cour*, and who for five years had effectively run the government of France, and died at the end of this year (1621) during the siege of Montauban. This collection also contains a sonnet 'sur les airs de M. Boesset' by 'A.V.' which refers to 'Boesset, whose lute and voice are too well known'.[86] The fourth collection is dedicated to the King, the fifth and sixth to M. de Baradat and Anthoine Ruzé (both senior figures in the French court), the seventh to the King, the eighth to Cardinal Richelieu, and the ninth to the King. The dedication of this last book of 1642 is more informative than usual, and suggests a matching of mood between the King and composer in their declining years, with Boesset suggesting that with age he has lost the 'gaiety necessary for the embellishment of airs', and prefers to turn to 'more serious compositions, such as prayers', a direction also taken by Guédron at the end of his life.[87] The same volume contains a preface to the reader by Robert Ballard, who succeeded his father, Pierre, as controller of the firm on the latter's death in 1639. This mentions among other things that

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[81] See **Brossard 1965**

[82] See **Jurgens II** p. 129

[83] The dedication begins: *Sire, Ayant resilu de donner au public ces Airs de ma composition, je leur ferois tort de les offrir a d'autre qu'a vostre Majesté, puis qu'ils ont esté faits pour elle, & ont quelque-fois le bon-heur de luy servir d'entretien aux heures de son repos.*

[84] This is apparently contradicted in a document of 1629, in which Boesset was witness to the marriage of his colleague, Paul Auget, where he is described as *surintendant de la musique de la chambre du roi et maître de la musique de la reine*. It is not, however, clear that the Queen's musical establishment distinguished the positions of *maître* and *surintendant*. See **Jurgens II** p. 103 and 129.

[85] A declaration made by Boesset in 1643 is dated 14 October, while his *inventaire après décès* (which contains no information about music or musical instruments) is dated 12 January 1644, fixing the date of his death as late in 1643.

[86] *Boesset, de qui le Luth & la voix trop cognuë, / Sçait charmer les mortels, & elle revenuë, / Luy laissa pour salaire ses grace & son amour.*

[87] The latter part of the dedication is as follows: *Mais, SIRE mon aage qui s'advance me fait perdre eu à peu les chaleurs de la jeunesse, & diminuë la gayeté qui est necessaire à l'embellissement des Airs, en telle sort que je ne puis les produire en si grand nombre que je faisois lors que j'estois en la force & en la vigueur de mes premieres années. Je ne m'excuse pas pourtant, SIRE, de poursuivre le reste de ma vie à divertire vostre Majesté: mais au contraire, je proteste que jusques au dernier soupir j'employeray la cognoissance qu'il a pleu à Dieu me donner, à chanter ses louanges, & que mourant on entendra encor sortir de ma bouche le Nom glorieux de vostre Majesté. Mais je la supplie tres-humblement d'avoir agreable, que comme feu Monsieur Guedron me substitua en son aage plus avancé: ainsi je donne à vostre Majestâ un autre moy-mesme, que j'ay instruit & façonné avec tout le soin & la diligence possible: vous aurez toujours un rejetton du mesme arbre, & j'espere que le contentement qu'il vous donnera pour les Airs, ne cederont point à ceux que vous m'avez fait l'honneur de me tesmoigner reçevoir des miens. Cependant, SIRE, j'employeray ce qui me reste de vie en des compositions plus serieuses, pour servir aux devotions de vostre Majesté, pour chanter ses victoires, & pour faire des prieres au roy des Roys Qu'il luy plaise conserver à vos sujets une vie si chere & si necessaire que la votre.*

Boesset's ten year publishing silence has been Boesset's own choice, not that of Ballard, that he has had to force these songs from Boesset, and that the collection is a mixture of old and new airs.

The changing nature and status of the lute-song collections after 1623 is indicated by the inclusion of a dedication and laudatory poem in the twelfth book of 1624, the first such inclusion since 1608, dedicated wholly to the airs of Boesset. The dedication is to the Queen (see Facsimile 3.9), the *Stances* are by Imbert, comparing Boesset favourably with Apollo. The first air in this collection is also dedicated to the queen (*Quelle est cette merveille*). The next book is dedicated to 'Monseigneur le duc de Bellegarde, pair, et grand escyer de France, Gouverneur et Lieutenant general pour le roy, es païs de Bourgongne, & Bresse,' where Boesset mentions his honour at succeeding Pierre Guédron. The laudatory poem, by Gombauld, is typical of this type of verse:

> BOESSET, the gentle violence
> Which your lute, and your voice, do me,
> If I sometimes wish to speak,
> Stop me, and impose silence.
> Your Airs have a powerful charm
> Which render me even in thinking
> Silent like a vain idol:
> And I must admit
> That if you deprive me of words,
> BOESSET I cannot praise you.[88]

Book XV of 1632 also carries a dedication, 'A Monseigneur, le Marquis de Mortemart, conseiller du roy en ses conseils, Premier Gentilhomme de sa Chambre.' In this dedication Boesset states that it is because he has always dedicated his works to those in the court who appreciate them most, that '... I dare present to you these Airs with the chords with which the Lute and the hand are accustomed to accompany them. There is no-one, Monseigneur, who loves them and knows them more perfectly than you ...'. The following verse compares Boesset favourably with Orpheus. Finally, the last of the lute-song collections, **Boesset 1643**, carries a dedication to 'Monseigneur Seguier, Chancelier de France', and includes several laudatory poems by Bordier, amongst others.

Boesset is unique amongst the composers of *airs de cour* in having had an air printed in every edition in the numbered series except, so far as we know, **Bataille 1611**, and his influence on the genre can be measured through the steady rise in his contribution to the publications, from a single air in 1608, to the complete collections of 1621, 1624, and 1643 - a total of over one hundred and eighty lute-airs. Over seventy of these are drawn from the *ballet de cour*, about forty-five of them *récits* and two *dialogues*, with six more *dialogues* and four more *récits* apparently unrelated to the ballet. There are also three Italian airs and one Spanish, but no psalms or other types of sacred song, and no *airs à boire* such as we find in Moulinié.

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[88] *BOESSET, la douce violence / Que me fait ton Luth, & ta voix, / Si j'en veux parler quelque-fois, / M'arreste, & m'impose silence. / Tes Airs ont un charme puissant / Qui me rend mesme en y pensant / Muët comme une vaine idole: / Et je suis cotraint d'advouër / Que si tu m'ostes la parole, / BOESSET je ne te puis louër.*

A comparison between Boesset's first published air, *Ne dois-je donc plus esperer* (**Bataille 1608** f. 38v) and one drawn from his last book of 1643 - such as *Ennuits, desespoirs, et douleurs* (**Boesset 1643** f. 13v) -gives some idea of the development of Boesset's style, and that of the *air de cour* more generally, over thirty-five years (see Examples 3.22 and 3.23). The less conjunct movement and rhythmically more disparate qualities of the latter show a greater emphasis on responsiveness to the text. It would be unwise to take the comparison too far, however, for *Ennuis* is hardly more expressive than early *récits* by Guédron, and is not all that typical of Boesset, at least before the 1630s. The air that Mersenne singles out as 'an example to those who would learn how to make good songs',[89] *Divine Amarillis* (**Boesset 1632** f. 17v), is more representative of Boesset's art, with its smooth, restrained elegance based on a triple metre disrupted by syncopation and word accent (producing a hemiola at the opening), and missing beat at the cadence (see Example 4.5). Somewhere between *Divine Amarillis* and *Ennuits* are songs such as *Qui vid jamais* (**Boesset 1620** f. 23v), smoothly expressive, and with a short instrumental introduction which, while never common, appears increasingly often among the lute-songs.

This air can be counted in triple time virtually throughout (though it is unlikely to be perceived thus), and many of Boesset's airs are fully metrical. Very few can be considered as being *en musique légère*, however, both due to the nature of their texts, and the flexible rhythms that undermine underlying metre. Lighter airs reminiscent of the *voix de ville* are extremely rare in Boesset. *Un berger soupiroit* (**Bataille 1614** f. 9v - see Example 3.24) is as far as he goes in this direction, and even here he obscures the simplicity of the underlying melody with elegantly ornamented repeats. Airs betraying their origins in dance forms, such as we see among the works of Vincent, are nonexistent. In his consistent occupation of the middle ground of the elegant, refined air that is rarely overtly dramatic, never light and popular, Boesset set the standard for the courtly air for much of the century.

We might finally mention the four airs by Boesset's son, Jean-Baptiste, which find their way into the 1632 collection.[90] These are very much in the style of his father, though in a song such as *Faut-il qu'une beauté mortelle* one sees the sort of expressive formula on 'Non non c'est vivre ...' that become a staple of the late *air de cour* (see Example 3.25). Jean-Baptiste retained the position of *surintendant* inherited from his father well into the 1660s, and probably until his death in 1685, sharing it with Auget and later Lully. Like Moulinié, he forges a link between the lute-air and continuo air that superseded it.[91]

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[89] ... *il* [Divine Amarillis] *pourra servir d'exemple à ceux qui s'estudient à faire de bons chants, & à faire des parties qui chntent bien contre le Dessus, car son autheur est sans contredit le plus habile de toute la France en cette matiere ...*, Mersenne, *Harmonie Universelle*, 1636, Livre Premier des Instrumens, p. 91.

[90] *Iris que vous estes cruelle*, f. 8v; *A la fin ma peine est finie* (f. 9v); *Que Philis à l'esprit leger* (f. 10v); *Faut-il qu'une beauté mortelle* (f. 11v)

[91] The only instrument he is known to have owned is a 'thuorbe avec son estuis de bois noircy'. See **Massip 1976** p. 109.

The collections of Boyer, de Rigaud, Richard, and Moulinié

Dedicated editions of lute-airs begin to appear in 1621, with the collection of Jean Boyer, and increasingly dominate production of the *air de cour* throughout the 1620s and 30s. The content of the books remains broadly similar to what went before, although it is noticeable that airs from the *ballet de cour* are less common in these editions than in those of Boesset, and the *air à boire* now makes its presence felt in the collections of Moulinié, who also contributes airs with guitar accompaniment (see Table 3.11).

Table 3.11: Types of air in the dedicated collections, 1621-1637

Type	Boyer 1621 (27 airs)	De Rigaud 1623 (14 airs)	Moulinié 1624 (27 airs)	Moulinié 1625 (14 airs)[92]	Moulinié 1629 (40 airs)[93]	Moulinié 1633 (24 airs)	Moulinié 1635 (23 airs)	Richard 1637 (24 airs)	Total
Air de ballet							2		2
Récit			8		8			3	19
Dialogue	2	1			4	1		1	9
Récit de ballet	3	1					1	1[94]	6
Ballet dialogue				3			1		4
Ballet concert				1					1
Air à boire			1		8	4	2		15
Air à boire de ballet							1		1
Guitar					2				2
Foreign-language/ dialect					1				1
Foreign/ dialect with guitar					11				11
Psalm	1		1						2
Prière	2		2						4

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92 The dialogue contained in this book has separate settings for the second and third couplets, counted here as distinct airs.
93 One of the dialogues contains second and third couplets, not counted, and the guitar air contains a second voice part which could also be counted as a separate air, bringing the total to forty-three. Note too that this collection appears in two states. One more air is found in **Moulinié 1629b** than in **Moulinié 1629** (*Voici tantost la froidure* f. 42v) which is included in this total.
94 The same air appears in **Boesset 1626.**

We know little of J[e]an Boyer at the time of his producing his polyphonic (1619) and lute-song (1621) collections of airs. In both books he is given no court title, but simply described as 'Jan Boyer, Parisien'. However, the polyphonic book bears a dedication to 'Prince Henry de Savoye, duc de Genevais, de Nemours, d'Aumalle et de Chartres', and the lute-song book to his wife, Anne de Lorraine, so it is highly likely that he was in their service at this time. A laudatory poem, signed 'D.I.' in the lute-song book describes the airs as the 'premiers nays de ta Muse', suggesting that they are early works. Boyer did eventually find his way into the court musical establishment, however, becoming *secrétaire ordinaire de la chambe du roi* in 1629, and he is described as *joueur de viole de la chambre de roi*, and as *Joueur de viole ordinaire de la Musique du Roy et de la Reyne*, alongside Gabriel Caignet, in 1636.[95] He went on to produce two collections of *Chansons à danser et à boire*. His *inventaire après décès* of 1648 mentions several lutes and theorbos, guitar, viols, and books of music, including air tablature books.[96] If the latter are not his own, then this is a rare case of a professional musician seen making use of these publications.

Boyer's polyphonic collection contains an interesting preface 'au lecteur', where he notes that the book contains five or six 'Courantes de differents Autheurs', whose identity is unknown to him. The reason for this he explains as follows:

> My design has only been to please those of my friends who have given me words which could be accommodated to them quite well, and to give them parts so that they can be sung and played together. I did not manage to avoid some rather bizarre inner parts, despite my intentions, because I was working on the inventions of others. One will similarly find two or three old Airs, the words of which, as I have since learned, have been set to music before. I have been left to give them a new air and different music and included them so as not to deprive you of them, and have wished to acknowledge this so as to beg you to believe that I do not wish to take the credit due to others.[97]

The reference here to matching poems with dance-based *timbres* is of interest, as is the emphasis on setting new texts - an emphasis born out in the core repertoire, where repetition of a text is extremely rare. It also indicates the amateur origins of many poems written with musical setting in mind, and the extent to which the composer was relaxed about careful matching of words and music. The lute-song collection contains no such preface, but the same poem that refers to the songs being Boyer's first offerings goes on to suggest that these are lute-song arrangements of airs previously composed, when it states that 'Now as [their] father you marry / the gentle charms of their beloved songs / with your amorous lute'.[98]

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[95] See **Jurgens I** p. 288
[96] See **Jurgens I** p. 287
[97] *AU LECTEUR, Lecteur si tu rencontre en ce livrét cinq ou six Courantes de differents Autheurs sans y exprimer leurs noms lesquels ne sont venus a ma cognoissance, ne crois que pour les frustrer de l'honneur qu'ils meritent je m'en veuille attribuer l'invention. Mon dessein n'a esté que pour gratifier quelques uns de mes amis, qui m'ayant donné des parolles qui si pouvoyent assés proprement accommoder, de les revestir des parties, afin qu'elles se peussent chanter et jouer ensemblement: je n'ay sçeu si bien faire, qu'il ne soit resté aux parties du milieu contre mon gré quelque chose de bizarre a cause que je travaillois sur l'invention d'autruy. On y trouvera pareillement deux ou trois vieux Airs les paroles desquels a ce que j'ay depuis apris ont esté cy devant mises en chant. Je n'ay laissé d'y donner & nouvel air, & differente musique afin de ne t'en priver je les ay mis cy dedans, & t'en ay bien voulu advertir pour te prier de croire que je ne me veux parer les plumes d'autruy.* **BoyerP 1619** f. 6
[98] 'Mais maintenant que pere tu maries / Le charme-doux de leurs chansons cheries / A ton Luth amoureux ...'

Despite the fact that he was clearly an experienced lutenist, one at least of Boyer's two airs that appear in **Ballard 1617** was, according to the table of contents, intabulated by Bataille (*Pourquoy vous Nimfes*, f. 59v - see Example 3.26). The other is from the *Ballet des Forgerons*, showing that Boyer was involved in these courtly entertainments before joining the court music. These two airs have similar openings, and give an idea of Boyer at his simplest. But there is some variety in Boyer's airs, despite their limited number. Several are fully metrical and probably dance based. The most interesting of these is *Sus sus reveillés vous* in **Ballard 1618** f. 36v, where Boyer repeats the refrain not with a decorated melody, but varied accompaniment: in fact a true *style brisé* treatment of the original harmony (see Example 3.27). He exploits the same device in another air in the collection (*Absent de vos beaux yeux*, f. 34v), but unfortunately one finds little sign of it in his dedicated edition. Few of Boyer's airs can be considered highly expressive (least of all his ballet *récits*); the most interesting from this point of view is *Sombres forests, noires vallées* (**Boyer 1621** f. 6v), where the *complainte*-type text inspires quite an effective setting. The flexible rhythm, responsive to the text, is typical of the *airs sérieux* in the collection.

Louis de Rigaud, described in his collection as 'Sieur de Fonlidon', was *maître de musique* and *domestique* in the service of Madame la Mareschalle de Themines at least between his collection of 1623, which is dedicated to her, and his death in 1640. The facts that his name does not appear in any of the other sources, and that he contributes no airs to the *ballet de cour* except that of the *Maréchale* herself, suggest that he was never closely involved in court musical circles, and it is quite likely that his tiny collection of airs was sponsored by his patronness. This may also account for the absence of a polyphonic collection by him. His dedication to the *Maréchale* is fawning even by the standards of the day, two airs are directly addressed to her, and a third is a *Récit de Mercure au Ballet de Madame la Mareschalle de Themines* of 1623.

The collection is unusual in identifying the authors, both aristocrats, of two of the poems set, 'Madame la Contesse de Vertu' (possibly Themines herself) and 'Madamoiselle de Rohan'. Tallement mentions the latter as writing verses throughout her life which 'to tell the truth were not the best in the world'.[99] The book is an effective collection of *airs sérieux*, of which *Ton amour, où ma mort Silvie* (f. 8v) provides a good example (see Example 3.28). More interesting though is *Je fus esbloüi de clairté* (f. 11v) which describes itself as a 'Courante pour Madame la Mareschalle de Themines' and incorporates the characteristic upbeat and syncopation in triple time of the courante which finds its way unacknowledged into a fair number of *airs de cour* (see Example 3.29).

The five collections of Etienne Moulinié, containing well over a hundred airs, make a contribution to the genre of the lute-air and *air de cour* matched only by those of Guédron and Boesset. His first publication of 1624 must have been produced more or less immediately on his arrival in Paris. The title page does not indicate that Moulinié held a court position, but in the dedication to the Duc de Montmorency, 'Gouverneur et Lieutenant general pour le Roy, en Languedoc', Moulinié states that he has released these 'first works'

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99 *Historiettes*, Mongrédien ed., Vol. III, p. 260. See **Verchaly 1961** p. lix.

through 'the birth which makes me your vassal, and the inclination that I have for your service'.[100] His rapid success at court, no doubt assisted by his brother Antoine, who was a *chantre de la chambre du roi* between 1619 and 1655, is also indicated by his early contribution to the *ballet de cour* (the *Ballet du Monde renversé* danced in 1624) and the dedication of his second book of lute-airs (1625) to the King. In 1628 he entered the employment of the King's brother, Gaston duc d'Orleans, as *maître* (his title in **Moulinié 1629**) and then *chef* (by **Moulinié 1633**) *de la Musique*, a position he held until Gaston's death in 1660, when he relinquished it to become *maître de la musique des Estats du Languedoc*.[101] In 1632, Moulinié's former patron, Montmorency, and Gaston d'Orleans collaborated in an armed revolt against Richelieu which culminated in Montmorency's execution and Gaston's exile. It may be that their previous close association facilitated Moulinié's move into Gaston's employment. The number of *airs à boire* in his collections almost certainly reflect the social life at Gaston's court. Moulinié was also, briefly, *maître de musique de Mademoiselle* (i.e. Louise de Montpensier) between 1644 and 1649.[102] In addition to his collections of polyphonic and lute-airs listed above (one of which includes three viol *fantasies*), he produced later collections of *airs de cour* (1650) and *Meslanges de sujets chrétiennes* (1668) with basso continuo, and a Requiem mass (1636).

All of Moulinié's publications carry dedications. In addition to those mentioned, this third lute-song collection of 1629 is dedicated to 'Uranie', also the adored object of the many of the airs contained in the book. The owner of this pseudonym is not identified, though Launay notes that in this year Gaston d'Orléans was involved with Marie de Gonzague, and Voiture (the author of a later sonnet also addressed to Uranie) with Mme de Sainctot.[103] One might, however, very tentatively suggest another candidate, Angélique Paulet, who created something of a stir when she made her debut, aged eighteen, many years before, and was renowned for singing and playing the lute. One of Moulinié's 'Uranie' airs from the 1629 collection, the dialogue *Respects qui me donnez la loy* (f. 7v), refers to 'la divine voix' of Uranie, while the opening of another, *Je suis ravi de mon Uranie* (f. 1v), appears to be parodied by François Richard in his 1637 collection as *Angelique dont les merveilles* (f. 8v), an air quite possibly directed at Paulet in what may be an oblique reference to the identity of Moulinié's 'Uranie' (see Example 3.30).[104]

Moulinié's fourth collection of lute-airs (1633) is dedicated to his brother, Antoine, where Etienne acknowledges the 'favours and advantages I have received from you', while his last (1635) is dedicated to 'Madamoiselle' and includes several airs from the *Ballet de Mademoiselle* - in fact the *Ballet des quatres monarchies Chretiennes dansé au Louvre devant le Roy, la Royne, Monsieur et toute la Cour par Mademoiselle* in 1636. Moulinié's polyphonic collections include dedications to the King (1625), the Duc

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100 *MONSEIGNEUR, La naissance qui me fait estre vostre Vassal, & l'inclination que j'ay à vostre service: sont deux puissances si fortes, qu'elles ont bien eu assés de temerité pour m'arracher ces premieres Oeuvres d'entre les mains, & les offrir a vostre grandeur ...* **Moulinié 1624** f. [2].

101 There are also archival references to Moulinié as *intendant de la musique de Monsieur*, almost certainly the same position as 'chef'. See **Jurgens II** p. 323 and 683

102 See **Launay 1955**

103 See **Launay 1955** p. 70

104 Dedications to Paulet were not unusual. She was the object of a number of 'Angéliques' (in fact courantes) in Robert Ballard's first collection of solo lute music of 1611.

D'Orleans (1635), Cardinal Richelieu (1637), and a Monsieur de Toulouse (1639), strong testimony to his status at court.

It is possible to trace, to a limited extent at least, a greater sense of development in Moulinié's song collections than in those of other composers. His first collection, partly conceived, one suspects, away from the direct influence of the French court, makes a loose distinction between rhythmically free, relatively expressive *récits*, such as *En approchant le bord* (f. 8v), and simpler, consistently metrical airs in triple or, equally often, duple time, such as *Quittez quittez cette fiere rigueur* (f. 9v) (see Examples 3.31 and 3.32). This distinction breaks down in the second and third books in favour of fairly free or quasi-metrical airs such as *Mere des nouvelles amours* (**Moulinié 1625** f. 10v), though fully metrical airs, such as *Je suis ravi* (Example 3.30) continue to appear throughout Moulinié's collections. By the last two books of 1633 and 1635, the quasi-metrical air, where the underlying pulse is undermined principally by extra or missing beats at cadences, is the norm, and with it certain rhythmic formulae, such as the ♩ 𝅗𝅥 ♩ | ♩.𝅘𝅥𝅯♩ that we find opening a group of airs in the middle of the 1633 book (see Example 3.33).

Moulinié seems to have been alive to the idea of providing characteristic settings, or using formulae, for certain types of air. Thus the few sacred airs at the end of his first collection have a noticeably contrapuntal accompaniment against relatively free, air-style melodies. His *airs à boire* are all characterised by quick note values and a lively implicit tempo, though they often avoid clear-cut metres (see Example 3.34 - *Quelque merveilleuse chose*), and his dialogues are either fairly simple, metrical affairs, or else an opportunity to vary successive verses of an expressive melody with the virtuosic ornaments similar to those provided as examples of the art in Mersenne's *Harmonie Universelle* (see Facsimile 3.10). Moulinié is alone in including several airs with guitar accompaniment in his 1629 collection, mostly in Italian or Spanish, exploiting the strumming technique of the instrument.

Two of Moulinié's airs merit a particular mention. One is the delightful *Enfin la beauté que j'adore* in the 1624 collection (transcribed in **Verchaly 1961** no. 67), which has a solo lute introduction so substantial that it functions effectively as a ritornello. The other is *Cessez amants de servir Angelique* from **Moulinié 1635** (transcribed in **Verchaly 1961** no. 79), one of only two airs in the core repertoire that explicitly requires in irregular tuning of the diapason courses on the lute (the other is by Richard).

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The last composer other than Boesset to figure significantly in the lute-song prints is François Richard, who produced the last collection before Boesset's belated offering of 1643.[105] He and Vincent are the only two composers of *airs de cour* known primarily as lutenists. From 1610 he was employed to teach the lute to the children of the choir of the royal chapel alongside the lutenist René Saman,[106] and in 1613 was described as *musicien du roi* and in 1614 as *ordinaire de la musique de la chambre et de la chapelle du*

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[105] **Dufourcq 1954** provides a detailed account of the Richard family of musicians. See also **Lesure 1958** and **Massip 1976**.
[106] **Lesure 1958** states that this position ceased in 1615, but **Massip 1976** p. 26-7 notes that he held the post on a single *trimestre* basis till 1650.

roi. In 1616 Charles de Beaumanoir, bishop of Mans, settled a debt outstanding from 1609, with Richard described as *maître pour le luth*, and in 1620 we find him described as *valet de chambre du roi*.[107] In 1632 he became *maître et compositeur de la musique du roi*, the title he is given in his 1637 publication of lute-airs, and around 1634 entered the service of the Queen, Anne of Austria, as a lutenist as well, a position he is described as sharing with Pierre Bataille in 1641.[108] Richard died in 1650 leaving a son, also called François, and also a lutenist at the royal court. Disentangling references to the two Richard's can be quite difficult,[109] but it seems clear that all the lute-airs are by François I. It appears that in 1627 François I bought the position of *joueur de luth du roi* for his son,[110] and made him his successor to his position as *compositeur* some time around 1638. However, François II died in 1646. François I also had a musician brother, Louis Richard, attached to the English court, possibly having travelled in the company of Queen Henrietta Maria on her marriage to Charles I.[111]

Richard's polyphonic collection of 1637 is dedicated to the King, and Richard notes here that 'I know even so that after the sound of trumpets and drums, that of lutes and voices does not displease you'.[112] His lute book of the same year, and with similar contents, is dedicated to Anne of Austria. There are several parallels between the airs in Richard's book and those in the later collections of Moulinié. The triple time ♩ ♩ ♩ | ♩. 𝅘𝅥𝅯♩ rhythm exploited by Moulinié and suggestive of the sarabande, appears several times (e.g. in *Grand Roy, dont la valeur* f. 2v); like Moulinié he includes a single air with an irregular diapason tuning (*Amarillis je vay mourir* f. 11v, transcribed in **Verchaly 1961** no. 83), and we have already commented on what appears to be a parody of Moulinié's *Je suis ravi*. Also like Moulinié, he includes a substantial number of airs for a nominal F tuning (see Table 4.5) and again like Moulinié it is common for his airs to begin in a consistent triple metre, to be disrupted at the cadence. However, with Richard the breakdown of the metre tends to be more substantial than with Moulinié (see Example 3.35 - *Beaux yeux qui dessous vostre empire* f. 6v). At the end of Richard's collection is a group of *récits* which are musically more or less indistinguishable from the other airs in the book, only one of which can be securely related to a *ballet de cour*.[113] Two airs in the 1637 book demonstrate Richard's speciality as an instrumentalist by attaching two solo pieces marked *Sarabande* to them.[114] There are some hints of the development of the *air de cour* in the difference between Richard's airs in this collection and those found in **Boesset 1626** and **1628**, with the airs in the latter (*Je veux mourir*, **Boesset 1628** f. 17v, for instance) being plainer and more clearly metrical.

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[107] See **Jurgens I** p. 271
[108] See **Gérold 1921**
[109] The entry on Richard in the 1980 edition of **New Grove** ascribes the position of *compositeur* to François II in 1628, probably erroneously.
[110] See **Jurgens I** p. 273
[111] See **Massip 1976** p. 99-100. **Spink 1964** asserts that both François Richards also travelled with Henrietta-Maria, but soon returned to France.
[112] *SIRE, Quoy que vous ayez toujours vescu dans la guerre comme dans vostre eslement, & que de ces incommoditez vous ayez fait vos delices; je soay toutefoir, qu'apres le son des Trompettes & des Tambours, celuy des Luths, & des voix ne vous desplait pas.* **RichardP 1637** f. 2
[113] See below p. 192
[114] These two airs, *Ha! que de tes conseils* (f. 19v) and *Dans ce beau sejour des plaisirs* (f. 23v) are transcribed in **Verchaly 1961** nos. 84 and 87.

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Before leaving this overview of the individual sources in the core repertoire, with a tentative attempt to identify differences of approach taken by composers, we should consider the significance of the changing pattern of production of the *air de cour* over the three decades between the 1608 collection and the last of 1643. The year 1621, when Boesset takes over the numbered series and the first dedicated edition, that of Boyer, appears, marks something of a watershed. In the period between 1608 and 1620, over five hundred and fifty lute-songs were printed in Paris in nine publications. Of these nearly two hundred are anonymous, and the rest can be identified as the work of twenty-five composers, including older composers such as Castro and Cerveau. From 1621 to 1643, on the other hand, about three hundred and seventy airs appear in fifteen publications, not including the fifty or so psalm settings in **Caignet 1625**. Of these only twenty-two are anonymous (all contained in **Ballard 1623**), and the rest are the work of only six 'contemporary' composers, one of whom, Paul Auget, is represented by only three airs.

There is little evidence here of a decline in popularity of the *air de cour* and the lute-air during the 1620s and early 1630s. While fewer airs were published in this period, there was evidently a market for more, smaller, but not necessarily less expensive, collections than in the past. It is clear that there was a sharp decline in demand for the lute-air in the later 1630s, however. Not only was only one book printed after Richard's collection of 1637, but Robert Ballard made it clear in a letter to Constantin Huyghens that tablature books would no longer sell, and asked him to supply his collection of sacred airs not in tablature, as Huyghens had originally intended (albeit for theorbo), but with continuo accompaniment, equally suitable for keyboard. This Huyghens did, and his *Pathodia Sacra* of 1647 is the earliest surviving French print to use basso continuo explicitly throughout.[115] This is, however, more a reflection of the changing position of the lute-air, which stands as a direct alternative to the continuo-air, rather than that of the *air de cour* in general.

The decades of the 1620s and 30s see a change not in the popularity of the *air de cour*, but in its status. If the surviving sources are a reliable guide to practice, then the air of the 1620s and later became a social and amateur art only in the realm of performance, and no longer in that of composition as it appears it once was. If amateurs such as M. le comte d'Oraison were still composing airs (by which we may understand melodies, possibly with a simple, improvised accompaniment, or just a bass-line, just as likely without), then it was no longer with much expectation of their widespread dissemination. One suspects that a fashion

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[115] In a letter to Huyghens dated 25 November 1646, Thomas Gobert, *maître de la chapelle du Roi-très-Chrestien*, acting on behalf of Ballard writes that: *Je croy que Mr. Tasin vous aura mande comme Mr. Mallard se promet de vous envoyer bientost quelque espreuve de l'impression de vos airs, Il souhaitteroit que toutes les basses fussent continues et qu'aucune ne fust en tablature, Vous ne envoyeres sil vous plaist les basses si vous le desires, pour moy je souhaitterois que, vous prissies la peine de reveoir celles qui vont au dessus du sujet, comme jay pris la liberté de vous mander autrefois, ce que nous faisant l'honneur de nous mander nous suiveront de point en point vostre dessein, esperant mettre quelque chiffre, pourtant en petit nombre, sur les basses, comme vous me l'aves autrefois mandé.* **Jonckbloet.. 1882** p. ccxviii. In a later, undated letter, probably written early in 1647, Gobert returns to this point and says: *Aussy Mr. Ballard vous prie Monsieur de vouloir faire mettre partout des Basses continues, et non point de la tablature, cela satisfaira davantage ceus qui les achepteront, tout ce que le Sr. Ballard a imprimé cy devant de tablature luy estant demeuré sur les bras, et aussy que ceux qui les auront seront styles a ladite basse continue ou sy stilleront our en avoir contentement, joint quils pouront aussy levoir pour le clavesin*. Op. cit. p. ccxix. The only tablature print by Robert Ballard was **Boesset 1643**, and this must be the book that would not sell.

for composing tunes, analagous to the more durable fashion for composing verse, had come and gone, leaving the art in the hands of professionals.

The distribution of airs sacrés, airs de ballet, récits, dialogues, foreign-language airs and other types in the Parisian publications

Most of the songs in the sources described above are straightforward secular *airs de cour* for a single voice with lute accompaniment. But we have already seen that they contain a number of sacred airs, mostly psalms, as well as sub-genres of the *air de cour*, including airs drawn from the *ballet de cour*, *récits*, *dialogues*, airs in Spanish, Italian, or a French dialect, *complaintes*, airs with guitar accompaniment, and so on. The stylistic significance, if any, of these different types will be considered in the next chapter. Here we shall briefly outline the distribution of these forms in the core repertoire of seventeenth-century lute-songs.

Sacred airs

We have already seen that there are sacred airs in the Tessier manuscript (*Quand loin de palestin*, Psalm 135, text by du Perron) and **Besard 1603** (Savorny's *Delivre moy seigneur*, Desportes's paraphrase on *Libera me*). In the Parisian sources described above there are a further twenty-seven sacred airs, mostly settings of psalm translations by Desportes, listed below in Table 3.12.

*Table 3.12: Sacred airs in the core repertoire of lute-songs. Column three reproduces the description given in the source (Ps. = psalm). The four pieces in **Bataille 1608** and **1609** are psalm settings. Psalm translations are by Desportes.*

Incipit	Composer	Type	Publication
Seigneur d'une oreille preste	Bataille		Bataille 1608 52v
Seigneur, helas! ne reprend	Savorny		Bataille 1608 53v
O Pasteur d'Israel	Bataille		Bataille 1608 74v
Du profond des maux	Bataille		Bataille 1609 70v
Tous ceux qui du Seigneur	Bataille	Ps. 127	Bataille 1611 71v
Je ne me suis point méconnu	Bataille	Ps. 130	Bataille 1611 72v
Pour chanter il me faut eslire	Bataille	Ps. 100	Bataille 1613 67v
Si le Tout-puissant n'establit	Bataille	Ps. 126	Bataille 1613 68v
Preserve moy Seigneur	Bataille	Ps. 11	Bataille 1613 69v
Seigneur ne reprend	Bataille	Ps. VI	Bataille 1613 70v
Vous qui le parvis du Seigneur	Bataille	Ps. 133	Bataille 1615 60v
Seigneur, c'est à toy	Coffin	Ps. XXVII	Ballard 1617 63v
Heureux qui d'un soin pitoyable	Coffin	Ps. XL	Ballard 1617 64v
Je m'ecriois et tu m'as exaucé	Signac	Ps. IIII	Ballard 1618 56v
Venes, et nous ejoüissons	Signac	Ps. XCIIII	Ballard 1618 57v
O Dieu, rejette ma plaisir	Signac	Ps. LIIII	Ballard 1618 58v
Mon coeur est prest, Seigneur	Signac	Ps. CVII	Ballard 1618 59v

Incipit	Composer	Type	Publication
Helas mon Dieu	Coffin	Ps. XXII	Ballard 1618 60v
Ils sont entrés, Seigneur	Coffin	Ps. LXXVIII	Ballard 1618 61v
Parlant a mon Seigneur	Coffin	Ps. CIX	Ballard 1618 63v
Seigneur, Seigneur, entendés	Vincent	Ps. CXLII	Ballard 1618 63v
Entre un espoir douteux	Boyer	Ps. XLII	Boyer 1621 26v
Dans le lit de la mort	Boyer	Prière	Boyer 1621 27v
Du ciel les portes	Boyer	Prière	Boyer 1621 28v
Dans le lit de la mort	Moulinié	Prière	Moulinié 1624 27v
Du ciel les portes	Moulinié	Prière	Moulinié 1624 28v
Entre un espoir douteux	Moulinié	Ps. XLII	Moulinié 1624 29v

We can see that these sacred airs almost all belong to the sources before 1621, and are thus found in anthologies rather than dedicated editions. Moulinié in 1624 sets exactly the same three texts as Boyer in 1621, two of them prayers. This was Moulinié's first collection, assembled almost immediately on his arrival in Paris, and he may well have looked to Boyer's collection as a model; this is further suggested by some melodic similarities between his version of *Dans le lit de la mort* and that of Boyer. Apart from the prayers in these book, and as in the sixteenth century, the psalm is the exclusive focus for the lute-air, mostly realised by only three composers, Bataille, Coffin, and Signac.

In addition to the the *airs sacrés* in the anthologies, in 1625, the year of his death, Denis Caignet, *ordinaire de la musique de la chambre du roi*,[116] produced a dedicated edition of fifty psalms, all translations by Desportes, and a few other sacred airs (**Caignet 1625**). He had already produced a similar polyphonic collection of fifty psalms for three to eight voices in 1607, and a solo voice collection of all one hundred and fifty psalms in 1624 (**CaignetP 1607** and **CaignetS 1624**), and in 1597 had produced a polyphonic collection of *airs de court* for four to eight voices (**CaignetP 1597**). His 1625 collection is dedicated to Cardinal Richelieu, and he compares David's singing the psalms to his harp with their arrangements here as lute-songs.[117] A laudatory sonnet to Caignet refers to his lute playing.[118] In addition to the fifty psalm settings, Caignet includes settings of other biblical texts: the 'Cantique de Symeon' (*S'il te plaist, Seigneur*), 'Priere d'Ezechie Roy de Juda' (*J'ay dit gros de douleur*), 'Paraphrase sur le Cantique des Trois Enfans' (*O vous du Seigneur*), 'Paraphrase sur le Libera Me' (*Delivre moy, Seigneur*), and three 'hymnes' (*Sixte le grand pasteur*, *Quand un oeil ravi*, and *Couronne des vierges sacrées*).

The psalm melodies in his lute-song collection are the same as those he had published in 1624, and are related in various degrees to twenty concordances with his 1607 polyphonic collection, ranging from a simple doubling of note values for *Escoutez toutes gens* in 1625, to more significant rhythmic adjustments

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[116] He was also, in 1600, descibed as *secretaire de la chambre du roi*, and in 1616 as *chantre de la musique de la chambre du roi*. See **Jurgens II** pp. 160 and 161

[117] *MONSEIGNEUR, DAVID allioit le chant de ses saincts Cantiques qux cordes de sa Harpe; j'ay osé l'imiter, apres les avoir rangez sous les notes de la Musique, j'en ay fait une alliance avec les accords du Luth, pour vous les offrir.*

[118] *Jadis pres du Jordain un Monarque a chanté / Ces Pseaumes sur sa harpe en langage hebraïque, / Or'Caignet sur son Luth d'un son plus heroïque / Marie aux vers françois leur sainte antiquité. ...*

and ornamentation in *Je m'écriois*, to a more or less complete rewriting of the melody for *En ces jours* (see Examples 3.36, 3.37 and 3.38).

