

A B S T R A C T

Title of thesis: Harpsichord and Lute Music in seventeenth-Century France: An Assessment of the Influence of Lute on Keyboard Repertoire.

Name of candidate: David John Ledbetter

College: Queen's

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The view that the lute exercised an important influence on the formation of French harpsichord style in the seventeenth century is a commonplace of musicology which has not until now been thoroughly investigated. This thesis is an attempt to determine the nature of that influence taking into account as much of the available relevant material as possible. The first chapter outlines the status and function of stringed keyboard instruments, particularly in the late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries, using a wide variety of non-musical sources whether literary, archival, or documentary. It also charts the relative standing of the two instruments and the interrelationship of their repertoires as viewed by contemporaries throughout the seventeenth century. The second chapter provides a survey of the evolution of French lute style based on a detailed study of most of the French lute sources from the period c1600-c1670 and including the more important sources from c1670-c1700. The third chapter presents detailed comparisons of individual works existing in versions for both lute and keyboard. These are based on numerous parallel transcriptions presented in the second volume. The material for this section is provided by a concordance file for virtually all French seventeenth-century lute sources designed to be usable in conjunction with Gustafson's keyboard catalogue. The final chapter is an attempt to define the degree of affinity existing between particular features of the central harpsichord style and that of the lute on the basis of principles established in the previous discussions. This thesis contains the first detailed discussion of the works of the principal seventeenth-century French lutenists in the context of a survey of the general development of the lute style. Numerous illustrative examples of hitherto unpublished lute music are included in the second volume. The final chapter also discusses some new sources of French harpsichord music dating from the late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries, with transcriptions. Also discussed for the first time is the Premier Livre (1687) of Élisabeth Jacquet de la Guerre, and a transcription of a suite supposedly written in imitation of the lute is given. A comprehensive concordance of pieces existing in versions for both lute and harpsichord is given in Volume II.

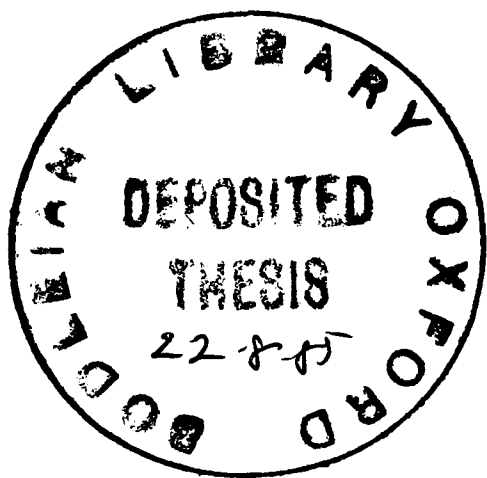
HARPSICHORD AND LUTE MUSIC IN SEVENTEENTH-CENTURY FRANCE

An Assessment of the Influence of Lute on Keyboard Repertoire

by

David John Ledbetter

The Queen's College



VOLUME I

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**Thesis submitted to the University of Oxford
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N O T E T O R E A D E R S

Musical sources and modern editions to which frequent reference is made in the text have been given abbreviated titles which are underlined. These sigla are explained with full references in the list of abbreviations at the end of this volume. Original sources are given lower-case letters (e.g. R.Ballard 1611); modern editions in upper-case (e.g. R.BALLARD 1)¹. Every effort has been made in the text to make the nature of the source (keyboard, lute, or other) clear from the context. These three categories of sources are also distinguished in the list of abbreviations. A few standard modern works of reference have also been given abbreviated titles. Full details are given in the bibliography as follows: RISM will be found under Lesure, François; MGG under Blume, Friedrich; and The New Grove under Sadie, Stanley. CNRS is the Centre National de la Recherche Scientifique, Paris, who have published editions of the works of most of the lutenists in the series Corpus des luthistes français.

For ease of reference pieces discussed in Chapter III have been given short titles, underlined (e.g. Anon.Cl). The following abbreviations of dance titles are used: A - allemande, C - courante, S - sarabande, G - gigue. Full source references are given in the concordance table in Volume II.

Tunings for lute examples are given in a table in Volume II. They are referred to in abbreviated form in the examples for Chapter III (e.g. "T.1" for tuning number one). Standard d minor tuning is referred to as "TS".

1. The siglum for one original lute source (CNRS) is also given in upper-case letters since this is the normal abbreviation for this source in the literature.

Some common lute terms may require explanation for the benefit of non-lutenists. The following glossary lists these and also a few terms used in the analytical discussions which may need clarification. Terms relating to lute technique are marked (L):

<u>barré</u>	(L) A chord in which one finger stops the same fret over several courses.
<u>brisure</u>	A style of playing in which the notes of two or more parts are sounded successively rather than simultaneously (noun from <u>brisé</u>).
campanella	(L) A passage in which adjacent or repeated notes are drawn from different courses so that they may continue to sound when the following note is struck.
movement	I have used this word to correspond to the French term "mouvement" which may include aspects of tempo, texture, and mood in addition to its normal English meaning.
<u>sans chanterelle</u>	(L) A style of playing in which the first course is not used.
<u>tenuti</u>	(L) Pedalised notes, sometimes indicated in lute tablature by a diagonal stroke or curved line.
<u>tirer et rabattre</u>	(L) A strum effect most fully explained by Mouton in the <u>Avertissement</u> to his first book (<u>Mouton 1</u>) where he terms it "tiré-rabatre" (paragraph XI). It entails an alternating motion of the forefinger over a repeated chord. For further information see Chapter II, pl06 and ppl13-114.
<u>trait</u>	The French version of the Italian term <u>tirata</u> - a rapid scale passage.
<u>vieil ton</u>	(L) The normal lute tuning in the renaissance, sometimes called "G tuning" (Tuning 1).

P R E F A C E

The style initiated by the seventeenth-century clavecinistes forms one of the principal contributory strands to the subsequent development of keyboard music throughout Europe. They explored for the first time the expressive possibilities of the pure sonority of a plucked stringed keyboard instrument, and their music cannot be transferred to an instrument other than the harpsichord without losing its essential quality. It is therefore paradoxical that some of the most distinctive features of their style should derive from another instrument – the lute. Henri Quittard, whose fundamental work laid the basis for the modern appreciation of this repertoire, stated the traditional view of this relationship in his article on the clavecinistes in Lavignac's Encyclopédie: "Un jour viendra sans doute où les virtuoses du clavecin auront fini, par une pratique assidue, de déterminer sûrement les effets que le plus avantageusement leur instrument peut produire. Jusque-là ils reproduiront fidèlement, avec la forme et l'esprit des compositions des luthistes, certains menus détails de réalisation qui chez eux ne seraient pas cependant nécessaires". This gives an unmerited impression that a style, now considered to be one of the great achievements of the harpsichord repertoire, was essentially derivative and provisional. Its roots are in reality far more diverse than this summary implies and it is the purpose of this study to examine them in order to establish whether there was in fact an independent keyboard tradition, what its relationship may have been with related instrumental repertoires, and in particular which details of lute practice, as well as general principles of form and expression, may fairly be said to have been incorporated into the harpsichord style.

Although the influence of the lute has been mentioned constantly in the literature no detailed assessment of its nature has before now been attempted. This is perhaps not surprising in view of the fact that both lute and harpsichord are endowed with a rich repertoire of sources – over 150 musical sources alone are listed at the end of this paper and that is not intended as a comprehensive inventory but represents only those sources to which direct reference is made in the text.

Few harpsichordists are prepared to devote the necessary time to a "foreign" repertoire, nor would it be advisable or indeed honest to undertake it without practical experience of the lute. Yet a knowledge of the lute style is crucial to an understanding of the work of the clavecinistes, forming as it did an important part of their daily musical experience and providing them with a model of sensitive expressiveness whose essence they attempted to reproduce by many details of technique. Experience of lute technique and repertoire sheds light on many features of style which would otherwise remain incomprehensible. If some of the music which must be examined in order to establish a comprehensive view is of the slightest conceivable nature, there is no question of the value of a panorama which illuminates the creations of a Louis Couperin or a D'Anglebert.

My thanks are due to many people who have assisted in the preparation of this thesis. Firstly to my father, without whose financial assistance in the initial stages the work could not have been undertaken. I should also like to thank the Royal Northern College of Music for financial assistance. Mr James Dalton, Dr Susan Wollenberg, and Dr John Caldwell have kindly overseen my work at various times. My special thanks are due to my supervisor, Dr Edward Higginbottom, whose constant encouragement and advice have been the principal impetus to my bringing it to a conclusion.

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M. Michel le Moël kindly allowed me to consult his dissertation on the musicians of the French royal household in the reigns of Henri IV and Louis XIII, as well as giving me much helpful advice about material in the Archives Nationales, Paris. Mme Madeleine Jürgens generously allowed me to examine the documents she has

assembled concerning Parisian musicians in the first half of the seventeenth century. I am also very grateful to Professor Jean-Michel Vaccaro (University of Tours), who has been responsible for the CNRS editions of the French lutenists, for many kindnesses, and also to Mlle Monique Rollin of the CNRS. My thanks are due to Dr Daniel Leech-Wilkinson for much information about the Longleat lute manuscript. I should also like to thank Mme Florence Abondance of the museum of the Paris Conservatoire, Mr Michael Ackerman, Dr Joseph Bergin, M. Claude Chauvel, Mr Douglas Maple, Mr Piotr Pozniak, Mr Matthew Spring, Dr Michael Turnbull, and Mr Clive Ungless.

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I N T R O D U C T I O N

The aim of this study is to establish in terms of the total repertoire of seventeenth-century French harpsichord music, and also of its context in French music as a whole, what constituted its relationship to the lute both in general and in details of technique. For this three converging points of departure have been followed. The first (Chapter I) is intended to ascertain what may be deduced from non-musical sources as to the nature of the relationship according to contemporary evidence, and also what the nature of the harpsichord repertoire may have been in the period for which very few musical sources are available. The second (Chapter II) is to outline the stylistic principles and development of the lute repertoire. Since no substantial work of synthesis has hitherto been attempted for these two bodies of material these sections are necessary to provide the criteria on which to base a final assessment. The third (Chapter III) is to examine the relationship between the two repertoires at their most obvious point of intersection – in keyboard arrangements of lute works. Finally it is attempted in Chapter IV, on the basis of previously established principles, to define the relationship as presented by the central harpsichord repertoire. Musical examples for Chapters II–IV are given in Volume II, which also contains concordance lists for pieces existing in versions for both lute and harpsichord.

In assembling the materials for the first chapter the two RISM volumes listing printed treatises have been analysed in order to compile an inventory of all sources which might conceivably contain information relevant to this study. The items listed in the bibliography of literature before 1800 represent only a small proportion of those examined. An essential starting point for any survey of this kind is the collection of manuscript notes assembled by Michel Brenet for her own use and now in the Bibliothèque Nationale. The two series of this collection contain extracts from literary and archival sources relating to French music from the middle ages to the Revolution.