We should finally mention that a large number of secular *airs de cour* were given sacred contrafacta in a number of collections, both solo voice and polyphonic, printed in Paris and elsewhere, as follows (Table 3.13):

Table 3.13: Sources containing sacred contrafacta of airs de cour

MuguetP 1615	*Amphion sacré recueilly de quelques excellens musiciens de ce temps, contenant plusieurs beaux airs ... à quatre et cinq parties* ..., Lyons: Louys Muguet, 1615
ToussainsS 1615	*Noëlz nouveaux ... par deffunct maistre Toussains le Roy* ..., Le Mans: Gervais Olivier, 1615
VerulietS 1619	*La Pieuse Alouette avec son tirelire* ..., Vol. I, Valenciennes: Jean Veruliet, 1619
VerulietS 1621	*La Pieuse Alouette* ..., Vol. II, Valenciennes: Veruliet, 1621
BallardP 1625	*Odes chrestiennes accommodées aux plus beaux airs à quatre et cinq parties de Guédron et Boesset* ..., Paris: Ballard, 1625
BallardS 1629	*La Despouille d'Aegipte, ou larcin glorieux des plus beaux airs de cour appliquez à la musique de sanctuaire* ..., Paris: Ballard, 1629
QuinqueP 1632	*La Philomele séraphique* ..., Tournay: Quinque, 1632 (2 vols.)

These collections, which replace the secular texts with sacred variants, typically concentrate on fashionable composers and, presumably, airs, many of them found in the lute-song sources. Guédron features strongly in the earlier editions by Muguet and Veruliet, while Pierre Ballard includes a few airs by Bataille, Moulinié, and Richard alongside the dominant contribution by Guédron and Boesset in his 1629 collection. Quinque's massive collection (over two hundred airs in the two volumes) is for melody and bass, and is explicitely 'sur les airs plus nouveaux choisis des principaux auteurs de ce temps'. Both the number of these books, and the fact that they were produced by provincial publishers not usually engaged in printing music, is indicative both of the continuing popularity of the sacred air, and also of the secular melodies they exploit.

Ballet airs

Airs drawn from the principal theatrical entertainment of the day, the *ballet de cour*, are quite common in the lute-song books. There are well over a hundred and fifty such airs in the Parisian sources,[119] most but by no means all acknowledged as relating to ballets, and it is likely that a number of other airs, especially those described as *récits*, had their origins in the court ballets. As we we can see from Table 3.14 below, such *airs de ballet* become increasingly prominent up to about 1613, remain fairly evenly spread over the sources up to about 1620, and after that are concentrated in a few publications dominated by Boesset. Indeed, Guédron and Boesset together furnish the overwhelming majority of airs from the *ballet de cour* finding their way into the lute-song books.

Table 3.14: Distribution of airs de ballet among the lute-song sources

Bataille 1608: 6 airs from	Ballet des Bacchantes (1608) (2v, 40v, 43v, 58v) Ballet des Paysans changés en Grenouille (1607) (33v-34v)
Bataille 1609: 5 airs from	Ballet de la Royne (1609) (5v-7v) Ballet du Maître à Danser (1609) (47v) Ballet des Cornets (*c.*1609) (48v)
Bataille 1611: 10 airs from	Ballet de M. le Dauphin (1610) (16v) Ballet d'Usurieurs (1611) (17v-18v) Ballet de la Femme sans Tête (1610) (27v) Ballet de M. de Vandosme (Ballet d'Alcine) (1610) (33v-35v) Ballet d'Andromède (*c.*1614) (61v-62v) Ballet (unidentified) (12v)
Bataille 1613: 11 airs from	Ballet de Madame (soeur du roy) (1612) (6v) Ballet du Courtisan et des Matrones (1612) (13v) Ballet de Monseigneur de Vandosme fait pour le Carrousel (1612) (53-54) Ballet (unidentified) (34v-39v)
Bataille 1614: 11 airs from	Ballet de la Sérénade (1613) (6v-8v) ?Ballet de la Royne (1609)[120] (as above) Ballet des Trois Ages (1614) (25v-27v) Ballet des Argonautes (1614) (62v) Ballet des Dix Verds (1614) (63v) Ballet (unidentified) (57v-59v)

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[119] Such figures need to be given in approximate terms, given that many *airs de ballet* are in more than one part, such as a *récit* followed by a *refrein*. As a rule the figures given here and in the tables below tend towards the liberal, regarding such sections as representing distinct airs if they could be performed as such, but as ever they should be treated with caution.

[120] McGowan ascribes the same air, *O Grands dieux que de charmes*, f. 7v, to both the *Ballet de la Royne* and the *Ballet de la Sérénade*. She also ascribes two other *airs de ballet* in this collection to the *Ballet de la Royne*.

Bataille 1615: 14 airs from	Ballet de Madame (Le Triomphe de Minerve) (1615) (1v-6v) Ballet de Monsieur le Prince (Condé) (1615) (7v-10v) Ballet des Amans Captifs (1615) (43v-44v) Ballet des Pygmées (1615) (47v) Ballet sur le départ de Madame (1615) (50v)
Ballard 1617: 13 airs from	Ballet de la Délivrance de Renaud (1617) (1v-8v) Ballet des Princes (1617) (9v-10v) Ballet de Vandangeurs (1617) (54v) Ballet des Forgerons (1617) (55v) Ballet de Madame (14v)
Ballard 1618: 6 airs from	Ballet de la Reyne (fait le Mardy gras) (1617)[121] (1v) Ballet du Roy (1618) (9v-10v) Ballet de la Folie (1618) (46v) = ?Petit ballet du Roy (54v-55v)[122]
Boesset 1620: 9 airs from	Ballet de l'Avanture de Tancrède en la Forest enchantée (1618) (13v) Ballet des Noces the Thetis et Pelee (*c.*1620)[123] (15v) Ballet de M. le Prince (1620) (19v-20v, 34v) Ballet de la Reyne (1620) (25v-26v) Autre Ballet de la Reyne (1620) (27v-28v)
Boesset 1621: 19 airs from	Ballet du Roy (Ballet d'Apollon) (1621) (1v-9v) Ballet de la Reyne (représentant le soleil) (1621) (10v-19v)
Boyer 1621: 3 airs from	Ballet de M. de Nemours (1618) (18v) Ballet(s) (unidentified) (13v, 23v)
Ballard 1623: 7 airs from	Ballet du Roy (représentant les Bacchanales) (1623) (1v-3) Ballet de la Reyne (3v) Ballet (unidentified) 4v Ballet des Tireurs de Buttes (31v)
De Rigaud 1623: 1 air from	Ballet de Madame la Mareschalle de Themines (1623) (10v)
Boesset 1624: 14 airs from	Ballet du Roy (Ballet des Volleurs) (1624) (4v-9) Ballet de la Reyne (dansé par les Nymphes des Jardins) (1624) (9v-12v) Ballet de la Reyne (représentant les Fêtes de Junon la Nopcière) (1623) (14v-15v)
Moulinié 1625: 4 airs from	Ballet du Monde Renversé (1624) (13v-16v)

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[121] Also given as *Ballet de la Reine représentant la beauté et ses Nymphes fait le dimanche gras*, 1618 (see **McGowan 1978** p. 283)
[122] These airs and that on 46v are ascribed to a 'Petit ballet du Roy' by Durosoir.
[123] Indicated in **Lesure 1956**; this ballet is not listed in **McGowan 1978** or other sources on the *ballet de cour*.

Boesset 1626: 16 airs from	Ballet du Roy (Ballet des Fées des Forests de Saint-Germain) (1625) (3v-8v) Ballet de la Douairière de Billebahaut (1626) (9v-13v) Ballet de Monsieur (des Dandins) (1626) (14v-18v)
Boesset 1628: 8 airs from	Ballet du Roy (Ballet du Sérieux et du Grotesque) (1627) (8v-11v) Ballet de la Reyne (Ballet des Nymphes bocagères de la Forest sacrée) (1627) (12v-14v) Ballet de Monsieur (frère du Roy) (1627) (15v)
Moulinié 1635: 5 airs from	Ballet de Mademoiselle (Ballet des quatre Monarchies Chretiennes) (1635) (2v-6v)
Richard 1637: 1 air from	Ballet de la Douairière de Billebahaut (1626) (23v)
Boesset 1643: 6 airs from	Ballet des Triomphes (Ballet du Roy ou la Vieille cour où les habitans des rives de la Seine viennent danser pour les triomphes de sa majesté) (1635) (4v-6v) Ballet de la Felicité (sur le sujet de l'heureuse naissance de Mgr le Dauphin) (1639) (7v-9v)

Récits

Many, but not all, of the above airs from the *ballet de cour* are also described as *récits*. Nor are all *récits* explicitly drawn from the *ballet de cour*. There are almost a hundred airs described in the publications as 'récits', two thirds of them definitely drawn from *ballets de cour*. These songs are listed in Table 3.15. However, such labels only begin to appear in Bataille's third collection of 1611, and many songs in the earlier books could undoubtedly also have been characterised in this way. Nor are such terms used consistently, as we see in the almost unique case of an air appearing twice among the collections,[124] François Richard's *Je suis l'effroy des puissans Roys*, which appears both in **Boesset 1626** (f. 9v) and Richard's own, dedicated, collection of 1637 (f. 23v). In the earlier Boesset collection the air is described as belonging to the *Ballet du Roy*, and not as a *récit*, whereas in the 1637 book no mention of a ballet is made (unsurprisingly, perhaps, since the ballet concerned - the *Ballet de la Douairière de Billebahaut* - had been performed over ten years earlier) but the song is described as a *récit*.

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[124] The same thing happens with an air by Moulinié, which appears twice in his collections.

*Table 3.15: Songs described as 'Récits' in the core repertoire of lute-songs. Récits marked 'X' in column four can be securely related to a ballet de cour. Titles marked * have concordances in polyphonic sources.*

Incipit	Composer	Poet	Ballet	Publication
Desers tesmoins de mes pensées*	Guédron]	[Motin]		Bataille 1611 53v
Donc ceste merveille des cieux*	[Guédron]	[Malherbe]		Bataille 1611 54v
Donc apres un si long sejour*[125]	[Vincent]	[Malherbe]		Bataille 1613 28v
Je m'ayme plus dedans les bois			X	Bataille 1613 34v
Complices de ma servitude	[Boesset]	[Malherbe]		Bataille 1613 51v
Quand premier je la veis	[Guédron]?	[Deimier]?		Bataille 1613 55v
Qu'ay-je fait contre vos beautés	Le Bailly	[Durand]	X	Bataille 1615 1v
A la fin je voy les beaux yeux	Guédron	[Durand]	X	Bataille 1615 2v
Allons, n'atendons plus	Guédron	[Durand]	X	Bataille 1615 3v
Monarque à nul autre pareil	Le Bailly	[Maynard]	X	Bataille 1615 7v
Beautés pour qui le ciel	Guédron	[Maynard]	X	Bataille 1615 10v
Quels malheurs, quels fascheux desastres	Guédron			Boesset 1620 12v
Toy de qui la rigueur	Guédron		X	Boesset 1620 13v
Amour, si ma longue amitié	Guédron			Boesset 1620 14v
Mortels si quelque humeur	Guédron		X	Boesset 1620 15v
Quel excés de douleur	Guédron			Boesset 1620 16v
Soupirs meslés d'amour	Guédron			Boesset 1620 18v
Reyne, des gens	Guédron	[Bordier]	X	Boesset 1620 19v
Courier du mardy gras	Guédron		X	Boesset 1620 20v
Toy, qui de tout le monde	Boesset		X	Boesset 1620 27v
Je suis celuy de qui la voix	Boesset			Boesset 1620 31v
C'est aujourdhuy, grand Monarque	Bataille			Boesset 1620 35v
Je suis cét Amphyon	Boesset		X	Boesset 1621 1v
Quel soleil hors de saison*	Boesset		X	Boesset 1621 2v
Quels doux supplices	Boesset		X	Boesset 1621 3v
Quelles beautés, ô mortels*	Boesset		X	Boesset 1621 4v
Grand Roy, l'honneur des Roys*	Boesset		X	Boesset 1621 5v
Le servage des grands Dieux*	Boesset		X	Boesset 1621 6v
Gravés en lettre d'or	Boesset		X	Boesset 1621 7v
Vous, qui contre le mont	Boesset		X	Boesset 1621 8v
François reverés les dieux*	Boesset		X	Boesset 1621 9v
Quelle merveilleuse advanture?*	Boesset		X	Boesset 1621 10v
Portés en Occident	Boesset		X	Boesset 1621 11v
Qu'avons nous commis	[Boesset]?		X	Boesset 1621 12v
Allés, et vous cachés*	Boesset		X	Boesset 1621 13v
Mortels, mettés fin à vos larmes*	Boesset		X	Boesset 1621 14v
Allons de nos voix & de nos Luths d'yvoire*	Boesset		X	Boesset 1621 15v
Puis que le temps nous y convie	Boesset		X	Boesset 1621 16v
Quelle ingratte malice	Boesset		X	Boesset 1621 17v
Voyci des vrays amants	Boyer		X	Boyer 1621 13v
Nous sommes, ou ne sommes pas*	Boyer		X	Boyer 1621 18v

[125] While not an *air de ballet*, this recit was nonetheless designed for public and possibly quasi-theatrical entertainment. See below n. 138

Incipit	Composer	Poet	Ballet	Publication
Ces yvrongnes venants de faire une aspre guerre	Boyer		X	Boyer 1621 23v
O trop heureux! ceux qui de nos traits*	[Boesset]		X	Ballard 1623 3v
Delivrés des horreurs de Mars			X	Ballard 1623 31v
Les Cieux sont deserts	De Rigaud		X	De Rigaud 1623 10v
Bien que je volle toutes choses*	Boesset	Bordier]	X	Boesset 1624 4v
O divines beautés, ne soyez point*	Boesset	[Bordier]	X	Boesset 1624 5v
Astres pleins de malheurs*	Boesset		X	Boesset 1624 6v
Ces braves Chevalliers*	Boesset	[Bordier]	X	Boesset 1624 8v
Vous qui de toutes nos campagnes	Boesset		X	Boesset 1624 11v
Quittés, quittés vos campagnes*	Boesset		X	Boesset 1624 12v
Je ne suis plus cette Junon*	Boesset		X	Boesset 1624 14v
Ne deliberons plus	Boesset	[Malherbe]		Boesset 1624 18v
Vous qui n'allegés point	Moulinié			Moulinié 1624 5v
En approchant le bord d'une claire fontaine	Moulinié			Moulinié 1624 8v
Paisible & tenebreuse nuit	Moulinié	[Saint-Amant]		Moulinié 1624 14v
Mes yeux il est temps de pleurer	Moulinié			Moulinié 1624 15v
Soleils, astres puissans	Moulinié			Moulinié 1624 17v
Rochers affreux, & vous ô Bois	Moulinié			Moulinié 1624 18v
Ondes qui souslevez vos voûtes	Moulinié			Moulinié 1624 19v
Esprits autrefois amoureux	Moulinié			Moulinié 1624 21v
Un concert bien melodieux*	Boesset	[Bordier]	X	Boesset 1626 3v
Amour ravy de vos attraits*	Boesset	[Bordier]	X	Boesset 1626 4v
Les Joüeurs sousmis à mes loix	Boesset	[Bordier]	X	Boesset 1626 5v
Il n'est si fameux Empirique*	Boesset	[Bordier]	X	Boesset 1626 6v
Mes combattans que Mars	Boesset?		X	Boesset 1626 7v
Qu'on ne me rompe les oreilles*	Boesset	[Bordier]	X	Boesset 1626 8v
Je regne à la source du jour	Boesset		X	Boesset 1626 10v
Je fais pleuvoir par tout	Auget	[Bordier]	X	Boesset 1626 11v
Il est vray, mes beautez*	Boesset		X	Boesset 1626 12v
Grandes Reynes dont les yeux*	Boesset		X	Boesset 1626 13v
Voyci venir quatre Dandins*	Boesset		X	Boesset 1626 14v
Serrez tost vostre bagage*	Boesset		X	Boesset 1626 15v
Le Pasteur de Mosle*	Boesset		X	Boesset 1626 16v
Beautez toutes pleines de charmes*	Boesset		X	Boesset 1626 17v
Bien que nous ayons changé nos pas*	Boesset		X	Boesset 1626 18v
Je meurs sans mourir nuit et jour*	Boesset			Boesset 1626 28v
Le filz aisne de la prudence*	Auget	[Bordier]	X	Boesset 1628 8v
Louys, la merveille des Roys	Moulinié		X	Moulinié 1635 2v
Vous doutez si je suis malade*	Richard			Richard 1637 20v
Dans ce beau sejour des plaisirs*	Richard			Richard 1637 22v
Je suis l'effroy des puissants Roys*	Richard			Richard 1637 23v
O cieux! de qui despend la fin*	Richard			Richard 1637 24v
Terre, Mer, escoutez l'Ambassade*	Boesset		X	Boesset 1643 4v
L'esclat du nom de Louys*	Boesset		X	Boesset 1643 5v
Entends la voix d'une Deese*	Boesset		X	Boesset 1643 6v
Grand Roy qui force la victoire*	Boesset		X	Boesset 1643 7v
Je suis l'adorable Equité*	Boesset		X	Boesset 1643 8v
Je vays sur la terre & sur l'onde*	Boesset		X	Boesset 1643 9v

The dominant influence of Guédron and Boesset on the *récit* is evident here, a reflection of the extent of their contribution to the *ballet de cour*, though it is noticeable that Moulinié and Richard, who contribute few airs to the ballet, compose a fair number of what appear to be free-standing *récits*. With the exception of these composers it is noticeable that most airs that one cannot clearly associate with the ballet are composed by Guédron in the second decade of the century. More generally, we find that the *récit*, whether from a *ballet de cour* or not, is almost never anonymous (there is an exception in **Ballard 1623**). These are not the sort of songs cultivated by anonymous amateurs, nor by minor composers in the genre; they are the domain of the professional, working in the most prestigious form of theatrical entertainment of the day.

The dialogue

The *dialogue* - that is, the air for two voices with lute accompaniment - is also fairly well represented in these collections, with about thirty such songs appearing between 1611 and 1637. One type of *dialogue* had already appeared in the Tessier manuscript, the air *A lombrage de ses ormeaux* (f. 24v) having two parts in different clefs, the second a 'responce' to the first. These *dialogues* come in different forms, and some could, if desired, be sung by a single singer. There are also a few derived from the *ballet de cour* which originally had a partly or wholly choral conception (see Table 3.16).

Table 3.16: Dialogues in the Parisian lute-song sources

Incipit	Composer	Poet	Ballet	Clefs	Source
Que ferés-vous, dites Madame		[Desportes]		G2;F4	Bataille 1611 66v
Patoureau m'ayme tu bien?	[Castro]	[Passerat]		C1;F4	Bataille 1611 67v
Berger que pensés vous faire?	[Guédron]			G2;F3	Bataille 1613 65v
Quoy? tu faignois amour				C1;F4	Bataille 1613 66v
Allés allés volage allés en mile lieux[126]	[Bataille]			G2;C3	Bataille 1614 35v
Hola Caron vien tost icy	Boesset	[Magny]		C1;F4	Bataille 1614 60v
Il est donc vray volage	Guédron			C1;F4	Bataille 1614 66v
Tandis que j'estois ton plaisir	Bataille			C1	Bataille 1615 21v
Hola, hola Charon nautonnier infernal[127]	[Guédron]	[Magny]		C1;F4	Bataille 1615 53v
Vostre Heros n'est plus en servage[128]	Guédron	[Guédron]	X	G2	Ballard 1617 6v
Heureux qui nuit & jour	Guédron			G2	Ballard 1618 8v
D'où vient que l'Astre du jour[129]	Boesset		X	G2	Boesset 1621 18v
Si j'ayme autre que vous	Boyer			G2;F3	Boyer 1621 24v

126 This is the only *dialogue* not named as such in the sources. Its status is suggested by the use of two different clefs.
127 *Dialogue d'Amour et de Caron*
128 *Dialogue entre un mage et les soldats*
129 *Dialogue des astres et des bergers*

Incipit	Composer	Poet	Ballet	Clefs	Source
Au lieu d'apaiser ma tristesse[130]	Boyer			G2;F3	Boyer 1621 25v
Voudriés vous estre mon berger	De Rigaud			G2;F3	De Rigaud 1623 15v
D'où sort cette grande clairté[131]	Moulinié		X	C3;F4	Moulinié 1625 13v
Mes yeux ou sont vos pleurs[132]	Boesset			C2;F4	Boesset 1626 31v
Suivez nous belles nymphes des bois[133]	Boesset	[Boisrobert]	X	G2;C2	Boesset 1628 13v
Atends Philis c'est un Dieu	Boesset			G2	Boesset 1628 16v
Objét le plus beau de nos sens	Moulinié			C1	Moulinié 1629 0v
Jeune merveille	Moulinié			G2	Moulinié 1629 6v
Respects qui me donnez	Moulinié			G2;F3	Moulinié 1629 7v
Souffrez beaux yeux pleins de charmes[134]	Moulinié			C1	Moulinié 1629 21v
Ayme moy, Cloris, ayme ta Silvie	Boesset			G2;C1	Boesset 1632 24v
Mourons Tirsis, Vivons Silvie	Boesset			G2;C2	Boesset 1632 25v
Donc vos rigueurs, belle Uranie	Boesset			G2;C2	Boesset 1632 27v
Si l'amour comm'on dit	Moulinié			G2;C2	Moulinié 1633 16v
O grand Louys! le miracle du monde	Moulinié		X	G2	Moulinié 1635 3v
Cloris attends un peu	Richard			C1;C2	Richard 1637 25v

Foreign-language airs

There are about thirty non-French airs in the lute-song collections. Most are Spanish, but many are Italian, and there is one case of an air in a provincial dialect (see Table 3.17). Italian villanellas were fairly common in polyphonic prints of *airs de cour* at the end of the sixteenth century, and Bataille's *Creditu per fugire* in the collection of 1608 can probably be seen as a continuation of that tradition, and conceivably also a faint reflection of Caccini's visits to the French court in 1604-5. It is based on a villanella *à3* by Giovanelli.[135] The disappearance of Italian airs from the early French lute-song sources between 1609 and 1626 may reflect their decline in Italy in favour of fully monodic styles, as Verchaly suggests.[136] In addition, the regency of Marie de'Medici, which followed the assassination of Henri IV in 1610, sparked off a sustained period of tension at court between the Italian faction, represented by Marie herself and her adviser, Concini, and that of the French dukes (especially Bouillon, Nevers, Mayenne, Vendome, and Condé), and composers may have felt that the setting of Italian music was politicially too sensitive in this period. This might also help explain the reappearance of Italian airs in the later lute-song publications, and

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130 *Dialogue du luth et de la voix*
131 *Dialogue de la nuit et du Soleil*
132 *Dialogue d'un Amant et de ses yeux*
133 *Dialogue d'Orphée et des Hamriades*
134 This song is the unique example of a *dialogue* with guitar accompaniment.
135 Both songs are transcribed in **Verchaly 1953**. This article is devoted to Italian lute-airs in the French publications, and the reader is referred to it for further information on these songs. Spanish airs in the French prints are also discussed in **Baron 1977**.
136 **Verchaly 1953** pp. 48-9

their polyphonic equivalents from 1626, when Louis XIII had finally suppressed the Italian faction. We might also see here a more general reawakening of interest in Italian music.[137]

The popularity of the guitar helps explain the substantial number of Spanish airs in the lute-song sources, for apart from the Spanish airs expressly set for guitar in **Moulinié 1629**, several earlier airs in the Bataille prints see the lute imitating strumming patterns. Perhaps more importantly, however, are the planned political marriages between French and Spanish nobility in the first two decades of the century, culminating in the controversial double marriage in 1615 of the fourteen-year-old Louis XIII with Anne of Austria, and Louis's sister, Elisabeth of France, with the future Philip IV of Spain. These had been planned and celebrated several years in advance,[138] and very likely did a great deal to encourage interest in Spanish-texted songs.

*Table 3.17: Foreign-language and provincial airs in the Parisian lute-song sources. * indicates air with guitar accompaniment.*

Incipit	Composer	Language	Source
Creditu per fugire	[Giovanelli/ Bataille]	Italian	Bataille 1608 36v
Passava amor suarco dessarmado		Spanish	Bataille 1608 37v
Aver mil damas hermosas		Spanish	Bataille 1609 60v
El baxel esta en la playa		Spanish	Bataille 1609 61v
Vestros ojos tienen d'Amor		Spanish	Bataille 1609 62v
Rio de sevilla, quien te pasasse		Spanish	Bataille 1609 63v
Claros ojos bellos		Spanish	Bataille 1609 64v
De mi mal nace mi bien		Spanish	Bataille 1609 65
E nel valle Ynes la tope riendo		Spanish	Bataille 1609 65v
Dezid como puede ser		Spanish	Bataille 1609 66v
Pues que me das a escoger[139]		Spanish	Bataille 1609 67v
Quien quiere entrar comigo		Spanish	Bataille 1609 68v
Si suffro por ti morena	Bataille	Spanish	Bataille 1614 56v
Yosoy la locura[140]	Le Bailly	Spanish	Bataille 1614 57v
Frescos ayres d'el pardo	Boesset	Spanish	Boesset 1624 20v
Se vedessi le piaque ch'io porto	Boesset	Italian	Boesset 1626 30v
Non speri pieta	Boesset	Italian	Boesset 1628 21v
Dove ne vai crudelle	Boesset	Italian	Boesset 1628 22v
Dove ne vai crudelle	Moulinié	Italian	Moulinié 1629 20v
Non speri pietà*	Moulinié	Italian	Moulinié 1629 22v
O che gioia ne sento mio bene*	Moulinié	Italian	Moulinié 1629 23v
Seguir piu non voglio*	Moulinié	Italian	Moulinié 1629 24v
Non ha sott'il Ciel*	Moulinié	Italian	Moulinié 1629 25v

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[137] If so, this was a fleeting interest if the publications provide any measure, for the Ballard firm only returned to producing wholly Italian publications in a series of *Recueils des meilleurs airs italiens* between 1699 and 1708. See **Massip 1991**.
[138] Vincent's récit *Donc apres un si long sejour* together with its rechant, *A ce coup la France est guarie*, was composed for celebrations in 1612 on the publication of these marriages. This air appears in **Bataille 1613** f. 28v.
[139] In her index Durosoir attributes this air to Guédron.
[140] One of a series of airs in this book from an unidentified *ballet de cour*. Prunières plausibly suggests that the song was originally sung by Le Bailly with guitar accompaniment.

Incipit	Composer	Language	Source
O stelle homicide*	Moulinié	Italian	Moulinié 1629 26v
Quando borda el campo verde*	Moulinié	Spanish	Moulinié 1629 27v
Ribericas del rio de mansanares*	Moulinié	Spanish	Moulinié 1629 28v
Repicavan las campanillas*	Moulinié	Spanish	Moulinié 1629 29v
Por la verde orilla del claro Tormes*	Moulinié	Spanish	Moulinié 1629 30v
Orilla del claro*	Moulinié	Spanish	Moulinié 1629 31v
L'auzel que sul bouysou*	Moulinié	Gascon	Moulinié 1629 33v
L'Anemone fastosa	Boesset	Italian	Boesst 1632 29v

Moulinié's and Boesset's *Dove ne vai crudelle* are both settings of the same melody, which is thus almost certainly Italian in origin. The same is true of Boesset's setting of *Non speri pietà*, the text of which Verchaly notes appears in a continuo version in a late sixteenth-century Italian manuscripts (F-Pn Vm7 579) and has a similar opening.

Other types

Two other descriptions that appear occasionally in the collections are 'complainte' (or 'plainte') and 'concert'. The latter appears only three times, in each case attached to an air from a *ballet de cour*, and it clearly relates to the original context in which the song was performed, probably a sophisticated combination of voices and instruments. The reference to 'luths' in the text of one of these songs, Moulinié's *Il sort de nos corps* (**Moulinié 1625** f. 16v) from the *Ballet du Monde Renversé*, further suggests this. It is described as a 'Consert de differents oyseaux'. The two other songs, both by Boesset, are from the *Ballet des nymphes bocagères de la forest sacrée* of 1627, and are found in his 1628 collection. *Bien-loin prophanes* (f. 12v) is described as a 'Concert des Nymphes des Bois' and is in a triple metre, while *Reyne qui je sers* (f. 14v) is given as 'Concert de Diane et de ses Nymphes' and is in duple metre.[141] All these titles imply choral rather than solo performance.

The 'complainte' is also rare. The label appears four times in the Parisian sources, against Charles Tessier's *La plus miserable amante* (**Bataille 1609** f. 38v), Guédron's *Las pourquoy ne suis-je née* (**Bataille 1611** f. 28v), and two anonymous airs, *A quel point m'a reduit* (**Bataille 1611** f. 30v) and *Quoy? tu faignois amour* (**Bataille 1613** f. 66v). Tessier's air, on a text by La Roque, is labelled 'Complainte de Biblis', while *Quoy? tu faignois* is a *dialogue* described as 'Plainte d'un amant à l'amour'. The term essentially refers to the text, which is often lengthy and is always a lament. Such texts, and their musical settings as chansons, have a long history in the sixteenth century and earlier, and many other texts are described as *complaintes* in poetic sources, or on stylistic grounds easily could be. For example, *Lieux de moy* (**Bataille 1608** f. 70v), is on a text by Desportes described as the 'Complainte de Henri III',[142] while Boesset's *Complices de*

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[141] **Prunières 1914** p. 238 n. 3 describes this song as 'Récit de Diane' and gives it as an example of the *récit* become an 'air' at the hands of Boesset. However, the context implied here suggests that *récit* is not an appropriate label in any case.
[142] See **Verchaly 1954b** pp. 340-342

ma servitude (**Bataille 1613** f. 51v) is described as a *complainte* in the 1615 collection of poetry *Délices de la poesie française*. The erratic appearance of the term in the lute-song prints has no particular musical significance beyond the fact that, as in many such airs, lamenting texts will receive an appropriately weighty setting, and probably represents a fleeting attempt to capitalise on the popularity of this genre and on some poems in particular.

The air de cour in foreign, provincial and manuscript sources

French printed sources

There are no printed editions of lute-song in France outside of the Parisian sources discussed above, but there are a few collections of *airs de cour* in solo or polyphonic form, all published at Caen by the printer Jacques Mangeant, which we should mention briefly. Mangeant himself compiled five anthologies of melody-only airs and dance tunes in 1608 and 1615.[143] The three volumes he produced in 1608 he titled *Airs nouveaux accompagnez des plus belles chansons à dancer ... mesurées sur toutes sortes de cadences de branles, voltes, courantes, ballets et autres dances*, while the two volumes of 1615 he described as *Recueil des plus beaux airs accompagnés de chansons à dancer, ballets, chansons folastres, et bachanales, autrement dites vaudevire ...*, and *Le recueil des plus belles chansons de dances de ce temps...* . Despite Mangeant's claim to the contrary, many of these songs have concordances with the Parisian prints, and can be useful in identifying what might be thought of as *chansons à dancer*. The latter collections also testify to the persistence of the term 'voix de ville' and its identification with the lighter air and *air à danser*.

Three collections of airs (the second of them *airs spirituels*) by the composer Guillaume (de) Chastillon, sieur de la Tour, were also published by Mangeant in 1592, 1593, and 1611, the last posthumously.[144] Among these are new settings of melodies and texts found in the Parisian prints. These are all polyphonic collections, with interesting prefaces. The 1592 collection is dedicated to 'Monsieur de la Veronne, chevalier de l'ordre du roy' who had 'a particular inclination .. [towards] airs that can be sung by a voice alone'. Chastillon claims that airs, unlike chansons, should be judged on the 'sweetness of the melody rather than the profundity of their harmony'. He also notes that he has produced the book to please those friends who have given him poems to set to music - undoubtedly the origin of much of the poetry in the *air de cour* repertoire. In his 1593 publication he also makes the distinction discussed above between airs with 'bar-lines', which are ametrical, and those without, which are metrical.[145] This same collection includes an anagramme on Chastillon's name - 'Son clair luth guide l'ame' - which strongly suggests that Chastillon performed his songs, and perhaps composed them, on the lute.

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[143] **Mangeant 1608, 1608b, 1608c, 1615** and **1615b.** Verchaly discusses these volumes in **Verchaly 1955**.
[144] Reconstructed in a modern edition by Yannick Leroy (see **Leroy 1986**), which contains a useful introduction on Chastillon.
[145] See above p. 74

Other foreign printed sources

The main centre for foreign printed sources is England. On the face of it the English lute ayre and the French *air de cour* have a good deal in common, more than either do with developments in solo song in Italy. Finding connections between the two is elusive, however. While it is likely that the idea of the lute-air, taking shape in France in the last quarter of the sixteenth century, had a significant impact on English composers, not least those like Dowland who lived and worked on the Continent, the evidence is that once the lute ayre had taken hold in England it developed more or less independently of the *air de cour*, though it is worth noting that Campion experimented with setting *vers mesurées*,[146] and that there is at least one case of an English composer setting a translation of a French *air de cour* text.[147]

Nonetheless, the appearance of the French air in printed and manuscript sources in England testifies to English interest in the French air. Charles Tessier's polyphonic collection, the *Premier livre de Chansons et airs de cour tant en français qu'en italien et en gascon*, was published in London in 1597 with a dedication to Lady Penelope Rich. It contains twenty-four airs, a number of them duplicated in Tessier's lute-song manuscript discussed in Chapter 2. As for lute-song collections, Robert Dowland's *A Musicall Banquet* (1610) contains several airs from Bataille's first anthology of 1608, while Edward Filmer's *French Court-Aires* (1629) provides another nineteen examples with English translations. Apart from Tessier's highly significant collection, several manuscripts mentioned below also provide examples of imported French airs with tablature accompaniment, though many of the French songs are in fact tablature realisations of later continuo airs.

Dowland's Musical Banquet

Robert Dowland's 'banquet' has a deliberately international flavour, and his French delicacies are all drawn from **Bataille 1608** published two years earlier. He prints them with their French text (in one case, Spanish), and his major contribution is to add a bass viol part absent from the original. The four airs are Guédron's *Si le parler et le silence* and *Vous que le bon heur r'appelle*, and two anonymous airs, *Ce penser qui sans fin* and *Passava amor suarco*. To these we could add *In a grove most rich of shade*, at one time thought to be by Charles Tessier, but in fact by Guillaume Tessier. The text, drawn from Sidney's *Astrophel and Stella*, is transferred to Guillaume's air *Le petit enfant amour* (original text by Ronsard) which appears in his *Premier livre d'airs* of 1582 (reprinted 1585). It may be that Robert Dowland was responsible for the intabulation and arrangement of this air, though it is conceivable too that it was a legacy of Charles Tessier, who by this time had long since returned to the Continent.

While remaining close to the models in **Bataille 1608**, all but the Spanish air make departures from the originals (*Passava amor* omits a note from the melody, but this is an error rather than a deliberate

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[146] See **Spink 1974** p. 25
[147] Robert Jones's *On a time the amorous Silvie* has a text derived from Guédron's *Un jour l'amoureuse Sylvie*.

alteration). Some changes, such as the addition of mensuration signs and the suppression of fingering symbols in the tablature, reflect the adaptation of the French songs to English publishing practice (it is possible that some of Bataille's original symbols were a mystery to Dowland). But other changes tend to suggest that Dowland was working from sources other than Ballard's publication, rather than making deliberate changes.

Si le parler contains several slight alterations in the ornamentation of the melody, particularly after the repeat bar, and similarly to the accompaniment, including the suppression of an implied leading-note in both melody and tablature. None of these results from any reference to the polyphonic version printed in **GuédronP 1608**. Similarly, minor changes in the accompaniment would seem to reflect no more than a difference in taste. *Ce penser qui sans fin*, for which there is no known polyphonic version, and which has some slight melodic resemblance to *Si le parler*, shows more significant changes in the rhythm of the melody. These have the effect of weakening the relationship between music and prosody, producing long notes on words such as 'qui' and 'à', and it is hard to believe that this can have been Dowland's intention. Nor do they do much to produce a consistent metre, modifying that feature of the French airs which might have been most alien to English taste. The accompaniment is slightly simplified in the last line, but none of these changes can have been intended for simpler performance, for compared to contemporary English airs, these songs present no difficulty for the player or singer (see Example 3.39).

Vous que le bon heur r'appelle is distinguished from Bataille's version principally in using halved note values, though again Dowland prefers a flattened to a sharpened leading note at the opening, and there are a few changes to the accompaniment. Again, none of Dowland's alterations is a response to the polyphonic version in **GuédronP 1608**. Of the two, Bataille's version adheres more closely to the polyphonic model in those places where they differ.

Given the lack of a clear rationale behind Dowland's departures from the Ballard print (which may simply have been a matter of taste), it is possible that Dowland worked from some other source than the printed one, perhaps in addition to it. An interesting feature of the Dowland print is his addition of bass viol parts at pitches which conflict with the melody, implying a lute pitched at G with the singer 'transposing' to the lute rather than the reverse, fairly strong evidence for the purely nominal status of implied lute pitch.[148] Although his basses are texted, it seems clear that Dowland primarily expected a bass viol accompaniment in this collection, this being the norm in the English ayre.