In attempting to assess the functions and status of harpsichord and spinet players before 1650 the office of "joueur d'épinette du roi" has been traced on the basis of accounts for the royal household for the late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries, and also from a wide range of documentary sources. The role of plucked stringed keyboard instruments at this period has been assessed from the standpoint of contemporary accounts of musical events such as the collection of ballet descriptions assembled by Lacroix. It has also been attempted to define their relation to the lute and other instruments in the crucial formative period for which we have no central musical sources. Contemporary writings on music, notably the works of Merseenne, Denis, Trichet, and Le Gallois, have been closely examined for the light they may shed on repertoire and style. The stages in the development of the relative status of these two instrument types have been traced until the final eclipse of the lute in the last two decades of the century. As with other sections, it is difficult to review previous literature since no detailed investigation of this topic has until now been undertaken.

The second chapter is intended to supply the need for a detailed account of the evolution of French lute style in the seventeenth century without which an assessment of its influence on keyboard music cannot be made. Each dance type has a characteristic lute texture or textures associated with it, and the historical development of these cannot easily be deduced from the modern editions. Valuable as they are, the editions of necessity present only one version of a piece and there are many questions of attribution which cannot be resolved. Very many pieces of great musical and representative worth are unattributed and thus may never see the light of an edition, and the projected CNRS editions of Pierre Gautier, Mouton, Les Gallot, and of various lesser lutenists, have yet to appear. In a style remarkable for its cohesion the only rational method of organisation is by source. Most of the principal lute sources of the period c1600-c1670 have been examined in detail. Later sources cannot be shown to have had so significant a bearing for the formative period of keyboard style, but such important sources as the prints of Mouton and Gallot as well as the larger manuscript collections have been

examined. Apart from a division by source a division by genre has also been made since the lute style assumed different forms in relation to different dance types.

The principal works of reference for the lute sources are Rave's dissertation and Boetticher's catalogue (Rave includes an excellent survey of the modern literature in his introduction). While both of these are indispensable guides, Rave presented his commentaries without inventories or incipits so that in order to build on his work one must do it over again. He was concerned primarily with the temporal and geographical placing of sources based on concordance study and did not include any systematic discussion of style.

The most recent examination of lute repertoire is Buch's dissertation on La Rhétorique des Dieux. Much of this is concerned with the physical characteristics and art work of the manuscript. Buch's account of musical style is necessarily focussed on this one source and is of particular interest for relating its repertoire to contemporary literary and aesthetic concepts, but he was not concerned with giving a detailed account of the development of the lute style as a whole.

Two problems are presented by the material for the third chapter. One is that there are no professional keyboard sources of indubitably Parisian origin for the first half of the century. One may, however, hope for a reflexion of Parisian practice in the many pieces of French aspect in non-French sources, and the principles emerging from an examination of these do seem valid when tested against the available French repertoire. The other problem is that many of these early settings are not arrangements of pieces so much as of popular dance and other melodies which had an international circulation. In this case two settings (one for lute and one for keyboard) of the same melody are not necessarily comparable. The pieces selected for presentation and discussion do nonetheless exemplify fundamental aspects of style. Since the underlying source study was concerned primarily with French repertoire, the listing of concordances between lute and keyboard sources for the early part of the century has no pretension to be complete. The number of such concordances in

English and Germanic sources is very large and only those which are of sufficient quality to justify consideration have been included. A thorough analysis of all European lute and keyboard sources of the early seventeenth century is beyond the scope of this survey. The discussion is therefore arranged around a compact group of the most important sources which contain the greatest number of representative examples. Concordant versions from other sources are included in the discussion. In the face of such a mass of source material it is hoped that this attempt at condensation and rationalisation will be welcomed.

The virtue of the early non-French sources is that they provide evidence of a standard keyboard format and a number of figurative details which demonstrably provide the purely keyboard tradition within which the clavecinistes worked. The establishment of these is an essential preliminary to a consideration of their style both in keyboard terms and in relation to the lute and other instruments.

The discussion of the later period necessarily centres on the arrangements of lute pieces made by D'Anglebert. These provide a rich field of evidence in distinguishing what was common to both repertoires, that is to say: which features were in reality twin emanations of a common impulse without implying a necessary priority to either side; what effects were of keyboard origin but seem intended to represent lute effects by analogy; and what may fairly be said to be in direct imitation of lute practice. Since it is not known what precisely D'Anglebert worked from, a wide selection of good lute versions is presented for comparison. Small differences between versions may be of crucial importance to this assessment and only by a consideration of different versions can one deduce how close D'Anglebert's sources may have been to the consenses of readings.

The final chapter examines the central harpsichord repertoire with a view to providing stylistic definitions in the light of the principles already established in an examination of virtually all the available relevant material. Apart from monographs on individual aspects and summary discussions in general histories

the only substantial survey until now is Kitchen's dissertation. This is valuable as the first comprehensive summary of the repertoire but did not set out to take particular account of lute repertoire and makes no claim to discuss the style in other than keyboard terms.

While the discussion in Chapters II-III has necessarily centred on sources rather than on composers in order to trace a stylistic development, Chapter IV is not so much concerned with chronological sequence as with the varying ways in which individual clavecinistes adapted specific features in a common style. The discussions are therefore based on composers and genres rather than on sources. There would be little to be gained, for the purposes of this study, in discussing in detail each and every one of the large number of keyboard sources. The standard modern editions have thus been used as a basis for the discussion of keyboard style, and examples have been selected from them to demonstrate particular points of relationship with lute repertoire.

Some areas of repertoire have been omitted from consideration in this section. A sample of Lully arrangements in lute and keyboard versions convinced me that they would add nothing to the argument commensurate with the extent to which they expanded the source material. The smaller genres (minuets, gavottes, branles, and so on) have also been omitted. No account is taken of the harpsichord works of Geoffroy. As Gustafson rightly remarks, they stand apart from the other repertoire in time, place, and style, and an examination of them has not proved fruitful in yielding significant extra features to the formation of the central keyboard style. On the other hand I have included the important Premier Livre (1687) of Élisabeth Jacquet de la Guerre, which is here discussed for the first time, and presented a transcription of a suite all of which was evidently written in imitation of the lute. Also discussed here for the first time is a substantial pavane dating from the 1590s which is by far the most important piece to survive from the "lost" period of French harpsichord music.

C H A P T E R I

STRINGED KEYBOARD INSTRUMENTS: THEIR STATUS, ROLE, AND
REPERTOIRE IN SEVENTEENTH-CENTURY FRANCE

The lack of musical sources of French harpsichord music in the late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries has encouraged a number of conjectures about the evolution of French keyboard style before Chambonnières. Principal among these has been the often repeated one that the contemporary lute repertoire played a crucial part in the development of the keyboard style, based on obvious similarities between the two repertoires. The most representative formulation of this idea of a direct influence was by La Laurencie¹. More recent writers such as André Souris and Jean Jacquot, who were involved in preparing the CNRS editions of some of the principal lutenists, have questioned the idea of a direct influence and seen both lute and harpsichord styles as twin manifestations of a newly emerging aesthetic². Their suppositions regarding this relationship, however justifiable they may be in terms of the material at their disposal, have nonetheless a restricted validity inasmuch as they are based on very slender musical sources. More conjectural are James Anthony's suggestion that many keyboard players of the early seventeenth century were also lutenists³, and Norbert Dufourcq's that the use of the spinet was limited to amateur performance of dance music⁴. Until now no attempt has been made to assemble the available documentary, as opposed to musical, evidence in order to see what light it sheds on the important questions of the existence and diffusion of stringed keyboard instruments, their players, their role as solo and chamber instruments, their status

1. (ed. A.Lavignac), Encyclopédie de la musique et dictionnaire du conservatoire, Partie I, vol.3 (Paris 1913) pl492.

2. A.Souris, "Apport du répertoire du luth à l'étude des problèmes d'interprétation", in L'interprétation de la musique française au XVIIe et XVIIIe siècles ed E.Weber, ppl07-109; and Jean Jacquot, "Luth et clavecin français vers 1650", in Report of the Tenth ICS Congress Ljubljana 1967, ppl34-139.

3. French Baroque Music from Beaujoyeux to Rameau (2nd ed. 1978), p245.

4. Le clavecin, p67.

particularly in comparison with the lute, and the development of their relationship with the lute and the organ during the century as a whole. Literary and other sources may also help to account for the emergence of an independent repertoire in the 1640s and 50s, to indicate whether there can be said to have been an independent repertoire before then, and perhaps most importantly to provide direct evidence for a lute-harpsichord connexion.

Stringed keyboard instruments in France in the sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries.

Of the three main types of stringed keyboard instruments (harpsichord, clavichord, spinet) the harpsichord and clavichord can claim a French ancestry dating back to the middle years of the fifteenth century. However if the clavichord at that stage enjoyed favour as an instrument in its own right, it had ceased to do so by the later sixteenth century. It appears on the title pages of Attaingnant's publications as an alternative to the organ and spinet⁵ but not on those of any later sixteenth century publications. It was discussed and illustrated by Jacques Cellier in 1585⁶ and Mersenne in 1636⁷, as well as being mentioned not infrequently in inventories of makers' workshops and of household effects, but Trichet's description of it as a beginner's instrument, although written around 1640, probably reflects its status from the late sixteenth century:

grandement commode aux novices qui commencent à s'exercer à la pratique des accords de la musique instrumentale et à dresser leurs mains sur le clavier pour pouvoir par après jouer plus hardiment et avec plus de souplesse du clavecin, de l'espinette ou de l'orgue.

Even in the fifteenth century it does not appear to have been as

5. Six of Attaingnant's seven keyboard publications of 1531 are designated "en la tablature des Orgues Espinettes Manicordions et telz semblables instrumenz". One omits the clavichord. See H.M.Brown, Instrumental Music printed before 1600, 1531-1531.

6. F-Pn ms f.fr. 9152, f182. The musical section of this large miscellaneous collection of drawings (ff160-192) is dated 1585.

7. Harmonie Universelle, Traité des instrumens a cordes, ppl14-116.

8. Le Traité des instruments de musique, fl15. The section on keyboard instruments is edited by F.Lesure in Annales Musicologiques IV(1956)175-248.

common an instrument in France as elsewhere. In Bowles's list of fifteenth-century keyboard representations⁹ only two out of a total of twenty-one clavichord representations are French.

The harpsichord on the other hand appears in five French representations of a total fourteen, including the first technical description of its construction, by Arnault de Zwolle¹⁰. Curiously, the harpsichord disappears from view in the sixteenth century when it is mentioned neither on title pages, in the titles of court musicians, nor in inventories. The clavecin first occurs in its modern spelling in a poem celebrating the wedding of Marguerite, daughter of François I, to the duke of Savoy in 1559¹¹, but references to it are very rare, even into the first decades of the seventeenth century. Noting the lack of references or surviving instruments Raymond Russell suggested that French harpsichord requirements were met by importing instruments from Italy or Flanders¹². In view of the lack of contemporary references, however, its use cannot have been widespread. This is further borne out by the lack of harpsichords in inventories of the period 1600-1650 in the three volumes of Jürgens¹³. The small number of harpsichords, compared with spinets, is striking, as is the relatively exalted social standing of the owners of these luxurious instruments¹⁴. Mersenne also

9. E.A.Bowles, "A Checklist of Fifteenth-Century Representations of Stringed Keyboard Instruments" in Keyboard Instruments: Studies in Keyboard Organology, 1500-1800, ed. E.M.Ripin, pp11-18.