Filmer's Court-Aires

In 1629, roughly contemporary with the publication of Moulinié's third lute-song book, and the fifteenth in the Ballard series, by now edited by Anthoine Boesset, Edward Filmer published his *French Court-Aires, with their Ditties Englished, Of foure and five Parts, Together with that of the lute ... Collected,*

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[148] See **Le Cocq 1992**

Translated, Published by Ed. Filmer, Gent. ... Printed by William Stansby (**Filmer 1629**). D. Till identifies this Edward Filmer as likely to be the second son of Sir Edward Filmer, one-time Sheriff of Kent.[149] On March 14 1629 he was sworn in as 'Esquire to His Majesty's Body Extraordinary', and he probably produced this book in order to help secure just such a position at court. It is dedicated to the French-born Queen Henrietta Maria at a time when her influence was in the ascendant. Until 1945, the Filmer family seat at East Sutton in Kent housed a substantial collection of music, including a number of Bataille's anthologies which Filmer probably used in compiling this collection.

The book contains nineteen songs, one in polyphonic arrangement alone, the others in the alternative tablature and polyphonic layout (melody and tablature on verso, lower voices on recto) familiar from John Dowland's publications. The songs are drawn from the six books of the Bataille series (1608 to 1617), with only the second book (1609) unrepresented. Filmer provides the original titles and texts of his models, and names their composers and intabulators. The contents are given in Table 3.18.[150]

*Table 3.18: Contents of **Filmer 1629.** All the songs are by Pierre Guédron except nos. XIV and XVIII which are by Anthoine Boesset. Songs marked * are transcribed in **Till 1967**.*

No.	Title	Original	Source
I	Bright Abstract of us seaven*	Adorable Princesse	**Bataille 1615** 9v
II	At length, heere she is	En fin la voyci	**Ballard 1617** 12v
III	Why have my Thoughts*	Que n'estes vous lassées	**Bataille 1611** 4v
IV	What muster of glances	O grands dieux	**Bataille 1614** 7v
V	With what wings can I fly*	Quel espoir de guarir	**Bataille 1611** 2v
VI	What Spell holds thee*	Où luis-tu soleil	**Bataille 1608** 51v
VII	How was Amyntas blest*	Qu'Aminte fut heureux	**Bataille 1608** 49v
VIII	Why, alas! cri'd-out my Mother	Las! pourquoy ne suis-je née	**Bataille 1611** 28v
IX	Sylvia, not long since half-affrighted*	Un jour l'amoureuse Silvie	**Bataille 1613** 7v
X	Wilt thou, untam'd alas! still fly	Las! fuiras-tu toujours	[no lute version]
XI	If key of Speach*	Si le parler	**Bataille 1608** 46v
XII	Too much wee range the waves*	C'est trop courir les eaux	**Bataille 1615** 4v
XIII	That same little great King*	Ce petit Monarque	**Bataille 1614** 2v
XIV	Reason! arme thy wrong'd hands*	Arme toy ma raison!	**Ballard 1617**, 20v
XV	Thou, whome Fortune,	Vous que le bonheur	**Bataille 1608** 31v
XVI	Since our round Yeare	Puis que les ans	**Ballard 1617** 1v
XVII	Say then! my hard Jewell*	He bien! ma rebelle	**Ballard 1617** 10v
XVIII	Knowe, my deare Idoll*	Je vouldrois bien	**Bataille 1615** 12v
XIX	To your sports and delights, yee blith lasses	Aux plaisirs, aux delices Bergeres	[polyphony only]

Filmer's translations are fairly free, but little more successful for that, and in the preface he states that his care has been to preserve the melody rather than with quality of the text. Filmer barely alters the melody of

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[149] **Till 1967**. This M.Mus. thesis, its title page missing, is housed on microfilm at the music faculty library of Kings College, London.

[150] A modern edition for Boethius Press has been prepared, and at the time of writing is in the care of Robert Spencer.

his French models. He occasionally suppresses ornamentation, most notably in XVIII (*Knowe, my deare Idoll*) where he removes the cross-syllabic ornaments peculiar to the French style, and perhaps unwelcome in England. In no. IV he replaces the medial mensuration sign '¢' with '2', and throughout the collection he makes consistent the practice of alternative endings for repeats. The accompaniments are faithful to the original, except for details of the tablature. In songs from the earlier editions Filmer replaces //a with ///a so that the tuning is consistently designed for a ten-course lute. Otherwise, changes affect secondary symbols, reconciling these with practice in English song and solo lute music, and making no attempt to retain the innovations introduced by Bataille. Filmer uses the oblique slash to represent sustained notes alone, and frequently replaces the star with such a slash. Where Ballard uses two and three dots to indicate play with two and three fingers, Filmer confines himself to the single dot. He abandons slurs and vertical lines, which indicate movement within the syllable in the French books, altogether.

A few songs show more significant, and sometimes quite revealing, changes. In no. XIII Filmer abandons the implausible change to '3' at the repeat bar, and adjusts the duration of a few notes accordingly. In no. XIV he replaces the simple repeat of the last line with a written-out variation, though he retains the tablature unaltered but for the abandoned change to '2' at the end. Filmer's free approach to these symbols lends weight to the view that they are metrical or counting devices rather than true mensuration signs. No. XVII is the only song in the collection where Filmer transposes the melody (from g' to d', with a change of clef from G2 with 1 flat to C1). He leaves the tablature and singer's pitch unchanged, so that instead of writing for an A-lute, the implied pitch of the lute becomes E, though with no implication that this affects its sounding pitch. The last line of the melody is slightly different from that of the French lute version.

The last song in the collection, for which Filmer gives the polyphonic version alone, does have a lute-song version in **Bataille 1614** (f. 4v) with which Filmer was certainly acquainted. However, the lute version of this song differs substantially from the polyphonic version which Filmer uses, so much so that the two could not be reconciled. Filmer was forced to choose between printing either the lute-song or the polyphonic version, and it is indicative of his priorities that he chose the latter, which could be used for continuo performance and would hence be more versatile.

Perhaps the most interesting song in Filmer's collection is no. X, *Wilt thou, untam'd alas! still fly*, for this song has no lute version in any of the printed French lute books. It exists as a solo melody in **BallardS 1615** (f. 16v) and in polyphonic form in **GuédronP 1617** (f. 11v) as *Las! fuiras tu toujours*, but the source for Filmer's lute version is uncertain. Given that all the other airs in his book were taken from Ballard's publications, (Filmer names Ballard's intabulators at the end of almost every air), one of these publications may well exist in different states.[151]

Filmer's book contains two of the airs printed by Robert Dowland nineteen years earlier, and while this probably testifies to the popularity of these songs in England, it is also symptomatic of the retrospective nature of Filmer's collection and perhaps of English taste in general. It may also indicate the limited extent

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[151] See above Chapter 3 n. 20

to which the *air de cour* was disseminated in England. The most recent airs chosen by Filmer had been published twelve years earlier in France, and in the period when Anthoine Boesset and Etienne Moulinié were at the height of their success, Filmer's collection is devoted almost entirely to the airs of Pierre Guédron.

De Moy's Petit Boucquet

The remaining substantial source of secular French lute-songs printed outside of France is Louys de Moy's *Le Petit Boucquet de Frise Orientale* (?Embden, 1631).[152] This book reveals that De Moy had then been in the service of Count Ulrich of East Friesland in the Netherlands as *musicien ordinaire* 'for several years', and De Moy published it at his own expense to celebrate the Count's marriage to Princess Juliana of Hessen. That De Moy was in touch with French music from the first two decades of the century at least is indicated by his later collection of *Airs de cour à trois parties* of 1632, which includes airs by Guédron as well as himself arranged for two voices and instrumental bass.

De Moy 1631 includes a four-part chanson in Dutch, eleven pavanes for lute and *violons communs* with descriptive titles naming places in Friesland, and fifty-six dances for solo lute including works by French lutenists such as Robert Ballard. But a significant portion of the book is devoted to twenty chansons for two voices, superius and bassus, and lute. De Moy descibes these on the title page as 'quelques chansonnettes musicales pour toucher du luth join deux violes de gambas par-my les vois', indicating that he intended a genuinely ensemble performance. The songs are arranged in table-book format, confirming that they were not conceived as solo lute-songs. The single-stanza French texts of these songs are all on the theme of the royal marriage, and make frequent references to 'Ulricus' and 'Juliana', but not all were originally composed for the purpose, the most notable and retrospective adaptation of a text being a corruption of 'Tant que vivray' (sig. E1r).

De Moy's songs, with their consistent duple metres, light melisma, avoidance of ornamentation, restricted rhythmic values and, for the most part, absence of overt expressive devices, bear little resemblance to the contemporary French repertoire, and at their best are closer melodically to English lute-song than the *air de cour*. The accompaniments are altogether retrospective, and their loose doubling of the melody, retention of cadential ornaments, and absence of *brisé*-style accompaniment patterns belong to the sixteenth century, surprising given De Moy's familiarity with French music from the second decade of the century at least. He does, however, write for a ten-course lute, and one suspects that his ensemble conception of performance parallels common practice of the *air de cour* in France at this time, more evident in the later polyphonic collections than the lute-song publications (see Example 3.40 - *Ha Ulricus*).

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[152] **De Moy 1631**. A facsimile edition of this collection (Musica, 1987) includes an introduction by Mijndert Jape which remains the only secondary literature available on De Moy, apart from references in **Durosoir 1986**. Apart from De Moy's collection, there are also some cases of French *air de cour* melodies used as *timbres* by composers in the Netherlands. For examples see **Baron 1971**.

Vallet's psalms

Finally, printed lute-song outside France is represented by two psalm collections produced by Nicolas Vallet. Only one of these, the *Een en twintich Psalmen Davids* of 1615 (**Vallet 1615**) includes both vocal melody and tablature, but another collection for tablature alone, the *Regia Pietas*, places stars against notes of the tablature indicating the main notes of the psalm tune and, together with the texts, this would allow the player to sing to his accompaniment if desired.[153] **Vallet 1615** is backward-looking in employing the old Genevan psalm tunes, and the associated texts by Marot and Bèze, and the settings make no concession to contemporary French treatment of the psalm. It is unusual too in the variety of nominal lute pitches it employs, and in including four psalm settings (nos. 24, 25, 33 and 116) with alternative clefs and singers' pitches, allowing the psalms to be sung at different octaves.

Manuscript sources

With the exception of the sources discussed in Chapter 2, there appear to be no surviving French manuscripts of lute-airs. This is not surprising given the ready availability of such songs in print. There are a few foreign sources, again often of English provenance, of French airs with tablature accompaniments, but these are mostly either direct copies of airs in the French publications, or else the tablatures are continuo realisations, probably for theorbo, of the later, mid-century repertoire of the *air de cour*.[154]

An example of the former is the British Library manuscript Royal Appendix 55, which contains four *airs de cour* with tablature: *Esprits qu'un fol amour* (Guédron), *Il s'en va l'infidelle*, *Blons cheveux filets redoutables*, and *Pourquoy quittois tu ces ruisseaux*. All four were clearly copied without alteration from **Bataille 1609**.[155]

More common are sources like the Blount manuscript (GB Lambeth Palace Ms. 1041), the Broxbourne manuscript (GB-Ob Broxbourne 84.9), the Filmer manuscript (Yale University, Ms. Filmer A.14), and two manuscripts in the Washington Library of Congress (US-Wc M.2.1 C55 and M.2.1. T2 Case 17B).[156] The airs in these books, where they can be identified, are mostly by mid-century composers such as Cambefort and Lambert, and the number of courses indicated on the tablature and tendency to avoid using the top

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[153] **ValletI 1620**. There are facsimile editions of both collections published by the Dutch Lute Society and STIMU (Utrecht) in 1986, with introductions by Louis Peter Grijp. In the preface to the 1620 edition Vallet notes explicitly that the stars are used 'pour sçavoir marier la voix avec le luth'.

[154] An exception is the song included in the anonymous *Comoedia D. Guilielmus Dux Aquitaniae* performed in Brussels in 1614, which is an original composition notated with French lute tablature. The manuscript is located in the Bodleian Library, Oxford, MS Add. A 33. See Chapter 1 n. 67.

[155] I am grateful to Dr Jeanice Brooks, for drawing this manuscript to my attention. Another manuscript probably of this sort is Ms. Kremsmünster L64, which contains mostly solo lute music, but also French lute-airs mostly drawn from Bataille on folios 40v-76v. I have been unable to study this manuscript, but it is described in **Coelho 1995** no. 20, and an inventory of the airs is given in **Flotzinger 1965** pp. 59-71.

[156] The Blount and Broxbourne manuscripts feature in a study by Gordon J. Callon, who has prepared an edition of the lute-songs. I am grateful to Dr Callon for access to draft copies of his transcriptions of and notes on the French songs they contain.

course suggest that the intended instrument was a theorbo rather than a lute. There are among them, however, a few airs from earlier in the century, notably by Boesset. The Broxbourne manuscript. contains a single French air, *Je ne puis eviter*, related to a song in Chancy's polyphonic collection of 1635. The six airs in the Blount manuscript are almost certainly later: *Je ne cognois que trop* (Lambert); *N'entendez-vous point ce langage* (Cambefort); *Qu'un rival vienne*; *Chere Phillis puis que tout*; *Ne vous etonnez pas si je cheris*; *Ma Cloris je me meurs*. The idea that these are realised continuo airs is substantiated by the presence of a table at the back of this collection setting tablature chords against bass notes, and its didactic function is further emphasised by explicit left hand fingering signs on the tablature accompaniments.

Of the three French airs in the Filmer manuscript one, *Laisse moy soupirer*, may be by Lambert,[157] and another, *A deux beautés je sacrifie,* is anonymous. But the third is a unique case of a combination of polyphonic and lute-song versions of the same song. The air is Boesset's *J'ayme c'est un grand mal*. The tablature is drawn closely, but not absolutely literally, from the accompaniment to the song found in **Boesset 1643**, but the vocal part reproduces not the melody but the haute-contre of the polyphonic version in **BoessetP 1642** (see Example 3.41 and Facsimile 3.11). This manuscript version must have been prepared for an ensemble performance of the air, in which the lutenist also sang the alto line, and the fact that the lute part was fully adaptable in this way is indicative of its likely continuo origins.

Of the two Library of Congress manuscripts, the first (M.2.1 C55) contains two airs, *Si mes soupirs* and *Philis vostre rigueur extreme*[158] unrelated to the lute-song repertoire. A theorbo is probably the intended instrument, but the songs are interesting for including ornamented alternative settings of the melodies. The second manuscript (M.2.1. T2) contains seven airs with tablature accompaniment, two of which can be related to airs by Boesset.[159] *Plaignez la rigueur de mon sort* may be found in **Boesset 1643** f. 24v and also, with continuo bass accompaniment, in F-Pn Ms. Vma 854 p. 200. The melody in the Filmer manuscript differs only slightly from that in Boesset's publication, but the tablature accompaniment is completely unrelated, requires an instrument of at least eleven courses, and does not use a conventional tuning (but for this, one would again assume a theorbo as the intended instrument). The other song, *Object dont les charmes si doux*, is also derived from **Boesset 1643** (f. 14v).[160] The manuscript version halves the note values in the melody, nominally transposes it up a fourth, and arranges the accompaniment for guitar tuning on a five-line tablature (see Facsimile 3.12).

We should also mention two substantial manuscripts in the Bibliothèque Nationale in Paris - Vm7 501 and Vma 854. These are not collections of lute-songs, but of continuo airs, with melody and non-figured bass accompaniments. Both are large, with Vma 854 containing about two hundred and ninety-five airs, and over one hundred and sixty airs in Vm7 501. Again most of these airs are by mid-century composers such

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157 The same text is attributed to Lambert in the manuscript Pn Vm7 501 f. 33, and Vma 854 p. 242.
158 A song with this text is attributed to Lambert in Pn Ms. Vma 854 p. 68.
159 The other songs are: *Sombres foretz retraicts de la nuit* f. 11v; *Prononcez l'arrose [l'arrêt] de ma mort* (Lambert?) f. 14v; *Je ne puis bien vous exprimer* (Cambefort?) f. 15v; *Si je ne suis assez aimable*, f. 20v. *O dieux je ne scais pas comment*, f. 18v, is attributed to Boesset in Pn Vma 854 p. 199, but this is probably Jean-Baptiste Boesset, Anthoine's son and successor, the composer of many airs in this manuscript.
160 There is a polyphonic version in **BoessetP 1642** f. 11v, and continuo versions in Pn Vma 854 p. 150 and Vm5 501 f. 4v.

as Le Camus, Cambefort, and Lambert, but there are also a number of airs by composers associated with the lute-air. There are, for instance, at least two songs by Le Fevre in Vma 854, one by Vincent, and at least eight ascribed to Moulinié.[161] None of these is concordant with the lute-song sources, however. More significantly, well over a hundred airs are ascribed to Boesset in these two collections. Most of these probably refer to Jean-Baptiste de Boesset, Antoine's son and successor, and this is made explicit in one or two places.[162] But a substantial number are by Antoine Boesset and are continuo versions of airs found in his lute-song collections, particularly the last of 1643. These airs are given in Tables 3.19 and 3.20.

Table 3.19: Songs by Antoine Boesset in Pn Vma 854 with lute-song concordances

Title	Page	Concordance
Alors qu'un discours hardy	148	Boesset 1643 18v
Cleandre voyant de retour	155	Boesset 1643 21v
Donc vos rigueurs belle Uranie	248	Boesset 1632 27v
Doux complices de mes ennuis	234	Boesset 1643 20v
Du plus doux de ces trais	249	Boesset 1632 2v
Ennuis desespoirs et douleurs	89	Boesset 1643 13v
J'ayme cest un grand mal	154	Boesset 1643 22v
N'esperes plus mes yeux	88	Boesset 1643 12v
Ne deliberons plus	211	Boesset 1624 18v
Non je ne saurois plus feindre	86	Boesset 1643 10v
Objet divin de ma pensee	87	Boesset 1643 11v
Objet dont les charmes	150	Boesset 1643 14v
Olympe viens a ma deffence	149	Boesset 1643 17v
Plaignés la rigueur de mon sort	200	Boesset 1643 24v
Puis que mon amour	90	Boesset 1643 23v
Qu'Aminthe a de charmants apas	150	Boesset 1643 15v
Que cette naissante beaute	232	Boesset 1643 16v

Table 3.20: Songs by Antoine Boesset in Pn Vm7 501 with lute-song concordances

Title	Folio	Concordance
A qu'elle estrange loy	10v	Boesset 1643 27v
Alors que d'un discours hardy	24	Boesset 1643 18v
Amour j'implore ton secours	4	Boesset 1632 4v
Beaux yeux vive source	6v	Boesset 1643 19v
Cleandre voyant de retour	23v	Boesset 1643 21v
Cruel tyran de mes desirs	19	Boesset 1624 17v
Divine Amarillis	18	Boesset 1632 17v

[161] These airs are as follows: Le Fevre: *Amis ne parlons plus* p. 174; *Ah puis qu'il faut mourir*, p. 276. Vincent: *Je reçoy de voir yeux*, p. 187. Moulinié: *Il est vray que j'aime Cloris*, p. 56; *Charisse qui voudra*, p. 57; *Pressé de ses ennuitz secretz*, p. 59; *Je puis dire sans vanité*, p. 60; *Fermis vous o beaux yeux*, p. 61; *Si mes soupirs*, p. 69; *Tristes lieux vostre merite*, p. 66; *En fin je moure [meurs] de desir* p. 235.

[162] For example, *Je descend du foire* in Vma 854, p. 286 is headed 'Air du ballet de l'année 1669 par boesset'.

Title	Folio	Concordance
Doux complices de mes ennuis	7	Boesset 1643 20v
Du plus doux de tes traits	3v	Boesset 1632 2v
Enfin les lieux	20	Boesset 1628 1v
Ennuis desespoirs et douleurs	11	Boesset 1643 13v
Faut-il que je quitte	19v	Boesset 1628 6v
J'aime c'est un grand mal	9	Boesset 1643 22v
Ne deliberons plus	14	Boesset 1624 18v
N'esperez plus mes yeux	7v & 23	Boesset 1643 12v
Non je ne scaurois plus feindre	22	Boesset 1643 10v
O dieux que vos [mes] destins	18v	Boesset 1632 7v
Objet divin de ma pensée	22v	Boesset 1643 11v
Objet dont les charmes	4v	Boesset 1632 14v
Olympe viens a ma deffence	5	Boesset 1643 17v
Puisqu'il vous faut quitter	17	Boesset 1632 22v
Puisque mon amour	5v	Boesset 1643 23v
Qu'Aminte a de charmans apas	6	Boesset 1643 15v
Que servent tes conseils amour	2	Boesset 1628 7v
Qu'une beauté pleine d'appas	20v	Boesset 1628 3v
Si c'est un crime	1v	Boesset 1621 21v

The presence here in continuo manuscripts from the middle of the century at least of songs found in publications of as long ago as 1621 testifies to Boesset's enduring status and popularity. It also suggests that these songs may have been circulating in continuo form some time before they began to appear thus in printed sources.

Instrumental airs

Finally, we should briefly note that a significant number of lute-airs appear in purely instrumental versions. The air, especially when based on dance rhythms, was a natural source for instrumental treatment, and we find a few instrumental airs appearing already in Besard's *Thesaurus Harmonicus* of 1603. An account of such instrumental versions would take us beyond the scope of the present study, but it is worth mentioning that several airs turn up in English lute manuscripts, sometimes with dance titles attached. These include Moulinié's *Voyci tantost la froidure* (**Moulinié 1629** f. 42v) in the Thynne lute book, where it is described as a sarabande,[163] and Guédron's *Bien qu'un cruel martire* (**Bataille 1608** f. 27v) which appears in the Herbert ms. as 'Courante Belleville sur Bien qu'un cruel martire'.[164] Another air by Guédron, *Est-ce Mars* (**Bataille 1613** f. 6v) enjoyed a great vogue. In addition to appearing in the M.L. lute book (Lbl Add. Ms. 38539, f. 16), it also appears in the Board lute book (f. 25) as 'The French Tune', in Victor de

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[163] Other *airs de cour* without lute-song versions that appear in this manuscript are *Privé de deux beaux yeux* (**BallardS 1626** f. 27v), which appears twice on folios 3v and 69v and is described as a courante, *Remy mon cher ami*, f. 6 (from **BallardS 1626** f. 36v), and *Ha! que le ciel*, f. 17, (from **ChancyP 1635**), described as a sarabande. On this lute-book and these concordances see **Leech-Wilkinson 1993**.

[164] This piece is transcribed in **Ledbetter 1990** p. 39

Montbuysson's lute book (f. 60 and 94), in Praetorius (1612), and in the first volume of Vallet's *Le Secret des Muses* (1615) where it is described as 'Courante de Mars' (its duple rhythms adapted to triple time), to name only a few sources.[165] We might also mention that a keyboard version of Bataille's *Ma bergere non legere* (**Bataille 1613**) appears in manuscript attached to the tenor partbook of Arcadelt's first book of madrigals in Aberdeen University,[166] and that Mersenne includes a solo lute intabulation of the polyphonic version of Boesset's *Divine Amarillis* (**Boesset 1632** f. 17v) in his *Harmonie Universelle*, which is well contrasted with the accompaniment to the lute-song version given alongside it.[167]

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165 For incomplete lists of further concordances see the list of concordances given in the Boethius facsimile edition of the Board Lute Book (1976) and CNRS edition of *Oeuvres de Nicolas Vallet pour Luth Seul* (1989). The song was also the basis for keyboard variations by Scheidt and Sweelinck.

166 See **Ledbetter 1987** p. 88

167 Livre Premier des Instrumens, p. 90. This air originally appeared in **Boesset 1632**. Mersenne also includes a set of keyboard diminutions by Pierre de la Barre on an otherwise unknown *air de cour* melody attributed to the King, 'Tu crois ô beau soleil'. Des Instrumens, Livre 6 (des Ordres), Proposition XL and XLI, p. 394.

4: FRENCH LUTE-SONG IN THE SEVENTEENTH CENTURY

FORM AND STYLE

In looking at the sources and composers of the seventeenth-century lute-air, we have so far largely avoided discussing the nature of the songs, except in the most general terms. In this chapter we shall concentrate on this aspect of the repertoire, and attempt to explain the principal characteristics of the songs. In particular we shall be concerned with the manner of composition and intabulation of the airs, and the distinctive rhythmic profile of their melodies. In discussing these aspects of the airs, it is understood that we are looking at the core repertoire, as defined in Chapter 3, unless otherwise stated.

Text and form

It has sometimes been noted that the poems set in the seventeenth-century *air de cour* are not of the highest quality.[1] They may have disingenuous themes expressed in a stylised, conventional language in which formulae and clichés abound: the beloved's beautiful, star-like eyes, adored by mortals and gods alike, or the anguish even unto death of the spurned lover, are a common currency of many songs. But this is not to say that the poems lack charm; indeed, charm is largely their aim, and to criticise them for their lack of insight into the human condition or very much else except, perhaps, the manners of French court society, is to miss the point of them. The test is how well they elaborate on familiar and often disingenuous schemata (such as adoration of a beloved object, or the anguish of an unrequited love); it is not what they say, but how well they say it, that matters.

This emphasis finds its equivalent in the music which, with some notable exceptions, emphasises suavity, elegance and, in its own terms, dissimulation, over drama and genuine emotion (as opposed to sentiment or emotionalism) on the one hand, or humour and vulgarity on the other.

This is natural given that most *air de cour* texts are *poesia per musica*. We have seen examples of Malherbe writing such poetry on royal command, and 'taking his measure' from pre-existent tunes: that is, deciding on an appropriate form in terms of number of lines, number of syllables per line, and choice of rhyme scheme and (masculine or feminine) endings.[2] From the opposite perspective, we have seen Boyer being supplied with poems by his friends and fitting them to his own airs, or to pre-existent 'courantes'.[3] Louis de Rigaud's book is exceptional in naming the aristocratic authors of one or two of its texts, but this was, in fact, almost certainly the source of the majority of them for those secular *airs de cour* which did not

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[1] The nature of the poems set in the *air de cour* is discussed, with examples, at some length in **Durosoir 1986**. The following discussion is a brief summary of the essential features of these texts, with an indication of the proportions of the various forms that appear specifically in the lute-song repertoire. There is no strong sense of a pattern of development in these themes, and they are therefore discussed as a group.

[2] See Chapter 3 p. 124

[3] See Chapter 3 p. 141

originate in the court ballet. The very fact that most *air de cour* texts remain anonymous testifies to these origins. The social milieu in which such texts originated was that of the French court, with its hyper-refined concepts of the 'honnête homme' and 'femme précieuse', of good taste, and of various forms of *dissimulation* such as exaggerated courtesy, humility, and gallantry - precisely the same social environment as that in which the music was composed.[4]

The schemata that are the basis of most poems can be elucidated without much difficulty. About two-thirds of the seventeenth-century French lute-song texts are explicitly on the theme of (courtly) love. In about a third of these it is the cause of some misery. This is mostly, by implication, because love is unrequited (*Ce que j'avois prêdit* - **Bataille 1608** f. 7v), but also, in seventy cases or so, because of separation from the beloved (*Ennuis trop lents* - **Bataille 1609** f. 44v), or because one is forced to endure one's passion in silence (*Quel espoir de guarir* - **Bataille 1611** f. 2v), or, in a surprisingly small number of cases (ten or so), because the beloved is unfaithful (*Seront donc mes pleurs* - **Bataille 1613** f. 63v). In this unhappy state it is natural to turn to nature and lament one's woes to woods, rocks, and streams, and of forty or so clearly lamentory poems on the theme of love, about half make a feature of such Petrarchan pastoral imagery (*Agreables desers* - **Bataille 1611** f. 10v).

Regardless of whether it is a cause of anguish, love is explicitly unrequited in about a hundred airs. Hopeful aspiration is rarer: only twenty or so airs suggest this (*O nuit tant de fois desirée* - **Bataille 1609** f. 49v), but a good number of airs are devoted to praising the virtues, especially the beauty, of an adored object: this features strongly in another seventy or so airs (*Divine Amarillis* - **Boesset 1632** f. 17v). Inconstancy is a prominent theme in about sixty airs; fidelity appears at most a quarter as often. It is not uncommon (about thirty airs) to note the cruelty of the beloved (*Je n'estimois qu'en ces yeux* - **Bataille 1614** f. 18v), or to compare the state of love to one of enslavement or imprisonment (about twenty-five airs - *Depuis qu'amour pour triumpher* - **Ballard 1618** f. 16v), and the abandonment of a lover as a state of release (about twenty airs - *Adieu volage empire* - **Bataille 1614** f. 14v). Airs that stress the happy condition of love (*Vous me nommés un incensé* - **Bataille 1611** f. 7v) are quite rare - only about thirty-five or so are like this, though about another twenty move away from the courtly aesthetic and are more obviously amorous (*Un jour l'amoureuse Silvie* - **Bataille 1613** f. 7v), occasionally even bawdy (*Ma bergere non legere* - **Bataille 1613** f. 10v) in character.

Of the approximately three hundred lute-songs not on the theme of love, about one third are sacred airs (mostly psalms, most of them found in **Caignet 1625**), and another third have texts directly related to the

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[4] For a study of French court society see **Elias 1983**. For a short but effective summary of some possible connections between such societal conventions and musical style, albeit one focused on French harpsichord music, see **Martin 1995**. The notions of 'dissimulation' and 'bon goût' applied by Martin to the *agréments* and *stile brisé* of solo instrumental music can be applied equally effectively to the non-metrical and sometimes deliberately ambiguous rhythms of the melodies of the *air de cour* and to its ornamentation. Also, *stile brisé* itself can be found in the lute-song accompaniments, as described below. It is worth adding that the element of *dissimulation* in *airs de cour* was recognised but not always highly regarded. The cleric Mersenne alludes to such characteristics of 'chansons de Cour' quite critically: 'D'où il est aisé de conclure que toutes les chansons de Cour qui n'ont point d'autre sujet que les profanes, & qui ne contiennent autre chose que les loüanges des hommes, qui ne subsistent le plus souvent que dans les flatteries, & qui n'ont point d'autre soustien que la vanité & le mensonge, ne peuvent estre parfaites, puis que la verité leur manque, sans laquelle il n'y a nulle perfection ...'. *Harmonie Universelle*, Livre Second des Chants, Proposition XXII, p. 158.

'action' of a *ballet de cour*. The remainder include laments where love is the likely but not the explicit cause of lamentation (*Quand le flambeau du monde* - **Bataille 1608** f. 54v), or *airs à boire*. A substantial number are political songs praising the King (who is often compared to the sun - an anticipation of the common description of Louis XIV) or Queen, or referring to specific royal events, such as Guédron's setting of *C'en est fait je ne verray plus* (**Bataille 1613** f. 1v), a lament on the death of Henri IV.[5]

Songs from a woman's perspective are rare, and appear earlier rather than later.[6] With the exception of *airs de ballet*, or *dialogues*, both of which offer a quasi-dramatic context for a woman singer, these all tend to lament the inconstancy of lovers. There are a number of airs too, thirty or so, that attempt to draw a moral of some sort (*O bienheureux qui peut se passer* - **Bataille 1609** f. 57v), and about half that number are largely narrative (*Lors que Léandre amoureux* - **Bataille 1608** f. 42v), a number of them with mythological or pastoral references. The overwhelming majority of poems are in the first person, however.

The generalised, stereotypical nature of these texts finds its equivalent in formal verse patterns, which in turn influence musical form. Fewer than twenty airs have only a single verse. Three- (over two hundred and fifty airs) and four-verse (about two hundred airs) poems are most common. About a hundred and fifty have two or five verses, about eighty songs have six verses, and about fifty have five. Songs with more than ten verses are rare, though there are two songs with more than twenty verses, both *complaintes*.[7] Amongst these, six-line verses (*sixains*) are most common (about five hundred airs), followed by four-line verses (*quatrains*) - about three hundred and fifty airs. About fifty songs have verses of five or eight lines, and there are also a small number of irregular verses of anything from two and fourteen lines. Within these verses the octosyllabic line is by far the most common. Almost a hundred of the *quatrains* and over one hundred and seventy-five of the *sixains* consist entirely of octosyllabic lines, and octosyllabic lines also feature frequently in verses with irregular line lengths. This marks a significant departure from the 'norm' of the sixteenth-century chanson, which was the decasyllabic line. The twelve-syllable alexandrine is comparatively rare: only sixteen *quatrains* and twelve *sixains* consist entirely of alexandrines, though there is a substantial number of poems which mix alexandrines with lines of six or eight syllables in various patterns. There is no obvious connection between the structure of the verse and the character of the text.

When we turn to rhyme scheme it is possible to see the influence of poetical on musical form. This is most obviously the case with the *sixain* which is the most common length of verse capable of accommodating a wide variety of rhyme schemes and musical forms.

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[5] Another such air is Malherbe's *Cette Anne si belle* which, according to Racan, was written in fifteen minutes at the request of Marais, porte-manteau to the King. The poor quality of this air was parodied by Théophile among others, in doggerel: *Ce brave Malherbe / Qu'on tient si parfait / Donnez-lui de l'herbe / Car il a bien fait.* See **Prunières 1914** p. 177.

[6] Examples include **Bataille 1608**: *Ayant aymé fidellement* (f. 14v); **Bataille 1609**: *Il s'en va l'infidelle* (f. 26v); **Bataille 1614**: *Quoy? ne suis-je pas assés belle* (f. 16v), *Il est donc vray volage* (f. 66v).

[7] *A quel point* (**Bataille 1611** f. 30v) and *La plus miserable amante*, (**Bataille 1609** f. 38v)

Table 4.1: Core repertoire. Relationship between poetical and musical form in six-line verses.

Rhyme Scheme	Musical form[8]	
(i) aabccb (*c.*120 airs)	abcdef	(65 airs)
	aabcde	(4 airs)
	abcd‖:ef:‖	(8 airs)
	‖:abc:‖def	(2 airs)
	abc‖:def:‖	(37 airs)
	‖:abc:‖:def:‖	(23 airs)
(ii) aabcbc (*c.*89 airs)	abcdef	(19 airs)
	abc‖:def:‖	(23 airs)
	‖:abc:‖:def:‖	(37 airs)
	abcd‖:ef:‖	(3 airs)
(iii) aabbcc (*c.*19 airs)	Only one air with a medial repeat (‖:abc:‖:def:‖)	
(iv) ababcc (*c.*190 airs)	abcdef	(13 airs)
	ababcd	(8 airs)
	abab‖:cd:‖	(79 airs)
	abac‖:de:‖	(4 airs)
	abcd‖:ef:‖	(64 airs)
	‖:abcd:‖:ef:‖	(4 airs)
	‖:ab:‖cd‖:ef:‖	(8 airs)
	abc‖:def:‖	(2 airs)
	‖:abc:‖:def:‖	(3 airs)
(v) abbacc (*c.*57 airs)	abcdef	(6 airs)
	abba‖:cd:‖	(1 air)
	abcd‖:ef:‖	(33 airs)
	‖:abcd:‖:ef:‖	(4 airs)
	‖:ab:‖cd‖:ef:‖	(5 airs)
	‖:abc:‖def	(1 air)
	abc‖:def:‖	(1 air)
	‖:abc:‖:def:‖	(6 airs)

Table 4.1 gives the most common rhyme schemes used in six-line verses, and the musical forms in which they are set. Three broad types of musical form predominate: 1. through-composed verses, with no repeated sections (e.g. abcdef); 2. forms where the last two lines are repeated (e.g. abcd‖:ef:‖); and 3. forms where there is a repeat half-way through the verse (e.g. abc‖:def:‖ or ‖:abc:‖:def:‖). There is a strong tendency for verses in which the last two lines rhyme (iii-v above) to be set to the second type of musical form, where these lines are repeated, and for songs where the first two lines rhyme and hence have rhyming lines in the

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[8] There is an element of simplification in the following formal descriptions, with slight variants ignored. Thus a pattern such as abab‖:cd:‖ is given as abab‖:cd:‖, and abcb‖:de:‖ given as abcd‖:ef:‖. Text repetition is similarly ignored, even though there are a few cases where this significantly affects the musical design (producing a form such as abcdefGH). For this an other reasons the numbers of airs listed should be regarded as approximations. Most songs do conform to the descriptions given in the table, however.

second half of the verse (i and ii above) to be through-composed or to have a medial repeat (the first and third types).

Only three rhyme schemes appear with any frequency among the *quatrains*: aabb (about one hundred airs), abab (about two hundred airs), and abba (about fifty airs). The most common musical form for each of these patterns involves a repeat half-way through the verse (e.g. ab‖:cd:‖ or ‖:ab:‖:cd:‖), though a substantial number make no use of repeated sections (abcd). Musical settings which repeat only the last line are rare, but are most likely to be attached to abba rhyme schemes. Otherwise, these four-line verses are clearly too short for rhyme scheme to be of much significance for musical form. Five-line verses have much more varied and idiosyncratic rhyme schemes (aabab being the most common), and repeats tend to come at any point in the verse, though it is noticeable that verses that begin with a rhyming couplet (aa....) are less likely to have a musical repeat after these first two lines than verses which do not (ab....). In the case of eight-line verses, we can distinguish between the majority which have self-contained rhyme schemes within each half verse (e.g. ababcdcd) and a few which do not (e.g. aabccbdd). As one might expect, one only finds repeats after the first four lines of such verses in the former case, and one often finds a match between repeated musical lines and rhyme scheme in these cases too (for instance, of the twenty or so airs with the rhyme scheme ababcdcd, three have the musical form ababcdcd, and eleven more have a musical form beginning abab....). There is, then, a great variety of musical structures attached to these different types of verse, and a great deal of freedom in relating musical and poetical form, but nonetheless a tendency to pay some heed to rhyme scheme in determining musical structure, and a clear preference for a few musical designs in particular.

Also intimately connected with musical form is the use of a poetic refrain - that is, the repetition of lines from verse to verse, itself an indication of poetry designed for musical setting. About three hundred airs repeat text from verse to verse, most frequently the last two lines of a *sixain*.[9] Of the one hundred and seventy or so *sixains* that treat the last two lines as a refrain, the great majority (about a hundred and fifty) have a musical form that involves repetition of these lines (especially abcd‖:ef:‖ - over seventy-five airs). Since these 'refrain' lines usually rhyme, this probably accounts in part for the association between rhyme scheme and musical form described above.

In addition to giving an idea of the relationship between musical and poetic form, the preceding discussion gives some indication of the types of formal design employed in the lute-airs. Most common are through-composed verses, verses which repeat the last half or third of a verse, or which repeat both halves of a verse. Less common (but by no means rare) are forms which repeat the opening lines of a song (forms such as ababcd for a *sixain* or, less frequently, ‖:ab:‖cd for a *quatrain*), or which repeat the outer sections of a verse, but not the inner lines (e.g. ‖:ab:‖cd‖:ef:‖).