10. F-Pn ms f.lat. 7295. Bowles (p14) dates his treatise between 1436 and 1454.

11. Étienne Jodelle, Epithalame de Madame Marguerite soeur du Roy Henri II très chrestien, duchesse de Savoie - see Lavignac and La Laurencie, Encyclopédie de la musique, Partie I, vol.2, p1201. (I am indebted to David Fuller for this reference.)

12. The Harpsichord and Clavichord (2nd ed. revised by H.Schott), p53.

13. Madeleine Jürgens, Documents du Minutier Central concernant l'histoire de la musique (2 vols). I am very grateful to Mme Jürgens for allowing me to examine the as yet unpublished third volume of this series, covering Etudes XXI-XXXVI.

14. The following table is compiled from the section "Le goût des parisiens pour la musique" (Jürgens I-III) which excludes collections of professional musicians:

	<u>harpsichords</u>	<u>spinets</u>
1600-1609	0	25
1610-1619	2	26
1620-1629	4	32
1630-1639	5	36
1640-1650	2	25

devotes considerably more of his discussion of keyboard instruments to the spinet and there is evidence to suggest that some at least of his information on the harpsichord was second hand¹⁵. Jean Denis refers only once to the harpsichord in the 1643 edition of the Traité de l'accord de l'espinette, and adds only two more (anecdotal) references to the edition of 1650.

The main keyboard instrument of the sixteenth century apart from the organ was, to judge by the large body of evidence concerning makers, the spinet¹⁶. Mersenne mentions as the best makers of the older generation "Anthoine Potin & Emery ou Mederic"¹⁷. These were the most distinguished members of a numerous profession. Of four members of the Potin family active in the mid to late sixteenth century (two of whom combined the roles of organist and "épinettier") Jean Potin, elder brother of Antoine, is mentioned in documents from 1561 as "faiseur d'espinettes du Roy"¹⁸. "Emery ou Mederic" is almost certainly Mederic Lorillart who is mentioned with the same title from 1582, his son Pierre continuing the workshop and title until his death in 1622¹⁹. Apart from these the names of many other makers testify to the diffusion of the spinet, particularly in the later sixteenth century. The earliest known maker appears to be Victor Cothon (in Tours) from whom the Comtesse d'Angoulême bought an "espinète" in 1496²⁰. As Verlet points out the frequent presence of the court in the Touraine must have meant that he was not without contemporaries and successors. By the middle of the century we know of Pierre Patry, the Potins, and Yves Mesnager, the inventory of whose goods at his death in 1556 is the first such inventory which survives, and shows him to have been a maker principally of spinets, clavichords, and regals, although

15. Much of Mersenne's information on the lyre, harpsichord, and other instruments evidently came from Hieronymo Landi, superintendant of the music of Cardinal Barberini (Traité des instrumens a cordes, p216).

16. For convenience I have used the word spinet as equivalent to the French "espinette". The "épinette" of this period was not the wing-shaped spinet of eighteenth century English makers which has its French counterpart in such instruments as the Goujon "épinette" of 1763 in the Paris Conservatoire collection. It is clear from the descriptions and illustrations of Cellier, Mersenne, Trichet and others that it was a rectangular virginals.

17. Traité des instrumens a cordes, p159.

18. see C.Samoyault-Verlet, Les Facteurs de clavecins parisiens, p61.

19. Ibid. pp56-57.

20. Colombe Verlet, "Jalons pour une recherche sur la facture de clavecins en province", Recherches 4(1964)101.

his workshop also contained three viols and a "sistre"²¹. In the late sixteenth century the number of known maîtres épinettiers increases greatly, including the founders of several large specialist keyboard workshops of the seventeenth century such as the Denis and the Jacquets. At this stage, however, the term épinettier did not have any more specialist connotation than that of luthier, and in fact the contents of workshops indicate that the more important épinettiers made and dealt in a wide range of instruments of which keyboards formed a relatively small part²². This generalised instrument dealing continued into the first few decades of the seventeenth century. Indeed the two largest inventories of makers describing themselves as maîtres épinettiers (Paul Belamy's in 1612 and Robert Despont's on the death of his wife in 1624) contain no keyboard instruments whatever, although the Belamy list contains a note that shortly before his death he had sold "ung clavessin ou espinette"²³. The first evidence of a maker and dealer exclusively in keyboard instruments is the 1632 inventory of the successful and distinguished maker Jean Jacquet, one of the three more recent makers recommended by Mersenne²⁴. Since this inventory was taken on the death of his wife (Jacquet himself died after 1648) it presumably reflects the state of his business when it was still in full operation. Jacquet was then in his fifties and may well have been carrying on a specialised trade for some time previously²⁵. Some makers continued a wide range of instrument manufacture into the following decade - the workshop of another épinettier praised by Mersenne, Jacques Lebreton, inventoried on the death of his wife in 1643, contained nothing but lutes, guitars, and violins²⁶ - but after the 1650s it is rare to find instruments other than keyboards in a harpsichord maker's workshop.

21. Lesure "La Facture" p24, and Samoyault-Verlet Les Facteurs p79n.

22. Claude Denis's workshop, for example, contained at his death in 1587 only 4 spinets, one clavichord and one organ as against 67 lutes, 65 violins, numerous mandoras and other smaller plucked stringed instruments as well as some viols and wind instruments, see Lesure "La Facture" pp36-38. There seems no basis for Lesure's assertion that "dans sa boutique de la rue Planche-Mibraye il s'occupe principalement d'épinettes" (p36n).

23. Samoyault-Verlet Les Facteurs p86.

24. op.cit. pp92-94.

25. One of the witnesses of this inventory was René Mesangeau. It was customary for an experienced professional musician, frequently an organist or instrument maker, to be present at these valuations.

26. Samoyault-Verlet Les Facteurs pp95-96.

This thriving manufacture implies a substantial market and there is ample evidence that the spinet had been a much used instrument for some time. Apart from the seven publications of Attaignant of 1531 with a spinet option at least three specifically spinet collections were published in the sixteenth century²⁷. The spinet was not infrequently mentioned in lists of the commoner musical instruments, or referred to when a writer wished to clarify a point by taking a familiar instrument as an example²⁸. It is clear from the Jürgens inventories that the spinet rather than the lute was the normal bourgeois household instrument during the first half of the seventeenth century²⁹. Certainly by the 1640s the spinet was well established as one of the

27. see H.M.Brown, Instrumental Music, who lists Guillaume de Brayssingar, Tablature d'Epinette (1536)²; Jacques Moderne, Musique de Joye 1547⁶; and Simon Gorlier, Premier Livre de Tablature d'epinette (1560)¹. No copies of the Brayssingar or Gorlier publications are known to survive, while most of Musique de Joye, published by the Lyons printer Jacques Moderne, is a reprint of Musica Nova (Venice 1540 - see RISM 1540²²) to which Moderne added some French dances. In 1552 Guillaume de Morlaye obtained a privilege from Henri II to publish lute works of A. de Rippe "et autre tablature de Guyterne ou Espinette", (J.-M. Vaccaro in Rippe ppXXVI-XXVII).

28. Philibert Jambe-de-Fer (Epitome Musical, Lyons 1556, p43) mentions "Lutz, Epinettes, Cornetz, Fleutes, Violes" as instruments on which one may play as many divisions as one wishes in contrast to the singer who must take care that the words are not obscured. David de Rivault (L'Art d'embellir, Paris 1608, p99) advises singers that "La gorge du bon Musicien a les puissances de chaque corde d'une Espinette bien en point". Charles de Lespine in the 1620s instructs lutenists "en touchant les cordes, et les faire résonner aussi nettement que celles d'une épinette" (see F.Lachèvre, Charles de Lespine, pl7).

29. Documents I-III. These inventories must be used with some care. The two published volumes account for only 20 out of almost 200 études, representing a relatively small statistical sample of a city in which each quarter tended to have a particular occupational bias. The third volume has a noticeably higher proportion of spinets and no doubt subsequent ones would further adjust the general impression. Also it is not possible to base conclusions on the tables of total numbers of instruments provided by Jürgens in each volume. Lutes tended to belong to members of a higher stratum of society than other instruments, a fact reflected in the occupations of their owners and the valuations of the instruments, but also importantly by the fact that they were frequently collected in large numbers by connoisseurs. The vast preponderance of lutes in the decade 1620-29 (Vol.I) reflects the taste of three collectors who between them account for 27 out of 35 lutes. A more accurate picture emerges from the following table which presents those households containing one or more keyboard instruments (K), one or more lutes (L), or both (B):

	(I) K	(I) L	(I) B	(II) K	(II) L	(II) B	(III) K	(III) L	(III) B	(totals) K	(totals) L	(totals) B
1600-1609	11	7	4	7	3	2	8	1	0	26	11	6
1610-1619	8	5	0	9	5	0	15	9	1	32	19	1
1620-1629	15	10	3	10	14	2	9	9	0	34	33	5
1630-1639	10	7	0	10	10	2	17	11	3	37	28	5
1640-1650	6	8	2	11	11	1	8	10	0	25	29	3
	50	37	9	47	43	7	57	40	4	154	120	20

most used instruments. According to Trichet, writing around 1640, "L'espinette est un instrument fort fréquent et usité en ce temps tant en France qu'ailleurs"³⁰, and Denis comments on the large number of good players in Paris in the early 1640s³¹.

While the spinet was the normal musical instrument in bourgeois households the question remains whether the instrument was of sufficient range and size to sustain an independent and worthwhile repertoire, and whether there were players of sufficient standing to create it. Since no French harpsichords or spinets datable before 1652 are known to survive³², the nature of these instruments in the early part of the century must be deduced from contemporary descriptions³³. Jacques Cellier was organist of Reims cathedral from 1597 to around 1620, as well as a draftsman. His drawing in the Paris MS³⁴ is disappointingly inaccurate, with notes misnamed, but the instrument appears to have a range of E-d". This representation may however be schematic since the equivalent keyboard illustration in the other Cellier MS at Reims³⁵ has the range E-b", probably with short octave since the demonstration pavane demands a bass range to C. Both Mersenne (1636) and Trichet (c1640) describe an instrument varying from the simple (1x8') to the most elaborate (Trichet describes a quadruple spinet with four sets of strings. He says that instruments with more than one set are a recent innovation by "quelques esprits subtils de nostre siècle"³⁶). Mersenne implies that the commonest specifications, apart from 1x8', are 2x8' or 1x8' and 1x4'³⁷. He also implies³⁸ that it has 49 keys (that is the "Espinette commune", not the tiny instrument of 31 keys of which he provides an engraving). This would make it identical in range to the harpsichord he illustrates, i.e. C-c"". In naming the notes the engraver gives no indication of a

30. Traité, fl11.

31. Traité de l'accord de l'espinette (Paris 1643) p9.

32. see D.H.Boalch, Makers of the Harpsichord and Clavichord 1440-1840 (2nd ed. 1974) art. "Claude Jacquet", p78.

33. No attempt is made here to analyse in detail the construction of these instruments. It is intended only to establish whether they were of sufficient quality to sustain a professional repertoire.

34. fl89. For information about Cellier and his two MSS see H.Jadart, Les Dessins de Jacques Cellier (Paris 1900).

35. F-RS ms 971, p34.

36. ed. Lesure, p230.

37. Traité des instrumens à cordes, pl06.

38. Ibid. pl03.

short octave, but an instrument without short octave is unlikely. In discussing the spinet engraving Mersenne mentions one split key in the bass which would almost certainly be BB/E flat³⁹. The earliest surviving French harpsichord, by (probably Claude) Jacquet, dated 1652, has the compass GG/BB-c'' (50 keys), which is also that of a Jean Denis spinet of 1667⁴⁰. This was the standard 17c French keyboard, precisely that demanded by the works of Chambonnières, Louis Couperin, and D'Anglebert. The descriptions of Mersenne and Trichet together with the evidence of inventories, which frequently mention "épinettes doubles" and "grandes épinettes" throughout the first half of the century, suggest that from at least the end of the sixteenth century the spinet could be a substantial instrument with a range little short of that needed for the later repertoire. Its value as an instrument is reflected in its frequently lavish decoration, such as an instrument in the workshop of Pierre Marchand at his death in 1598, described as "une grande espinette couverte de cuir noir doublée et garnie par dedans de satin de Burgos, façons de plusieurs couleurs, et son pied de bois..."⁴¹.

"Joueurs d'épinette"

The identification of spinet players in the late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries is somewhat problematical. While the number of musicians who described themselves in legal documents as "joueurs d'espinette" is small, accounts of the king's household and those of the more important members of the royal family reveal that the spinet was an indispensable part of the musique de la chambre at least from the 1540s. In the second half of the sixteenth century there were generally two, and at times possibly three, joueurs d'épinette in the Maison du roi. Even after the accession of Henri IV, who curtailed the extravagant establishments of the later Valois, there remained a spinet player in the much reduced establishment of five musicians. The post

39. Traité des instrumens à cordes, p107.

40. Details of the Jacquet instrument are given by Hubbard (Three Centuries of Harpsichord Making) p100. A photograph of the Denis spinet is facing the title-page of the Da Capo Press reprint of Denis's Traité.

41. F.Lesure, "La Facture", p30n.

was a heavier charge on the establishment than were other instruments since it also entailed the employment of a porte-épinette, an office which lasted until the late seventeenth century. Specialist joueurs d'épinette in the late sixteenth century must have been very few.

Ecorcheville's list of notarial acts deposited at the Châtelet contains no musicians describing themselves as spinet players⁴². Only an occasional name survives, such as Michel Nollu, joueur d'épinette to Jeanne d'Albret in 1571⁴³, Delahaye, a spinet player around 1580⁴⁴, Jacques Gérofe, joueur d'épinette to Catherine de Bourbon in 1592⁴⁵, and Gabriel Dumas, who describes himself as "maître musicien et joueur d'épinette" in notarial acts of 1594, 1596, and 1598⁴⁶. The most likely explanation is that the majority of spinet players were also organists the main part of whose income and whose official designation would have derived from a church appointment. The only indication of their activities as spinet players is in contracts for lessons, and such is the case with Guillaume Raguenet, organist, who promised to give lessons on spinet and clavichord in 1557, and Pierre Marchand who undertook to teach "instrumens d'espinette et musique" in 1573⁴⁷.

The royal household on the other hand employed at least half a dozen distinguished players in the course of the sixteenth century. The charge of épinette du roi does not appear to have existed before around 1540 since it is not included in an extensive list of accounts of the household of François I made in 1535⁴⁸. The first reference to an épinette du roi is from 1545, during the closing years of the reign of François I, the player being Jean Dugué, one of a numerous family of organists and lutenists in the royal service throughout the century⁴⁹.

42. J.Ecorcheville, Actes d'état civil de musiciens insinués au Châtelet de Paris (1539-1650), (Paris 1907).

43. P.Raymond, Les Artistes en Béarn avant le XVIIIe siècle, (Pau 1874) pl79.

44. F.Lesure, "La Facture", pl3.

45. P.Raymond, loc. cit.

46. F.Lesure, op. cit. pp25 and pp30-31.

47. Ibid. p30

48. A.N. Série Z^{la}.472. The musical establishment consisted of the lutenist Albert de Rippe and the organist Rogier Pashil (both valets de chambre). Otherwise there are two drummers, three fifres, two cornetts, and a trumpeter, who clearly belong to the écurie (ff10, 16, 18').

49. According to Jal (Dictionnaire critique de biographie et d'histoire, Paris 1867, p538) he is designated in the register of St Médéric, at the baptism of a daughter, as "espinette du roy nostre Sire".

He reappears in 1559 as organist to François II⁵⁰, and remains with the designation organist until 1580 after which he is no longer mentioned⁵¹.

Alternation in the offices of organist and spinet player was common to most keyboard players connected with the court in the sixteenth century. The illustrious Nicolas de la Grotte appears in 1557 as joueur d'épinette and organist at the court of Navarre, and regularly alternates the two roles in household accounts of Charles IX and Henri III from 1560 to 1587⁵². A man of diverse talents, connected with Baif's academy, his quality as a musician is attested by La Croix du Maine: "...tous ceux qui ont eu cet heur, de l'ouïr iouer de l'espinette, et sur les Orgues et autres instruments de musique, tesmoigneront avec moy, qu'il est bien difficile d'en trouver un en nostre siècle, qui soit plus parfait et accomply en cet art..."⁵³. He is also likely to have played the lute, one of the "autres instruments" perhaps, since lute works of his survive⁵⁴. His only extant keyboard work is an arrangement of Cipriano de Rore's madrigal Ancor che col partire⁵⁵.

The third spinet player at the court of the later Valois, Thomas Champion dit Mitou, the first of a line of Champions who held this office for over a century, appears early in his career as an organist - at the court of Navarre in the 1550s. He was connected by marriage with the Edinthon family of lutenists, although there is nothing to suggest

50. A.N. Série KK 129. This is cited by Jal who gives the date as 1599. François II reigned only from 1559-1560.

51. He appears as organist to Charles IX in 1572 (KK 134) and to Henri III in 1580 (F-Pn ms fonds Dupuy 127, f91'). Jal (Dictionnaire, art. "Epinette") mentions his brother Matthieu Duguay as a player of spinet and lute around 1560, without giving a reference. If this is true he would be one of a very few musicians known to have played both instruments. A "Mathurin dugue", who may be the same person, appears in the household accounts of Charles IX for 1572 (KK 134) without instrumental designation, but Matthieu Dugué describes himself as "épinettier" (i.e. instrument maker) at the baptism of his son in 1555 (Y.de Brossard Musiciens de Paris pl07).

52. A detailed biography of La Grotte by M.Rollin is in Oeuvres de Vaumesnil, Edinthon, Perrichon, Raël, Montbuysson, La Grotte, Saman, La Barre, ppXXVI-XXVII.

53. La Bibliothèque du Sieur de la Croix du Maine (Paris 1584) p345. Cited by Rollin, op. cit. pXXVIIIn21.

54. A courante from Besard's Novus Partus (Augsburg 1617) is published in Oeuvres de Vaumesnil..., ppl21-123. Several other, unedited, pieces are in Haslemere.

55. A-Wn MS Tabulaturbuch of Rudolf Lasso. A photograph of this fantasia, written in open score, is in MGG Art. "Fantasie" Abb.4, and it is edited by J. Bonfils in L'Organiste liturgique 29/30, ppl0-13. The Rore original was

that he played the lute himself⁵⁶. By 1560 he was employed at the court of Charles IX⁵⁷. Unlike Dugué and La Grotte he generally appears in court accounts without a designated instrument so it is difficult to say what his precise function was, but on the two occasions where he is assigned an instrument it is as joueur d'épinette⁵⁸. He evidently died or retired from court service after 1584 since in the next set of accounts (1587) his name is replaced by that of his son Jacques Champion, sieur de la Chapelle⁵⁹. La Chapelle appears to be the first court spinet player never to have had the title of organist, although he evidently had at least a good knowledge of organs since he was involved in the reconstruction of the Notre-Dame organ in 1610⁶⁰. However his reputation seems to have rested primarily on his spinet playing. Mersenne in his eulogy of the Champion family, while mentioning Thomas Champion as "Organiste & Epinette du Roy" who "a defriché le chemin pour-ce qui concerne l'Orgue et l'Epinette" refers in the case of La Chapelle only to "sa profonde science, & son beau toucher sur l'Epinette"⁶¹. Neither he nor Chambonnières ever seems to have held an organ appointment.⁶²

Chambonnières first appears in court accounts for the year 1624, but at that stage only as survivancier to his father, and may not have exercised any function⁶³. He evidently assumed duties in 1637, when

published by Phalèse in Musica Divina Di XIX Autori illustri (Antwerp 1583).

56. see M.Rollin Oeuvres de Vaumesnil... pXXVI.

57. F-Pn ms fonds Dupuy 127, f32.

58. F-Pn ms fonds français 7007, f25 (1575), and A.N. KK 139 (1584).

59. F-Pn ms fonds Dupuy 489, f13'.

60. see M.Reimann MGG art. "Champion".

61. Harmonie Universelle, Premiere Preface generale au lecteur (n.p.).

62. Chambonnières appears to have been an organist of sorts if we can believe Titon du Tillet that "Il touchoit assez bien l'Orgue" (Le Parnasse françois, edition of 1732, p402).

63. see E.Griselle, Supplément à la Maison du Roy Louis XIII, comprenant le règlement général fait par le roi de tous les états de sa maison et de l'état général de paiement fait en 1624, p98. Since existing biographies of Chambonnières (principally H.Quittard, "Un claveciniste français du XVIIe siècle, Jacques Champion de Chamnonnières", Tribune de Saint Gervais (1901)1-11; M.Reimann MGG art. "Champion", and David Fuller's excellent article in The New Grove) are imprecise about his early career, I have included this brief résumé of the ascertainable facts.

he is allocated the same salary as his father⁶⁴. This was not the case in accounts for 1636 and before. By 1640 he may have succeeded La Chapelle since the accounts for that year and until 1643, while mentioning both, give only one salary⁶⁵. Only in 1644 is he mentioned alone as joueur d'épinette⁶⁶. He would thus have been providing music for the court from 1637, but he must have been well known as a harpsichordist at least since the early 1630s since Mersenne gives him extravagant praise in 1636⁶⁷.