While one looks in vain for a radical evolution in the style of the lute-air in the seventeenth century, there are nonetheless subtle developments in the form of the poetry and the way it is set to music. Table 4.2

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[9] Over one hundred and seventy *sixaines* have refrains beginning on the fifth line. A further thirty odd have refrains beginning on the fourth line (that is, half way through the verse), and about twenty repeat the last line only from verse to verse.

breaks the core repertoire down into four periods, 1608-1611, 1611-1615, 1617-1623, and 1624-1643, and indicates the use of the most popular musical forms attached to *quatrains* and *sixains*.

Table 4.2: Distribution of four-line and six-line verses in the core repertoire publications, and most common musical forms associated with them

I. 1608-1611 (includes **Bataille 1608, 1609, 1611**) - (214 airs)

Quatrains (103 airs)	abcd	29 airs
	ab‖:cd:‖	47
	‖:ab:‖:cd:‖	7
	abc‖:d:‖	11
Sixains (83 airs)	abcdef	14
	abcd‖:ef:‖	27
	abab‖:cd:‖	25
	abc‖:def:‖	11
	‖:abc:‖:def:‖	1
	‖:ab:‖cd‖:ef:‖	0

II. 1613-1615 (includes **Bataille 1613, 1614, 1615**) - (194 airs)

Quatrains (82 airs)	abcd	36 airs
	ab‖:cd:‖	28
	‖:ab:‖:cd:‖	11
	abc‖:d:‖	3
Sixains (83 airs)	abcdef	24
	abcd‖:ef:‖	19
	abab‖:cd:‖	23
	abc‖:def:‖	5
	‖:abc:‖:def:‖	1
	‖:ab:‖cd‖:ef:‖	1

III. 1617-1623 (includes **Ballard 1617, 1618, 1623, Boyer 1621, Boesset 1620, 1621, De Rigaud 1623**) - (285 airs)

Quatrains (116 airs)	abcd	23 airs
	ab‖:cd:‖	51
	‖:ab:‖:cd:‖	29
	abc‖:d:‖	5
Sixains (141 airs)	abcdef	23
	abcd‖:ef:‖	34
	abab‖:cd:‖	23
	abc‖:def:‖	34
	‖:abc:‖:def:‖	9
	‖:ab:‖cd‖:ef:‖	2

IV. 1624-1643 (includes **Boesset 1624, 1626, 1628, 1632, 1643, Moulinié 1624, 1625, 1629, 1633, 1635, Richard 1637**) - (277 airs)

Quatrains (52 airs)	abcd	5 airs
	ab‖:cd:‖	9
	‖:ab:‖:cd:‖	30
	abc‖:d:‖	3
Sixains (180 airs)	abcdef	10
	abcd‖:ef:‖	45
	abab‖:cd:‖	12
	abc‖:def:‖	17
	‖:abc:‖:def:‖	60
	‖:ab:‖cd‖:ef:‖	13

The most obvious development here is the triumph of the *sixain* over the *quatrain*, with the former comprising the minority of songs in the first group, drawing equal in the second group, becoming the majority in the third group, and becoming almost the norm after 1623. This should be seen in conjunction with the changing preference for repeat formulae used in these periods. Through-composed verses, with no repeated sections, are fairly common up to 1623, but then become increasingly unpopular. The same decline can be seen in forms that use the same music to set different lines of text (abab‖:cd:‖). By contrast, forms which repeat substantial portions of the song (‖:ab:‖:cd:‖ and ‖:abc:‖:def:‖) become increasingly common, especially from the 1620s onwards - a development especially prominent among the *sixains* of the last group of publications.

It may be that we see here a small-scale instance of the principle that much of the history of music has consisted of composers finding ways to make pieces last longer. The clear implication is that composers were increasingly interested in setting longer texts, though without returning to the undue weight of the alexandrine. This is a development especially noticeable in the period from about 1621 onwards, when the air became the domain almost exclusively of a relatively small number of professional court musicians, and anonymous airs become a rarity. Hence the preference not only for the longer verse form of the *sixain*, but for a greater amount of repetition within an air. This also fits in with a tendency for the air to settle down with the generation of Boesset and Moulinié into a consistent pattern of both poetry and music, with relatively little of the melodic or formal variety one finds with a composer such as Guédron. This is visible in the increasing prominence of *sixains* with refrain lines (that is, the fifth and sixth lines the same or similar in each verse). About a quarter of the airs in the collections up to and including 1623 have such refrains, whereas this is true of well over half the airs printed after this date. The virtual abandonment of forms in which different text is set to repeated lines of music also reflects the later style, with music that is melodically less memorable, but also more flexible and directly responsive to the text.

Harmony and melody

Harmonic characteristics

The *air de cour* is above all a melodic genre. The fact that so many of the songs appeared in solo voice publications testifies to this. While polyphonic airs occasionally show quite sophisticated textural variety, and the lute-song accompaniments have some idiomatic characteristics discussed below, the main musical interest and most distinctive characteristics of the songs reside in the vocal melody. But the harmonic character of the lute-airs first requires some brief discussion.

There is generally quite a fast harmonic tempo in these songs. The settings are largely syllabic, and the harmony tends to change on the syllable. On a survey of the first ten syllables of the one thousand or so lute-airs of the core repertoire (where, if anything, we can expect harmonies to change more slowly than later in the song), over three hundred airs have nine or ten changes of harmony, about three hundred and fifty have seven or eight such changes, about two hundred have five or six such changes, and over fifty change harmony four times or fewer. Only a handful of airs (fewer than twenty) have a harmonic tempo of more than one per note/syllable (i.e. eleven changes of harmony or more per ten syllables of text). There is some evidence of the rate of harmonic change slowing in the publications after about 1620, but to no radical extent. In the publications from 1608 to 1620, containing over five hundred and fifty airs, about 20% of songs have a harmonic tempo of 1-6 (that is, between one and six changes of harmony against the first ten syllables of text), and 53% a tempo of 1-8. In the publications between 1621 and 1643, 33% or airs have a harmonic tempo of 1-6, and 70% of 1-8.

The harmonic repertoire of the songs consists of major and minor versions of chords I to VI of the scale, along with the the diminished chord VII in first inversion (rare), or the major version of chord VII based on a flattened root (e.g. a chord of F major in G minor).[10] These chords appear in root position or first inversion, but the latter are still comparatively rare: something like a third of the songs have only root position chords in their harmonies against the first ten syllables of text, and it is unusual for more than one or two first inversion chords to appear in those airs that do have them. Despite the emphasis on root position chords, consecutives are largely avoided through the free approach to texture in the songs (the tendency for parts to drop in and out, and for thirds of chords to be omitted), and especially through the extended possibilities offered by a considerable use of what we would call the relative major (in minor keys) and its dominant. This emphasis on chords III and flattened VII is in fact the most distinctive harmonic characteristic of the songs. About half the airs include chord III against the first ten syllables of text, mostly the major version (about 75% of the time). Approaching a third of the airs include the flattened chord VII in the opening. This is similar in number to chord VI (major or minor), and significantly more than chord II (major or minor), which appears against the first ten syllables of roughly two hundred airs.

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[10] In the following discussion terms usually associated with functional/tonal harmony are freely employed as the most efficient manner of describing what is happening in these songs from a harmonic perspective; no implication that the songs were originally conceived in these terms is intended.

The emphasis on the mediant is also reflected in the cadences used in the songs.[11] The great majority of these are on tonic or dominant, but up to half the airs include a cadence on chord III. Cadences on IV or VI are rare, on the other hand, despite the fact that the subdominant chord (major or minor) is employed a great deal in the course of the airs (it appears against the first ten syllables of up to seven hundred songs). It is much more common than the supertonic which appears, in major or minor form, against the first ten syllables of only two hundred airs or so. A few songs cadence only on the tonic, but medial cadences on the dominant are common. Chord VII (flattened root) is the most common form of secondary dominant, but the major version of chord II is also used this way. The progression II (major) -V appears against the first ten syllables of up to fifty airs; in the same sample, the progression VII-III appears twice as often.

Dissonance treatment in the songs is largely conventional. Dissonances are almost invariably prepared, are mostly confined to the suspended fourth, and sevenths are almost always passing. Extra harmonic interest is, however, provided by passing and auxiliary notes, and various forms of arpeggiation described below.

It is natural to see in this harmonic style the persistence of modal patterns of thought. But it is worth noting that the overwhelming majority of songs begin and end on a single tonic (a major form of a tonic minor [or, anachronistically, *tierce de picardie*] being usual at cadences), and it is usual to include the third of chords (with the exception of some types of IV^0 chords); in this, the lute-song versions sometimes differ from the polyphonic versions of the same airs. One should also bear in mind that in short, simple songs which allow little scope for developed modulation, it is natural to secure harmonic movement and variety through an emphasis on what might be called modally-related chords (those a third away from the tonic), and one does not require a modal theory to account for this. Harmonic thinking of the sort described here is also common in much contemporary (i.e. post-war) folk and popular music where, again, harmonic interest has to be generated through tonal ambiguity rather than genuine modulation.[12]

Melody: rhythmic styles

Most *air de cour* melodies emphasise conjunct movement, and have a limited range of mostly an octave or less, and very rarely of more than a ninth. This is all in keeping with a simple form of song suitable and no doubt often intended for amateur performance. But the rhythmic character of the airs varies considerably, and contributes to the most distinctive aspects of the genre; it is this aspect of them that warrants most attention.

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[11] Deciding what should be regarded as a cadence in these short songs is far from straightforward and difficult to achieve with any consistency. Clear phrase endings (melodic and harmonic) associated with line endings have generally-speaking been treated as cadence points for present purposes.

[12] For a different approach to the question of tonal thinking in the early seventeenth-century *air de cour*, see **Coerdevey 1991**, which subjects the airs of Etienne Moulinié to Schenkerian analysis.

The most fundamental distinction between rhythmic types is that given by Mersenne and Parran, who distinguish between 'musique [or 'mesure'] d'air' and other types, such as 'musique légère'.[13] In 1636 Mersenne makes the distinction as follows:

> The song that one calls *Vaudeville* is the simplest of all airs, and is applied to all types of Poetry that are sung note against note without metre, and only according to the longs and shorts which are found in the line [of text], that which one calls *mesure d'Air*; included under this is Church plainchant, Faux-bourdons, Airs de Cour, Chansons à danser et à boire, and Vaudevilles, and often only the melody is sounded, also called the *sujet*, and this without chords or harmonies from the other parts, because to make a *chanson* simply means to *put into song*, or *set some words to music*. It is this great facility that leads us to call chansons *Vaudevilles*, because the poorest artisans can sing them, while the composer usually ignores the mysteries of figured counterpoint, of fugues, and of syncopations, and is happy to give a movement [rhythm] and melody pleasing to the ear; that which one calls by the name *Air*, like its principal and sometimes its only part ...[14]

A few years later, Parran distinguishes between airs in which 'the beat, or common movement, is not given in a metre [*en mesure réglée*]: but one beats almost each note, and is called *Musique d'Air*, secondly in light and gay music, similar to the air, where the common, regular beat is given ...'. [15]

Chastillon de la Tour does not use the term *musique d'air*, but alludes to a similar distinction to that given by Parran as early as 1593, in distinguishing between 'music where you will find bar-lines [at the ends of phrases] [which] is without metre: the other is sung with metre.'[16]

Mersenne's description, the most detailed, is also the most confused, for having defined *mesure d'air* not only as a characteristic of the *vaudeville*, but more importantly as an ametrical melody, he goes on to apply it to dance songs as well as other forms such as the *air de cour*. One can only make sense of Mersenne if one understand *Vaudeville* as a general kind of simple and essentially melodic music (including dance songs), which may or may not have the character of *mesure d'air*. The essential characteristics of *mesure d'air* are, for Mersenne, that it is ametrical, and that its rhythm is based on long and short syllables of the

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13 The term 'musique légère' is sometimes taken as covering all airs that are not *en musique d'air*. Verchaly gives this impression in his introductions to **Verchaly 1961** and **1966**, and Heartz implicitly acquiesces to it in **Heartz 1962**. Reasons are given below why the term 'musique légère' should not be construed this way and is, in fact, better understood in such a way that it incorporates some airs that are also, to a degree, ametrical.

14 *Or la chanson que l'on appelle* Vaudeville *est la plus simple de tous les Airs, & s'applique à toute sorte de Poësie que l'on chant note contre note sans mesure reglee, & seulement selon les longues & les breves qui se trouvent dans les vers, ce que l'on appelle* mesure d'Air*; sous laquelle sont compris le plein chant de l'Eglise, les Fauxbourdons, les Airs de Cour, les Chansons à danser & à boire, & les Vaudevilles, & n'y a souvent que le seul Dessus qui parle, que l'on appelle aussi* le sujet, *& ce sans accords ou consonances des autres parties, parce que faire une* chanson *signifie simplement* mettre en chant, *ou* donner le chant à quelques paroles. *Or cette grande facilité fait appeller les chansons* Vaudevilles, *parce que les moindres artisans sont capables de les chanter, dautant que l'autheur n'y observe pas ordinaireent les curieuses recherches du contre-point figuré, des fugues, & des syncopes, & se contente d'y donner un mouvement & un air agreable à l'oreille; ce que l'on nomme du nom* d'Air, *comme de sa principale, & presque seule partie ...* Mersenne, *Harmonie Universelle*, Livre Second des Chants, Proposition XXIII, p. 164.

15 '... où le battement, ou mouvement commun, ne se baille pas en mesure réglée: main on bat quasi chaque note, et s'appelle *Musique d'Air*, secondement en musique légère et gaye, approchant de l'air, où se baille la mesure réglée commune...'. **Parran 1639** p. 85. Quoted in **Verchaly 1966** p. vii.

16 'La musique où tu trouveras des barres est sans mesure: l'autre se chante avec mesure.' Quoted in the modern edition of Chastillon's *Airs et Chansons* of 1611 (**Leroy 1986**) p. 22 n. 4.

text: that is, the most important principle governing *musique mesurée*. Music *en mesure d'air* is not necessarily *musique mesurée à l'antique* itself, however, for this must by definition be based on *vers mesurés* using classical metres, and Mersenne makes no mention of this at this point of the book.

We can see the difference between songs *en musique d'air* and others by comparing Examples 4.1 and 4.2. The latter (*Destin*) falls into a consistent triple metre, with an upbeat indicated by rests, and with syncopation at the cadences. The former (*Si jamais*), on the other hand, is comprised of uneven groupings of three and four beats which, if barred, would require constant fluctuation between duple and triple time, or possibly longer, uneven groupings of five beats or more - features typical of a song *en musique d'air*.

We should also introduce a third group at this point. These are airs in which metre, or combination of metres, is disrupted only at the cadence. An example is *Que de douleurs* (**Bataille 1611**), where a triple metre (treating the first beat as an anacrusis) is disrupted only by an extra beat to give two longs on feminine endings (lines 1 and 3), or a missing beat to produce a single long on masculine endings (line 2). The breaking of the rhythmic pattern allows the composer some license at the start of the last line to introduce another anacrusis (Example 4.3). This is one type of air described as 'quasi-metrical' below and in the previous chapter, and it may be accounted for simply in terms of the habitual use of certain types of cadential pattern, but also perhaps by a desire to leave room for ornamentation at the cadence.

Apart from airs showing such disruptive cadences, the term 'quasi-metrical' is also appropriate for airs such as Guédron's *Un jour l'amoureuse Silvie* (Example 4.4).[17] This air can be counted in triple metre throughout, but a combination of syncopation with natural accentuation of the text is almost bound to ensure that this is obscured, and replaced with an alteration of triple and duple note groups. Thus one is most likely to hear the first line not as:

```
3 >          |  >          |  >      |  >    ||
  Un jour l'a - mou - reu - se  Sil - vi - e
```

but rather as:

```
     |3 >              |2 >  |3 >       |  >    ||
  Un  jour l'a - mou  - reu   - se    Sil - vi - e.
```

In cases such as these it is largely through a mixture of rhythmic freedom, including syncopation, and word accent that metre is disrupted.

Some airs may be quasi-metrical in both these ways: Boesset's *Divine Amarillis* (Example 4.5) is one such, with an extra beat at the first principal cadence, and a syncopated opening which, combined with a more natural (but still imperfect) scansion of the text, is almost certain to undermine the triple metre for a time, and produce a sense of its emergence as the song progresses:

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[17] A full transcription appears in **Verchaly 1961** no. 24

4 > |2 > |3 >
Di - vin - e'A - ma - |- ril - | - lis

The most remarkable of these melodic styles, and that which has attracted the most attention, is that of *musique d'air*, which abandons any hope of a *tactus* which was the rhythmic starting-point for sixteenth-century music of all kinds. This and the quasi-metrical style is the normal way of setting an *air sérieux*, and we shall look at this first.

The most common, and still a highly plausible, explanation for the character of *musique d'air* is that already hinted at by Mersenne in the passage quoted above where, in relating long and short musical notes to the longs and shorts of the text, he implies the influence of *musique mesurée*. That interest in *musique mesurée* was still alive in the early seventeenth century is clear from the posthumous publication of Le Jeune's and also du Caurroy's measured airs up to 1610, the activity of Jacques Mauduit during the same period (Mauduit being an enthusiastic exponent of the genre), and Mersenne's own interest, largely inspired by Mauduit, apparent throughout the *Harmonie Universelle*. Mersenne attempts to explain all possible rhythmic patterns in terms of poetic metres, and advocates their use as a means of composing airs. He includes lists of such metres and common combinations of them, and it is his terminology that is used in the following discussion (see Facsimile 4.1).

There are also several examples of *musique mesurée* in the early lute-song books. Mauduit's *Eau-vive, sourse d'amour* (**Bataille 1611**) on a text by Baïf, is also reproduced in Mersenne with Baïf's original orthography as an example of how to set *vers mesurés* to music,[18] while his *Soit que l'oeil pourveu* (**Bataille 1614**) is, as Masson has pointed out,[19] a pure example of Sapphic verse, with its five metrical feet composed of a trochee (—∪), spondee (——), dactyl (—∪∪), and two more trochees (see Example 4.6).[20] The rhythmic similarity between this *musique mesurée* air and the style of Guédron's *Si jamais* is suggestive of a link between melodies *en musique d'air* and *musique mesurée* itself.

This connection has been asserted by several scholars, including Gérold and Verchaly, but investigated in any detail only by D.P. Walker and Don Royster.[21] Walker identifies two types of song *en musique d'air* in the Bataille series of lute-airs. Both are ametrical (Walker uses the term 'beat' rather than 'metre')[22] and employ, for the most part, only two note values (as in Example 4.1 above), one twice the value of the other, per syllable. But in the first group musical rhythm can be related to the metre of the text through the use of long notes at the *coupe* (caesura) and at the ends of lines, whereas in the other it 'is completely free and has

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[18] *Harmonie Universelle*, Embellissement des Chants, p. 419
[19] **Masson 1921** p. 1311
[20] A full transcription appears in **Verchaly 1961** no. 34. In the *Table* to the 1614 collection the title of the air is given as *Soit que l'oeil orné*.
[21] **Walker 1948** (reprinted in **Walker 1985**), and **Royster 1973** Chapters 1-2. Walker's article is best read in conjunction with these chapters of Royster's thesis, and also Daniel Heartz's review of Verchaly's anthology of lute-airs (**Heartz 1962**), both of whom identify elements of confusion in Walker's account.
[22] Heartz takes Walker to task for this, but it is in fact almost certainly a deliberate expedient to avoid confusion between poetic metre and musical metre. Songs which use a consistent poetic metre may be musically ametrical. In the following discussion I have tried to distinguish the two, and in referring to metrical or ametrical airs (rather than texts) it should be understood that musical metre (such as triple or duple time) is what is implied.

no intelligible plan'.[23] The former Walker regards as the 'intelligent, conscious imitation of *musique mesurée*', which also usually highlights the *coupe* of a line and the endings of lines with long notes, while the latter are more likely 'the product of superficial or unconscious imitation'.[24] Walker also notes the important distinction between truly ametrical airs and the first type of quasi-metrical air as described above.[25]

Whilst making many interesting observations in his article, Walker does not so much account for the presence of ametrical rhythms in seventeenth-century *airs de cour* as leave this implicit. The features he identifies as indicating a conscious imitation of *musique mesurée*, long notes at the *coupe* of a line or at the cadence, are common in *musique mesurée* but are not confined to it,[26] and are by no means its most significant features. On the question of how ametrical rhythm (*musique d'air*) might have been transmitted from *musique mesurée* to the *air de cour* Walker is largely silent.

This question is tackled in much greater detail by Royster who, taking his cue from Mersenne and with reference chiefly to the early airs of Guédron, argues that thinking in terms of classical poetic metres continued to hold sway over composers of *airs de cour* long after they had ceased composing *musique mesurée*. One reason why much (but not all) *musique mesurée* is ametrical is that it combines metrical feet that imply different musical metres: this is the case with *Soit que l'oeil pourveu* above.[27] Composers of *airs de cour* may have continued to construct melodies from classical metres, only without the underlying rationale of reviving classical techniques, and possibly without regard for making a connection between long and short syllables and long and short notes.

Royster finds many examples among the early airs of Guédron (those of his 1602 polyphonic collection) where the composer is apparently thinking in terms of poetic metres. The most obvious examples are those where Guédron attempts to impose a consistent, short metrical pattern on the music. *Adieu bergère pour jamais* (Example 2.4) is one such where, Royster argues, Guédron sets the first line exclusively with the *ionique mineur* foot (∪ ∪ — —), avoiding the more obvious iambs (∪ —) implicit in the text and tolerating the unnatural accent on '*ber*gere', in favour of a pattern that allows him to end the line with two longs (something he is more willing to forego in his later airs, according to Royster). Having established this pattern for the opening, Guédron attempts to impose it on the rest of the song, but adapts it in order to accommodate feminine line endings where they appear in the rest of the air.

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[23] **Walker 1948** p. 141
[24] **Walker 1948** p. 147
[25] Walker describes these metrically disruptive cadences as a written out fermata or ritardando. But this is not at all appropriate for describing the musical effect, which is too precise for a pause, and gives no feeling of rubato at all. They are a rhythmic habit attached epecially to feminine endings which, as discussed below, can be traced well back into the sixteenth century, where their function is probably to articulate the structure of the text, and may be in imitation of the *frottola*.
[26] A long note at the *coupe* of a line is, as we have seen, a feature of the Parisian chanson of the early sixteenth century, and any composer sensitive to his text was likely to observe it in some way (Josquin does so in *Mille regretz* for instance). Long-note endings were a commonplace in various forms, some of which are discussed below, and may also be accounted for by the composer leaving room for a cadential ornament.
[27] This is not the only reason. Another is the phenomenon we have seen in the quasi-metrical air, where a musical metre (often the result of using a single metrical foot, such as the iambe or trochee) is disrupted by long notes at the cadence.

The application of a single metrical pattern to an air here is often at the expense of the natural accentuation of the text, with implausible stresses on, for instance, '*be*rgere', '*mon*', and '*ser*vage'. This often results, Royster suggests, from the composer matching the first line of text to a metrical pattern, and then imposing that pattern on the rest of the song, regardless of accentuation.

In other airs the influence of *musique mesurée* is felt in a different way (this distinction is implicit in Royster's account, though he does not present it as such). Rather than attempting to 'find large units of uniform scansion' in a text to apply to an air (as in the *ionique mineurs* of *Adieu bergere*, say), Guédron looks 'at individual words to determine their possible metrical constituents' - that is, their long and short syllables.[28] This is the case with *Je voudrois bien chanter* in **GuédronP 1613** and **Bataille 1613**,[29] which freely combines trochees (at the opening, say) with other metrical feet and the conventional cadential longs in the interest of securing a natural declamation of the text.[30] In this case, the association with *musique mesurée* is that of the metrical freedom that comes with combining different metrical feet in the interest of natural declamation, along with the use of only two note values (with the exception of the crotchets on 'ce n'estoit' and assuming the equivalence of the semibreve and dotted semibreve in the case of *Je voudrois*). These types of association increasingly break down, Royster argues, as Guédron frees himself from conventional cadential formulae inherited from *musique mesurée*, from recognisable metrical patterns, and from a rigid adherence to only two note values (short and long, represented by crotchet and minim or minim and semibreve), all largely through the quest for a more natural declamation of the text. It is a rapid evolution that Royster traces already between Guédron's first collection of 1602, and its revised and expanded version of 1608, implying that the imposition of consistent metrical feet was at its height in the 1590s, the period when many of the 1602 airs were composed.

According to this position, two different aspects of *musique mesurée* are at work on the later *air de cour*. The first is the application of consistent poetic metres (whether simple lines based on a single foot, such as the iamb (∪ —), or more complex combinations of feet as in Sapphic verse) as the basis for a composition. The second is the attempt to match the duration of notes to length of syllables in a text. In *musique mesurée* these are theoretically combined, for a *vers mesurés* text is written to a poetic metre in such a way that long and short syllables fall in the appropriate places (this is the theory; in practice, the difficulty of fixing the length of syllables in the French language, and the fact that long syllables may not coincide with tonic accents, sabotages the attempt, and *musique mesurée* often fails to produce natural accentuation - a fact overlooked by Walker). In the *air de cour*, on the other hand, a composer might attempt one approach or the other (i.e. either to impose a consistent poetic metre, or to follow natural speech rhythms), both being capable of producing the ametrical rhythms of *musique d'air*. One could argue that *Si jamais* (above) exemplifies the influence of *musique mesurée* in both ways. Like much of *Adieu bergere*, the second half

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[28] **Royster 1973** p. 62

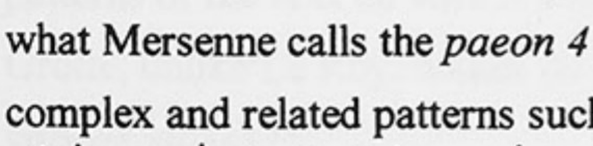
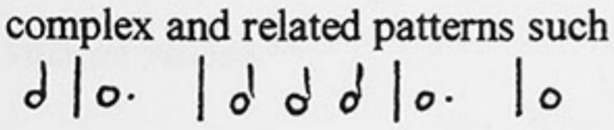
[29] Transcribed in **Verchaly 1961** no. 26. The text makes an oblique reference to Catherine de Médicis, and was therefore written prior to 1589. Guédron's setting may date from this period, or may have been made later.

[30] Word (or tonic) accent and syllabic length are intimately connected, especially in French where both are variable and more likely to operate on each other. In ascertaining length of syllables even Baïf apparently took word accent into consideration (see **Bonniffet 1988** p. 58. Bonniffet differs from earlier writers, such as Augé-Chiquet, Yates and others in claiming that Baïf did not confuse tonic accent and length of syllables, but rather considered that tonic accent was capable of lengthening a syllable.)

of the song is characterised by a consistent use of the *ionique mineur* foot. The first line, on the other hand, could be described as being constituted by a variety of metrical feet (iambe, iambe, palimbachean and spondee using Mersenne's terminology), or as an extremely free treatment of an underlying iambic pattern, but in either case in the interests of a more natural accentuation of the text.

We could summarise this account as follows. In the 1590s and early 1600s, composers took note of the consistent use of metrical patterns using only two note values and derived from poetic metres in *musique mesurée*, and applied them to the *air de cour*, but without a rigorous attempt to match long and short notes to long and short syllables that was at the heart of *musique mesurée*. These patterns, especially when combined with distinct cadential formulae (most notably, two long notes at the end of a line), helped produce the ametrical character of *musique d'air*, a tendency further exaggerated by attempts to modify these patterns to produce better matching of word and musical accent. The distinctive rhythmic style of the air that followed from this eventually acquired a life of its own, so that even when composers were no longer paying explicit attention to reproducing consistent metrical patterns, and became increasingly interested in accurate declamation, they retained the ametrical character of the melodies. That is, they attempted good declamation through a free association of long and short notes, rather than by the placing of such notes in a (musically) metrical scheme.

This account goes some way towards explaining the style of *musique d'air*. However, it tends to fit the airs of Guédron (who tried his hand at the composition of both *vers mesurés* and *musique mesurée*)[31] rather better than those of other composers writing airs in the 1580s and 90s. While composers such as Planson, the Tessiers, Bonnet and so on often confine themselves to two note values, there is little evidence of simple patterns of poetic feet being used. Indeed, it may be that Royster places too much weight altogether on the influence of *musique mesurée* in this respect, and that what we in fact see in the early *air de cour* owes as much to the history of the *voix de ville* and to dance rhythms more generally as to the humanist experiments of the *Académie*. This possibility needs some exploration here.

Rhythmic patterns of various kinds are a staple of many sorts of sixteenth-century music, and not least the *voix de ville* where they act in the interests of simple dance music rather than humanist ideals. This is evident in the guitar-songs of **Le Roy 1555** with, for example, the 'branle gay' *Quand j'entens le perdu temps* (Example 4.7) consisting almost entirely of trochees (— ∪), the 'chanson a plaisir' *Mes pas semez* of what Mersenne calls the *paeon 4* pattern (∪ ∪ ∪ —) (Example 4.8), and different galliards using more complex and related patterns such as  (*Puisque vivre* - f. 3v) or  . There is no reason to look for an underlying interest in classical metres in such songs. They are rhythmic formulae appropriate to dance forms.

Daniel Heartz has argued that a tension existed from the very first between the simple dance patterns of the *voix de ville*, and the more serious aspirations of poets and musicians who saw these simple, homophonic

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[31] Guédron's *Lorsque Léandre* (**Bataille 1608** f. 42v) is a *musique mesurée* setting of a text by Nicolas Rapin. For notes on this song and a transcription, see **Verchaly 1961** no. 7. It can in fact be counted in a continuous duple metre, but with irregular phrase lengths.

and strophic forms as the ideal medium for carrying a text, the union of poetry and music being at the heart of humanist aspirations throughout the century. Not only was the simplicity of such songs the attraction; important too was their intimate connection with lute-song and its ancient echoes of singing to the lyre. Already in Certon's collection of 1552 (which provided most of the melodies for **Le Roy 1555**) one finds the composer starting to free himself from the rigid musical metre of the dance song, with metrical disruption at the cadence. This is the case with *L'ennuy qui me tourment* (Example 1.10), *Une m'avoit promis* (Example 1.8), and *Helas mon Dieu* (Example 1.21) amongst others.[32]

Heartz conjectures the existence of a forgotten dance form based on a combination of triple and duple metres as a possible explanation for this, but if this were the case one would expect Le Roy to reflect it in identifying underlying dance forms in his second guitar book. Instead, he ignores Certon's metrical disruptions, and maintains the original metre throughout. Given the position of such disruptions (at the ends of lines), they are surely better understood as an attempt to highlight the structure of the text, and very possibly as a device intended to make room for cadential ornaments (this possibility is discussed further below). This may not have been an innovation on the part of Certon. As we have seen, Heartz makes a powerful case for the origins of the *voix de ville* (in its courtly guise, at least) in the *frottola*, and line endings marked by two long notes are a characteristic of these songs. Certon's cadential changes to duple time almost invariably produce such long notes. If, as Heartz argues, not just the words but also some of the melodies of these songs originated with Saint-Gelais, derived from his experience with the *frottola*, then we may be seeing here Saint-Gelais's adaptation of this rhythmic feature to French dance forms.

In his highly influential airs of 1569, the starting-point for Le Roy's *airs de cour* of 1571, Nicolas La Grotte takes these tendencies more than a step further. Most of La Grotte's airs have an underlying triple metre, but few of them exclusively so. In the triple time sections he strongly favours the pattern ∪ ∪ ∪ — ∪. *Or voy-je bien* (Example 4.9) provides a common example. This rhythm is similar to a pattern identified by Mersenne as a 'tribrache meslez', though this incorporates two trochees which one does not always find in La Grotte. But a more obvious explanation is an extension of the pattern we have seen in *Mes pas semez* (which Mersenne would describe as *paeon 4*). As a rhythm it is much more readily assimilable to dance forms than classical metres, and it fits quite well the shape of the sarabande, though it also often continues with syncopation reminiscent of hemiola in the galliard. The legacy of the dance patterns of the *voix de ville* is evident here, but divorced from the regular phrasing of dance forms (La Grotte, unlike Le Roy, makes no reference to dances in his collection, nor does he describe its contents as *voix de villes*).[33]

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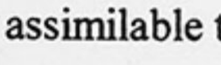
[32] Heartz's transcription of *Helas mon Dieu*, while absolutely accurate, tends visually to exaggerate these alterations, such that Heartz is tempted to describe the setting as 'musique mesurée avant la lettre' (**Heartz 1972** p. 130). In fact this is simply a more radical case of metrical disruption confined to the cadence, with the additional factors of an anacrusis at the start of lines 2 and 3. Barring in 3/4 rather than 6/4, while tending to obscure the association with the 'branle gay' (as identified in **Le Roy 1555**), reveals this more clearly. The similarity between this approach and the quasi-metrical *air de cour* described above will be pursued shortly.

[33] This is not the only such formula in the book. The duple time air, *Las! que nou sommes miserables*, uses the pattern  or variants on it throughout. Most of La Grotte's duple time airs are conceived differently, however, as discussed below.

Also in La Grotte we find that the changes to duple time final cadences which occasionally appear in Certon become ubiquitous, and also significantly extended, sometimes to accommodate the entire last line. *Or voy-je bien* (Example 4.9) and *La terre n'agueres glacée* (Example 1.18) provide examples of this as well as of the triple time 'sarabande' formula discussed below. In other airs La Grotte goes further still, setting the first line as well as the last in duple time. In cases such as these one is beginning to approach the free combination of duple and triple time rhythmic units of *musique d'air* (see Example 1.22). Two other factors contribute to this. One is the proliferation of hemiola-type syncopation in the triple time airs, partly borrowed from dance forms such as the galliard, partly allowing the composer more freedom in following the natural accentuation of the text. The other, and more significant factor, is that in duple time sections, and in most of the airs that can be consistently barred in duple time, La Grotte abandons the rhythmic formulae of the dance-based *voix de ville* in favour of rhythmically much freer settings typical of the chanson, with long-note openings, variety of note values, melisma, and syncopation (Example 4.10 - *Douce maitresse touche*).

It is little wonder that, despite their strophic form and homophonic texture, La Grotte described these songs as 'chansons' rather than as *voix de villes* or 'airs' on the title page of his collection. Whilst the dance formulae of the *voix de ville* are still present, simple dance tunes have to a large extent been abandoned for rhythmically more sophisticated settings that highlight the structure and, to some extent, accentuation of the text. It is perhaps the musician's response to the tension between the elevated aspirations of the poets of the *Pléiade* whom La Grotte sets, and the simple musical form that was its most natural vehicle. La Grotte had been based in Paris since at least the late 1550s, eventually coming into the service of Henri duc d'Anjou as *valet de chambre et organiste* prior to Henri's accession to the throne in 1574. La Grotte's humanist credentials are excellent. Later in life he would translate into French the Latin poems of the humanist poet Jean Dorat, and Le Roy's statement in his preface to **Le Roy 1571** that the 'subject' of these *airs de cour* has already shown itself agreeable to the Countess of Retz suggests a connection with Catherine's salon, with its circle of humanist poets and thinkers.[34] La Grotte's dedicatory sonnet to Henry d'Anjou in the 1569 *Chansons* is also suggestive, with its closing tercet:

> Thus it is said that Achilles still stained
> With Dardanian blood, went singing verses,
> And plucked the lute with his warrior's hand.[35]

It is surely right, then, to see in this collection the first considered response of a composer attempting to reconcile simple, strophic, and very possibly instrumentally-accompanied song with humanist goals.

The originality of the result may be seen in Le Roy's treatment of La Grotte's melodies in **Le Roy 1571**. In his primarily triple time airs La Grotte uses coloured notation throughout, perhaps to make it plain that for

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[34] See Ch. 1 p. 13. On the salon of Catherine de Retz see **Brooks 1995**. It is quite likely that La Grotte conceived these songs for instrumental, probably lute, accompaniment. That he was a lutenist as well as an organist is suggested by the survival of a single composition by him for solo lute, a 'Courante du Sieur de La Grotte' in Besard's *Novus Partus* of 1617. On La Grotte's life, see **Souris.. 1974**, where this courante is transcribed.

[35] *Ainsi l'on dit qu'Achille encor tout degoutant / Du sang Dardanien, des vers alloit chantant, / Et pincetoit le Leut de sa dextre guerriere.*

the most part these are not, despite appearances, dance tunes, but genuine chansons. Le Roy, on the contrary, prefers perfect mensuration and white notation, or goes so far as to convert La Grotte's fragmentary triple metres into duple ones. In the case of *La terre n'agueres* (Example 1.18) the effect is paradoxically to obscure the 'sarabande' rhythm that is one of the strongest links between La Grotte's songs and the dance formulae of the *voix de ville*.

Le Roy's manipulation of La Grotte's melodies also reveals another feature of them - their capacity for varied accentuation. With the gradual weakening of consistent metre (the result not just of changes between triple and duple time, but also in the abundance of syncopation in the songs) and reiterated dance patterns, it is possible for the natural accentuation of the text to play an ever greater role in establishing the rhythm of the melody. In a song such as *Autant qu'on voit aux cieux* lines 1 and 2 are in duple metre, while later lines begin in triple metre but end with duple cadences (see Example 1.22). But this is far from apparent at first glance, and the syncopation, which follows the accentuation of the text, is likely to encourage one to hear the opening as a series of triple metre trochees. This melody seems to have given Le Roy considerable difficulty in this respect. He converts the entire opening into perfect mensuration, apparently without much regard for notational consistency.