From the accounts it is clear that spinet players were part of the inner core of music at the court in the late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries, the posts being filled by distinguished virtuosi. In the large establishment of Henri III (19 musicians are named in the Etat of 1580⁶⁸) at least two, Mitou and La Grotte, were employed as spinet players⁶⁹. Even the much reduced musique de la chambre of Henri IV (the number of 5 or 6 permanently employed musicians lasted without change into the reign of Louis XIV) always included one spinet player, and probably two since Claude Chabanceau de la Barre appears in legal documents from 1600-1613 as "joueur d'épinette de la chambre du roi"⁷⁰ although he is not mentioned in états. Pierre (III) Chabanceau de la Barre appears in 1614 as "joueur d'épinette et valet de chambre ordinaire du roi" and in 1616 as "valet de chambre et joueur d'instruments du roi"⁷¹. The maker Jacques Le Breton also appears in 1624 as "maître

64. A.N. Z^{1a}.472, f250.

65. Extrait des officiers commensaux de la Maison du Roy De la Reyne Régente, De Monseigneur le Duc d'Orléans, de Mademoiselle, et de Monseigneur le Prince de Condé (Paris 1644) vol.I p28. This is the earliest printed Etat, and covers the year 1640. See also A.N. Z^{1a}.473, f42 (1643). Chambonnières must in any case have taken over in 1643 since his father died in the preceeding year.

66. A.N. Z^{1a}.473, f110. M.Reimann's MGG art. "Champion", inaccurate in several respects, has him as "joueur d'épinette de la chambre du roi" in 1638. It seems to have escaped notice that Chambonnières continues to be mentioned in Etats up to 1686, fourteen years after his death (Z^{1a}.474, 475, 476).

67. Harmonie Universelle, Preface generale.

68. F-Pn ms fonds Dupuy 127, f91'.

69. In the Etat of 1584 (KK 139) they appear side by side specifically designated as "joueurs d'epinette".

70. M.Jürgens Documents I pp236-238.

71. Ibid. II pp252-253.

joueur d'épinette du roi" apart from being "maître faiseur d'épinettes du roi" in succession to the Potins and Lorillarts⁷².

Spinnet players were also an important part of the musical establishments of other members of the royal family. In 1602 Joachim de Lescot was joueur d'épinette to the Duke and Duchess of Angoulême⁷³. Of ten musicians employed by Marie de Médicis in 1610 the only instrumentalist was Jacques Champion de la Chapelle, although she later had the lutenists Robert Ballard, Saman, and Ennemond Gautier in her employ at one time or another⁷⁴. The queen, Anne d'Autriche, employed a spinet player of equivalent standing to the king's. From 1616 to 1665 she regularly employed only two musicians, one a spinet player and the other a maître de danse⁷⁵. An account for 1641⁷⁶ reveals her establishment to have consisted of Pierre (III) Chabanceau de la Barre (spinet), Jacques Cordier dit Bocan (dancing master), and a charge of lutenist shared by semester between François Richard and Pierre Bataille. La Barre's son Charles-Henri, who is known only as a harpsichordist, was named his survivancier in 1642⁷⁷ and succeeded him on his death in 1656. Outside the court a small number of early seventeenth century musicians have no designation other than that of spinet player⁷⁸. This is tiny in comparison with the number of known contemporary lutenists, but if one were to add those presumable spinet players who used primarily the title of organist it would no doubt be greatly extended.

While it is clear that stringed keyboard instruments were widely used, and were arguably the most widely diffused of instruments, in the late

72. Y. de Brossard, Musiciens de Paris, 1624 and 1631.

73. M. Jürgens, Documents II p325.

74. F-Pn ms Cinq cents de Colbert 93, f292.

75. E. Griselle, Etat de la maison du roi Louis XIII...comprenant les années 1601 à 1655, pl27.

76. Extrait des officiers (see above n65) ppl01 and 131.

77. A.N. série KK 203.

78. In 1603 Nicolas Mouache was a "maître joueur d'épinette" (Jürgens Documents II p465). In 1609 Barthelemy Lepage engaged to give spinet and singing lessons (Ibid. III). In 1613 and again in 1626 he appears as "maître joueur d'épinette" (Brossard op.cit. pl88). François Legris was "maître joueur d'épinette" in 1614 and again in 1623 (Ibid. pl82). In 1625 a certain Carré was "joueur d'épinette" (Jürgens op.cit. II p465), as was Romain Poisle who appears in 1631 and 1637 (Brossard op.cit. p243).

sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries, this raises a number of questions as to their status and function, particularly in relation to their chief competitor, the lute. The large number of spinets in bourgeois households might be explained simply by its convenience for domestic use, in which case it would not necessarily have attracted a serious independent repertoire. The social status of instruments appears to have played an important part in defining the quality, or at least the type, of the repertoire of secular instruments at this time.

Lute, spinet, and harpsichord in the early seventeenth century

In the sixteenth century the spinet enjoyed a degree of social prestige at least equal to that of the lute. For instance, in the Oraison funèbre of Françoise d'Alençon, duchesse de Beaumont, (1550) it appears beside lutes, gitterns, and "autres instruments de musique tant recommandés aux nobles et honorables esprits" which her maids of honour were permitted to play⁷⁹. At the same time the lute was considered, then as later, a difficult instrument, more so than others tolerable only in the hands of good players⁸⁰. Nevertheless the expressive capacity of the lute, so often remarked on by contemporary writers, ensured its pre-eminence at the end of the century, at a time when the members of Baïf's academy were particularly concerned with rationalising the expressive effects of music, and virtually every musical theorist was attempting to relate these to the supposed characteristics of the ancient Greek modes. Binet's description (1622) of the remarkable effect a lutenist could have on his audience is well known⁸¹. More

79. A.J.V.Leroux de Lincy, Vie d'Anne de Bretagne, vol.II p93.

80. P.Jambe-de-Fer, Epitôme musical (1556), quoted by La Laurencie in "Les Femmes et le luth", Le Correspondant (5/1925) p444.

81. see J.Anthony, French Baroque Music from Beaujoyeux to Rameau (2nd ed. 1978) p233. Not so generally known is that this is not a description of a French lutenist but a poetic evocation by Pontus de Tyard (Solitaire Second ppl14-115) of a performance in Milan by Francesco da Milano. It reappears in various 17c writings on music, notably in Trichet's Traité (ed. Lesure p213) who acknowledges its origin. Tyard also mentions harp and spinet accompanying the voice (p116).

revealing is Titelouze's remark to Mersenne concerning the effect which even a mediocre player could have in the late sixteenth century: "Il me souvient d'avoir veu en ma jeunesse (presumably the 1580s or 90s) tout le monde admirer et se ravir d'un homme qui touchoit le lut et assez mal pourtant". This he contrasts to the extraordinary rise in the number and quality of players during the lute's golden age in France: "...et maintenant j'en voy cent plus habilles gens que luy mille fois, que l'on ne daigne pas presque escouter"⁸². There is no need to underline the extraordinary and exclusive vogue of the lute in the early seventeenth century. The seal of fashion was set on it by Louis XIII and Richelieu who both took lessons⁸³. The principal court entertainment, the ballet, must have ensured employment for the large number of lutenists listed by Jürgens and others since the chambre regularly employed only two.

At the same time the spinet recedes from view as a possible instrument for young people of fashion. When Edward Herbert, later Lord Herbert of Cherbury, was sent on an educational trip to Paris in 1608 he engaged in what were presumably the pursuits of young gentlemen of the time - "Playing on the lute and singing according to the rules of the French Masters" apart from learning "the use of my Armes and to ride the greate horse"⁸⁴. François de Grenaille, a writer of numerous vade mecums for young people of condition, prescribes similar accomplishments. While he advises "l'honneste garçon" that he should be able to sing, dance, and play instruments, without being specific⁸⁵, the lute is the only instrument which he feels able to recommend to young ladies. Referring to the growing fashion for both outdoor and indoor concerts around 1640⁸⁶ the lute is the only instrument mentioned

82. Letter of 2/3/1622 (Mersenne Correspondance, ed. C.de Waard, vol.I p75). Mersenne had been enquiring about the various effects of the modes.

83. The king began taking lessons in 1612 from Robert Ballard (see J.Herouard, Journal de Louis XIII, Paris 1868, vol.V pl09, cited by M.Rollin in R.Ballard 1 pXII) and Cardinal Richelieu from Ennemond Gautier (see A.Machabey, "La Musique dans les 'Historiettes' de Tallement des Réaux", La Revue musicale (6/1932)25).

84. The Life of Edward, First Lord Herbert of Cherbury written by himself, ed. J.M.Shuttleworth (London 1976) p49.

85. L'Honneste garçon (Paris 1642).

86. Les Plaisirs des Dames (Paris 1641) p289.

specifically. It was also the natural instrument for great persons who wished to play music including, surprisingly, Achilles, who "ioffoit ordinairement du luth". Apart from elegant anecdote and classical precedent, he too remarks on its unique expressive powers, though advising his readers against excessive rapture in view of the instrument's humble origin: "Quant aux instrumens de Musique qui font le principal agrément du Concert, ie m'estonne qu'on les prenne pour des miracles, veu que ce ne sont pour la pluspart que des images d'une tortuë éventrée"⁸⁷. Mersenne explicitly attributes the pre-eminence of the lute to its status as a fashionable instrument: "Le Luth a pris un tel ascendant sur les autres instrumens à chorde, soit que les honnêtes gens luy ayent donné cet auantage, ou qu'il l'aye acquis par son excellēce, & par sa perfection, que l'on ne fait quasi nul estat des autres"⁸⁸.

In contrast to the frequent mentions of the lute, contemporary literary and other documents, rich in anecdotes of the court but sadly vague and commonplace in their accounts of musical events, contain very few mentions of either spinet or harpsichord, and such as there are imply a less exalted social position. Only Herouard gives any detailed account of the activities of the musique de la chambre in the early years of Louis XIII⁸⁹, the spinet being frequently involved. An entry for 1604 recounts of the king:

A dîner il s'amuse, en mangeant, à faire jouer du luth le sieur de Hauteribe; M. de Saint-Géran lui parle d'une épinette, il n'a point patience tant que l'on l'aie apportée. M. de Saint-Géran en fait jouer son page, Hauteribe joue du luth et Boileau du violon; il les écoute avec ravissement. (I p93).

In 1609: Le soir il envoie querir la musique de M. de Bouillon; c'étoit un luth, un clavecin et une viole par un nommé Pradel, excellent joueur s'il en fut jamais. (I p392).

In 1610: Amusé pour l'empêcher de dormir, il prie Dieu, fait jouer de l'épinette La Chapelle, excellent joueur qui étoit à lui, fait chanter Bailly et jouer du luth. (II p37).

In 1611: Mis au lit, il s'endort au jeu de l'épinette par le sieur de La Chapelle. (II p91).

And in 1614: Il va au jeu de paume de Grenelle, puis voir le cabinet du sieur de La Chapelle, son joueur d'épinette (II pl35).

87. Ibid. p318.

88. Harmonie Universelle, Traité des instrumens à chordes p56.

89. Jean Herouard, Seigneur de Vaugrigneuse, Journal...sur l'enfance et la jeunesse de Louis XIII ed, Soulié and Barthelemy (Paris 1868).

There is however nothing to suggest that the music-loving young king played the instrument himself. The Mercure françois for the period 1605-1644 makes no reference to either spinet or harpsichord, in contrast to its successors Le Mercure galant and La Muze historique later in the century⁹⁰. Such contracts for lessons as are known come rather under the heading of apprenticeships than lessons for well placed amateurs. Such is the contract drawn up in 1600 in which the blind organist Pierre Richard promises to instruct Martin de Lenne in organ, spinet, music, and other instruments, Richard retaining whatever the young man might earn in return for providing him with board and lodging⁹¹. A knowledge of the spinet was evidently part of the accomplishments of an actress, who would also be expected to sing⁹².

During the early seventeenth century the spinet therefore declined in social prestige, and apart from amateur domestic use its serious practitioners appear to have been a relatively small number of professionals, mainly organists. When a change in fortune came it was rather the harpsichord which benefitted. That this had been an instrument in the households of the rich is evidenced by the steady number which appear from around 1610 in the Jürgens inventories, ranging from three in the decade 1610-1619 to five in 1620-1629⁹³. Their expense⁹⁴ and often lavish decoration made them the prized possessions of an élite - the upper reaches of the professions and the court⁹⁵. Harpsichords do not

90. see N.Dufourcq, "En parcourant le Mercure françois 1605-1644", Recherches XVIII(1978)5-28.

91. M.Jürgens Documents II pp443-444. Similar spinet apprenticeships may be found in Lesure "La Facture" pp25 and 30-31.

92. Ibid. p337 (1610). Two similar ones are in vol.III, for 1609 and 1632. Judging by other entries it was necessary for prospective actors to study an instrument, perhaps of their choice. Others learned instruments apart from the spinet, such as the viol. It would not have been considered proper for a woman, albeit an actress, to play the viol. Mersenne however recommends the spinet to singers (Harmonie Universelle, Liure Premier De La Voix, p46).

93. These figures are totals from Jürgens I-III.

94. up to 64 livres tournois (Ibid. II p898). A spinet was rarely worth more than 20lt.

95. The extreme of elaboration was reached in a "clavecin organisé" ordered by the Duc de Ventadour from the organ builder Valleran de Hémon in 1618. The harpsichord part was to be "couvert de marroquin vert et doré avec les chiphres dudict sieur de Ventadour et sera doublé par le dedans de bon damas vert...les chevalletz seront dorés à toutes les moullures". Its two registers were to make "l'effet de l'espinette, du luth et de la harpe" (Ibid. II pp730-733).

seem to have been generally owned by professional keyboard players, since the only inventory of an organist's possessions to contain one is that of Pierre Chabanceau in 1600⁹⁶, and Mersenne's eulogy of the Champions implies the novelty of the instrument as well as of Chambonnières's playing of it. Indeed the growing social prestige of successive generations of Champions adumbrates the instrument's rise to compete with and eventually supersede the lute as the instrument of fashion⁹⁷. From the 1650s the harpsichord begins to appear with increasing frequency as a favourite instrument of the aristocracy and the richer bourgeoisie. The first evidence of royal favour is a request by the queen mother (Anne d'Autriche) in 1645 for Chambonnières to arrange the purchase of a harpsichord for the seven year old Dauphin (later Louis XIV)⁹⁸. Later, in 1657, Etienne Richard, organist of St-Jacques de la Boucherie and according to Huygens a harpsichordist fit to be mentioned along with Chambonnières⁹⁹, was appointed "pour luy montrer la méthode du clavecin"¹⁰⁰. That Louis as king liked the harpsichord is attested by Le Gallois who says that he "prenoit un plaisir singulier a les entendre (pieces by Hardel) toutes les semaines jouées par Hardelles luy même"¹⁰¹. Other illustrious players of the 1650s include the Duchesse de Lorraine and her daughter¹⁰² and the Princesse d'Angleterre¹⁰³. Writing of "la musique chez les grands" in the 1650s Yolande de Brossard states that a fashionable young man of the time should be able to sing airs de cour and play the lute or clavecin.¹⁰⁴ Contemporary accounts however seem rather to imply that

96. F.Lesure "La Facture" p45.

97. Thomas Champion appears in court records only among "joueurs d'instruments"; La Chapelle was from at least 1601 "valet de chambre ordinaire du roi" (Jürgens Documents II p253), while Chambonnières appears in 1639 as "chevalier, sieur et baron de la Chapelle et de Chambonnières, gentilhomme ordinaire de la Chambre du roi" (loc.cit.).

98. N.Dufourcq, "Deux quittances inédites", Revue de Musicologie

99. C.Huygens Correspondance p36.

40(12/1957)205-206.

100. M.Le Moël, "Recherches sur la musique du roi", unpublished dissertation, L'Ecole des Chartes (1954) p105.

101. Lettre...à Mademoiselle Regnault de Solier (Paris 1680) p73.

102. C.Huygens Correspondance pp26-27 (1656) and A.Curtis's introduction to the Da Capo Press facsimile of J.Denis's Traité pVII.

103. E.M.de Barthélemy, La Galerie de portraits de Mlle de Montpensier pl14 (1658).

104. "La Vie musicale en France d'après Loret et ses continuateurs", Recherches 10(1970)p149.

the majority of players were either professional men, or well-off female amateurs, of which both the Mercure Galant and La Muze historique mention a substantial number from the 1660s¹⁰⁵. By the sixties the harpsichord was well established as a leading instrument of fashion, equal to the lute. Writing in 1660 to Mme de Motteville, Mlle de Montpensier outlined an idyllic scheme for a "vie pastorale" which sheds an interesting light on the fashionable estimation of various instruments:

Ceux qui aiment la musique, la pourroient entendre, puisque nous aurions parmi nous des personnes qui auroient la belle voix, et qui chanteroient bien, et d'autres qui joueroient du luth, du clavessin et des plus agréables instrumens. Les violons se sont rendus si communs, que sans en avoir beaucoup de domestiques, chacun en ayant quelques-uns auxquels il auroit fait apprendre, il y auroit moyen de faire une fort bonne bande quand ils seroient tous ensemble.¹⁰⁶

By 1664 Dumanoir puts it first in his list of fashionable instruments:

Ne voit-on pas mesme encor à present qu'en France et en Espagne plusieurs personnes de l'un et de l'autre sexe, et de la plus grande qualité, s'adonnent à la Musique et apprennent à jouer ou du Clavessin, ou de la Guitarre, ou de l'Angélique, ou du Luth?¹⁰⁷

It is noticeable that the lute continues to be mentioned in this context until around 1680 when references abruptly cease. Lesure has commented on the disappearance of "maîtres joueurs de luth" from Parisian archives after 1640-1645¹⁰⁸. But apart from the fact that most of the surviving lute sources date from after 1650, some of the most important from the last decade of the century, other series of documents continue to mention them up to the 1690s, although in ever decreasing proportion to

105. Le Mercure Galant (Paris 1672ff), and Y.de Brossard, op.cit.

106. Lettres de Mlle de Montpensier (Paris 1806) p9.

107. G.Dumanoir, Le Mariage de la musique avec la danse, ed. J.Gallay p67.

108. F.Lesure, "Recherches sur les luthistes parisiens à l'époque de Louis XIII" in Le Luth et sa musique ed. J.Jacquot (Paris 1976) p223. This is possibly accounted for by the decline of the ballet, with its massed lutenists, as the principal court entertainment during and after the period of the Fronde, and also of the air de cour. Later references generally imply a refined solo use only.

harpsichords¹⁰⁹. It is striking that virtually all references to the harpsichord among the accomplishments of young ladies in the Mercure and elsewhere for the 1660s and 1670s include the lute, while none do after 1679. In the period from 1686 only the harpsichord is mentioned as suitable for the young ladies at St-Cyr of whom "la pluspart des dames jouaient du clavecin, et quelques-unes du violon", a change of fortune for the latter instrument due no doubt to the extraordinary vogue of Italian chamber music from the late 1680s¹¹⁰.

The eclipse of the lute by the harpsichord is to be explained not, as Cohen maintains, by its declining to the status of an accompanying instrument¹¹¹. In fact the lute's principal accompaniment repertoire, the air de cour, had declined by 1650, the accompaniments of later collections of airs consisting of a figured bass for keyboard or theorbo. Already in the 1630s Mersenne preferred the theorbo to accompany the voice, while later in the century this preference became general¹¹². Brossard excludes the lute from accompanying instruments in his article Basso-continuo, explicitly stating that it was so used only by the Italians¹¹³. There is no doubt that the inaccessibility of the tablature played a part since both Gallot le jeune and Perrine were reduced to providing staff notation versions of lute pieces¹¹⁴.

109. F.Gaussens, "Actes d'état-civil de musiciens français: 1651-1681", Recherches 1(1960)153-203, has Louis de Mollier ("Joueur de luth du roi" - 1657), Robert Tournay (1661) and Toussaint Libret and François de la Belle (1662). Le Gallois (Lettre 1680) has Dubut le fils, Mouton, Solera, and Gallot among recent players (p62), while Du Pradel (Livre commode des adresses de Paris) still has Gallot, Jacquesson, Mouton, and Dubut in 1691, although in the edition of 1692 the first two have disappeared.

110. T.Lavallée, Madame de Maintenon et la maison royale de St-Cyr (1686-1793), p169.

111. "A Study of instrumental Ensemble Practice in seventeenth-century France", p9.

112. Harmonie Universelle, Traité des instrumens à cordes, p92; B.de Bacilly, L'Art de bien chanter (Paris 1668) ppl7-18; and Delair, Traité d'accompagnement pour le theorbe, et le clavessin (Paris 1690), among others.

113. S.de Brossard, Dictionnaire de musique (Paris 1703), art. LEUTO. French basso continuo instruments listed are: "L'Orgue, le Clavessin, L'Espinette, le Théorbe, la Harpe".

114. J.de Gallot, Pieces de Luth (c1673) "Advertissement"; Perrine, Livre de Musique pour le Lut (c1679), and Pieces de Luth en Musique (c1680).

As Mary Burwell's French trained lute teacher says of music appropriate to that instrument: "It ought to be a serious kind of Musicke but nothing soo grave as the Musicke of an Organ. It must have fine Tunes but not so aierye as those of the Violin". Its appeal is restricted to connoisseurs: "The Lute is a Closett Instrument that will suffer the Company of but few hearers and such as have a delicate Eare for the pearles are not to be cast before the Swine"; and its nobility is to be respected: "It is a disgrace to play Country dances Songs or Corantos of Violins as likewise to play Tricks with ones Lute to play behind the backe...The Lute is a noble instrument"¹¹⁵.