The numerous reprints of La Grotte's innovative collection testifies to its popularity, and its influence can be seen in later air publications in the 1570s and 80s, including those of Caietain (1576) and Guillaume Tessier (1582). The impact of *musique mesurée*, which probably began to be felt in the later 1580s and 90s, thus fell on music which had already, under a similar humanist impetus, gone a considerable distance down the road towards metrical freedom. Indeed, many aspects of the lute-air can be as readily understood as reflecting these sorts of adaptation of the *voix de ville* as a reflection of *musique mesurée*. Many of the rhythmic patterns that Royster ascribes to the influence of *musique mesurée* are typical of dance rhythms. For example, the *ionique mineur* foot that is a feature of *Adieu bergere* and the latter part of *Si jamais* is a feature of the volte and, more significantly, the branle gay, and one might as well look here as to *musique mesurée* for Guédron's model. The quasi-metrical air could be seen as a direct descendent of the innovations of La Grotte, bypassing *musique mesurée* altogether, and the long note cadences which were a feature of *musique mesurée* found in these airs also had their antecedents, and appear to have been 'tacked onto' *musique mesurée* rather than a natural outcome of it. In both types of ametrical song that Walker identifies, and indeed in the lute-air generally, there is little need to look for the 'conscious, intelligent' imitation of *musique mesurée*. The subtle rhythms of *musique mesurée* were acting on a form of music already sophisticated in this respect, and the combinations of short metrical feet found in this style would more likely have been absorbed into the melodist's already varied rhythmic arsenal rather than be the object of conscious imitation.

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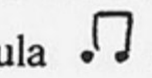
Before moving on to the nature of lute-air as we find it in the seventeenth century, we should note that the two other influences on the development of the *air de cour* in the later sixteenth-century, the vernacular psalm and the Italian villanella, may also have contributed to the rhythmic character of the air. The psalms

typically use only two note values, one twice the length of the other. The tendency towards restricted note values in air publications of the late 1580s and 90s has quite reasonably been attributed once again to the impact of *musique mesurée*, but the psalm is another possible source of influence.

The villanella is also a strophic, homophonic song which features an alternation of duple and triple time passages, with a change to duple time especially at the cadence. We have already noted that in Bonnet's collection, the French-texted *villanelles* are all songs of the lighter-texted and consistently metrical sort that, with Planson's collection especially, become distinguished from the more serious and ametrical air, and in which the clear-cut distinction between *musique d'air* and other forms which can mostly be identified with *musique légère* becomes apparent. As the influence of the humanists receded, or rather, became confined to airs in *musique mesurée*, it is possible that the villanella encouraged both a return to lighter forms of air reminiscent of the *voix de ville*, and yet another model for the free alternation of duple and triple time rhythmic units.

An intriguing example of the connection between villanella, air and even *musique mesurée* is provided by *Une puce*, a *chansonette mesurée* by Baïf, set to music by Caietain, Lassus and Le Jeune, the latter very likely for the *Académie de Musique et de Poésie*. The poem is in fact a translation of the Italian *Non pulice m'entruto nell orecchia* set to music by Baldassara Donato in his *Il primo libro di Canzone Villanesche alla Napolitana* of 1550, and Lassus and Le Jeune may have borrowed the rhythmic formula  from Donato. The effortless translation from Italian villanella to French air in this song is illustrative of the more general stylistic similarities and likely direction of influence between the two genres.[36]

The influence of the récit

Arguably, one of the most important influences of *musique mesurée* from the point of view of the development of the lute-air was the use of only two note values, one twice the length of the other, set against any syllable of text. The *voix de ville* had already, with its simple dance formulae, tended in this direction (a tendency reflected in dance manuals which often express rhythmic ideas in terms of metrical feet), and this is true of the early *air de cour* as well. But there is a marked concentration on only two values from Planson's collection onwards (that is, in the late 1580s and 90s), at about the same time as we see a more rigid distinction being drawn between airs *en musique légère* and *en musique d'air*. This persists into the early lute-air. Examples 4.1 and 4.2 above are not unusual in this respect. About a quarter of the lute-airs published between 1608 and 1643 conform strictly to the principle of using only two fundamental note values, either crotchet and minim (about a hundred and forty airs) or minim and semibreve (about a hundred airs). Of these, approaching forty are by Guédron alone.

The great majority of these appear between 1608 and 1615 (this is true of all the airs by Guédron), and they are in serious decline after only the first few books in the Bataille series. In the three books of 1608, 1609,

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[36] See **Dobbins 1981**. The settings by Lassus and Caietain are transcribed in **Dobbins 1987** nos. 62 and 73.

and 1611, containing a little over two hundred airs, over seventy songs are confined to crotchets and minims, and over thirty-five to minims and semibreves. In the three books from 1613 to 1615, containing just under two hundred airs, about fifty-four songs are confined to crotchets and minims, and only seven to minims and semibreves. After 1623, there are no more airs using only two note values, except in Denis Caignet's collections of psalms, which are confined almost exclusively to minims and semibreves. These figures may underestimate the numbers of airs in this style, for there are some, like Guédron's *Je voudrois bien chanter*, which are largely confined to two note values but allow occasional exceptions. This is especially true of the very earliest books, where the two-note principle is often broken by the inclusion of a ♩. 𝅘𝅥𝅯♩ figure, especially at the start of lines, as in *Ca que je baise ceste main* (**Bataille 1608**). As an indication of trends in the *air de cour* the figures given above are reliable, however.

Most but not all of these airs are *en musique d'air*. A handful are metrical, and some are quasi-metrical, as defined above. Among the metrical airs of this kind, some are drawn from the *ballet de cour* and are almost certainly dance-based: this is the case with Guédron's *Fuyés, Amants loin de ces lieux* (**Bataille 1615**), a 'Chaisne de Ballet' from the *Ballet de Madame* (*Triomphe de Minerve*), a song which only just fails to observe the 'two-note' rule. But the majority of these airs are in the style of *Si jamais* (Example 4.1) or *Eau-vive*, and represent a continuation of the air as we find it in the 1590s.

The movement away from this 'pure' style of air comes from several directions. One source is the increasingly frequent use of the ♩. 𝅘𝅥𝅯♩ pattern mentioned above. This rhythmic habit, much liked by Guédron, is a natural figure for quasi-metrical or fully metrical airs in triple time, and also has the merit of allowing better, more natural accentuation of the text, and we find composers using it increasingly freely, as in Guédron's *Aux plaisirs aux délices* (Example 3.8) or Boyer's *Pourquoy vous Nimfes* (Example 3.26).

Various forms of metrical air also probably hastened the movement towards more varied rhythms in the air *en musique d'air*. In his first collection especially we have seen Bataille attempting to equate the lute-air with the *air sérieux*. In later books he is more relaxed about including the occasional light air that had featured in the polyphonic anthologies of the 1580s and 90s, but may have fallen out of favour for a few years in the early 1600s. Airs such as *Puisque le Ciel veut ainsi* (**Bataille 1611**), or Bataille's own *Ma bergere non legere* (**Bataille 1613**),[37] exemplify the quicker note values typical of such airs, and of the later *air à boire*. Similarly, foreign-language airs, such as the Spanish songs in **Bataille 1609**, are usually metrical and include a fair amount of quaver writing. The *ballet de cour* also provided a source of metrical airs using quicker note values, in this case certainly in the interests of ample text, often intended for choral performance, adapted to dance forms. The six anonymous airs from an unidentified ballet featured in **Bataille 1613** (f. 34v-39v), of which *Puisqu'en nostre tendre jeunesse* (Example 4.12) is one, are mostly typical of such songs.

From another perspective, certain patterns of ornamentation were also at work to break down the simple rhythmic units of the early ametrical air. Ornamentation is discussed below, but we may note here that a

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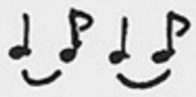
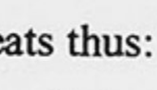
[37] Transcribed in **Verchaly 1961** no. 23

characteristic feature of it is ornamentation across the beat. That is, one begins to find written into the airs two syllables spread across three beats thus:  (crotchet beat), or  (minim beat), breaking down the 2:1 ratio of longs to shorts. But ornamentation of this sort is most frequently encountered in the *récit*, and it is this form of the *air de cour* that must have had the greatest impact on the melodic development of the lute-air.

We have seen that *récits* are first identified as such in Bataille's third book of 1611, although there are certainly unnamed examples in the earlier sources.[38] The meaning of this term undergoes subtle changes over the thirty-five-year history of the lute-air, but in most of the publications there is a marked association with the *ballet de cour*. The term is first used in literary sources in relation to the sixteenth-century ballet, where *récits* were originally spoken recitations by one person integrated into the action, such as it was, of the production. Such *récits* eventually came to be sung, and it is these sung versions that we find in the lute-air collections. As we can see in Table 3.15, very few of the early *récits* (i.e. those printed before 1621, almost all of them by Guédron), have polyphonic versions. The early *récit* especially is primarily a solo song, as one would expect given its function in the *ballet de cour*.

The role of the *récit* in the *ballet de cour* largely determines its style in the Bataille collections. Guédron's *récits* have typical characteristics of repeated notes, ornamentation (including the cross-beat ornaments mentioned above), and occasional sustained chords in the accompaniment. They may also have a wider than usual melodic ambitus and, quite apart from the variety of duration that results from syncopated ornamentation, they contain diverse note values per syllable. Guédron's *Allons, n'atendons plus* (**Bataille 1615**) demonstrates most of these features, and note values range in this example from semiquaver to semibreve. This is as we would expect in an air with a dramatic function, and requiring clear declamation. The shorter notes, such as the quavers on '*De peur que* l'Univers' and '*l'avan*tage' mostly produce a more speech-like declamation by moving rapidly through these unstressed syllables, and/or add to the expressive effect of the song (as in the hastening on 'peur'). These *récits* by Guédron are by a wide margin among the most expressive and, in many cases, the most attractive airs of the entire repertoire.

In these early collections (up to 1620), the character of the *récit* is so distinctive that we find the term occasionally applied to airs that have no apparent connection with the *ballet de cour*. That is, for a short time the term comes to have a stylistic connotation. This is the case with Guédron's two airs in **Bataille 1611**, the first to be identified as *récits*, neither of which is known to have have originated in a *ballet de cour* or any other form of quasi-theatrical or public entertainment (unlike Vincent's *Donc apres un si long sejour* in **Bataille 1613**, for instance: see Chapter 3 n. 138). A song such as *Desers tesmoins de mes pensées* (Example 4.13) is, in terms of the characteristics described above, even more *récit*-like than the ballet *récit* itself, and the same can be true of later airs which have no ballet connection - the wonderful *Quel excés de douleur* (**Boesset 1620**), for instance.[39] In such songs one sees Guédron developing to

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[38] Examples include *Helas amis que faites vous* and *Seray-je toujours vagabonde* (**Bataille 1608** f. 33v-34v) from the *Ballet des Paysans*, and *Pleine de langues et de voix* (**Bataille 1609** f. 7v) from the *Ballet de la Royne*.
[39] This song is transcribed in **Verchaly 1961** no. 56.

extremes a style he has learned in the *ballet de cour*, without the restricting 'story' of the ballet as felt in the text of the song.

Increasingly, these features of the *récit* find their way into the standard *air sérieux*. Guédron's *Miserable Cleandre* (**Boesset 1620** - Example 4.14) is not a *récit* but a normal *air sérieux*. But it has, to a more modest degree, most of the features one finds only in the *récit* in earlier publications. Along with the melodically freer style comes another, at first glance, paradoxical development: the reintroduction of metre (or perhaps more accurately, *tactus*) into the more serious, expressive air, and with it a change in the nature of the ametrical style described as *musique d'air*.

With the abandonment of the two-note-value principle that we see in these later airs, it becomes impractical to count simply in terms of the shortest note value, the advice given by Filmer in his English edition of *French court-airs* of 1629.[40] The solution is to return to having an entire air, or extended sections of it, able to be counted in a single metre, and to retain rhythmic flexibility through syncopation, including syncopated ornaments, and the avoidance of repeated rhythmic figures (such as the trochee in triple time), making it easier for musical accentuation to follow text accentuation, regardless of the underlying metre. The result is a type of air in which one one has a sense of 'metre-undermined', as in the second sort of quasi-metrical air described above, with *Un jour l'amoureuse Silvie* as an example (Example 4.4). In this sort of air, which could be described as exemplifying the new form of *musique d'air*, metre is a counting tool as much as, and sometimes rather than, an accentual one, and for this reason it might be better to talk in terms of *tactus* rather than metre in such airs. But it is not a simple matter, for this counting will sometimes be perceived accentually, and the resultant sense of distorted metre is quite different from the fully ametrical effect of the earlier air with only two note-values and a frequent alternation of triple and duple rhythmic units. It is, in fact, reminiscent of the *air de cour* from the 1570s and 80s, under the influence of La Grotte.

While this sort of air moves closer to the expressive *récit* of Guédron, the *récit* after Guédron in turn becomes rather less expressive, in this respect rather more conservative, at the hands of later composers, of whom by far the most significant is Anthoine Boesset. Boesset shows little of Guédron's at times Italianate taste for expressive declamation and, as we have seen, his airs (including his many *récits*) consistently occupy a middle ground of suavity and elegance. This may represent a growing awareness of the distinction between Italian and French musical styles, which we find alluded to by Mersenne in 1636,[41] and in Henri Maugars's *Response faits à un curieux sur la sentiment de la musique d'Italie* of 1639 as well as many later works. The result is that the *récit* from the 1620s onwards becomes indistinguishable from the normal *air sérieux* in the new style of *musique d'air*. Boesset's *Le servage des grands Dieux* (**Boesset 1621**), a 'récit des muses' from the *Ballet d'Apollon*, (Example 4.15) is thus if anything less expressive and

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[40] 'Note that the English measure of Songs (which is commonly by Semibriefs or Minoms) cannot be applyed to diverse of the French Aires. Where therefore you shall find an odde Crotchet in the Aire, measure the whole Aire by Crotchets; and, where an odde Minom, by Minoms.' Preface to **Filmer 1629**.

[41] Mersenne notes, for instance, that the Italians know music rather better than the French, and goes on: *Car bien que tout ce qu'ils font ne soit peut estre pas à approuver, neantmoins il est certain qu'ils ont quelque chose d'excellent dans leurs recits, qu'ils animent bien plus puissamment que ne font nos Chantres, qui les surpassent en mignardise, mais non en vigueur.* **Mersenne 1636**, Embellissement des Chants, Proposition VI p. 357.

declamatory than Guédron's *Miserable Cleandre*, a simple *air sérieux*. It can also, like most of Boesset's *récits*, be counted in a consistent duple metre throughout, although the rhythm is so free of consistent figures that the rhythmic effect remains extremely free.

With the *récit* and other forms of air stylistically identical, it is no surprise to find that from the 1620s onward almost all *récits* now come from the *ballet de cour*: it is this that makes them *récits*. Two composers do attach a slightly different significance to the term, however. Moulinié in his 1624 collection, and Richard in his lute-airs of 1637, both describe a group of airs as *récits* without their having any connection with the *ballet de cour*. The reason in Richard's case is clear. All of the airs that he calls *récits* in his lute-air collection appear as continuo airs in his corresponding polyphonic book: that is, they are printed exclusively for *dessus* and *basse-contre*. In two of the four airs the bass is texted, in two others it is untexted and marked 'Pour le luth', but in all four cases it is clear that a continuo realisation is intended, and it is this purely soloistic conception that is meant. The same association between *récit* and continuo air may well have been intended by Moulinié in 1624, for none of the airs that he describes as *récits* appears in his polyphonic collection of 1625 in which a number of the other 1624 lute-airs do appear. This is now becoming exceptional: most *récits* from this period do also appear in polyphonic books (albeit increasingly, like Richard's, as continuo airs, at least in part). This is natural now that the *récit* is no more or less soloistic than any other kind of *air de cour*. But it is also possible that Moulinié did have a stylistic distinction in mind, for his *récits* tend to be the more expressive, ornamented, and rhythmically free songs in the collection, although some other airs come so close as vitiate the distinction. Moulinié had barely arrived in Paris when this collection was published, and he may have been taking his model from the older *récits* of Guédron. It is noticeable that in his later books he makes no reference to the *récit*, with one exception in 1635 which is drawn from a *ballet de cour*.

The changing character of the *récit* after 1620 owes most to the aesthetic of Boesset. But it also owes something to the changing role of the *récit* in the *ballet de cour*. Many *récits* from the later 1620s are in fact markedly less expressive than *airs sérieux* from the same period. Boesset's *Les Joüeurs sousmis à mes loix* (**Boesset 1626**), for instance, is a light, quick air *en musique légère* which has nothing whatsoever to do with the expressive, declamatory *récit* of old (see Example 4.16). At the same time one finds the *récit* being written not just for *dessus*, but for a variety of voice types, including bass. Thus the *récit* in the later *ballet de cour* becomes a sort of character piece, which includes not just expressive songs, but other kinds as well. This reflects a gradual evolution in the *ballet de cour*, making room for the kind of diversity of solo song that one eventually finds in the operas of Lully.

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Developments in the melodic character of the *air sérieux* (and the *récit*) after about 1620 are extremely subtle, and many airs of the late 1630s and early 1640s are indistinguishable from those of the 1620s. But one does find in the 1630s the reappearance of a sort of expressive writing that had otherwise largely disappeared with Guédron in the early 1620s. This is largely a response to developments in the poetry of the *air de cour* which, in expressing the familiar concepts of languishing and lamentation, usually in the

name of unfulfilled love, pressgangs into service short exclamations of extreme sentiments which demand an appropriate response from the musician. Boesset's *Ennuits, desespoirs, et douleurs* (**Boesset 1643** - Example 3.23) provides a fine example of such airs, with the series of exclamations at the opening ('Ennuis .. desespoirs .. douleurs .. soupirs .. sanglots .. plaintes .. pleurs') set to short melodic figures, carefully matching note length to accentuation, and varying from the conventional 'sighing' figure on 'Ennuits' to the tension-raising chromaticism on 'douleurs'. While exclamations of this sort had long been a feature of the poetry of the *air de cour*, they achieve a new emphasis here, and begin to acquire a repertoire of conventional melodic figures to accompany them. Songs of this sort become a staple of the continuo air of the mid century and beyond, and are parodied most effectively by Lully at the start of *Le Bourgeois Gentilhomme*.

Metrical and dance airs

The preceding discussion has focused primarily on songs *en musique d'air*. Strongly metrical airs, including those which Parran describes as *musique légère*, also require some comment. It might already be apparent that *musique légère* cannot be identified with all music that is not, strictly speaking, *en musique d'air*. A *récit* such as Boesset's *Le servage des grands Dieux* is metrical, but it is certainly not 'light and gay' as Parran would have it. And what should one make of an air such as *Un jour l'amoureuse Silvie*, which could be called light and gay, and can also be counted in one metre, but through a combination of syncopation and text accentuation is unlikely to be perceived metrically, and hence has a common ground with *musique d'air*? Or what is the status of the *air à boire* as one finds it in Moulinié, which is usually quick and light but not necessarily metrical?

As ever, we need to bear in mind that categories like *musique d'air* and *musique légère* are necessary but imperfect tools for making sense of complex and diverse works that will frequently refuse to roll over and have their tummies tickled by them. The term *musique légère* is best reserved for works which are, as Parran has it, 'light and gay', most but not all of which will have strong underlying metres. The real dichotomy is between the air *en musique légère* and the *air sérieux*, with the latter mostly ametrical or quasi-metrical (*en musique d'air*), the former usually metrical, but with many exceptions. Airs *en musique légère* will be identifiable both by text (usually amorous, often pastoral and humorous) and musical style, and should include the *air à boire* and songs like *Un jour l'amoureuse Silvie*, but we should cheerfully abandon hope of a rigid formula that would allow us to make the distinction unequivocally in all cases.

It is natural to look to dance music for the model for much metrical music, especially that *en musique légère*. This is because of the origins of the *air de cour* in the dance-based *voix de ville*, and because of explicit references to dance forms in Mangeant's collections, in Boyer's preface to his polyphonic airs of 1619, and occasionally against particular songs in the other collections of *airs de cour*. There is also the appearance of air melodies in solo instrumental dance pieces, and the likely influence of the *ballet de cour* to encourage us to look in this direction.

By far the most significant dance form which makes its presence felt in the seventeenth-century lute-air, as in solo instrumental music of the same period, is the courante. In 1636, Mersenne describes the courante as 'the most common of all the dances practised in France' and explains it as follows:

> ... [it] is danced only by two people at a time, who are made to move to an air measured by the Iambic foot ∪ —, in such a way that the whole of this dance is but a jumping race of back and forth from start to finish. It is composed of two steps per measure, that is one step for each foot: but the step has three movements, that is the *plier*, the *lever*, and the *poser*. Its movement is called sesquialtera or triple, and its Example is of the fourth Mode at its proper pitch. One may nonetheless give it whatever measure one wishes.[42]

The dance is thus fairly free in terms of phrase lengths and structure, and is characterised chiefly by iambic rhythm in triple time. De Rigaud's *Je fus esbloüi de clairté* (**De Rigaud 1623**), an *air de ballet* described as a *Courante pour Madame* in the source, exemplifies the form (see Example 3.29). So do many other songs in the lute-song sources, especially in the period up to about 1620, such that the 'courante rhythm': ∪ | — ∪ | — ∪ | ∪ — | —, becomes almost a commonplace, at the openings of many airs at least. The switch to a trochee at the cadence (or in musical terms, what will be heard as syncopation) is entirely typical. Fifty or more airs show the influence of this rhythm, either literally (for instance, Chevalier's *Nos esprits libres et contents* [Example 3.14], and Vincent's *Je sçay Philis* [Example 3.12],[43] and *Fascheuse nuits de mes ennuis* [Example 3.19]), or more loosely as in Vincent's *Lorsque l'Astre que le jour*, (**Bataille 1615** - Example 4.17) or *Belle cause de mes douleurs* (**Ballard 1617**). Guédron's *Bien qu'un cruel martire* (**Bataille 1608**) also exploits the courante rhythm, and can be found as a solo lute piece described as a 'Courante Belleville sur Bien qu'un cruel martire' in the Herbert manuscript.[44] The same is true of his ballet air *A la fin ce tiran* (**Bataille 1614**), which appears as a courante by Ballard.[45] We should be cautious in regarding such solo versions as always indicating the original conception of an air, however. Guédron's *Est-ce Mars* (**Bataille 1613**) appears frequently as 'The French Tune' and under other titles, including 'Courante de Mars' in the first volume of Nicolas Vallet's solo lute anthology *Le Secret des Muses*.[46] But Guédron's original duple time *air de ballet* has nothing in common with the style of the courante (see Example 4.18), and Vallet's version is just a free adaptation.

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[42] 'La *Courante* est la plus frequente de toutes les dances pratiquées en France, & se dance seulement par deux personnes à la fois, qu'elle fait courir souz un air mesuré par le pied Iambique ∪ —, de sort que toute cette dance n'est qu'une course sautelante d'allées & de venuës depuis le commencement jusques à la fin. Elle est composée de deux pas en une mesure, à sçavoir le plier, le lever, & le poser. Son mouvement est appellé sesquialtere ou triple, & son Exemple est du quatriesme Mode en son propre ton. L'on peut neantmoins luy donner telle mesure que l'on voudra.' Mersenne, *Harmonie Universelle*, Livre Second des Chants, Proposition XXIII, p. 165. The example follows on p. 167.

[43] In **MangeantS 1615** this song is described as courante.

[44] Transcribed in **Ledbetter 1990** p. 39. The AABCC form of this song which Ledbetter describes as quite common in the *air de cour* is in fact fairly rare. Guédron's lute-air is transcribed in **Verchaly 1961** no. 9, who notes that Jacques de Belleville was ballet master to Louis XIII.

[45] **Souris.. 1976b** p. 31

[46] **ValletI 1615** pp. 63-4 and 70. The song also appears in the second volume of the Philidor collection of ballet music (Pn Rés. F496) as the '1re Entrée' to the *Ballet des nègres* of 1601. It enjoyed a considerable vogue, appearing in lute manuscripts and keyboard arrangements. This is all the more surprising given that the song itself is, as it appears in the lute-song version at least, rather slight.

The iambic rhythm that is a feature of the courante almost invariably ensures that the first, short beat is heard as an anacrusis, confirmed by the fact that cadences almost invariably fall on the longer note. But it is a feature of most of the lute-song accompaniments (*Bien qu'un cruel martire* is an exception) that they set this melodic anacrusis against a strong beat on the lute: usually a bass note followed by the upper notes of the chord, as in Examples 3.14 and 3.19 above, a style often found in the solo lute courante, but occasionally as the first full chord of a group of three as in Example 3.12, a pattern more typical of the sarabande.[47] The result is an intriguing cross-rhythm which takes its cue from the nature of the dance, but which may well have been cultivated as an end in itself.

The other most likely model for triple-time airs is the sarabande, though the evidence for it having made much impact on the *air de cour* before the 1630s is slight. After noting its Spanish origins, and that it is danced to the guitar or castanettes, Mersenne states that the sarabande is characterised by what he calls the 'Hegemeolien' metre: ∪ ∪ ∪ — ∪, and has 'several couplets without number'.[48] To Mersenne's account we can add the observation that, in instrumental music at least, the sarabande (at this time still a fairly quick dance) tends to have a more regular phrase structure than the courante.

Perhaps surprisingly none of the Spanish airs can be described as a sarabande, though *Quien quiere entrar comigo* (**Bataille 1609**) comes close (Example 4.19). Even Moulinié's guitar songs in his 1629 collection avoid the form, although most are in triple time and a few, such as *Por la verde orilla,* shows the influence of the form in its opening ♩ ♩ ♩ | ♩. ♪♩ rhythm. As discussed below, the strummed chord patterns characteristic of the sarabande are found in many lute-song accompaniments before 1620, however.

Among the French airs, there are few likely candidates prior to 1632. Grand-rue's *Doutés vous des effets* (**Ballard 1618** - Example 4.20) could be said to show the influence of the form, though the conventional nature of the accompaniment suggests otherwise. Signac's *En vain Amour* from the same collection (Example 4.21) makes more concessions in this direction, but perhaps only coincidentally. On the other hand, several airs in **Moulinié 1633** combine idiomatic accompaniments with the rhythm and phrase structure of the sarabande. *Apres les maux d'une si longue absence* (Example 4.22) is a good example in this respect, with its 'English national anthem' rhythm incorporating repeated notes, and arpeggiated opening accompaniment. One of the two airs to which Richard attaches a solo lute sarabande in his 1637 lute-song collection also comes close to reproducing the sarabande rhythm (*Ha! que de tes conseils*),[49] though the duple time cadence rules out any suggestion that the song itself should be seen as a dance. The same is true of his *Je veux mourir* in **Boesset 1628** (Example 4.23).

A type of air that appears fairly often prior to 1620, and in the polyphonic collections of the 1580s and 90s, is constituted principally by short note values, with long notes principally confined to cadences or line endings. Many of these can be related to various forms of the branle. Heartz has noted that Bataille's *Un*

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[47] Figures such as these can be quite important in distinguishing dance forms in instrumental music, and their combination may help explain the existence of works with descriptions such as 'Courante sarabande'. See **Ledbetter 1990** p. 35.
[48] **Mersenne 1636**, Livre Second des Chants, Proposition XXIII, p. 165. The example follows on p. 166.
[49] Transcribed in **Verchaly 1961** no. 84

Satire cornu (**Bataille 1614**)[50] falls into the four-bar phrases in 4/4 time of the branle double. In his *Terpsichore* of 1612, Praetorius also relates a piece with a similar rhythm - *Philou* - to the gavotte, claiming that it 'was sung in the evening by young lackeys in the street'. Similarly Heartz identifies Grandrue's *Lorsque tes beaux yeux mignonne* (**Ballard 1618**)[51] with the branle de Champagne or Bourgogne, given its irregular phrase lengths in 4/4 time, and Guédron's *Belle qui m'avez blessé* (**Bataille 1609**)[52] made up of groups of three phrases in 4/4 time, to the branle simple.[53] The most common pattern for duple time airs is that of four-bar phrases in 4/4 suggestive of the branle double, and two further examples among many include Guédron's celebrated *Est-ce Mars* (Example 4.18), and *Puis qu'en nostre tendre jeunesse* (Example 4.12). Both of these, and many others, are ballet airs, however, which could be freely designed to match an original choreography. This highlights a general problem regarding strongly metrical airs generally, and duple time airs in particular, which tend to predominate among the *airs de ballet*. The connection between the *air de cour* and the *ballet de cour* is intimate, and the ballet is, as Mersenne tells us, 'a mixture of all sorts of airs, or movements and of feet at one's discretion, and according to that science which drives the mind of the composer of these dances'.[54] Thus while it is easy to identify airs with a dance character, there is little reason to assume that an established form underlies such airs except in those cases where they make evident use of rhythmic figures strongly associated with particular dances. Given that the *air de cour* is not, primarily, a *chanson à dancer*, composers might be expected to borrow freely from the general character of dance music without being bound to it, and it is not difficult to find airs, such as Le Fegueux's *Non je n'ay plus ma liberté* (**Ballard 1617**) that combine different forms, usually changing at the refrain. This, combined with the existence of the sort of metrical song that Le Roy in 1552 described as a 'chanson à plaisir' (that is, one with a dance character, but not clear-cut dance form), is bound to limit any attempt to make strong identification of dance-like airs with actual dances.

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There is little evidence of any straightforward evolution towards or away from metrical airs in the lute-song sources. Airs associated with dance forms begin to appear with some frequency from about 1613. After 1620 or so such airs are more likely to be attached to the *ballet de cour* than to be free standing. On the other hand, metrical or quasi-metrical *airs sérieux* become more common after this date, as the second type of *musique d'air*, based on a free combination of varied note values, becomes the norm. Thus while songs which one can easily count in one metre tend to comprise about a fifth or a quarter of lute-airs throughout the repertoire, the nature of these songs varies, and the role of metre in other types of air varies also.

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[50] Transcribed in **Verchaly 1961** no. 37
[51] **Verchaly 1961** no. 54
[52] **Verchaly 1961** no. 13
[53] **Heartz 1962** p. 359
[54] 'Les Balets ne sont autre chose qu'un meslange de toutes sortes d'airs, de mouvemens & de pieds à discretion, & selon que la science conduit l'esprit de l'Auteur de ces dances.' **Mersenne 1636**, Livre Second des Chants, Proposition XXV, p. 170.

Notation, accentuation, ornamentation

Notation

In Chapter 3 we listed the types of time symbols used in the lute-air melodies, which include '2', '3', 'C', '¢', C3, and ¢3. We also noted that they are rare in the early Bataille editions, but become common from about 1614, and standard by around 1620.

These symbols become established as the ametrical air employing only two note values (the first type of *musique d'air*) breaks down. The usual practice in two-value airs, as in *musique mesurée*, was almost certainly to beat against the short note value.[55] This was no longer viable with airs of diverse note values, and hence signs to indicate how to count became necessary. This, then, is the essential function of all of these signs: they are counting tools.

This means in part that these symbols should not be confused with time signatures, in the sense of identifying recurring, simple patterns of weak and strong beats. In an air such as Boesset's *Sejour digne d'un Roy* (**Boesset 1632** - Example 4.24), for instance, while the '3' signs tells us how to count the song, the syncopation in the last line, combined with the natural accentuation of 'Ama*ran*te' is likely to produce a duple time cadence here as earlier in the song. Similarly, at the opening, one is likely to hear the first note as an anacrusis rather than as the second half of a first, strong beat. These are features typical of the quasi-metrical air as described above.

To say that these signs have no metrical significance would be highly misleading, however. While they do not impose accent to the exent of modern time signatures, they are suggestive of it. The whole of *Sejour digne d'un Roy* up to the refrain could be counted in four-crotchet groups (or 4/4 time), and presumably would be had the composer headed the song with C rather than '3'. But for the most part (the last line being an exception), the accentuation of the text fits in well with a triple time pattern (as it does the duple time cadences), accentuating every three minims. The song provides a good example of the subtle treatment of rhythm in this style, for despite the opening strong chord, one is likely to hear 'Se-*jour*' as a strong rather than weak beat, and the following rest and even note values give little clue to stress patterns in the song. In fact, it is largely the accentuation of the text that reveals the real stress patterns in the song, and its triple metre will only begin to emerge towards the end of the first line. This is no accident. It is essential to the style, and is likely an echo of the concept of 'dissimulation' that was so much a part of court society manners. The composer is thinking metrically, and the symbol '3' signals this, but it is metre alluded to rather than stated or imposed, with disarmingly subtle effect, while the explicit function of the symbol is for counting rather than accentuating.

That there is an important metrical component to such symbols is also indicated by their association with songs in regular dance forms. This is especially noticeable in the early Bataille collections, where such symbols are quite rare. It is no coincidence that the symbol '3' first appears against Guédron's *Bien qu'un*

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[55] See above n. 40

cruel martire (**Bataille 1608**) which, as we have seen, has the form of a courante. The same is true of other but not all songs in these early sources with, for instance, *Qu'Aminte fut heuruex* (**Bataille 1608**), probably showing the influence of the galliard (see Example 4.25).

The more difficult question surrounding these symbols is whether they have any proportional significance: that is, whether they indicate a change in the relationship between note values before and after a change of sign. As with secondary tablature symbols, one is largely left to a study of the sources themselves to gain an understanding of this, for theoretical sources, such as Mersenne, tend to be backward-looking and are annoyingly silent on the specific types of notation found in the *air de cour* repertoire.

Frits Noske has suggested that note values remain the same in *air de cour* publications regardless of change of symbol. He does this in the context of explaining the notation in Huyghens's *Pathodia Sacra* of 1647 as follows:

> Unchanged note values would entirely agree with the mensuration in Ballard's *air de cour* publications. Since the beginning of the seventeenth century French musical practice had been gradually robbing the symbol 3 of its old proportional meaning and giving it a metrical one. It is highly probable that this metrical meaning of the traditional signs had been stimulated by the *chanson mesurée à l'antique*, the influence of which on the *air de cour* with its frequent changes of metre was still to be felt in the middle of the century.[56]

While Noske's interpretation of rhythm symbols as metrical rather than as counting tools is a simplification, and while he goes too far in ascribing their use in the *air de cour* publications to the influence of *musique mesurée* (the airs which most strongly show the influence of *musique mesurée* tend not to use these symbols at all), his reasoning here seems to be broadly right. There was a hiatus in the use of mensuration signs in the early *air de cour*, and this seems to have left room for the abandonment of their old proportional signification.

We can see this both from the internal evidence of the use of these symbols in the lute-airs, and also by comparing lute-airs with solo-voice or especially polyphonic versions, where the use of such symbols frequently varies. The status of the symbols '2' and '3' is most straightforward. In later airs in particular these symbols alternate so frequently within the same air that proportional changes would result in incoherence. In an air such as Moulinié's *Puis qu'une rigueur absolue* (**Moulinié 1629** - see Facsimile 4.2), for instance, the rapid changes of sign can hardly be reconciled with proportional differences.[57] Moreover, it is quite common for lute-song and polyphonic airs to differ in the number or distribution of such symbols, something one particularly notices when lute-air and polyphonic air are printed a few years apart, as with many of Guédron's songs. Guédron's lute-song version of *A ce coup j'ay rompu les chaines* (**Bataille 1614**), for instance, abandons the final change to '3' found in the polyphonic print of 1617. Similarly, Boesset's lute-air *Belle qui tient ma franchise* (**Ballard 1623**) not only ornaments and halves the note

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[56] **Noske 1955** p. 118

[57] Some airs have even more changes of rhythm sign than this. Moulinié's *Orilla del clare* (**Moulinié 1629** f. 51v) appears to hold the record with '3' and '2' alternating eighteen times.

values of the version in **BoessetP 1624**, but adds a change to '2' at the final cadence as well. The distance in time between Denis Caignet's polyphonic psalms of 1607 and his lute-song versions of 1625 provides further evidence. In the earlier book he makes no use of '2' and '3', but they occasionally appear in the lute-song collection in otherwise similar settings of the texts (see Example 4.26). Differences such as these, while by no means the norm, are nonetheless not hard to find among the sources, and confirm that the function of these symbols as counting. Had they a primarily metrical significance, or a proportional one, they could not be added or abandoned so readily.

The symbols C3 and ¢3 are interchangeable with '3'. Thus while Guédron's *Je voudrois bien chanter* (**Bataille 1613**)[58] begins with '3', the version in **GuédronP 1612** starts with C3; similarly Moulinié's *Tout se peint de verdure* starts with '3' in the lute-song version **Moulinié 1635**) but ¢3 in the polyphonic version (**MouliniéP 1635**). Since the symbols C and ¢ generally appear at the start of songs, and the symbol '2' never does, it is rare to find replacements in this case, but there are several examples among Richard's airs of 1637 where C in one version is replaced by '2' in another: *Amarillis je vay mourir* is one such case.

The only remaining question, then, is the relationship between C and ¢ (or C3 and ¢3) when these appear within the same air. These would traditionally be associated with a crotchet and a minim beat respectively, and precisely this rule is followed by Denis Caignet in his psalm settings. In the polyphonic versions of 1607, Caignet invariably maintains a crotchet beat and employs a C sign. When he comes to arrange some of these settings as lute-songs, however, he consistently doubles the note values and gives them a ¢ signature.

It is also widely accepted that these symbols can have a tempo function, with ¢ implying a faster beat than C. This seems to be the most likely usage in the majority of songs, and there is a tendency (though nothing like a rule) for airs with a minim beat to be headed by ¢, and those with a crotchet beat by C. That only a limited difference in tempo is intended is confirmed by the fact that there are several cases where a C sign in one version of an air is replaced by a ¢ in another. Examples include Boesset's *Un concert bien melodieux* and *Grandes Reynes dont les yeux* (both in **Boesset 1626**), which are headed by ¢, but whose polyphonic versions in **BoessetP 1626** begin with C.

Airs in which C and ¢ (or C3 and ¢3) are alternated are comparatively rare: there are only thirty or so, and it is difficult to find cases where this occurs in one source but not another.[59] In those songs which do alternate, the change usually occurs at the refrain, or at the start of a new line. At times this could be associated with a change of beat from crotchet to minim or vice verse, but as often not. The earliest example, and one typical in this respect, is Mauduit's measured air *Eau-vive sourse d'amour* in **Bataille 1611** (Example 4.27), where the same beat is clearly intended throughout.[60] In either case, it seems likely that a change in tempo (in this case an increase) for the line in question is what is expected. In a few other

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[58] Transcribed in **Verchaly 1961** no. 26

[59] An exceptional case appears to be Vincent's *Donc apres un si long sejour*, but the melodies of the versions in **Bataille 1613** and **BallardP 1613** differ too much to yield any useful information. Much the same is true of Caignet's psalm *Juge ma cause*, which has a change from C to ¢ in the polyphonic 1607 version which is ignored in the lute-song version of 1625.