Very similar views were held by Michel de Pure writing in 1668:

Le tueurbe n'est propre qu'à accompagner une voix, qu'aux Concerts, ou qu'à jouer enfin des Allemandes, des Sarabandes & des autres Pieces, où il y a plus de la majesté du Chant, que de la vigueur de la Dance. Il en est de mesme du Lut. L'un et l'autre sont trop graves, & la grande diversité des cordes que l'on touche, & des accords que l'on forme à la fois à force de charmer l'oreille, ne fait qu'embaraser les pieds. Ce sont des instruments de repos destinez aux plaisirs serieux et tranquilles, & dont la languissante harmonie est ennemi de toute action, & ne demande que des Auditeurs sedentaires.¹¹⁶

It was this very nobility and refinement which paled before the éclat of Lully's orchestra. La Fontaine makes this quite clear in the well-known Epître à M. de Niert of 1677, associating with the style of the lute that of the clavecinistes in a lament for the passing of the order described by Mlle de Scudéry:

Ce n'est plus la saison de Raymon ni d'Hilaire (singers):
Il faut vingt clavecins, cent violons, pour plaire,
On ne va plus chercher au bord de quelque bois
Des amoureux bergers la flûte et le hautbois.
Le téorbe charmant, qu'on ne vouloit entendre
Que dans une ruelle¹¹⁷, avec une voix tendre,
Pour suivre et soutenir par des accords touchants
De quelques airs choisis les mélodieux chants,
Boisset, Gaultier, Hémon, Chambonnières, La Barre,
Tout cela déplaît, et n'a plus rien de rare;
On laisse là du But, et Lambert, et Camus;
On ne veut plus qu'Alceste, ou Thésée, ou Cadmus."¹¹⁸

115. Burwell f69 and 69'.

116. Idée des spectacles anciens et nouveaux (Paris 1668) pp273-274.

117. ruelle - "alcôve où les dames de qualité recevaient leurs invités", Dictionnaire du français classique, ed. Dubois, Lagane, and Lerond.

118. Oeuvres ed H.Regnier, vol.IX ppl57-158.

The quietness of the lute and its inappropriateness for use in ensembles is the subject of comment several times towards the end of the century. An account of a concert at Nimegen in 1677 mentions some newly invented instruments

qui ressemblent à un dessus de violon, mais qui sont infiniment plus propres à accompagner le luth, parceque leur son qui imite celui de la flute douce, fait beaucoup moins de bruict que celui du violon, de sorte qu'il ne couvre pas le son du luth.¹¹⁹

And in 1687 at the end of a concert given in honour of visiting Siamese ambassadors:

M^r Galot joua seul du Lut, & l'Ambassadeur luy dit, qu'encore qu'il crût que rien ne pouvoit estre ajouté à la beauté du Concert, il y avoit des delicatesses dans ce qu'il jouoit seul, qui ne devoient pas estre confondûes parmy le grand nombre d'Instruments, parce qu'on perdoit beaucoup.¹²⁰

The harpsichord was a more suitable instrument to recreate the fashionable orchestral sonority. Finally, the lute had no place in the Italian and Italianate chamber music of the turn of the century. It was not found as affecting as the violin, and according to Le Cerf the only ambition of young people of quality was to master the art of figured bass accompaniment on the harpsichord¹²¹.

Throughout the seventeenth century players of lute and harpsichord enjoyed a higher social status on account of their specialisation¹²². In the case of the harpsichord this superior status finally received legal recognition as an outcome of the acrimonious dispute with the ménéstrandise in the 1690s¹²³. As Loubet de Sceaury significantly remarks in charting the course of this affair, the harpsichord missed inclusion in the statutes regulating the corporations of the late sixteenth century and of 1658 because of its comparatively late arrival

119. Mercure galant IX p82.

120. Ibid. (1/1687 pt.2)pp276-277.

121. Comparaison de la musique italienne et de la musique françoise (2nd ed. Brussels 1705) II pl84.

122. C. Massip, La Vie des musiciens pl22.

123. see the "Extrait de l'arrêt définitif de la Cour de parlement, prononcé en la grand'chambre le 7 mars 1695, en faveur des compositeurs de musique, organistes et professeurs de clavessin, Contre les jurés de la Communauté des maîtres à dancier et joueurs d'instruments tant hauts que bas et hautbois" given as Appendix B of Gallay's edition of Dumanoir Le Mariage, pp103-105.

in French music, and its rarity¹²⁴. In the early stages of the century it was the preserve of the nobility, clergy, and upper bourgeoisie, but the large increase in players after the accession of Louis XIV meant increased competition with the corporation, culminating in an attempt by the latter in 1692 to make it legally impossible for non-members to give lessons. The keyboard players' argument hinged on two main points, both placing the harpsichord in a special superior category. The first was that "professeurs de clavecin" were by and large composers, not mere executants such as violinists. The second, which carried claims of status into the realms of absurdity, was that the term "joueurs d'instruments" did not apply to them at all. The harpsichord was inherently so grand an instrument that performance on it could only be described as "toucher" (as Jubal "touchait la harpe"), while "instrument" applied to it no more than the word animal signifies man. These were advanced as "raisons sans répliques"¹²⁵. This casuistry was however merely the recognition of the now established fact that the harpsichord was the high status instrument par excellence.

Use and repertoire of the harpsichord

The repertoire of the harpsichord in the second half of the seventeenth century is not problematical. However in order to attempt a definition of the nature of its repertoire in the earlier part of the century it is necessary to take some account of its function in French music at that time. It is clear that there was a substantial number of instruments and players in Paris during the reign of Louis XIII and the regency of Mazarin, but accounts of their activities are rare. On the basis of the available evidence it seems unlikely that the spinet or harpsichord appeared in larger instrumental groups for ballets and other court entertainments. Virtually all contemporary ballet descriptions have been reprinted in the six volumes of Paul Lacroix¹²⁶, and it

124. P. Loubet de Sceaury, Musiciens et facteurs d'instruments de musique sous l'Ancien Régime (Paris 1949) pp104-105.

125. Ibid. p111.

126. Ballets et mascarades de cour de Henri III à Louis XIV (Geneva 1868-1870).

cannot be without significance that, in spite of a great number of mentions of instruments, especially lutes, there is not one mention of a stringed keyboard instrument. There are of course a number of reasons why this might be. Just as the events described in the Mercure françois¹²⁷ are of a kind which would have involved the chapelle or the écurie rather than the chambre, many of the instrumental descriptions in Lacroix would naturally refer to instruments used by dancers and other personnages on stage. Another category which would catch the commentator's eye and ear are characteristic instruments such as the shawms, cornetts, and flutes played by satyrs in the Grand Ballet du Roy (1619)¹²⁸, curious or bizarre ones such as the mock medieval charivari in the Ballet du Roi (1635)¹²⁹, or the "douce, plaisante et harmonieuse musique d'orgues sourdes" in the Ballet comique de la royne (1581)¹³⁰. Contemporary accounts of similar events in Italy mention numerous keyboard instruments as well as plucked stringed instruments, but these latter seem to have been the only chordal instruments used in the ballet as it developed in France. It is of course possible that keyboards were such a normal part of the orchestra as to be not worth mentioning and may even have come under the general heading of "les violons". But this seems unlikely, since the numerous contracts of association reprinted by Jürgens for all types of instrumental groups never mention them¹³¹. On two occasions the ballet chroniclers give descriptions of the total forces involved, designed to emphasize the importance and magnificence of the occasion. In 1617 Mauduit and Guédron directed a ballet with large forces consisting of two groups, one of 64 voices, 28 viols, and 14 lutes, directed by Mauduit, the other of 72 voices and 46 "instruments" directed by Guédron¹³². The latter's "instruments" may have included keyboards among the "instruments harmoniques". Sauval, writing later of Mauduit's concerts, noted that his large groups, normally of 60-80 musicians but sometimes as many as 120, consisted of singers, viols, spinets, lutes, bandoras, and flutes¹³³, but contemporary accounts make no mention of them.

127. see N.Dufourcq, "En parcourant le Mercure françois 1605-1644".

128. Lacroix Ballets II pp171-172.

129. Ibid. V pp62-64.

130. Ibid. I p59.

131. Documents I pp314-417, II pp354-425.

132. Lacroix op.cit. II pp102-117.

133. H.Sauval, Histoire et recherches des antiquités de la ville de Paris (Paris 1724) vol.II p493.

Again in the Relation du grand ballet du Roy (1619)¹³⁴ the instruments are itemised, and the list of 137 players is likely to be complete since the writer clearly wanted to make the number as large and impressive as possible. No keyboards are mentioned, confirming the impression that they do not seem generally to have been used in early seventeenth-century ballet. According to Michel de Pure they were unsuitable for divertissements. The organ "semble consacrée aux Temples, & (le clavecin) aux Cabinets, & l'un & l'autre ne sont ni assez portatifs ny assez aisez pour estre employez aux divertissements, & portez librement dans les lieux destinez aux Spectacles"¹³⁵.

In this as in other respects the role of the harpsichord changed after the mid-century, when it became an indispensable part of the petite sinfonie of the ballet and opera orchestra¹³⁶. The harpsichordist Charles-Henri de la Barre is mentioned in accounts of almost all ballet productions from 1652-1662¹³⁷, and descriptions of two ballet productions for 1658 mention harpsichords prominently among participating instruments, as do descriptions of other large-scale musical events of the 1650s and later¹³⁸.

If evidence for the participation of spinet and harpsichord in larger ensembles during the early part of the century is lacking there is a small but significant body of information about its use in petits concerts. Here they appear as solo instruments, or to accompany voices, but particularly to accompany viol ensembles. One or two spinets seem to have been employed in some smaller ensembles of the sixteenth century. In a performance by a commedia del arte at Lyons in 1548 the musical forces, apart from voices, included 2 spinets, 4 viols, and 4 "flûtes d'Allemagne"¹³⁹. The poet Jodelle provides an ideal

134. Lacroix Ballets II ppl02-117.

135. Idée des spectacles anciens et nouveaux (Paris 1668) p275.

136. see J.Eppelsheim, Das Orchester in den Werken Jean-Baptiste Lully's, ppl50-151.

137. S.Wallon MGG art. "La Barre".

138. La Muze historique mentions flutes, harpsichords, guitars, theorboes, lutes, and viols in the Ballet d'Alcidiane (Y.de Brossard "La Vie musicale en France" pl24) and a similar group for the Ballet du Roy (Les Continuateurs de Loret, ed N.J.F.de Rothschild, vol.II p445).

139. R.Lebègue, "Les Représentations dramatiques à la cour des Valois", in Les Fêtes de la Renaissance ed. J.Jacquot, vol.I p87).

group of four "princes musiciens" (the lutenists Vaumesnil and Edinthon, and the spinet players Thomas Champion and Jean Dugué, all members of the king's music) to entertain Marguerite de France (sister of Henri II) on her marriage to the Duc de Savoie, by "fredonnant doucement" on lute, flute, and spinet a "sonnet doux et hautain" of Jodelle's devising¹⁴⁰. The few early seventeenth-century references need to be interpreted with caution. It is not clear, for instance, whether the musicians mentioned in the extract already quoted from Heroard played solo or as an ensemble, or both. What is clear is that the spinet and harpsichord played an important part in the increasing vogue for concerts in the 1620s and 1630s. According to Sauval these concerts originated with Mauduit's academy in the 1580s: "Avant lui la Musique étoit une Devote que ne connoissoit que les Eglises & où les voix répondoient aux orgues". There had been groups who met to sing where flutes were welcome, and better still lutes and pandoras. Mauduit not only introduced the concept of a paying public, but increased the numbers of instruments to include "des épinettes & des violles qu'il mit en vogue"¹⁴¹. It has been generally assumed, on the basis of Gouy's account of concerts, that Mauduit's successor as a concert organiser was Pierre de la Barre¹⁴², but a number of other musicians and patrons are known to have organised them. A royal organiser of concerts was Marie de Médicis who, according to Bassompierre, gave small private concerts in the Tuileries which would no doubt have included her "joueur d'épinette" Jacques Champion de la Chapelle¹⁴³. Mersenne in 1636 lists as concert givers the lutenist

140. E.Jodelle, Les Oeuvres et meslanges poétiques I (Paris 1574) f59.

141. H.Sauval Histoire pp491-493. In spite of the late date of publication Sauval assembled his material in the 1650s and died in 1669 or 1670 (see A.Blunt's introduction to the Gregg facsimile edition). Mersenne says Mauduit's concerts were composed of voices, lutes, and "toutes sortes d'instruments harmoniques" which would undoubtedly imply keyboards (Harmonie Universelle, Livre 7e des instrumens de percussion p63).