[60] The air is transcribed in full in **Verchaly 1961** no. 14.

cases, notably by Boesset (who, along with Moulinié, makes most use of this device), the intention is apparently to shorten the cadence and/or to produce a more expressive effect through a short stringendo: Boesset's *C'est trop di tirannie* (**Boesset 1632**) provides an illustration of both (Example 4.28). The same book provides an excellent example of the device being used, again by Boesset, to illustrate the text, with a relatively slow 'Mourons Tirsis' answered in dialogue with a quicker 'Vivons Silvie' in the duet of this title (Facsimile 4.3). Considerably more puzzling is Moulinié's practice in several airs in **Moulinié 1633**, where the bulk of a verse with a minim beat and C3 sign is followed by a refrain that has a crotchet beat and ¢3 symbol (e.g. *Est-ce l'ordonnance des Cieux* f. 9v). Again this must indicate a change of tempo, but in this case the opposite of what the symbols usually imply. Even so, Moulinié's airs, like most others employing these tempo changes, are typically *airs sérieux*, where expressive writing is intended. It is likely that one sees in these cases composers taking the trouble to write out an expressive rubato that was, in any event, expected in the performance of the songs.

Music and prosody

In discussing the character of the *air de cour* melodies we have several times mentioned the relationship between musical and textual accentuation.[61] This also needs to be addressed directly. The accusation is frequently made against the *air de cour*, especially of the later sixteenth and early seventeenth century, that it suffers from poor attention to the natural accentuation of the text, frequently setting weak words or syllables (such as 'le' or 'de' or feminine endings) to long or unaccented notes, strong ones to short or weak beats. This is usually regarded as a fault, and a sure indication of little regard being attached by composers to the texts they set, and of little care for expressive effect. Thus Walker refers to the 'bad treatment of text' in the *air de cour*, which 'Mersenne remarks on ... but without disapproval or explanation' compared to the 'inevitably good treatment of text' in *musique mesurée*.[62] It is also frequently held that Guédron, in his later airs especially, is an exception to this rule, and that matters generally 'improve' in the generation of Boesset and after.

Songs already cited provide many examples of such apparent mismatching of word and musical accent. For example, Guédron's *Si jamais* (Example 4.1) is rich in its long notes on weak syllables: 'a*me*', '*qu'en*', 'j'es*tre*', 'chas*ti-ment*', 'Privé *de*', 'conten*te*ment' and all the feminine line endings. Walker partly accounts for this, quite reasonably, by noting that the strophic nature of the songs, in which subsequent verses are regulated by numbers of syllables and types of line endings rather than by poetic metre, means that even if the composer takes care with the first verse, in later verses any such matching of musical and word accent will be lost. Why concern oneself with one verse when the majority will fail to observe good declamation?

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[61] Sixteenth-century sources and some contemporary ones refer to the accentuation of French poetry exclusively in terms of duration (i.e. long and short syllables). In the following discussion accentuation is treated in broad terms including but not confined to the influence of duration, and accepting the view that in French tonic accent tends to fall on the last syllable of a word, or the punultimate syllable when the ending is feminine, and that in the case of monosyllables accentuation is partly related to semantic significance. I am grateful to Dr Roger Pensom for much helpful discussion relating to this topic regarding which, it should be noted, there are divergences of view.

[62] **Walker 1948** p.159

Several writers have noted the unique case of *Cessés mortels* in which Guédron attempts to overcome this by writing out each subsequent verse, with only minor adjustments to accomodate accentual differences between the verses, an arduous policy and one expensive in terms of space.[63]

To this explanation we can add others. The exigencies of working as a court composer may have necessitated a relaxed attitude towards text-setting. We have seen two examples of Guédron and Malherbe having to produce an air 'on demand' whereby they, apparently, agree on a suitable formal plan for the air (number of lines, syllables, and types of endings), and then work apart on music and poetry respectively. The results of this are visible in *Que n'estes vous lassées* (Example 4.32), with its implausible accents on, for example '*De* troubler' and '*Et* faire'avecque'.

The application of consistent dance patterns, or rhythmic patterns associated with *musique mesurée*, and also cadential formulae such as the two longs for a feminine ending, can also distort prosody when applied to a pre-existent text. Walker is wrong to regard *musique mesurée* settings as 'inevitably excellent' in this respect, for the technique seeks not to reflect word accents in the music, but only length of syllables. Not least because Baïf partly identified length with word accent the results are sometimes good from this point of view, but they are also often quite poor, as Yates and others have pointed out. Similarly, in the *voix de ville* one frequently finds the mis-match of word and musical accent that one also sees in the *air de cour*. In Example 1.10 above, for instance (*L'ennuy qui me tourmente*) the refrain in particular stresses weak and strong syllables more or less equally: 'Tou*te* mon esper*an-ce* Gist *en* la seule *mort*'. Indeed, it is hard to know where the composer would be expected to look for a fully consistent attention to natural declamation in the sixteenth century, for in all kinds of chanson the application of conventional rhythmic formula (such as a long-note opening), melisma, and contrapuntal polyphony, is likely to undermine natural accentuation.

Concern for accurate declamation became an issue for composers in the last quarter of the sixteenth century, with Caietain for instance stating that he had 'attended the school of Messieurs de Courville and Beaulieu' who were 'excellent in singing to the lyre' and 'following their recommendations and good advice ... [had] ... corrected most of the faults that I might have made in not observing the longs and shorts of the text.'[64] This humanist 'school' pre-dated that of Baïf, who acknowledged his debt to Courville in particular. Accentuation in Caietain's collection is generally good, and it is likely that Beaulieu and Courville had adopted a much more pragmatic approach to declamation than that of Baïf, before being waylaid by Baïf's attempts to revive classical poetic metres. Attention to word accent was thus a relatively new preoccupation for these late Renaissance humanists and one which, through the stifling and secretive impact of the *Académie*, failed to have the influence that it might.

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63 Walker does not realise this, and describes the refrain of this song, which begins 'Les dieux tant seulement' as a different, anonymous air, citing the two separately in his 1948 article. The entire air, one of Guédron's finest, is transcribed in **Verchaly 1961** no. 29.

64 See Chapter 2 n. 53

In his 1948 article Walker also looks to the nature of the French language for the relaxed attitude to word accent in the early *air de cour*, citing the preface to Filmer's English publication of airs of 1629, where he replaces the French texts with his own translations. Here Filmer notes that:

> ... I confesse that I have bee'n, generally, more taken with the Musicall part than the Poeticall; so I acknowledge to have tied my selfe more strictly to the presentation thereof (without swarving from the first publish'd Copie either in flourish or substance) than of the Other; ... [I have been forced] ... for the more even Accord with the Musicke, in divers Aires, to alter the Naturall first Cast of the Verse, and to ordaine, in the proper place of an *Iambicke* Foot, a dissonant *Trochaicke*, as more suitable to the nature of the Note. ... [the reason for this is] ... because the *French* syllables, as well in Verse as Prose, are pronounced with a more Continu'd Equalitie of sound, than ours. ... Hence therefore it proceeds, that the *French*, when they Compose to a Dittie in their owne Language, being led rather by their free Fant'sie of Aire (wherein many of them doe naturally excell) then by any Strict and Artificially scanning of the Line, by which they Build, doe often, by disproportion'd Musicall Quantities, invert the naturall Stroke of a Verse, applying to the place of an *Iambicke* Foot, such Modulation as Jumps rather with a *Trochay*. And this without much violence to their *Poems*, since the Disorder and Confusion of *metricall* Feet in their Verse is Inoffensive as Indiscernible, by reason, as afore-said, of the Even Pronunciation of Their Tongue.[65]

Filmer is right to note that in French both the length and accentuation of syllables is less marked than in other languages. Indeed, there are literary scholars who have argued against the existence of intraphrasal accents in French. Thus a distortion of natural speech rhythms is much less troublesome in French than in English, say, and this could be exploited by French composers, not out of indifference, but as an aspect of style.

Is the opprobrium heaped on songs that take a relaxed view of word accent really apt, then? Heartz has suggested that 'Distortions of language such as abound in the Air are not happenstance or carelessness. They are cultivated for their own sake, which says a world about the age that produced them.'[66] This view is entirely to the point. Rhythmic ambiguity is a hallmark of the style of the *air de cour*. We have seen examples of cross-rhythms between lute and voice in the accompaniments to courante-based airs, or in the pseudo-anacrusis to an air such as *Sejour digne d'un Roy* (Example 4.24). We see the same thing in some forms of quasi-metrical air or in the later style especially of *musique d'air*, where free rhythmic groupings, including abundant syncopation, undermine or delay the perception of a consistent metre. We see it too in the distinctive syncopated ornamentation of many airs. Such ambiguity is an essential component of the *air de cour*. It is no surprise that it should extend to treatment of text as well: that is, that the subjection of speech rhythms to practical necessity (whether it be the variability of stress patterns in different strophes of an air, or the working conditions of composers like Guédron, or the use of recurring rhythmic patterns) should have come to be exploited and enjoyed as one of the genre's typically elusive charms.

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[65] Preface to **Filmer 1629**
[66] **Heartz 1962** p. 362

On this basis, the criticism of text treatment by composers of airs is misplaced. Beyond this, it affects our conception of how the lute-air should be performed. In a style that is by its nature usually rhythmically free, musical rhythm can and probably often should be adjusted to word accent. The description of an air such as *Un jour l'amoureuse Silvie* (Example 4.4) as quasi-metrical is partly based on this supposition. It is possible to sing the opening of this air in triple metre, but most implausible that one should do so. The ambiguities in the rhythm can and should be exploited by a more natural accentuation of the text, as given above. The implicit tension here between an underlying metre and its realisation is just what is wanted in the song.

This is just as true of airs that are fully ametrical. In such airs there is no need for syncopation to make room for word accent to govern musical accent, for there can be no syncopation where there is no metre. Thus there is no reason why the the singer should not, if he wishes, accent Guédron's *Si jamais* as in Example 4.29. The effect of, at times, accenting the music (principally through dynamics) in a way contrary to that indicated by duration, the more obvious tool of musical accentuation, producing an accentually ambiguous performance, is in keeping with the style of the genre.

It is true to say that in the later *air de cour* composers appear to pay more attention to spoken declamation, in the sense of matching duration and/or implied metre to word accent, and that Guédron himself moved increasingly in this direction. This has much to do with the movement away from using only two note values - largely due to the influence of the ballet *récit*. It is also, surely, bound up with the increasing predominance of the metrical or semi-metrical *air sérieux* in the period of Boesset, when the positions of accent within a melody becomes more evident. But this is only a tendency. In an air such as Boesset's *C'est trop de tirannie*, for instance (Example 4.28), there is careful attention to declamation, with quavers especially being used to replicate speech rhythms. But even here we find a surprising long note on '*la* raison'. This is not carelessness on the part of the composer, but taste. In this case he can rely on the underlying duple metre to ensure that the strong syllables receive the musical accent, regardless of lengths of note, but enjoy the momentary tension between the two that results.

There are very many examples of composers exploiting this kind of subtle approach to accentuation. Moulinié's *Que Philis à de perfections* (**Moulinié 1633**) might serve as one further illustration (Example 4.30). Twice in this song Moulinié repeats text, in each case displacing it against a reiterated rhythm. Thus when he repeats the first line, the first word ('Que') falls on the quaver rather than the dotted crotchet of the repeated pattern ♩. ♪ ♩ . It is an effective touch, and works well here not least because the text itself is amenable to different inflections (i.e. it matters little which of the three syllables 'Que Phi-lis' receives an accent). Similarly on 'Et font mourir' one finds 'font' set first against the dotted crotchet, then against its following quaver. The effect is to move the emphasis from 'font' to 'mourir' on the repetition, and the stress on 'Et' is unobjectionable. On the other hand, to follow the triple time indication so far as to stress 'don*nent* des loix' would be unwise. Even more so would it be to accentuate the first syllable of 'regards' because it is apparently the first beat of a group of three: better to regard 'Mais' as an upbeat, or to stress the first four crotchets equally. As ever, the metrical implications of the rhythm signs are equivocal, and the whole song shows us the composer, not indifferent to his text, but relishing its flexibility.

Finally, one further possible explanation for the unexpected mis-accentuation of notes in the *air de cour* needs to be mentioned. Below we shall see that it was common to apply to the air extreme amounts of ornamentation, which are often attached to the less important words of a text - that is, those which are least likely to be accented in normal speech. It is quite possible that, in the later air especially, where shorter note values such as the quaver become common, long notes could be attached to weak syllables precisely in order to allow room for an extended ornament. This is especially so when such notes appear close to the cadence, as they often do. It is to the nature of such ornaments that we now turn.

Ornamentation

Most of the airs in the lute-song collections are open to ornamentation. This is especially true of the *air sérieux*, which in the early years of the century is most likely to hold to the two-note value 'rule'. Bataille alludes to this explicitly in his dedication of the first collection, **Bataille 1608**, to Guédron. Here Bataille notes that 'If I have produced them [the airs] with little ornament and equipment, it is with great humility and respect ...'.[67]

The common practice of ornamenting these airs may be seen by comparing the small number of airs (such as *Si jamais*) in Bataille's collections which are concordant with airs in **Besard 1603**, all of which add modest amount of ornamentation to the 'plain' airs given in Bataille (see Examples 2.5 and 4.1). The same is true of Besard's treatment of airs by Guédron found only in the latter's polyphonic collections of 1602 and 1608, and not in the Parisian lute-song books (see for instance Example 2.4: *Adieu bergere*).

In all these cases we find some degree of ornamentation added to Guédron's outlines. This is partly responsible for alterations to both the rhythm of the melodies and also, despite the vagueness inherent in Besard's poor text alignment, the juxtaposition of musical and word accents. Indeed, one wonders what is left of Royster's careful analysis of the rhythm of a song such as *Adieu bergère* when one finds it freely adjusted, partly in the interests of ornamentation, in this way. Once liberated from metrical dictat, airs were clearly ripe for this kind of treatment.

That Besard's treatment of Guédron's songs reflects a common practice of ornamentation is certain. How representative this is of the most common manner of such ornamentation is less clear, however. Besard's ornaments are simple passing notes and diminutions, and while these figure prominently in ornamented airs as we find them printed in Paris, in the latter they are much more extensive and sophisticated than the simple figures we find in Besard. Indeed, if Courville's glorious *Si je languis* (Facsimile 3.8) as printed in **Bataille 1614** is any reflection of monodic practice in the days of the *Académie*, then Besard shows himself to be ultra-conservative in this respect, although this song does represent the extreme end of written-out ornamentation as found in the *air de cour*.

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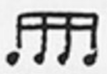
[67] See Chapter 3 n. 35

This song is one of a dozen or so which incorporate a significant amount of written-out ornamentation in the core repertoire of lute-song sources. These are listed in Table 4.3, where it is noticeable that several are *récits* or *dialogues*. This list is, it should be said, somewhat arbitrary: there are various degrees of ornamentation in the *air de cour* from the first publication onwards, and the examples chosen simply reflect one end of a continuous spectrum, to which one could add many more airs at the margin. To these songs, we should also add the the illustrations given in **Mersenne 1636** of different singers' methods of ornamenting an *air de cour* (Facsimile 3.7).

Table 4.3: Airs with significant written-out ornamentation in the core repertoire

Incipit	Composer	Publication	Type
Sejour de la divinité	[Guédron]?	Bataille 1608 2v	[ballet] [récit]
Pleine de langues et de voix	[Chevalier]	Bataille 1609 7v	ballet [récit]
Agreables desers tesmoins		Bataille 1611 10v	
Si tu fais tant, Amour		Bataille 1611 38v	
Donc ceste merveille	[Guédron]	Bataille 1611 54v	récit
D'ou me vient cette inquietude		Bataille 1613 9v	
Je suis le desdain		Bataille 1613 17v	
Quand premier je la veis	[Guédron]?	Bataille 1613 55v	récit
Beautés vivans portraits		Bataille 1614 64v	
Si je languis	Courville	Bataille 1614 67v	
Je voudrois bien ô Cloris	Boesset	Bataille 1615 12v	
Hola, hola Charon	[Guédron]	Bataille 1615 53v	dialogue
D'où sort cette grande clairté	Moulinié	Moulinié 1625 13v	ballet, dialogue
Respects qui me donnez la loy	Moulinié	Moulinié 1629 7v	dialogue

Diminutions vary from simple figures, such as the common  figure or its minim beat equivalent, to the lengthy *roulades* visible in *Si je languis*. They appear on strong and weak syllables regardless, and there is some tendency for ornamentation to increase towards the cadence. Most such diminutions appear within the beat, though increasingly one finds them broken by appoggiaturas onto the note immediately following the ornament. From the earliest books we have seen examples of short, cross-beat ornamental figures (such as), and from about 1613 one starts to find this kind of syncopation extending into longer ornaments too, as on 'en ses beautés' and 'les volontés' in *Je suis le desdain* (Facsimile 4.4), which also features a prominent appoggiatura on 'beau*tés*'. One also finds an increasing tendency (most evident in the songs by Moulinié and the examples in Mersenne) to break up an ornament into notes of uneven length, as on 'ombre' in the second couplet of *D'où sort cette grande clairté* (Facsimile 4.5).

In addition to providing the examples of diminutions given in Facsimile 3.7, Mersenne describes ways of 'making cadences' [*faire les cadences*], consisting primarily of *roulemens de la gorge* - that is, trills, which should be produced entirely from the throat, though weaker singers have been known to use the tongue.[68]

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[68] **Mersenne 1636**, Embellissement des Chants, Proposition VI., p. 355. Mercifully, Mersenne goes on to outlaw use of the lips altogether.

He notes the Italian *trillo* or rapid reiteration of a single note, but implies that this is not French practice. He provides an example (Facsimile 4.6), and states that for a really perfect trill, one should redouble the trill (i.e. double its speed) on the dotted note, but 'with such delicacy, that this redoubling is accompanied by an extraordinary diminuendo, which contains the greatest charms of the suggested [type of] song'.[69] The other theorist to discuss such practice in detail is Bénigne de Bacilly in his *L'Art de Bien Chanter* of 1679.[70] Bacilly gives a similar account to Mersenne, and lists this as an ornament that never appears on the printed page.

This is true of the lute-air publications, and as suggested above, it may well have a bearing on the long-note cadences typical of many *airs de cour*. In almost all of the heavily ornamented airs listed above, the penultimate long note is not ornamented (except by an anticipation of the final note), even though it may be anticipated by a lengthy *roulade*. Courville's *Si je languis* is exceptional in this regard, the examples in Mersenne more typical. Mersenne does, however, mark the anticipation of the last note which, as he shows in his example of a trill, and as Bacilly explicitly states, ends the trill.[71] This may well explain the long-note cadences that disrupt the underlying metre of many quasi-metrical *airs de cour*: they are designed to make room for cadential trills. This may even account for the long-note cadences that we have in several of Certon's *voix de villes*, and which persist in the sixteenth-century air, which disrupt the otherwise consistent dance metres of these songs. One might go further and speculate that unexpected long notes on weak beats, such as that discussed in Example 4.28 above (Boesset's *C'est trop de tirannie*), are there to make room, not for cadential ornaments, but for ornamental *roulades* such as one finds in the airs with written-out ornamentation.

The other ornament discussed at length by both Mersenne and Bacilly is the *porte de voix* (ascending appoggiatura), another of those which is never written out according to Bacilly and Mersenne, though Mersenne devotes some of his examples of ornamentation to it (Facsimile 3.7). Both writers lay great emphasis on it as an expressive device, and it was plainly much cultivated in the *air de cour*. Mersenne gives examples of a rising second (major and minor) and third, noting that a rising semitone should occupy less time than a tone. He also notes its frequent use at the ends of *roulades* and cadential trills, and that Le Bailly, Boesset and Moulinié mark it with a cross above the note, though these never appear in the lute-song prints.

A final device noted by Mersenne is an 'accent plaintif', 'raising a little the note at the end of its prononciation, and giving it a little point, which passes so quickly, that it is quite difficult to perceive it: but

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69 'Et si l'on veut faire cette cadence avec toute sa perfection, il faut encore redoubler la cadence sur la note marquée d'un point dessus, avec une telle delicatesse, que ce redoublement soit accompagné d'un adoucissement extraordinaire, qui contienne les plus grands charmes du Chant proposé.' Op. cit. p. 355

70 Since this source postdates our repertoire by several decades it needs to be treated with some caution. Nonetheless, Bacilly is precise and detailed and worthy of study. This book exists in a facsimile edition (Geneva: Minkoff, 1981) and has been translated with an introduction in **Caswell 1968**.

71 Bacilly states that this anticipation is never written out for fear that it will be sung (that is, presumably, sung independently of the trill).

one must only raise it by a semitone, through a slight effort of the voice'.[72] This device, like the others described above, and like the tempo fluctuations described in the previous section, is indicative of the expressive, affective nature of the *air de cour* and the kind of performance that it demands.[73]

The air de ballet, dialogue, and air sacré

Ballet airs

Ballet airs may be divided into *récits*, which are solo in conception and in the earlier sources expressive and declamatory, and dance pieces, which were more likely to be performed chorally. However, there was sufficient diversity in the *ballet de cour* (which could range from a dramatic work such as the *Ballet de la Délivrance de Renaud* (1617) to more conceptual or allegorical ones such as the *Ballet des Trois Ages* (1614) or the *Ballet du Monde Renversé* (1624)) to allow for a variety of vocal forms.[74] Thus one also finds pieces such as Moulinié's *D'où sort cette grande clairté* (**Moulinié 1625**), a *dialogue* between the Night and the Sun, represented by tenor and bass voices respectively.

Perhaps the most important point to be made about ballet airs is the extent to which their original conception may differ from their appearance in the lute-song books. This is least obvious with regard to the *récit*, which was essentially a solo song, usually accompanied by the lute. Thus the *Ballet de la Royne* of 1609 opens with Chevalier's *Ces Ninfes pleines de mespris* (**Bataille 1609** f. 5v), sung by Angélique Paulet as a *naïade* sitting on a dolphin, accompanying herself on the lute. Similarly, Guédron's *Rien ne s'oppose à mes loix* (**Bataille 1611** f. 33v) is a *récit* sung by Alcine entering with a lute and singing alone. In this latter case, however, she is answered by a refrain of twelve nymphs singing and playing 'several instruments'. Choral refrains of this sort attached to *récits* are extremely common, and other examples include *Que pour luy le soleil* (**Bataille 1611** f. 16v) from the *Ballet de M. le Dauphin* of 1610, where a *récit* sung to the King by 'La Victoire' is answered chorally, two of Guédron's *récits* from the celebrated *Ballet de la Délivrance de Renaud* (1617) where a Mage or Hermit, sung by Le Bailly, alternates with a chorus of soldiers (*Puisque les ans* and *Allés courés cherchés*, both in **Ballard 1617**), and Boesset's *A ce coup valeureux fils de Mars* (**Ballard 1618** f. 10v) from the Ballet du Roy ('Le Testament des Ballets', 1618). In the polyphonic version of this last air, the untexted bass-line is marked 'Les luths', confirming the

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[72] '... il faut faire l'accent plaintif sur la note accentuée [i.e. marked with an accent sign: ' or a stroke: |] en haussant un peu la note à la fin de sa prononciation, & en luy donnant une petite pointe, qui passe si viste, qu'il est assez difficile de l'appercevoir: mais il la faut selement hausser d'un demi ton, qui consiste dans un petit effort de la voix.' Op. cit. p. 356

[73] Bacilly, writing forty years later, also refers to this device, calling it an 'accent' or 'plainte'. In addition he discusses the 'doublement de gosier' or 'animer' - effectively an Italian *trillo*, which he now implies is common in singing airs, and also recommends a 'Soutient de la Voix' - that is, a diminuendo at the ends of songs. He also commends a guarded use of simple diminutions, with the clear implication that these are frequently overdone by singers.

[74] On the complex and evolving nature of the *Ballet de Cour* see especially **Prunières 1914** and **McGowan 1978**. **Royster 1973** includes a detailed discussion of the *Ballet de la Délivrance de Renaud*, and Guédron's ballet music more generally. The relationship between the ballet and the *air de cour* collections is discussed in **Verchaly 1957**. **Durosoir 1986** also includes a discussion of the relationship of the *ballet de cour* to the *air de cour*, and the same author has also pursued the question of instrumentation and instrumental music in the *ballet de cour* in **Durosoir 1995**.

suspicion that several lutes may often have been played together to produce sufficient volume.[75] Nor was the lute the only instrument used to accompany such solo *récits*. Guédron's *Noires fureurs* (**Bataille 1611** f. 34v) from the Ballet d'Alcine was sung by Alcine 'in a fury' to her own accompaniment on the pandora, and it seems extremely likely that Le Bailly would have accompanied his rendition of *Yosoy la locura* (**Bataille 1614** f. 57v), from an unidentified ballet, on the guitar.

The dance-based airs were usually choral in nature. Chevalier's *Nos esprits libres et contents* (**Bataille 1609**) from the Ballet de la Royne was sung by a choir accompanying the dance of the nymphes led by the Queen, for instance, while Guédron's *Puis que les ans* (**Ballard 1617**) was a choral piece sung at the opening of the *Ballet de la Délivrance de Renaud*. It is almost certain that such songs were supported by instruments. *Renaud* made use of an ensemble of sixty-eight voices, twenty-four *violons* (strings), and fourteen lutes, all under the direction of Mauduit. There is little information regarding the appearance of more specialist instruments, but some of the texts of the songs are suggestive. Boesset's *La terre s'esmaille de verd* (**Boesset 1621**), an 'Air par les bergers' from the *Ballet de la Reyne représentant le Soleil* of 1621, is a notable example, with its reference to musettes, lutes and *espinettes*.

The context of the ballet might also colour performances and produce special effects. Following Boesset's *Je suis cét Amphyon* (**Boesset 1621** f. 1v), a *récit* from the *Ballet d'Apollon* (1621) in which Amphion, by the sounds of his 'lyre' attracts the rocks, the 'sereines' trapped inside these rocks respond with a rare choral *récit*, *Quel soleil hors de saison* (f. 2v), also by Boesset. Circumstances and arrangements such as these must have contributed a great deal to the reputation of some ballet airs. A song such as Guédron's *Est-ce Mars* from the *Ballet de Madame* of 1612 enjoyed a great international vogue in solo instrumental arrangements, and both Scheidt and Sweelinck wrote variations on it, yet as it appears in the lute-song print it is a slight piece, and a poor representation of Guédron's considerable talent.

The dialogue

We have seen in Chapter 3 (Table 3.16) that there are about thirty *dialogues* which first appear in the lute-song prints in 1611, and continue to appear well spread amongst the publications up to 1637. The *dialogue* had first begun to appear in the sixteenth-century polyphonic collections, with characters in the dialogue represented by different voice groupings.[76] They provided natural material for lute-song, and we have seen Besard adapt one of Planson's as a solo lute-song, and another, *Vous me juries bergere* from **Le Roy..P 1597,** for solo lute in **Besard 1603**. The development of the genre in the seventeenth century must owe a good deal to the influence of the *ballet de cour* and other types of musical theatre. The *Ballet Comique de la Royne* (1582) includes a *dialogue de Glauque et Tethys*, and thereafter it invades the free-standing *air de*

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[75] It is likely that in these *récits* with choral refrains we see the model for the many airs in the later polyphonic collections which open with a duet for the outer voices alone, and then move to a refrain *à4* or *à5*.

[76] Examples include Ronsard's *Que dis-tu* and Magny's *Hola Caron*, set to music by Entraigues (Le Roy/Ballard *Douziesme livre de chansons* 1559) and Berçoy (Le Roy/Ballard *Vingtieme livre de chansons*, 1569) respectively. The Entraigues song is transcribed in **Dobbins 1987** no. 55.

cour publications of Bonnet, Planson, and the Le Roy/Ballard anthologies. It retains its links with the *ballet de cour* in the seventeenth-century prints, with five *dialogues* explicitly drawn from the ballet (see Table 3.16), and most of the principal composers of airs made at least one excursion into the genre. A link with the polyphonic chanson, and indeed with Italian models, is also hinted at by the *dialogue* treatment in **Bataille 1611** of Castro's seven-part chanson *Patoureau m'ayme tu bien* published by Phalèse in 1586, on a text by Passerat derived from Rinuccini's *Bel Pastor, dal cui bel guardo*.[77]

The *dialogue* is very much as its name implies: not a duet, but a conversation between two voices, which rarely sing together. Indeed, many consist of a series of questions and answers. Only five airs contain duet sections, always at the end of the song. At their simplest, these songs are straightforward airs where one voice takes over from another halfway through, or alternating one or two lines at a time. Both of Boyer's *dialogues* are of this sort (see Facsimile 4.7). Indeed, in one or two cases, only the heading 'dialogue' identifies the air as such. There is nothing in the layout or even necessarily in the text of Bataille's *Tandis que j'estois ton plaisir*, Guédron's *Heureux qui nuit et jour*, or Boesset's *D'où vient que l'Astre du jour* to show that these are not simple, solo airs, and it may be that the title reflects a performance of alternate verses by different singers. But most of Guédron's *dialogues*, and those by Boesset, Moulinié and Richard from the 1630s, are much more sophisticated, with short, often exclamatory, exchanges between the voices, and in the latter cases, lengthy closing duets. These duets may also, as we have seen, be subjected to considerable ornamentation (in the case of Moulinié's *Respects qui me donnez* confined to the second and third verses). From Boesset's 1632 publication onwards, these more sophisticated *dialogues* require a new layout, with one voice on verso, the other on facing recto, and the tablature printed twice beneath each voice part (see Facsimile 4.3); this has the benefit of clarity, and of making room for the closing duet. There is no reason to suppose, as Verchaly implies in his anthology, that this means two lutes are expected to play in unison (though there is also no reason why they should not). Given that it is clearer to separate the two voices, printing the tablature twice simply allows either singer to double as the lutenist.

Up until 1630 the *dialogues* are usually for soprano and bass voices, but thereafter two sopranos, or soprano and alto, becomes the norm. When the bass sings he usually doubles the bass-line of the lute accompaniment, and consequently these bass responses have a more instrumental than vocal character. This may help explain the movement away from this pairing in the later books. In a few airs, however, such as Guédron's *Il est donc vray volage* and especially Moulinié's *Respects qui me donnez la loy*, the composer manages to free the vocal bass from the harmonic to a considerable extent, and so produce a more natural musical discourse.

Many of these songs lean towards the pastoral theme of an exchange between shepherd and shepherdess. One song described as a *dialogue*, Guédron's *Vostre Heros*, is really a ballet *récit* with choral refrain, and this also indicates the flexibility of the term. Fewer than half of the songs have polyphonic concordances, and several are, as mentioned above, highly ornamented - both indications of their essentially soloistic nature.

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[77] See **Verchaly 1961** no. 15

Sacred airs

The sacred air is dominated almost exclusively by vernacular psalms. The great fashion for these, begun largely with the sixteenth-century translations of Marot, thus continues well into the seventeenth century, this time with the translations of Desportes. Once again, lute-song is seen as a natural vehicle for these texts. The exceptions are two *prières* found in both **Boyer 1621** and **Moulinié 1624** which, musically, have no particular distinguishing features. Apart from the fifty or so psalm settings and other *airs sacrés* of **Caignet 1625**, there are twenty-seven sacred airs in the Parisian lute-song books, almost all of them published before 1620.

Bataille is the largest single contributor with ten psalm settings, and their inclusion in the lute-air books very likely reflects his personal interest. It is noticeable that there are no sacred airs by key court composers such as Guédron and Boesset (though their secular airs were frequently parodied in sacred anthologies), or Auget or Richard. Nor does Moulinié contribute any after his first book of 1624, which predates his appointment to Gaston's court. This is somewhat deceptive, however, for Moulinié later brought out a collection of sacred music (not psalm settings) and a mass, and while no sacred music survives by Guédron, in his preface to his polyphonic airs of 1642 Boesset observed that in his old age he, *like Guédron*, had turned his attention away from the secular air towards 'more serious' sacred music.[78] Some of Boesset's sacred music survives in manuscript in the Brossard collection in the Bibliothèque Nationale.[79]

Most *airs sacrés* are distinguished by taking a minim beat (there are only two or three exceptions). Beyond this, the majority of them are indistinguishable from conservative *airs sérieux*, complete with light ornamentation, changes between duple and triple metre, and even occasional passing lapses into dance patterns. Accompaniments too exploit similar devices to those found in the secular airs, described below. Boyer's *Entre un espoir douteux* is of this kind, exceptionally taking a crotchet beat. But there are a few airs, found principally in the earlier books and by Bataille, which are distinguished by a more polyphonic style of accompaniment often moving faster than the melody, and a plain rhythm largely dictated by long notes at the starts and ends of lines, and sometimes at the mid-point, and shorter accents elsewhere. One or two of these are unique in the lute-air collections in retaining division lines in the tablature to indicate *tactus*. Such a psalm is Bataille's *Tous ceux qui du Seigneur ont crainte* (Facsimile 4.8). Not all of Bataille's airs are in this style, and why he adopts it in some cases but not others is not clear. It is, however, representative of the more conservative nature of sacred music generally in this period. That one or two psalms are explicitly in *musique mesurée* is perhaps also indicative of the desire to attach the weight of authority to this type of music.

Caignet's 1625 collection of psalms, dedicated to Cardinal Richelieu, tends melodically towards the latter group, being confined to two note values (minim and semibreve) throughout and, as a rule, long notes to mark the start and ends of lines. The prayers, hymns, and paraphrases that end the collection are treated in identical fashion. Many of these psalms are concordant with the polyphonic settings Caignet had previously

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[78] See Chapter 3 n. 87
[79] F-Pn Vma. ms. 571. See **Verchaly 1954b** p. 83.

produced in 1607, though at times with quite substantial melodic alterations. Why Caignet should have chosen consistently to double the note values in his later collection is unclear, but it is possible that Bataille had set a precedent here.

The lute accompaniments

Composition and continuo practice

In Chapter 3 we noted that a large proportion of the lute-airs in the Parisian sources, about two thirds, have concordances in solo or polyphonic collections, usually printed roughly concurrently. This raises the question of whether the airs were conceived primarily as lute-airs or as part-songs. André Verchaly indicated his belief in the priority of the polyphonic versions, arguing that 'The composers signed the polyphonic versions while they initially left it to an arranger, before taking the initiative themselves, to produce transcriptions for the lute'.[80] Similarly James R. Anthony suggests that the 'ensemble airs in four or five parts ... in many instances were the original source for the solo airs,'[81] and Nigel Fortune remarks that 'Most of the songs they [the lute-song collections] contain are still arrangements of ensemble music...'.[82]

Both Verchaly and Anthony base their arguments on the supposition that the polyphonic versions were printed first. As we have seen in Chapter 3, the sources if anything lean towards the opposite conclusion, with Guédron's airs mostly appearing as lute-songs before being published in polyphonic versions, and with many of the polyphonic airs in **BoessetP 1617**, **1620** and **1624** previously appearing in lute-song form. Verchaly, who knew these sources intimately, seems to have had in mind the concordances between the Bataille collections and the early polyphonic anthologies (**BallardP 1606**, **1610** and **1613**),[83] but even here, and with the exception of the 1606 book which pre-dates the entire lute-song series, more than half of their concordant airs appeared first as lute-songs in the early Bataille editions.

It is only with the last two polyphonic collections of Boesset (1632 and 1642) that the tendency is reversed, and polyphonic airs precede the lute-song versions, and this very likely reflects a move towards widespread continuo practice for which the polyphonic collections, with their notated bass-lines, were more suitable. Indeed, we shall see that these later collections have extensive sections which are continuo-based, and are not primarily ensemble music at all. Only if one were to assume that the polyphonic collection came first when lute-song and polyphonic editions appeared in the same year could one assert that this was the usual pattern. But there is no evidence for this, and even if it were true it would represent a meagre sort of priority.

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[80] 'Les compositeurs signent les versions polyphoniques tandis qu'ils laissent d'abord le soin à un arrangeur, avant d'en prendre eux-mêmes l'initiative, de réaliser les transcriptions pour luth.' **Verchaly 1960** p. 1532-3

[81] **Anthony 1978** p. 347

[82] **Fortune 1968** p. 189

[83] He states that: '... les versions polyphoniques étaient publiées les premières. L'identification des auteurs des airs des premiers livres d'airs au luth permet d'affirmer que c'était la pratique la plus courante.' **Verchaly 1960** p. 1533.

In fact, as suggested above, the contemporaneous nature of the lute-song, polyphonic, and solo-voice collections that we see from about the middle of the second decade suggests that Pierre Ballard was publishing one form of the song with the others already in mind, and in such circumstances publishing history reveals little about the conception of the songs.

There is a quite different way of understanding the nature of the lute-airs that fits the facts well, and cuts through questions of priority between lute-song and part-song. Frank Dobbins signalled, but did not pursue, this possibility in his article on the Tessier manuscript:

> The chronological priority of the part-song versions and their subsequent arrangements as lute songs has led to the view that the polyphonic version represents the most respectable and pristine form. The late André Verchaly, no doubt drawing inferences from Bataille's modest preface to his first book of lute-songs, writes: 'the *air de cour* developed within the fairly restricted limits imposed by its strophic form and relative fidelity to an earlier polyphonic version.' However the present Tessier manuscript may support the hypothesis that there was in fact no sacrosanct *urtext* but merely a melody and bass with clear harmonic implications and that the part-book printing was thus a formality providing a blueprint for varied performing permutations. Such a conclusion is consistent with earlier sources and procedures advocated by such as Bossinensis (*Tenori e contrabassi intabulati,* 1509/3 & 1511), Attaingnant (*Tres breve et familiere introduction pour entendre & apprendre par soy mesmes a jouer toutes chansons reduictes en la tablature du Lutz,* 1529) and Le Roy/Alford (*A briefe and easye instru*[*c*]*tion to learne the tablature*, 1568).[84]

The last part of this paragraph is slightly misleading, for while it is true that the publications mentioned allowed for different 'performing permutations', the relatively strict manner of intabulation involved does not suggest variants on a melody-bass outline. On the other hand, this account fits the Tessier manuscript exactly, for in comparing Tessier's lute-song versions with the polyphonic concordances in his 1597 book and elsewhere, we have found matching melody and bass, but no attempt at intabulating inner parts. On the contrary, on a well-composed bass-line Tessier hangs a simple, even crude, series of mostly root-position chords, drawn from a familiar stock of left-hand positions on the lute, with little regard for part movement, even in the alto line. We have also seen that in the other handful of sources that precede the Parisian collections, such as **Besard 1603**, there is a similar movement away from the intabulation of parts towards a bass that is at times quite close to that in contemporaneous polyphonic sources, on which chords are freely built.

One finds a similar result in comparing the small number of lute-songs in **Besard 1603** which also have versions in the early Parisian lute-song prints. This is the case with Guédron's *Si jamais*, which appears in polyphonic form in **GuédronP 1602** and **1608**, and as a lute-song in both **Besard 1603** and **Bataille 1611**

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[84] **Dobbins 1976** p. 26. This approach is clearly described in a relatively late source, but one which may well refer to a long-standing practice. In the preface to his sacred *Airs à quatre parties* of 1650, Jacques de Gouy writes: 'La Composition des airs est la plus difficile de toutes, d'autant que le Dessus et la Basse estant composez on ne les change pas pour faire les autres parties; et néanmoins il faut qu'elles expriment les passions et la prononciation, qu'elles chantent agréablement, et qu'elles soient dans la contrainte des règles de la composition simple, qu'on nomme d'ordinaire contre-point notte contre notte.' See **Gérold 1921** p. 145 n. 1.

(see Examples 2.5 and 4.1). Both melody and bass are clearly derived from a similar model, but while Bataille seems to have had sight of Guédron's polyphonic version (indicated by the shadowing of the polyphonic alto in the top voice of the lute after the repeat), there is no such evidence in Besard. More interestingly still, while Besard's bass is very close the seventeenth-century versions, it goes out of alignment with the melody about half-way through the song. One can easily imagine this happening with a manuscript melody and bass version of the song, especially if not written in score, but it is much less likely with a full polyphonic model to work from. Something similar happens with the psalm setting *Seigneur helas ne reprens mon offence* at 'en ton feu' and 'par un doux' (Example 4.31); again we see similar bass-lines, but not only different arrangements of chords, but occasionally different harmonisations (e.g. on 'ne reprend'). The strongest similarity between melody and bass in these two publications occurs on Guédron's *Ou luis-tu soleil*, and at times here the two intabulations are quite close, but enough sufficiently to require the use of the same polyphonic model.[85]

The differences we see here tie in well with the notion that melody-bass outlines of airs, very possibly reflecting their manner of composition, were circulating well before the appearance of polyphonic settings. There is one piece of compelling evidence for the notion that the standard way of composing an *air de cour* was as a melody and bass, which could then be arranged as a part-song or a lute-song as desired. This concerns Guédron's air *Que n'estes vous lassées*, discussed above.[86] Guédron was asked to compose this air 'on the spot' in the service of the King's infatuation with Charlotte de Montmorency, and Malherbe sent a copy of it song to his friend, Pereisc, in 1610. This copy survives in the Bibliothèque Nationale in precisely the form suggested by Dobbins, as a melody-bass outline (see Example 4.32), and it seems reasonable to conclude that it is in this form that Guédron composed the air and gave it to Malherbe.[87]

This is not the only example of an *air de cour* being preserved in manuscript form in this way, though both its early date and its provenance make it the most significant. The Dutch amateur musician and keen lutenist Constantin Huyghens, who was in close touch with musical developments in Paris through his contact with Mersenne, Vincent, and others, made a *contrafactum* arrangement of Guédron's *Amour blesse mon sein*, found in polyphonic form in his collections of 1602 and 1608, and arranged as a lute-song in **Bataille 1614**. Again Huyghens's version survives as a melody-bass outline, not arranged in score. Huyghens's treatment of Guédron's outer voices is fairly free, but he clearly had access to the original.[88]

A third example dates from the generation of Anthoine Boesset. In 1640, the theorist and musical amateur Joan Albert Ban entered into an informal musical competition with Boesset for the most expressive setting

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[85] The song *Lieux de moy* also appears in both **Besard 1603** and **Bataille 1608**, but the two versions are too different for useful comparison.

[86] **Bataille 1611** (f. 4v). See Chapter 3 p.124

[87] Pn Ms Fr 9543 p. 128 ('Correspondances de Pereisc. Diverses'). The song is found on a small, detached sheet of paper, with the staves roughly hand drawn. The two parts appear successively, not in score. The relevant correspondance by Malherbe may be found in Pn Ms fr 9535 f. 110, f. 111v, and 114-114v.

[88] The song is discussed, with a facsimile and transcription, in **Kossmann.. 1960**. This fragment is also discussed in **Grijp 1987**, who provides details of what may be the only surviving secular air composed by Huyghens, *Te voila donc, bel oeil*, which exists in manuscript with a tablature for ten-course lute.

of an *air de cour* text, via the intermediary of Mersenne.[89] The text was *Me veux tu voir mourir*, and Ban sent his version in manuscript as melody and bass to Mersenne.[90] Given that by this time continuo practice was clearly commonplace there is nothing surprising in this, but it is noticeable that when he tried out this air Ban had it performed polyphonically - an indication of the difference between compositional and performance practice which, one suspects, one also sees in the early *air de cour*.

It should be clear that we are here talking about early continuo practice in France, or at the very least, a continuo manner of composing, dating back as early as the 1580s and 90s if the Tessier manuscript is any guide.[91] The supposition has tended to be that the French were quite slow in adopting the use of basso continuo, and prima facie there is some evidence to support this idea. Publications exclusively using continuo do not appear in France till Huyghens's *Pathodia Sacra* of 1647 and Henri Du Mont's *Cantica Sacra* of 1652,[92] and as late as 1653 Jacques Chambonnière was dismissed as a keyboard player at the royal court due to his inability to play continuo. But the evidence of not just from the Tessier manuscript, but the the *air de cour* publications, speaks against this.

We have already noted that the polyphonic prints of *airs de cour* would be more suitable for continuo performance because their bass-lines were given in staff notation, and it has long been observed that there are clear indications of continuo practice in these sources. As early as Guédron's second polyphonic collection of 1612 there is an example of a bass with untexted sections,[93] and in **GuédronP 1617** we have the first case of an extended section of untexted bass marked 'Pour le Luth'. The air is a *dialogue*, *Berger que pensés vous faire*, where the soloists are the outer voices. When the *dessus* sings, the bass-line is untexted and is maintained by the lute. In the lute version, a harmonic accompaniment is maintained throughout, and there can be little doubt that a continuo realisation of the bass is intended throughout the song.[94]

After this, untexted fragments of bass-lines marked 'Pour le luth', 'Pour les luths' (if the air is from a *ballet de cour*), or simply 'Le luth' continue to appear from time to time. There are two such airs in **BoessetP 1620**. Boesset's ballet air *A ce coup valheureux fils de Mars* (Facsimile 4.9) has a solo bass opening (that is, a quasi-ritornello) marked 'Pour les luths', and the bass-line of another air in the collection, *C'en est fait je voy bien*, is also untexted at the opening and is marked 'Pour les luths'. There is a single air in **BoessetP**

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[89] The competition is described in **Walker 1976**.
[90] Boesset's complete version appears in **BoessetP 1642** f. 28v. There is no lute-song version, but it does appear as a continuo air in Mss. Pn Vma7 501 and Vma 854.
[91] The method of composition adopted by composers as described by Mersenne in 1636 suggests such an appropach: *La maniere dont se servent les Compositeurs confirme cette verité, car ils tastent sur le Luth, sur l'Epinette, sur la Viole, ou sur d'autres Instrumens plusieurs sortes de tons & d'accords pour r'encontrer un chant qui leur plaise* ...Mersenne, *Harmonie Universelle*, Livre Second Des Chants, Proposition V, p. 97. In the same passage Mersenne notes that composers borrow from earlier masters, such as Le Jeune and Guédron, to produce new, composite airs.
[92] Moulinié's *Meslange de sujets chrestiennes*, published in 1658, has a *privilège* dated 1651; had its printing not been delayed it would have preceded Du Mont's collection. See **Launay 1955** p. 75 and **Anthony 1978** p. 162.
[93] See **Durosoir 1986** p. 250
[94] Both lute-song and polyphonic versions of this air are transcribed in **Verchaly 1961** no. 25. **Anthony 1978** p. 349 rightly notes that Bataille's lute-song version (**Bataille 1613** f. 65v) can be interpreted as a continuo realisation. Whether it should be considered, as Anthony suggests, the first such realisation depends on how one views the tablatures in sources such as the Tessier manuscript, and how one interprets the nature of the French lute-song as a whole.

1628 which has a few untexted bass notes (not at the opening) marked 'pour le luth' (*En fin les dieux selon mon desir*), and then in the 1630s such indications become increasingly common. **BoessetP 1630** contains two airs with untexted bass notes marked 'Le Luth' or 'Pour le luth'.[95] Still more significantly, two other airs in this collection, *Ayme moy, Cloris* (f. 19v) and *Mourons Tirsis* (f. 20v) have untexted bass-lines marked 'Basse-continue pour les instruments'. These are *dialogues* between *dessus* and *haute-contre*, and only become polyphonic at the refrain, at which point the bass is texted. This appears to be the first explicit reference to basso continuo in a French musical source (see Facsimile 4.10).

There are five further references to 'basse-continue' in the polyphonic sources before 1643. Moulinié's *En fin l'Amour* in **MouliniéP 1635** begins with this label in the bass, and then alternates texted bass-line with untexted marked 'luth', confirming that references to 'le luth' in these sources refer to continuo and not to the lute playing a single line. And in his polyphonic collection of 1642, Boesset attaches the label 'basse-continue' to four airs, *Je suis l'adorable Equité* (f. 5v), *Je vais sur la terre* (f. 6v), *Dis moy, ma soeur* (f. 37v), and *Tircis, que j'ayme* (f. 38v). A futher twenty-one airs in this collection - the majority - carry references to 'le luth' in the bass, and there can be little doubt that the signification is the same. Similar references to 'le luth' also appear frequently in François Richard's polyphonic collection of 1637 - nine airs are labelled thus. One of these, *Amarilis je vays mourir* (f. 11v) has an untexted bass throughout marked 'Pour le luth'. The vocal bass-line is in the tenor, and effectively doubles the continuo, with frequent adjustments and added notes to accommodate the words.

There is no strong reason to think that these airs mark a sudden, radical departure in the performance of the *air de cour*. It is surely more plausible to see them as cases where the common practice of the lute realising the bass has to be made explicit, because the air in question is a *dialogue* where the bass cannot be sung throughout (as in Guédron's *Berger que pensés vous faire*), because it is an air from a *ballet de cour* with particular performance practice in mind (Boesset's *A ce coup*), or because there is an instrumental opening (Boesset's *Amarillis, bel astre* (1632)). But they are indicative of an increasingly monodic (in the loosest sense) tendency in the *air de cour*. Many of the songs marked 'pour le luth' have lengthy sections for the outer voices alone, which move towards full polyphony only at the refrain. This is typically the case with the airs in **RichardP 1637**, and it is noticeable that these airs are all called *récits*.

Airs of this sort, representing both an interest in *concertato*-style textural variety, but also in the primacy of 'monodic' delivery, become increasingly common in the polyphonic collections. There are hundreds of such airs in the polyphonic books dating back to the first decade of the century, and the fact that they are fully harmonised in the lute-song versions is strong evidence of a continuo, not a duet, conception, even when no mention of the lute is made. Sixteenth-century airs do not employ such outer-voice duets, nor do they appear in the Ballard anthologies of 1606, 1610 and 1613.[96] There is, however, a single case of such an air in **GuédronP 1608** (*Enfin celle que j'ayme tant*,[97] and thereafter they appear frequently in his later books

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[95] *Sejour digne d'un Roy*, f. 10v, and *C'est trop de tirannie* (f. 14v). In the latter case the marked passage is in the *Cinquième* partbook.
[96] There is, however, such a two-part air in the *Ballet comique de la reyne* of 1581, De Beaulieu's *L'arc d'amour est victoriex*.
[97] Transcribed in **Royster 1974** no. 58, p. 285

(e.g *Noires fureurs*, *Rien ne s'oppose*, and *Cessez mortelz* in 1612; *Doncques par force* in 1617; *Vostre héros* in 1618, and many others). In the dedicated editions of later composers, such as Boesset, Moulinié, and Richard, they are extremely common, and as early as **BoessetP 1628** we find an air for the outer voices alone (*Que servent tes conseils*, f. 7v). While the bass is texted, this is clearly an early appearance of a full-blooded continuo air.[98] In all cases where these songs have a lute-song concordance, the outer-voice duet sections are fully harmonised.

The appropriate conclusion must surely be that realising a bass on the lute was commonly practised by musicians from at least the second decade of the century, and very possibly much earlier. The polyphonic collections are a practical device for allowing airs to be performed by whatever resources and abilities were available. They could be entirely sung, or instruments could be substituted for voices. But they were probably almost always conceived with continuo in mind, and increasingly this came to be not just an option but a requirement in the airs, no doubt as continuo practice became ever more widespread in the 1620s and especially the 1630s.[99] If this is the case, then the hyphothesis that *airs de cour* were composed initially as continuo airs, with melody-bass outlines, and then arranged as lute-song or ensemble airs according to the various demands of the purchasers of the airs, must be considered likely.

The theorbo

If airs were composed in this way, then the likely instrument to be used as a tool for this type of composition was the lute. However, it is worth noting that the theorbo, which had no explicit repertoire in France until the second half of the century and so must be considered a primarily or exclusively continuo instrument before this, was almost certainly in use in France rather earlier than generally thought. There is evidence of the theorbo being used in Mauduit's concerts of *c.*1610, with Aubigné writing of 'an excellent concert of guitar, twelve viols, four spinets, four lutes, two pandoras, and two theorbos'.[100] Nor is this confined to music in Paris. It appears that in 1630 the musical establishment of Charles IV of Lorraine included 'deux hautes-contre, deux tailles, deux basses, deux pages pour dessus de la musique, cinq joueurs

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98 The lute-song version of this air is transcribed in **Verchaly 1961** no. 69. The polyphonic duet version may be found in the anthology contained in **Durosoir 1986**. The distribution of airs with substantial duet sections across the dedicated editions after Guédron is as follows: thirteen airs in **BoessetP 1617**, three in **BoyerP 1619**, thirteen in **BoessetP 1620**, four in **BoessetP 1621**, fourteen in **BoessetP 1624**, thirteen in **BoessetP 1626**, twelve in **BoessetP 1628**, ten in **BoessetP 1630**, ten in **BoessetP 1632**, ten in **MouliniéP 1635**, eighteen in **RichardP 1637** (most of them with the bass marked 'pour le luth'), two in **MouliniéP 1639**, and thirty in **BoessetP 1642** (most of them marked 'luth' or 'basse-continue'). These are almost always duets between *dessus* and *basse-contre*, though there are a few pairings of bassus with *haute-contre*.

99 There is clear evidence for the idea that texted basses served a double function as continuo basses in later publications. In his sacred *Airs à quatre parties* of 1650, for instance, J. de Gouy states that: *Je n'ay point fait de basse continue à la manière ordinaire, mais une basse qui servira pour jouer et pour chanter; afin que celuy qui la doit toucher ayant la voix de basse ne soit oint dans le silence tandis que le corps qu'il anime de ses doigts louera le Seigneur à sa mode*. Also apparent here is the assumption of a lute or theorbo as continuo instrument. See **Durosoir 1986** p. 253.

100 '... un excellent consert de guitare, de douze violes, quatre espinettes, quatre luts, deux pandores, & deux tuorbes.' *Theodore Agrippa d'Aubigné - Oeuvres complètes*, ed. Réaume and de Caussade, Paris, 1873, Vol. I, p. 465. This undated letter addressed to the poet Odet de la Noue, is quoted in **Cohen 1962** p. 4, and in **Reese 1959** p. 566. See also **Spencer 1976** p. 413. Spencer suggests that the *théorbe* was introduced to France *c.*1650 by Nicholas Hautman, but the evidence here and below weighs against this.

de luth, basses de violes et théorbes, le maître de ladite musique et le balet des deux pages avant-dits'.[101] Theoretically this places the musical establishment of Charles of Lorraine in advance of that of the French court, which only created an official post for a theorbo player in 1656, though in reality it is clear that the instrument was in use long before this.[102]

The strongest evidence for the early dissemination of the theorbo in France comes from the *inventaires après décès* of Parisian musicians and instrument-makers. The 1617 *inventaire* of Je[h]an de Mesz, instrument maker as well as 'joueur de luth à Paris', refers to 'ung grand teorgue de la fassons dud. deffunct garny de son estuy'.[103] That of Geneviève Balifre, the daughter of Claude Balifre, *maître des enfants de la musique de roi*, includes nine lutes and 'deux grands tuorbes'. It is dated 1629. One suspects that she inherited these instruments from her father, which would mean they could have been acquired considerably earlier. In 1635 the *inventaire* of the possessions of the singer Chrétien Marin, *ordinaire de la musique de la chambre du roi* on the occasion of his marriage, mentions 'deux tuorbes et ung autre petit luth',[104] and we have already mentioned that two years later the *inventaire après décès* of the singer Henri Le Bailly includes 'un grand theorbe' along with other instruments.[105] A case of a musical amateur owning a theorbo is indicated in 1639 by the *inventaire après décès* of Nicolas Paris, *porte-manteau de l'écurie du roi*, who owned 'un luth et un tuorbe',[106] and after 1640 references not only to musicians and instrument-makers owning theorbos, but amateurs too, become too common to list.[107]

Two *inventaires* of 1648 deserve particular mention, however. That of the composer Jean Boyer includes 'ung grand luc en theorbe', 'ung autre luc, aussy en theorbe', 'ung autre petit luc en theorbe' and 'ung tuorbe'. Curiously, the latter was valued at thirty livres, compared to two hundred livres for the first instrument and one hundred livres for the second.[108] And that of the luthier Desmoulins reveals both lutes and theorboes, including Italian instruments and a 'grand luth tuorbé' from Rome, along with lutes 'a la mode d'Angleterre'.[109] This reveals a clear awareness of distinctions between the various forms of double-headed lutes developed in various countries, and also the Roman origins of a 'luth tuorbé'.

We should note that such references to theorboed lutes (i.e. 'luths en theorgue', 'luths en facon de tuorge', 'luths faict en thuorge' etc.) are extremely common in archival sources so far studied, and many are quite

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[101] See **Jacquot 1886** p. 99

[102] The theorbo player replaced a flautist, the theorbo held to be the more essential of the two instruments. See **Massip 1976** p. 29. Evidence of the earlier use of the theorbo at court includes the account of the marriage celebration offered by the Cardinal and King to the son of the Landgrave of Hesse, which states that 'un concert de clavesin avec deux lhutz, un theorbe, une viole et le Sr Constantin qui jouoit de son violon dont la melodie ne ceddoit en rien aux autres concertz qui l'avoient précédé.' See **Massip 1976** p. 7.

[103] **Lesure 1954** no. xxix, and **Jurgens II**, 477-8. On Mesz see also **Lesure 1948**.

[104] See **Jurgens I** p. 108

[105] Le Bailly's ownership of a theorbo makes a plausible connection with its use in the *ballet de cour*. Another, tenuous, link with the ballet comes from the *Ballet des Fées des forests de Saint-Germain* of 1625 (songs from this ballet are found in **Boesset 1626**), in which the fairy of music introduces 'un immense mannequin symbolisant la Musique, portant à son vertugadin des luths et des théorbes et battant bizarrement la mesure des ballets suivants.' **Prunières 1914** p. 126-7.

[106] See **Jurgens II** p. 902

[107] A striking example is that of Pierre Aguillier, curé de Saint-Josse, whose *inventaire après décès* of 1643 includes, in addition to lutes of various sizes and an 'espinette', 'cinq theorbes' with a total value of thirty-six livres. **Jurgens II** p. 905.

[108] **Jurgens I** p. 286-7

[109] See **Massip 1976** p. 133

early. For example, the 1612 *inventaire après décès* of Paul Belamy, *marchand et facteur d'instruments de musique*, includes 'deux autres lucz en theorgue' among a large number of 'lucs commungs',[110] that of Jean de Mesz (1617) mentioned above includes 'ung luth d'Allemagne dont l'ung en tuorgue', that of Philippe Le Vacher (1624), *violon ordinaire de la chambre du roi*, includes 'ung luth de moyenne grandeur en teorbe',[111] and so on. What we should understand by the theorboed lute is a problem, however. It most likely refers to a two-peg-box lute of, say, ten or eleven courses, possibly adapted from older, smaller lutes and equivalent to the *liuto attiorbato* (early archlute), and not to the theorbo at all.[112]

Relationship between polyphonic settings and lute-airs

If we are right in supposing that airs were composed as melody-bass outlines, and then freely arranged in parts or for the lute, we might expect this to be apparent in, or at least consistent with, a comparison between the lute-song and the polyphonic sources of the seventeenth century, just as it is from the few sources between 1571 and 1603. In fact, a comparison between the lute-song and polyphonic sources produces results that are mixed and inconclusive.

A study of several examples will reveal some of the problems in making such comparisons. La Roque's air *Or que la nuit et le silence*, which appears in the polyphonic anthology **Le Roy..P 1597**, and twelve years later as a lute-air in **Bataille 1609**, provides a fine illustration of what we might expect to see from composers working with a melody-bass model (see Example 4.33). The lute version is transposed up a fourth (this is extremely unusual), and there are some interesting rhythmic adjustments in the melody, but on the whole both melody and bass are followed closely, without their being any attempt to replicate either a consistent four-part texture, or any characteristics of inner part movement.[113] Moreover, the differences between the two versions, particularly the uneven rhythmic ornament found in the lute-song, are so distinctive as to suggest that Bataille was not working from this polyphonic arrangement, but was nonetheless still using the same melody-bass model.

The distance in time between the polyphonic and lute-song models makes this case exceptional. More typical is a song like Vincent's *Amour sçachant du haut*, which appears as a lute-song in **Bataille 1611**, and as a part-song in **BallardP 1610** and **BallardP 1613** (see Example 4.34). The melody is identical in each case, allowing for the application of *musica ficta,* as is the bass, allowing for occasional passing notes, or repeated notes in the polyphonic version necessary to accommodate the text. As always, we find the lute-song moving freely between three- and four-note chords, with a fuller sonority still at cadences, and making

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110 See **Jurgens I** p. 724
111 **Jurgens I** p. 212
112 The archives reveal a great diversity of lutes in this period. *Inventaires* and other sources frequently distinguish between different sizes of instrument ('petit', 'moyen' and 'grand' as well as 'basse de luth'), and also stylistic origin. The 'luth de Padoue' is most common, but the 'luth de Venise' is mentioned from time to time, as is the 'luth de Boul[l]o[n]gne' (one of which was owned by Auget in 1629), the 'luth de Florence', and the 'luth d'Allemagne'. Lutes are also identified by maker, often quite old instruments, including 'luth de Gaspard' and 'luth de Melchiere'.
113 Similar variants may be seen between the melody-bass manuscript outline of Guédron's *Que n'estes vous* (Example 4.32) and the printed version in **Bataille 1611** (transcribed in **Verchaly 1961** no. 18).

no attempt to maintain a consistent polyphonic texture. Nor is there any straightforward intabulation of inner parts. On the other hand, there are moments when the lute accompaniment appears to shadow the inner part-movement in the ensemble version. From the fourth to the fourteenth beats ('sça-*chant*' to 'Qu'i-cy *bas*') the top voice in the tablature briefly adheres to that of the alto in the polyphony before departing from it for the rest of the song. This has nothing to do with the limitations of the lute accompaniment, which could accommodate the entire alto line without undue difficulty.

How should we understand such fleeting correspondences? They could be interpreted as coincidence, or as a passing reference to the ensemble version in what might be called a 'free' intabulation of it. Indeed, were it not for the fact that we know Bataille was intabulating the airs of other composers in the early editions, one could as well see them as an attempt to retain aspects of the lute-song version in the polyphony.

Connections such as these may be found to a greater or lesser extent throughout the lute-song repertoire. They are most noticeable in Bataille's 1608 arrangements of airs from **GuédronP 1608**. *Qu'Aminte fut heureux* (**Bataille 1608** f. 49v; **GuédronP 1608** f. 40v) for example, comes close to a literal intabulation of the air, albeit one expanded from four parts to five. But much more typical is *Hé pourquoy n'oseroy-je dire* (**Bataille 1608** f. 22v; **GuédronP 1608** f. 45v), which at times places the alto in the top voice of the lute, at times the tenor, and makes a weak attempt at retaining the staggered entries at 'en se plaignant' in the tablature (see Example 4.35),[114] or even *Quand la trouppe insensée* (**Bataille 1608** f. 48v; **GuédronP 1608** f. 32v), which barely seems to refer to the polyphony at all.

It is more or less certain that Bataille was intabulating the lute-airs in his 1608 collection from Guédron's polyphonic book, and given that this first tablature collection was largely a homage to Guédron, this is perhaps not surprising. Even so, one notes the degree of freedom Bataille allows himself with the inner parts compared to the melody and bass, which demonstrates a full awareness of the status of the outer voices.

The airs published in Guédron's later polyphonic collections generally display weaker correspondences between inner part movement and the tablature of the lute-airs, which were mostly printed in advance of the polyphonic versions. *Noires fureurs, ombres sans corps* (**Bataille 1611** f. 34v; **GuédronP 1612** f. 38v), a good example of a mostly two-part air, is not unusual in showing little or no evidence of Bataille having had access to the polyphonic version. The bass-line simplifies that of the polyphony considerably, and the melodic variants in the closing refrain suggest that Bataille might well have been working from an independent, possibly two-part, model (see Example 4.36), as one might expect in what is, in effect, a monodic *récit* from a *ballet de cour*. Bataille's accompaniment is in essence a continuo realisation, and is instructive about contemporary French practice.

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[114] It is also noticeable that when Bataille departs most from Guédron's polyphony, in the approach to the final cadence, he achieves a string of consecutive fifths.

A more complex case is that of *Cessés mortels de soupirer* (**Bataille 1613** f. 20v; **GuédronP 1612** f 9v).[115] Not only is there no attempt to borrow from the polyphonic model, but on the refrain ('Les Dieux tant seulement'), and at the start of the song, Bataille introduces the strummed triple-time pattern characteristic of the solo lute sarabande - an idiomatic device wholly unsuited to a polyphonic setting. In the polyphonic version Guédron employs sophisticated imitative entries of which there is no hint on the lute. Here it would seem likely that the song was conceived as a polyphonic complex, since this helps explain the delayed entry of the voice on the refrain. And yet both versions are extremely effective, and the underlying triple metre of the song is suggestive of the influence of dance music made explicit only in the tablature.

The connections between lute and polyphonic versions of the airs are no more nor less tenuous in the the anthologies of 1617 and 1618, intabulated by the composers themselves. Guédron's ballet air *Puisque les ans* (**Ballard 1617** f. 1v; **GuédronP 1618** f. 2v), for instance, has virtually identical melody and bass, but no resemblance in the inner parts, unless one regards the passing note figure G-A-B which appears in both versions as significant ('n'ont *point* de' and 'Employ-*és les*'). An air such as this could easily have been conceived as a melody-bass outline, and the reharmonisation of the second chord ('Puis*que*') from C minor to G minor is the sort of alteration one would expect from this. On the other hand, the shadowing of the alto line in the soldiers' refrain of another ballet air, *Vostre Heros n'est plus en servage* (**Ballard 1617** f. 6v; **GuédronP 1618** f. 4v), would seem to be a reference to a pre-existent polyphonic version.

Boesset's *Quelle colere des Cieux* (**Ballard 1617** f. 23v; **BoessetP 1617** f. 11v - see Example 4.37) shows the kind of faint borrowing familiar from the earlier Vincent example (4.34), with the top voice of the lute shadowing the polyphonic alto for most of the second line, but no more than that. This is fairly typical of the level of correspondence among the dedicated editions of composers such as Boesset, Moulinié, and Richard. Boesset's *Amarillis bel astre* (**BoessetP 1632** f. 11v and **Boesset 1632** f. 12v), both versions of which are transcribed in **Verchaly 1961**,[116] is a stronger example of this kind, with the alto shadowed on its delayed entry and at the refrain. When this goes into three parts the lute-song bass follows the polyphonic tenor. Equally typical is *N'esperez plus mes yeux* (**BoessetP 1642** f. 9v; **Boesset 1643** f. 12v), which makes a nodding gesture towards intabulating the alto principally on its entry, though there is a rare harmonic alteration in this song on 'beauté *que* j'adore'. Etienne Moulinié also shows evidence of significant shadowing in, for example, *Cessez amants de servir Angélique* (**Moulinié 1635** f. 24v; **MouliniéP 1635** f. 21v, and François Richard with *Amarillis je vay mourir* (**Richard 1637** f. 11v; **RichardP 1637** f. 12v), with what looks like reference to the polyphonic version at 'Ha! c'est trop'.[117] On the other hand, it is noticeable that with a *dialogue* such as *Cloris attens un peu* (**Richard 1637** f. 25v; **RichardP 1637** f. 20v), where only the bass and tenor are left to be intabulated, Richard makes no attempt to reproduce the tenor in his lute-song accompaniment.

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[115] The lute-song version is transcribed in **Verchaly 1961** no. 29, and the polyphonic version in the anthology to **Durosoir 1986** p. 49.
[116] Nos. 72, pp. lxii, and 158
[117] The lute-song versions of both songs are transcribed in **Verchaly 1961** nos. 79 and 83. Verchaly also transcribes the part-song version of the air by Richard, and the part-song of the Moulinié air may be found in the anthology to **Durosoir 1986**, p.166.

We can see, then, that the polyphonic and lute-song versions of *airs de cour* are based on similar melodies and basses. Where they occur, alterations are usually at the level of ornamentation in the melodic line (more common in the earlier lute-airs than in those after about 1620), and in the bass, octave transposition in the lute version, or the introduction or omission of notes necessary to accomodate a text in the polyphonic version. Harmonic differences between the two versions are rare, though with a given melody and bass the scope for these is slight in any event.

Beyond this, there is never an attempt at polyphonic intabulation of the sort that is typical in the previous century, and many airs could easily have been intabulated from melody-bass models. On the other hand, a significant number of lute-airs display an erratic attempt to reflect features of the polyphonic version, suggesting the priority of the latter, and this is especially noticeable among the works of composers like Boesset, Moulinié, and Richard, who were producing polyphonic and lute-airs contemporaneously. This is perhaps not surprising given that, if a composer knew that he was going to produce two versions of an air - one polyphonic, the other a continuo realisation for lute - he would work on the more sophisticated version first, and then borrow from it freely. But even here one cannot be entirely certain that links between lute-song and part-song versions in the post-Bataille editions are not due to aspects of a lute realisation of a bass being applied to a polyphonic setting.

There are very few cases of airs which look as though they must have been conceived polyphonically. The polyphonic sophistication of Guédron's *Cessez mortels* is exceptional, and even in this case it is so effective as a solo air that one hesitates to suggest that it was not conceived thus. It is also worth mentioning that, increasingly in airs dating from the 1620s and especially the 1630s, polyphonic airs are in any event largely soloistic in conception, with lengthy passages written for the outer voices only. There are a number of cases where the polyphonic version moves into the upper three voices only, and here the lute-song bass version follows the tenor, sometimes producing a series of high chord positions. But such passages could well be written into melody-bass outlines and provide little evidence of a polyphonic conception.[118] On the whole, melody and bass aside, it is the freedom of the lute-song versions that is their most marked characteristic, indicative of a harmonic as opposed to contrapuntal conception of the air far removed from sixteenth-century lute-song.

Accompaniment styles

Given that the lute-air accompaniments are to a large extent free of the polyphonic versions, not least because many of them have no polyphonic equivalents, and of those that do, a great many are in large part unharmonised duets, it remains to make a few observations about the principal characteristics of them.

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118 There is a suggestion of this in the upward leap of an eleventh in the bass of the manuscript version of *Que n'estes vous* (Example 4.32).

The essential features of the tablature accompaniments are that they are harmonic in style, animated to a greater or lesser extent with passing or auxiliary notes, often in the bass (a legacy of the outlines on which, it has been argued, they were composed), and with occasional octave descents in the bass against a held chord, particularly at cadences. They also tend to exploit common chord positions on the instrument to a much greater extent than the contemporary English lute-ayre, which is consequently usually harder to perform. This description will suffice for a great many airs throughout the core repertoire, especially for those found in the earlier volumes in the Bataille series, such as Guédron's *He pourquoy? no'oseroy-je dire* from 1608 (Example 4.35). This is in effect a description of, or at least consistent with, elementary continuo realisation.

A comparison between this air and one or two later ones will reveal the direction in which the accompaniments developed. The anonymous air *Ou suis-je ô malheureux* in **Ballard 1617** (Example 4.38), intabulated by Bataille, still has an essentially harmonic accompaniment, with a slightly more disjunct bass-line. But the passing and auxiliary notes are now combined with various ways of extending a single chord. These include playing different versions of a chord in succession ('*Ou suis*-je'), by repeating only a part of the chord ('*ô mal*-heureux'), or by striking the bass note before the upper notes of the chord ('à *jamais* que', almost continuously from '*Quel triste*' to '*ma per*-sonne', and on 'ces *lieux*'). Moulinié's *Monarque le plus glorieux*, found in **Moulinié 1635** f. 6v, but derived from the *Ballet des Quatre Monarchies Chrétiennes* of 1626, provides further examples of this sort of chord extension (Example 4.39). The arpeggiated pattern at the start of each of the two halves, and the end of the first half (chord - bass note - chord) is a feature of a number of Moulinié's airs in this book especially, but is not uncommon in earlier sources too. The song also contains further examples of the bass note - chord pattern (for instance, on '*glori*-eux') seen above. Similar characteristics are visible in Richard's *Amarante à des yeux* from his 1637 collection in which virtually every chord is arpeggiated (Example 4.40).

The difference between the early Guédron air (*He pourquoy?*) and these later examples is significant, but not striking, and there are few examples of songs that go very much further down this route. Moreover, change in this direction is rapid. Already in **Bataille 1609** we see more evidence of chord repetition, and especially the bass note - chord pattern described above. Some airs in the 1609 book, such as Guédron's *D'un si doux trait*, are little different from the later airs in this respect. (The close of this air, like the previous Richard example, also exhibits a favourite method of 'breaking' a cadence in the *air de cour*, with a resolving suspended fourth followed by a passing seventh - a pattern that is often not reproduced in the polyphonic versions of the airs.)

The combination of arpeggiation with passing and auxiliary notes that we see here almost certainly owes its origins to the development of *style brisé* in solo instrumental and, at this period, especially solo lute music.[119] Indeed, we have already seen exceptional cases where Boyer, in thinning out the texture of the accompaniment of two of his airs to two parts, produces passages strongly reminiscent of later *brisé*-style

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[119] This is probably a simplification. *Récit*-style pieces such as *Noires fureurs* (Example 4.36) must have encouraged the development of accompaniment techniques whereby a single harmony could be sustained on a non-sustaining instrument, and this in turn may well have influenced composers of instrumental music.

solo lute music (Example 3.27 - *Sus sus reveillés vous*). That such passages, or much weaker versions of them, appear at the ends of airs, may well be an echo of the *brisé*-style *doubles* in dance pieces. For examples of each of the ways of arpeggiating chords, one need only look at the collections of Robert Ballard, published in 1611 and 1614. The bass note - chord pattern in particular is ubiquitous, and features at the opening of several *entrées* or *chants de ballet*.[120]

We do not have to go beyond the *air de cour* sources to see the instrumental nature of this accompaniment style. It can be seen in the small number of lute-airs with significant solo instrumental sections, or quasi-ritornelli. Le Bailly's Spanish air *Yosoy la locura* from an unidentified ballet, is headed by a 'Passacalle, la Folie', related to the old *folia* bass pattern, itself of Spanish origin (see Example 3.13). The instrumental introduction is characterised by the sort of repetitive/broken chord patterns seen above, this time accomodated to a triple metre, and this carries forward into the accompaniment of the air itself. Similarly, Guédron's *Karite de qui le bel oeil* (**Ballard 1618**)[121] is accompanied by the instrumental 'choconne' on which it is based. The descending bass-line is accompanied by the now familiar arpeggiated patterns, and the air itself receives a similar accompaniment. The two solo sarabandes attached to airs by François Richard in his 1637 collection (*Ha! que de tes conseils* and *Dans ce beau sejour*) also provide evidence of instrumental *brisé* style, and in particular the bass note - chord often associated with the solo instrumental sarabande of the 1630s.[122]

Airs with instrumental introductions are also revealing in this regard. The opening of Boesset's *Faut-il que je quitte ces lieux* (**Boesset 1628** f. 6v), again based on a descending bass, is almost wholly arpeggiated in *brisé* style. When he repeats this opening in the accompaniment, Boesset greatly reduces the degree of arpeggiation (see Example 4.41) - an indication perhaps that this is essentially an instrumental style being applied to accompaniment, rather than the reverse.

Given that most contemporary solo instrumental music is dance-based, it is no surprise to find specific forms of these arpeggiated patterns most prominent in metrical *airs de cour*, not least those associated with the *ballet de cour*. Chevalier's *Nos esprits libres et contents* (**Bataille 1609** f. 6v) from the *Ballet de la Royne* (1609) was sung by a choir accompanying the dance of the nymphs led by the Queen.[123] Its courante rhythm is matched by a continuous use of short-long/bass note - chord patterns, a texture common to many solo instrumental courantes dating from the 1620s and 30s,[124] but no doubt commonly associated with the dance long before this in the *ballet de cour* (see Example 3.14).

In the Spanish airs of this same collection (**Bataille 1609**) we also see distinctive patterns in imitation of guitar strumming. The pattern of a chord followed by *tirer et rabattre* strumming found in *El baxel esta en la playa* (Example 4.42) is clearly in imitation of (Spanish) guitar style, and variations of it appear in the Spanish guitar-airs of **Moulinié 1629**. It sometimes appears in solo instrumental sarabandes (a dance form

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120 See, for example, the *Troisième chant* of the *Ballet de M. le Daufin* (1611), **Souris.. 1976** p. 12.
121 Trancsribed in **Verchaly 1961** no. 50
122 Both airs with their sarabandes are transcribed in **Verchaly 1961**, nos. 84 and 87.
123 See **Prunières 1914** pp. 108-9, 243
124 See **Ledbetter 1987** p. 47

with its origins in Spain and closely associated with the guitar) from the 1630s onward.[125] This pattern or variants of it find their way into various airs with triple meter (or extended passages in such a metre), of which **Bataille 1613** provides several examples. Guédron's *Cessés mortels* mixes this pattern with a variant in which only the third chord is reduced and strummed. *Je sçay Philis qu'en ces bas lieux* (Example 3.12) uses it consistently throughout the song, where the simple repeated phrase structure and rhythmic drive offered by the accompaniment are suggestive of the sarabande. Indeed, Le Bailly's *Yosoy la locura* (Example 3.13) should also be seen in this light, the rising series of chords in each triple grouping being sometimes found in solo lute sarabandes. A guitar is included in Le Bailly's *inventaire*, and it is likely that in the original ballet he performed the air to his own guitar accompaniment, given its overtly Spanish nature.

We have seen above that, Moulinié's guitar-airs aside, strummed patterns have a fairly brief life-span in the lute-song collections, appearing only in Bataille's collections of 1609 (imitating guitar style) and 1613. If we interpret a single dot beneath a chord as a strum, then we can extend this period to about 1615, the year of the marriage between Louis XIII and the Spanish Anne of Austria, and the culmination of attempts to limit tension between Italy and Spain through diplomatic marriages. This may well represent a passing vogue for Spanish guitar style, and possibly for the sarabande in particular.

After the 1613 book, consistent, repeated patterns of the sort described above disappear forever from the lute-song sources. In the next two books, however, the last that Bataille intabulated, they are to an extent replaced by the *brisé*-style arpeggiation produced by dots after the chord as described in Chapter 3. The effect can be seen in a metrical air such as Guédron's *Aux plaisirs, aux delices bergeres* (Example 3.8), where what appears to be a series of block chords is in fact a series of, probably rising, arpeggios. The absence of such effects in the publications after 1615 (that is, after the Bataille series) may be seen as the consolidation of a more consistent style in the *air de cour*, epitomised in the suave airs of Anthoine Boesset, and perhaps of a fully continuo style of accompaniment.

Lute pitch

A quite different aspect of intabulation for the lute discussed in Chapter 1 for the sixteenth-century air is equally relevant to that of the seventeenth century: that is, the question of nominal lute pitch, the pitch at which the lute theoretically should sound if it is to be in tune with the voice part.[126] This is closely related to the tuning of the diapason courses (i.e. the bass courses below the sixth, which are always played open).

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[125] For an example by Mesangeau, see **Souris.. 1971** no. 28, drawn from Ballard's anthology of 1638. On the nature of the solo lute sarabande see **Ledbetter 1987** p. 47f. and **Ledbetter 1990** p. 38f., with further examples.

[126] This topic is dealt with in some detail in **Le Cocq 1992**. The following discussion summarises the account given there. However, I here confine the study to the Parisian core repertoire, and have also corrected a few errors in the previous article, none of which affects its substance. The sixteenth-century precedents for using different pitches of lute, and the likely origins of the practice in the lute-air repertoire, are discussed in the article and are not reproduced here. As in Chapter 1, it should be stressed that lute pitch is nominal and is not a reflection of sounding pitch: a nominal G-lute, A-lute and F-lute might, in practice, be the same instrument tuned to the same real pitch, and the written pitch of the lute tells us nothing about its sounding pitch. Arguments for this now widely accepted interpretation of lute pitch are given in **Le Cocq 1992.**

Unlike the top six courses of the instrument, which are always tuned in *vieil ton*, the tuning of the diapasons varies.

Unlike the English ayre, which, with only a handful of exceptions, is written for a nominal G-lute, the lute-air uses a variety of lute-pitches, of which by far the most common is not G but A (see Table 4.4):

Table 4.4: Distribution of lute pitches in the core repertoire

Nominal lute pitch	No. Airs[127]	%
A	681	69.5
B	5	0.5
C	1	-
D	9	1.0
E	12	1.0
F	13	1.0
G	259	26.0

Airs which use lute pitches other than A or G are sufficiently rare to be listed below in Table 4.5. It is noticeable that pitches D and E appear principally in the Bataille anthologies, while F is used mostly by Moulinié and Richard.

*Table 4.5: Songs using nominal lute pitches B, C, D, E and F in the Parisian sources. * indicates an air de ballet. Column 4 gives the range of the vocal melody, column 5 the tuning of the diapason courses (*x *indicates an unused course).*

Airs using nominal B pitch:

Incipit	Source	Composer	Ambitus	Diapasons
Nous languissons pour la richesse*	Bataille 1611 18v		f'-a"	A
Beaux yeux dont j'estimois	Ballard 1617 11v	Guédron	a'-g"	xG
Puis que ce Dieu vainqueur	Boesset 1624 13v	Boesset	a'-g"	A
Je sers de l'oeil	Boesset 1624 15v	Boesset	a'-g"	AG
Helas! que je souffre	Richard 1637 18v	Richard	a'-a"	AxxE

Airs using nominal C pitch:

Incipit	Source	Composer	Ambitus	Diapasons
Amis de Caresme-prenant*	Boesset 1628 9v	Auget	c'-d"	BbAxF

[127] The working number of airs is nine hundred and eighty. This excludes second and third strophes or refrains attached to several airs, and also the twelve guitar airs in **Moulinié 1629**. These guitar airs also use different nominal pitches in similar ways to the lute-songs.

Airs using nominal D pitch:

Incipit	Source	Composer	Ambitus	Diapasons
Sejour de la divinite*	Bataille 1608 2v	Guédron?	g'-a"	CBbG
Tout beau mignon	Bataille 1608 25v		c'-c"	C
Helas amis que faites vous*	Bataille 1608 33v		c'-d"	CAG
La plus miserable amante	Bataille 1609 38v	C. Tessier	d'-c"	xxG
Beaux yeux lumiere	Bataille 1609 38v		d'-d"	CBbG
Quoy? tu faignois amour	Bataille 1613 66v		f'-d"[128]	CxG
Qui n'eut esté vaincu	Bataille 1614 40v		c'-d"	CBbG
Il est donc vray volage	Bataille 1614 66v	Guédron	c'-c"[129]	CBbG
Amour grand vainqueur	De Rigaud 1623 12v	De Rigaud	f'-g"	C

Airs using nominal E pitch:

Incipit	Source	Composer	Ambitus	Diapasons
Amour dont je recoy	Bataille 1608 10v		b-d"	DC
Douces fleurettes palissantes	Bataille 1608 57v		c#'-d"	DCA
Belle dont les yeux	Bataille 1609 58v		d'-e"	D
Du profond des maux	Bataille 1609 70v	Bataille	d'-d"	DxA
Un amant répandit	Bataille 1611 41v		d'-f"	D
Aminte l'amoureux	Bataille 1613 24v		c#'-d"	D
Preserve moy, Seigneur	Bataille 1613 69v	Bataille	c'-e"	DCA
Vous vous estonnés	Bataille 1614 46v		d'-d"	D
Soit que l'oeil pour-veu	Bataille 1614 52v	Mauduit	c'-d"	D
Qu'ay-je fait contre vos beautés*	Bataille 1615 1v	Le Bailly	e'-e"	DCxA
Heureuse solitude	Bataille 1615 52v		d'-d"	DC
Toy de qui la rigueur*	Boesset 1620 13v	Guédron	e'-e"	DC

Airs using nominal F pitch:

Incipit	Source	Composer	Ambitus	Diapasons
Des maux si déplorables	Bataille 1611 25v	Cerveau	d'-c"	EbxBb
Qu'une beauté pleine d'appas	Boesset 1628 3v	Boesset	e'-d"	xxC
A la fin c'est trop	Moulinié 1633 3v	Moulinié	d'-c"	EbDC
Amarillis, mon unique pensée	Moulinié 1633 4v	Moulinié	d'-d"	xDC
Puis que Doris	Moulinié 1633 7v	Moulinié	d'-d"	xDxBb
Vous ne me tenez plus	Moulinié 1633 19v	Moulinié	c'-c"	xxC
Cessez amants de servir	Moulinié 1635 20v	Moulinié	c'-d"	ExC
Grand Roy, dont la valeur	Richard 1637 2v	Richard	f'-d"	xxxBb
Beaux yeux, qui dessous	Richard 1637 6v	Richard	d'-c"	xDC
Puis que l'adorable Angelique	Richard 1637 7v	Richard	d'-d"	EbD
Amarillis je voy mourir	Richard 1637 11v	Richard	e-d'	EDC[130]
Je vis l'autre jour	Richard 1637 12v	Richard	d'-d"	xD
C'en est fait courrons	Richard 16378 16v	Richard	d'-d"	xD

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[128] This air is a *dialogue*. The second voice has the range E-f.
[129] This air is a *dialogue*. The second voice has the range G-c.
[130] This air bears the following rubric: *Il faut accorder la Septiesme au B de la Quarte*.

Two things correlate with lute pitch in these sources, allowing us to understand how and why it is being used. The first is the tessitura of the vocal melody. In Table 4.5 above it is clear that B-lutes mostly accompany songs with a high tessitura of about a' to g", E-lutes and F-lutes with a low tessitura of about c'-e", while D-lutes are fairly evenly divided between the two. This distinction holds true for the much larger number of airs with A and G tuning as well. About five hundred and thirty of the six hundred and eighty or so airs using an A-lute have the higher tessitura of between about f' and a", and of the others starting at a lower pitch, about seventy-five of them go above c". G-lutes, on the the other hand, tend to correspond with the lower range of between c' and f": about one hundred and seventy of the two hundred and fifty-seven airs fall within this range, and of the others only five have an ambitus extending above f".[131]

If we accept that all these airs are intended to be played on one instrument tuned at one pitch, then the effect of using the nominal lute pitches this way is to bring these different tessituras closer together. Thus if we suppose for a moment that all the airs are played on a lute pitched in real terms at G, an air written for a G-lute with range e'-e" will, of course, remain at its written pitch. But a song with range g'-g" written on an A-lute will transpose down a tone to f'-f", an air with a B-lute with range a'-g" will transpose down a major third to f'-eb", an E-lute air with range c'-e" will transpose up a minor third to eb'-g", and an F-lute air with a similar range will transpose up a tone to d'-f#". Thus all these airs can be accommodated within the tessitura d'-f#, and most within the range e'-f", and would be available to a single singer. To put this another way, the effect of using different lute-pitches is to make the voice part transpose to a single tessitura, and to allow all the airs to be sung by one type of voice. The singer has only to select a pitch of lute suitable for his or her voice, and all songs become more or less available to him, an eminently practical result of using different lute pitches.

The other correlation with lute pitch is fingering pattern used on the lute. Like most instruments, it is easier to play the lute in some keys than others, easier keys being those which make use of low positions on the instrument, avoid barrés, and exploit chords with open courses, especially in the bass. It is less efficient to speak in terms of favourable keys on the lute than other instruments, however, precisely because of the use of different lute pitches, for the same finger position will relate to different nominal keys according to the nominal pitch of the lute. A clearer alternative is to use the system employed in Chapter 1, identifying comfortable 'keys' in terms of position the tonic note on the lute so that, for example, VI^{0-} identifies the keys of A minor in an A-lute , and G minor an a G-lute (i.e. in each case a minor key whose tonic is found on the open sixth course).[132]

There is a strong association between lute pitch and finger position in these sources, given in Table 4.6, which also shows how different fingering patterns are produced by pieces in the same key written on lutes of

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[131] These are outer ranges. Most songs have a more limited ambitus. The most common range for songs with A-lutes is g'-g" (one hundred and thirty-six airs), followed by f'-f" (eighty-seven airs) and g'-f" (forty-nine airs). The most common range for songs with G-lutes is e'-e" (thirty-four airs) followed by d'-e/eb" (thirty airs) and d'-d" (twenty-six airs). This is reflected in the type of clef used for the vocal melodies: six hundred and eighteen airs with an A-lute use a G2 clef, only thirty-five use a C1 clef. G-lutes, on the other hand, accompany one hundred and fifty-three airs using a C1 clef, ninety-eight with a G2 clef.

[132] There is evidence that seventeenth-century lutenists thought in these terms. For example, the author of Mary Burwell's 'Instruction for the Lute', writing later in the century and for a lute with D minor tuning, refers to 'the mode of the *a* of the sixth', and so on. See **Dart 1958** pp. 18 and 52-56.

different nominal pitches. For clarity this table is confined to the majority of airs which are written for G- and A-lutes.

Table 4.6: Association of lute pitch, key, and fingering positions in the core repertoire

Lute pitch	Fingering pattern	Key	No. airs
A-lutes	VI^{1+}	Bb	12
	V^{0-}	d	195
	V^{3+}	F	70
	IV^{0-}	g	193
G-lutes	VI^{0+}	G	6
	VI^{2-}	a	20
	V^{0+}	C	59
	V^{2-}	d	19
A- & G-lutes	VI^{0-}	a/g	73/72
	VI^{3+}	C/Bb	112/1
	IV^{0+}	G/F	28/80

The value of different lute pitches in this context is not hard to see. If lutenists worked with only one nominal pitch of lute, some of the most comfortable fingering positions would not be available. If all pieces were written for a G-lute, for instance, the pattern V^{0-} would not be available, for this would require a melody in Eb minor, a key alien to French music in this period. And yet this is an extremely natural pattern for the lute, used for one hundred and ninety-five pieces in a nominal D minor for an A-lute. Similarly, if lutenists wrote exclusively for A-lutes, they would not be able to use the practical pattern V^{0+}, for this would require a melody in D major. Conversely, if lutenists confined themselves to A-lutes, then pieces in C major would require the relatively uncomfortable pattern VI^{3+}, whereas on a G-lute the much more comfortable pattern V^{0+} is available. Thus variety of nominal lute pitch allows the lutenist to reconcile comfortable hand positions with the limited range of nominal keys in use in France at this period.

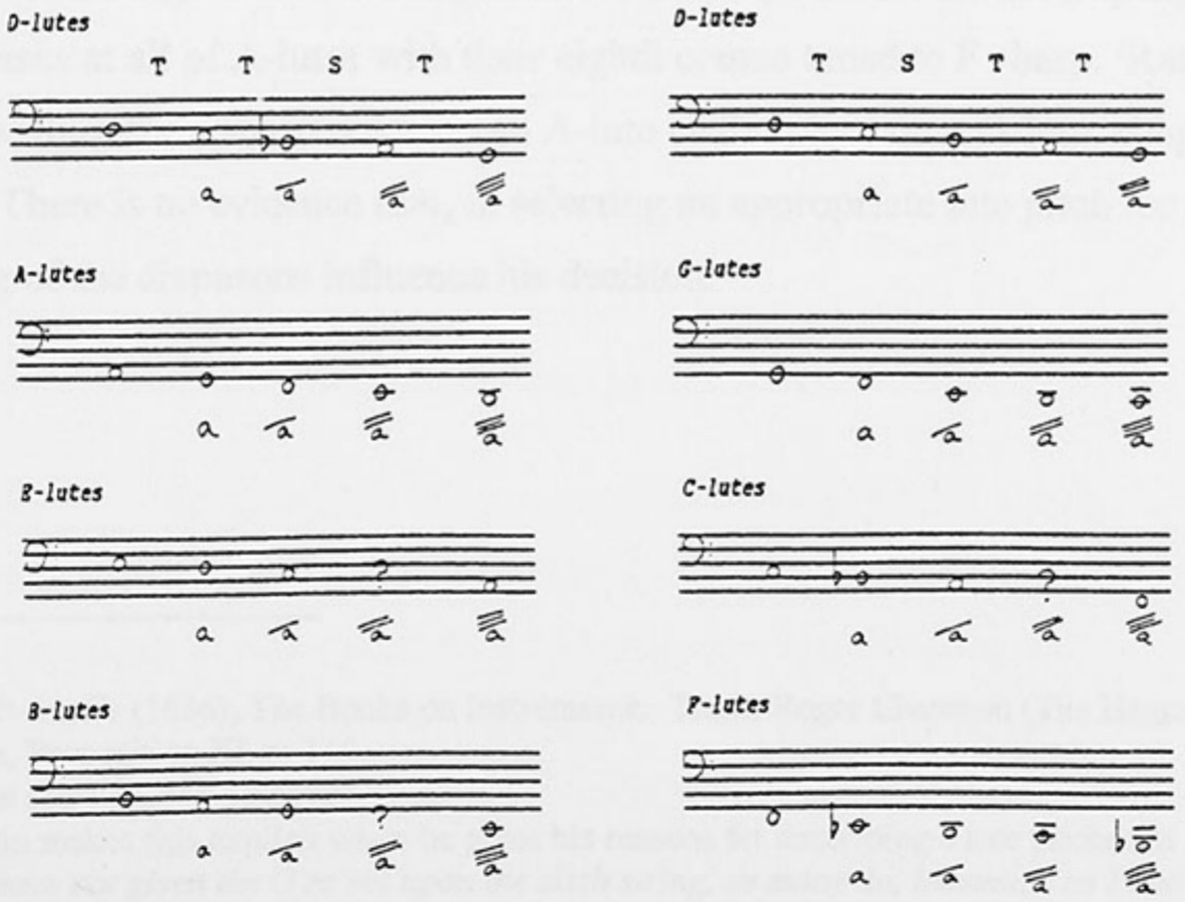
We can see how this subtle and sophisticated use of lute pitch, virtually unknown in the English ayre, arises naturally from the practice of working from melody-bass outlines, as suggested above. Given such an outline, the intabulator could be expected to try it out against several comfortable fingering patterns, settling for that which allowed him to sing the melody within the natural range of his voice. There was probably no deliberate attempt to bring the airs within the range of one voice: rather, this is the result of the natural process of intabulating not a whole polyphonic complex, but a simple outline. Habit, developed from over a century of intabulating vocal music for solo lute, would lead him to try out positions suggesting an A-lute or a G-lute more or less automatically.

Such an approach would be less likely if the songs were approached primarily as lute-airs rather than as, in essence, continuo airs arranged for the lute. In the English repertoire we find both a wider range of keys in

use, and also rather more difficult, less continuo-like, accompaniments: that is, accompaniments not exploiting familiar and relatively easy chord positions to the extent that we see in France, but much more sophisticated, 'worked-out' settings. If French composers were not working from melody-bass outlines as argued above, but were thinking of lute-song 'from scratch', as it were, or were intabulating a pre-existent polyphonic setting, one would expect the results to be rather more like the accompaniments we find in the English ayre. It is also worth noting that, in using pitches A and G, with the former predominating, the French lute resembles the theorbo, which also tends to be thought of in these pitches for the practicalities of continuo accompaniment.

Diapason tuning

The tuning of the diapason courses of the lute (i.e. courses seven to ten) should also be considered in the context of lute pitch, for there is a correlation here as well. With very few exceptions these fall into two patterns of, from bass to treble (i.e. tenth course to sixth), tone, tone, semitone, tone (TTST), and tone semitone, tone, tone (TSTT), or major and minor tetrachords respectively.[133] In the overwhelming majority of cases these patterns relate to lute pitch, with A-lutes using the TSTT pattern, and G-lutes the TTST pattern: that is, the diapasons on A-lutes are tuned DEFG, and on G-lutes, CDEF (tenth course to seventh). These common patterns are obscured by the fact that the early airs only require a nine-course lute, and tune their ninth course to the pitch of the tenth course on a ten-course lute (i.e. on an A-lute they are tuned GED and on a G-lute FDC), effectively 'missing out' the ninth course, and also because it is common for songs not to use all the diapason courses. A glance at Table 4.5 above will show that other lute pitches (B to F) also usually conform to one of these two patterns, with the exception of D-lute pieces which include both. This relationship is given below:



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[133] In **Le Cocq 1992** these patterns are given in reverse order, counting from treble to bass rather than bass to treble, in order to be consistent with the usual manner of naming the courses of the lute from treble to bass.

The reason for this association is, as we can see from Table 4.6, that A-lutes are on the whole more suitable for setting 'flat' keys, and G-lutes, 'sharp' keys (this is why lute pitches for each diapason pattern go up in fourths in the above diagram). Contemporary accounts make it clear that the diapason patterns were conceived as relating to what we would call sharp and flat keys in just this way. Mersenne says as much when describing how to tune the diapasons of a ten-course lute:

> And then the small seventh string must be tuned at the unison with the open fourth string, and its companion an octave below. The small eighth is sometimes tuned in unison with d [third fret] and at other times with the e [fourth fret] of the fifth string, so as to play in B-flat or B-natural according to the pieces they perform. The small ninth is in tune at the unison with the c of the fifth for the B or the B-flat of the same fifth string for the B-flat, and its companion at the lower octave. The small tenth string is at the unison of the open fifth string, and the thicker one at the octave, like the others. This tuning holds for B-flat and B.[134]

Mersenne's reference to the two forms of the gamut, B-flat and B, holds true literally if we think of the lute as being nominally pitched at D, for this gives us the diapason tunings GABC (TTST for sharp keys) and GABbC (TSTT for flat keys), and there is evidence here and in other sources that, for harmonic purposes, lutenists thought in terms of nominal D-lutes.[135] This would allow them to think in terms of major and minor tetrachords without exceeding the notes of the gamut (that is, without thinking of chromatic notes except for B flat, which would not be considered as a chromatic alteration at all, but as part of one form of the gamut). It is for this reason that airs for nominal D-lutes use both diapason patterns.[136]

Because lutenists would mostly need the minor tetrachord (with its flattened eighth course) when playing mostly flat-key pieces on an A-lute, and the major (with its sharpened eighth course) for mostly sharp-key pieces on a G-lute, they acquired the habit of tuning the diapasons accordingly even when they were, in fact, playing sharp pieces on an A-lute and flat pieces on a G-lute. In the French lute-air repertoire, there are only three cases of the eighth course being tuned to E flat (in each case accompanying melodies in flat keys), and no cases at all of A-lutes with their eighth course tuned to F sharp. Rather than retune, the lutenist, when writing for a sharp piece on an A-lute or flat piece on a G-lute, simply avoided using the eighth course. There is no evidence that, in selecting an appropriate lute pitch for accompanying a melody, he let the tuning of the diapasons influence his decision.

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[134] *Harmonie Universelle* (1636), The Books on Instruments. Trans. Roger Chapman (The Hague, 1957). The Second Book of String Instruments, Proposition XI, p. 115.

[135] For other cases see **Le Cocq 1992** pp. 51-2.

[136] Mersenne again makes this explicit when he gives his reasons for describing a lute pitched at A rather than at G: *It must be noted here that I have not given the G re sol upon the sixth string, as many do, inasmuch as I had less to indicate the tone made from the seventh to the eighth string, by the letters of the Harmonic [Guidonian] Hand, for if one takes the G re sol, on the sixth, the F fa ut is found on the seventh and consequently the E mi la on the eighth, which makes only a major semitone with the said F ut fa, so that it wold be necessary to place a new letter which should mark the sharp, a semitone lower than the said E mi la is, to make a tone from the seventh to the eighth string.* Op. cit. n. 134, The Second Book of String Instruments, Proposition I, p. 76.

CONCLUSION

In the preceding chapters we have looked at the background to publications and manuscripts of French lute-song produced in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, and attempted to gain an insight to the nature of their contents. Where sources are lacking, particularly in the latter part of the sixteenth century, we have also surveyed literary and other references to lute-song for evidence of its nature and development. Rather than rehearse some of the conclusions already reached in these chapters, it may be appropriate to end by noting areas where a study concentrating on musical sources is limited, and to touch on some issues that do not naturally arise from such a study.

Foremost amongst these limitations is the degree of uncertainty we face in deciding how representative musical publications are of musical practice. At one level this is the familiar problem for the musician who is interested in a performance that takes as its starting point the intentions and expectations of the age in which a work was produced, but is confronted with the inadequacy of written notation as a means of representing sound. But for the historian it is also the problem of establishing a perspective on how far surviving musical works, however they were performed, represent the musical life of the period under review. For example, it has often been noted that printed works from any century are likely to represent only one possible incarnation - often the most refined, impressive, and adaptable - of the spectrum of genres and styles in which musicians were engaged. Certain types of work, or ways of performing works, were then as now more likely to find their way into print or into manuscript than others, but were not necessarily any more significant for the nature and development of music for that.

This problem confronts a study of sixteenth-century lute-song acutely. All of the sources studied up to 1571 reveal a genre allied to the intabulation of polyphonic vocal music that we find in solo lute arrangements. Indeed, in most cases one can identify the polyphonic models on which the lute-songs were based. It is at the level of repertoire - the preference for relatively simple, homophonic, and often *timbre*-based genres - that sixteenth-century lute-song acquires an identity of its own. Yet with genres such as the *voix de ville* especially, a polyphonic setting or its intabulation might be far removed from the most common manifestation of such songs, and even with the more erudite, but still essentially melodic, Parisian chanson one cannot be certain that a polyphonic complex reveals the work in its 'original conception'.

We have seen, for instance, that in a period when printed sources of lute-song virtually disappear altogether, non-musical sources imply a flourishing practice of lute-song as a private pleasure for amateur performance, as a source of inspiration for humanist poets and theorists, and as a feature of various forms of theatrical entertainment. One is bound to question whether lute-song as we find it in the sixteenth-century sources adequately reflects the practice of lute-song suggested by such accounts, or indeed as it might have existed in more popular contexts - as practised in the flourishing town guilds of musicians, say - where there are few or no detailed records. Given the immense popularity of the lute in the middle of the century especially, and given the convenience of the instrument as a means of supplying a polyphonic support for a single singer, one suspects a far greater extent and range of practice of lute-song than the

musical sources suggest. There is too much freedom to be able to speculate usefully on the nature of such performance, or the extent of its influence on musical developments more generally, but we must at least be aware that the difference in conception between the lute-air as it appears at the end of the century in sources such as the Tessier manuscript and Besard's *Thesaurus Harmonicus* may reflect not so much a change in conception of the nature of lute-song, as a change in emphasis of the types of music finding their way into manuscript or into print.

When we arrive at the 'core repertoire' of lute-airs in the seventeenth century we are confronted with a similar problem. While the Ballard prints are clearly designed for widespread use by a market of presumably enthusiastic amateurs, not only do they tell us less than we might wish about who these amateurs were and the circumstances in which the songs were performed, but they may also fail to reflect the practice of lute-song as realised by the professional musicians at the French court who gave them life. If we are correct in supposing that many airs were conceived originally as melody-bass outlines, then it is likely that they were also frequently performed as, in effect, continuo airs. If so, it is difficult to be certain how far the accompaniments provided by Bataille and others, ranging as they do from simple harmonisations to more elaborate, *brisé*-style textures, reflect the improvisatory techniques of individual composers and performers. Also, in the later polyphonic prints we have seen the boundaries between part-song and continuo air become increasingly blurred, with abundant evidence that the lute figured in various types of ensemble performance, not least in productions of the *ballet de cour*. But the lute-song prints tell us little about the role of the lute, or of the prints themselves, in such ensembles. And in addition to these questions are the perennial ones of how much licence a singer would allow himself with a notated melody at the level of ornamentation and other kinds of expressive delivery. The existence of some well-ornamented airs, and the examples of theorists like Mersenne and Bacilly, indicate that considerable ornamentation was commonplace, not least in professional performances. But how commonplace, and how essential such ornamentation was to the conception of the air, is less clear.

Allied to all these questions is a general one of the extent to which lute-song was conceived as a distinct genre. One might be tempted to conclude that the intabulation style of the sixteenth-century prints shows us lute-song as part-music in which some of the parts happen to played on the lute, whereas the abundant sources of the seventeenth century reflect a form that had acquired an identity of its own. On this view one could interpret the turn of the century as the period in which a lute-song genre emerged. But while this view has some force, it remains a simplification. The sixteenth-century French sources all favour a homophonic and often *timbre*-based repertoire, and while the lute-song versions tend to be close to polyphonic ones, there is good reason to believe that this repertoire was as likely to be conceived in melody-accompaniment (very likely lute-song) form, with the printed versions representing unusually carefully worked out manifestations of such accompaniments. We have also argued that underlying the seventeenth-century airs is a melody-bass model equally capable of varied adaptation, as lute-song, part-song, or ensemble music, with no final version having priority over the others. Thus while it makes sense to treat lute-song as a genre (the viability of this thesis is contingent on it), it is one that can be fully understood only in the light of broader patterns of musical production.

Finally, there has been little incentive in the preceding discussion to relate the development of lute-song in these two centuries to the familiar style-period designations of Renaissance and Baroque. There are three components to such labels, the interaction of which is inevitably complex. As purely chronological categories (which is the way they have been used in their rare appearances in this thesis) they are useful but essentially uninformative tools. But they also function both as stylistic labels, and as indications of the cultural, social, and economic forces that influence and/or find a reflection in such musical styles. For historical studies taking a broad view of musical developments they are again invaluable if imperfect tools, and it is possible to relate the changing features of French lute-song to them. Thus the harmonic, melody-bass conception of seventeenth-century lute-song fits well the idea of the Baroque as the age of the basso continuo, and both the affective nature of the early *récit* and the later *air sérieux*, and also the forms of extensive ornamentation attached to a number of airs, might be interpreted as a reflection of the Baroque emphasis on expression allied to convention or, in its broadest sense, mannerism. But in a more focused study, and especially one dealing largely with a transitional period (itself a conceptually loaded term), such labels are as likely to distort as to enlighten by encouraging us to measure musical developments against an unnecessarily imposed standard.

One does better to take lute-song on its own merits. In the sixteenth century it was a diverse phenomenon, but one closely allied to the fascinating world of humanist ideals and preoccupations. In the seventeenth century it was a simple and limited genre, but one explored by some of the finest composers of its day, and correspondingly rich in subtleties, in individuality, and in charm.

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Le FevreP 1613	*Meslanges de musique de Jacques Le Fevre* ..., Paris: Pierre Ballard, 1613
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Le Roy [1552b]	Presumed original edition of Le Roy 1555 (lost)
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MangeantS 1615 — *Recueil des plus beaux airs accompagnés de chansons a dancer ...*, Caen: Mangeant, 1615 (**RISM** 1615[8])

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MorlayeI 1552c	*Quatriesme livre ... en tabulature de guyterne et au jeu de la cistre par Maistre Guillaume Morlaye et autres bons autheurs ...*, Paris: Fezandat, 1552 (**RISM** 1552[33]; **Brown 1965** 1552[6])
MornableP 1546	*Livre second contenant XVII. Pseaulmes de David traduictz de Latin en Francois par Clement Marot et naguères mis en musique en quatre parties separees par maistre Anthoine de Mornable ...*, Paris: Attaingnant, 1546 (**Heartz 1969** no. 143)
Moulinié 1624	*Airs avec la tablature de luth de Estienne Moulinié ...*, Paris: P. Ballard, 1624 (**RISM** M3942)
Moulinié 1625	*Airs de cour avec la tablature de luth de Estienne Moulinié. Second livre ...*, Paris: P. Ballard, 1625 (**RISM** M39443
Moulinié 1629	*Airs de cour avec la tablature de luth et de guitarre de Estienne Moulinié ... Troisiesme livre ...*, Paris: Ballard, 1629 (**RISM** M3944)
Moulinié 1629b	Second state of Moulinié 1629. Identical contents but for addition of the song *Voyci tantost la froidure* on f. 42v.
Moulinié 1633	*Airs de cour avec la tablature de luth de Estienne Moulinié ... Quatriesme livre ...*, Paris: P. Ballard, 1633 (**RISM** M3945)
Moulinié 1635	*Airs de cour avec la tablature de luth, de Estienne Moulinié ... Cinquiesme livre ...*, Paris: P. Ballard, 1635 (**RISM** 3946)
MouliniéP 1625	*Airs de cour à quatre et cinq parties de Estienne Moulinié ...*, Paris: Ballard, 1625 (**RISM** M3947; **Durosoir** no. 92)
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MouliniéP 1637	*Quatrième livre d'Airs de Cour à quatre et cinq parties par Estienne Moulinié...*, Paris: Ballard, 1637 (**RISM** M3949)
MouliniéP 1639	*Cinquième livre d'Airs de Cour à quatre et cinq parties par Estienne Moulinié...*, Paris: Ballard, 1639 (**RISM** M3950)
MuguetP 1615	*Amphion sacré recueilly de quelques excellens musiciens de ce temps, contenant plusieurs beaux airs, chansons ... à quatre et cinq voix ...*, Lyons: Louys Muguet, 1615 (**RISM** 1615[7])
Parran 1639	Parran: *Traité de la Musique théorique et pratique*, Paris, P. Ballard 1639
Phalèse 1553	*Horti musarum secunda pars ...*, Louvain: Phalèse, 1553 (**RISM** 1553[33])
Phalèse..I 1570	*Hortulus cytharae, in duos distinctus libros ...*, Louvain: Phalèse and Antwerp: Bellère, 1570 (**RISM** 1570[34]; **Vanhulst 1990** no. 148; **Brown 1965** 1570[3]). Reprinted in 1575, edition now lost (see **Brown 1965** [1575][7]).

Phalèse..I 1570b — *Selectissima elegantissimaque, gallica, italica et latina in guiterna ludenda carmina* ..., Louvain: Phalèse and Antwerp: Bellère, 1570 (**RISM** 1570[35]; **Vanhulst 1990** no. 149; **Brown 1965** 1570[4])

Phalèse..I 1571 — *Theatrum musicum, longe amplissimum* ..., Louvain: Phalèse and Antwerp: Bellère, 1571 (**RISM** 1571[16]; **Vanhulst 1990** no. 156; **Brown 1965** 1571[6])

PhalèseI 1545 — *Des chansons reduictz en tabulature de lut à deux, trois, et quatre parties. Avecq une briefve et familaire introduction pour entendre et apprendre par soy mesmes à jouer dudict lut. Livre premier* ..., Louvain: Phalèse, 1545 (**RISM** 1545[21]; **Vanhulst 1990** no. 1; **Brown 1965** 1545[3]). Varied editions in 1547 and 1549, with a possible lost re-edition in 1575 (see **Vanhulst 1990** no. 179).

PhalèseI 1552 — *Hortus musarum in quo tanquam flosculi quidam selectissimorum carminum colecti sunt ex optimis quihusque autoribus.* ..., Louvain: Phalèse 1552 (**RISM** 1552[29]; **Vanhulst 1990** no. 13; **Brown 1965** 1552[11])

PhalèsePI 1552 — *Tiers livre des chansons à quatre parties ... convenables tant aux instrumentz comme à la voix* ..., Phalèse and Rotaire, 1552. (**RISM** 1552[13]; **Vanhulst 1990** no. 10). Reprinted in 1554 and 1563.

PhalèsePI 1552b — *Quatriesme livre des chansons à quatre parties ... convenables tant aux instrumentz comme à la voix*, Louvain: Phalèse and Rotaire, 1552 (**RISM** 1552[14]; **Vanhulst 1990** no. 11). Reprinted in 1555 and re-edited in 1564. **La Laurencie.. 1934** gives the date 1553.

PhalèsePI 1552c — *Cinquiesme livre des chansons à quatre parties ... convenables tant aux instrumentz comme à la voix* ..., Louvain: Phalèse and Rotaire, 1552 (**RISM** 1552[15]; **Vanhulst 1990** no. 12). Reprinted in 1555 and 1564. **La Laurencie.. 1934** gives the date of the second edition.

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PhalèsePI 1563b	Re-edition of **PhalèsePI 1552** (**Vanhulst 1990** no. 96)
PhalèsePI 1564	Re-edition of **PhalèsePI 1552b** (**Vanhulst 1990** no. 105)
PhalèsePI 1564b	Re-edition of **PhalèsePI 1552c** (**Vanhulst 1990** no. 106)
PlansonP 1587	*Airs mis en musique à quatre parties. Par Jean Planson Parisien ...*, Paris: Le Roy and Ballard, 1587 (**RISM** P2507)
PlansonP 1588	2nd ed. of PlansonP 1587 (**RISM** P2508)
PlansonP 1593	3rd ed. of PlansonP 1587 (**RISM** P2509)
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QuinqueP 1632	*La Philomele séraphique* ..., Tournay: Quinque, 1632 (**RISM** 1632^3)
Richard 1637	*Airs de cour avec la tablature de luth, de François Richard* ..., Paris: P. Ballard, 1637 (**RISM** R1303)
RichardP 1637	*Airs de Cour à quatre parties de François Richard* ..., Paris: Ballard, 1637 (**RISM** R1302)
Sebillet 1548	Sebillet, Thomas: *Art poétique françoys*, Paris, 1548
SignacP 1618	*Airs à quatre parties, du Sieur Signac* ..., Paris: Ballard, 1618 (**RISM** S3417)
SignacP 1622	2nd ed. of SignacP 1618 (**RISM** S3418)
SignacP 1625	*Troisiesme livre d'Airs à 4 parties du Sieur Signac* ..., Paris: Ballard, 1625 (**RISM** S3420)
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TessierP 1582b	*Il primo libro dell'arie Franzesi, Italiche et Spagniuole ... composte nuovamente da Guglielmo Tessieri di Bretagna* ..., Paris: Le Roy and Ballard, 1582 (**RISM** T598; **Lesure.. 1955** no. 255). Identical contents to **TessierP 1582**.
TessierP 1585	*Premier livre d'airs ... par M. G. Tessier* ..., Paris: Le Roy and Ballard, 1585 (**Lesure.. 1955** no. 271). Second edition of TessierP 1582
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VerulietP 1619 — *La Pieuse Alouette avec son tirelire ...* (I), Valenciennes: Jean Veruliet, 1619 (**RISM** 1619^9)

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See also GB-Ob Add. A.33 (*Comoedia D. Guilielmus Dux Aquitaniae*) - one song with tablature, (*c.* 1614), and **Grijp 1987** for details of a single tablature air among the papers of Constantin Huyghens (*c.* 1619).

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