142. J.de Gouy, Airs à quatre parties, Sur la paraphrase des Pseaumes de Messire Antoine Godeau, Evesque de Grasse (Paris 1650), preface (in Premiere Partie. Dessus); see also M.Brenet, Les Concerts en France sous l'ancien régime, p55.

143. F.de Bassompierre, Mémoires, ed. Chantérac (Paris 1870) vol.I p224.

Ballard (presumably Robert) and others including a La Barre who is presumably the same Pierre (III) "organiste du Roy" identified by Gouy¹⁴⁴. From 1641 Chambonnières was organising concerts¹⁴⁵ apparently with royal patronage, in an "acc&demye instituée par le roy tous les mercredis et samedis de chacune sepmaine"¹⁴⁶. Whether this was the same society noted by Huygens as an "assemblée des honnestes curieux" in 1655 is not clear, nor is Chambonnières's precise musical role¹⁴⁷. It is likely that Chambonnières at least accompanied the singers as well as playing solo, since he is known to have accompanied on other occasions¹⁴⁸. The assembly sounds like a club for "honnêtes gens" similar to Mauduit's earlier academy, which was also under royal patronage and even had a (non-transferable) membership badge¹⁴⁹. The concerts of La Barre described by Gouy probably took place not too long before 1650 since they include his harpsichordist sons, Charles-Henri and Joseph, and his daughter Anne¹⁵⁰. La Barre himself must have played solo since Gouy speaks of "la manière incomparable dont il se sert à bien toucher l'Orgue, l'Espinette, & le Clavecin, que toute l'Europe a ouy tant vanter, & que tout l'univers seroit ravy d'entendre"¹⁵¹. Neither Mersenne nor Gouy give any detailed

144. The others are the violinist Lazarin ("ordinaire de la musique du cabinet du roi"), Du Buisson (probably the lutenist, but possibly an organist of this name), the viol player Maugars, and Moulinié who organised vocal concerts. Harmonie Universelle, Liure cinquieme de la Composition pp324'-325.

145. see F.Lesure, "Chambonnières organisateur de concerts (1641)", Revue belge de musicologie, 3(1949)140-144.

146. M.Jürgens Documents I ppl39-140.

147. C.Huygens Correspondance I p239. Of nine musicians engaged for the 1641 academy the functions of only two are designated: Guillaume Courrier "joueur de violles" (he was also organist of St. Nicolas-des-Champs) and a singer, Françoise Lefébure. The rest are "joueurs d'instruments" or "musiciens".

148. Y.de Brossard "La Vie musicale en France" pl53.

149. Sauval Histoire p492.

150. They also included Constantin (violin), Vincent (possibly the lutenist who appeared with Louis Couperin in ballets in 1657 and 1661), Dom, and Granoüillet, about whom nothing is known. The other group may have been a viol consort since it included two viol players - Hautement (Hotman) and Estier (sc. Léonard Ytier, lutenist and viol player, see M.Benoit Musique de Cour); also Bertant (sc. Blaise Berthod ordinaire de la chapelle, Benoit op.cit.), Lazarin (see above n144), and Henry (possibly a lutenist, see Rave "Some Manuscripts" p423. Other "joueurs d'instruments" of this name appear in Y.de Brossard op.cit.).

151. J.de Gouy Airs preface.

information about the form these concerts took. The following description of a concert given for the Landgrave of Hesse in 1647 is worth quoting in full since it gives a more detailed account and involves very much the same musicians:

Le mercredi ensuivant, Leurs Majestés voulant luy faire voir les beautez de la cour de France luy donnèrent, dans leur Palais le divertissement d'un bal qui fut en la grande salle de la Comédie et qui fut précédé de l'ouverture du théâtre en perspective des jardins, dans lesquels la musique du Roy faisoit un concert mélodieux, à l'issue de laquelle les amours que estoient dans les jardins furent enlevez dans le ciel par une promptitude incroyable, tellement que les yeux en estoient déçus. Ensuite elle fut interrompue par la damoiselle de la Barre qui dans une des galeries de la dite Salle, sa voix soutenue d'un clavessin avec deux luth, un thurbe et une viole, et le sieur Constantin qui jouoit de son violon, dont la mélodie ne cédoit en rien aux autres concerts qui l'avoient précédé. Ensuite des violons jouèrent une sarabande, où sur le théâtre fut dansé par seize excellens baladins avec castagnettes une sarabande; laquelle finie l'on vit paroistre le palais du soleil de la zodiaque sur lequel Apollon en son char faisant la course du monde représenté par Atto (Melani) qui chanta un air italien, dont la beauté de la voix avec sa conduite admirable sembloient à qui mieux mieux se vouloir surmonter. Ce divertissement fut suivy par un autre air italien que la damoiselle de la Barre chanté, et secondé après du concert de clavessin et de luths. L'on vit descendre du fond du ciel en terre une machine sur laquelle estoient les vingt quatre violons du Roy, vestus en Dieux jouans de leurs instrumens.¹⁵²

Anne de la Barre and her harpsichordist brothers seem to have operated as a team on numerous occasions, since again in 1653 Huygens remarks: "C'est veritablement une agreable chanteuse, et accompagnée d'un jeusne garçon de frere dont la science en musique m'est encor plus chère que le beau chant de la soeur"¹⁵³.

Repertoire of spinet and harpsichord in relation to other instrumental repertoires.

If spinet and harpsichord are known in the earlier seventeenth century to have been used to accompany voices, sometimes in combination with lute and theorbo, more significant for the development of keyboard

152. F-Pm ms 2737, pp118-120. Extracts are given by C.Massip in La Vie des musiciens pp7-8. According to Mattheson Mlle de la Barre when singing "spielte dabey ein nettes Clavier, und eine saubre laute", Grundlage einer Ehrenpforte (Hamburg 1740) p74n.

153. C.Huygens Correspondance p20.

repertoire is their association with the viol consort. From the time when Mauduit introduced the fashion for viols, together with spinets, in the late sixteenth, or the first decade of the seventeenth, century¹⁵⁴ keyboard instruments appear to have been an indispensable part of the viol consort¹⁵⁵. Mersenne, discussing the virtues of various accompanying instruments, finds the spinet a preferable instrument to control a consort than either organ, lute, or harp¹⁵⁶. In this case his views are not merely theoretical but are borne out by other evidence. He himself mentions two types of concerts: those of 5 or 6 lutes which "sonants ensemble suivent tellement toutes les sortes de temps & de mouuemens...que l'on iugeroit qu'il n'y a qu'un seul Luth ou un seul homme qui les touche tous ensemble", and the concerts of Maugars, La Barre and others "qui touchent les Violes & les Clavecins ensemble"¹⁵⁷. In the Latin version of the Harmonie Universelle (1635) he also mentions the harpsichord as the instrument par excellence for accompanying the viol players Maugars and Hotman¹⁵⁸. Apart from Mersenne this combination appears in a concert at Cambrai in 1645 when the "musique de la ville...chanta a huict parties avec les violes et le clavessin"¹⁵⁹, and again in 1652 the bourgeoisie Dame Payen, in a series of fortnightly concerts open to the public, employed a harpsichord, two viols and two

154. A.Cohen places the cessation of Mauduit's smaller concerts around 1610 ("A Study of instrumental Ensemble Practice" p3).

155. According to Cohen (Ibid. p11) the earliest known reference to a consort of unaccompanied viols is in Dumont's Meslanges of 1657.

156. Harmonie Universelle, Traité des instrumens a cordes p16.

157. Ibid. pp324'-325.

158. Harmonicorum Libri XII: Liber Primus de Instrumentis Harmonicis p47: "Antequam illud aggrediar, iuvat nullum esse in Gallia quem cum Maugardo, atque Hotmanno viris in hac arte peritissimis comparare queas, quippe qui tantis diminutionibus, & arcus tractibus adeo delicatis, & suauibus vtuntur, nihil vt in Harmonia quod perfectè non exprimant, omittere videantur, praesertim cum alius simul Clauichordio cum illis canit". E.Thoinan (Maugars célèbre Joueur de Viole, Paris 1865, p17) translates this as "clavicorde", but Mersenne (p9) gives the following glossary for keyboard instruments: manichorde-manichordium; épinette-organum fidiculare; clavecin-clavichordium.

159. J.le Laboureur, Relation du voyage de la Royne de Pologne, et du Retour de Madame la Mareschalle de Guébriant, Ambassadrice Extraordinaire.... (Paris 1647) cited by A.Pirro in "Remarques de quelques voyageurs, sur la musique en Allemagne et dans les pays du Nord, de 1634 à 1700", Riemann-Festschrift (Leipzig 1909) p329.

singers¹⁶⁰. From the late 1650s accounts of such combinations are numerous¹⁶¹. The function of the keyboard instrument in the viol consort seems to have been to double the string parts, a role for which it was, according to Mersenne, particularly suited both by range and sonority: "Quant à l'usage de l'Epinette, elle a cela d'excellent, qu'un seul homme fait toutes les parties d'un concert, ce qu'elle a de commun avec l'orgue & le luth: mais ses accords & ses tons approchent plus pres de la iuste proportion de l'harmonie qu'ils ne font sur le luth; et l'on fait plusieurs parties plus aysément sur l'Epinette, que sur le dit luth"¹⁶². The organ he finds unsatisfactory because of its disparity in tuning with the viols and its being subject to fluctuations of wind pressure and pitch¹⁶³, while the sound of the lute fades too quickly in comparison with the spinet's open strings – the spinet "se mesle particulièrement avec les Violes, qui ont le son de percussion & de resonnement comme l'Epinette"¹⁶⁴.

The ability of the spinet and harpsichord to play all the parts of a consort was a particular point of recommendation for these instruments for Jean Denis¹⁶⁵. In a well-known and cryptic passage he says "...il ne se peut faire de Musique qu'il (le clavecin) n'exprime & n'exécute tout seul, ayant des Clavecins à deux Claviers, pour passer tous les Unissons; ce que le luth ne sçauroit faire: & les Orgues en ont quatre pour jouer toute sorte de musique." Curtis takes the phrase "passer tous les unissons" to mean coupling two 8' stops on one manual¹⁶⁶, but this would be a feature in common with the lute rather than in distinction from it. From the general context it seems more likely, as Hubbard says¹⁶⁷, to refer to the crossing of parts since the organ

160. Y.de Brossard "La Vie musicale en France" pl57.

161. Ibid. passim.

162. Traité des instrumens à cordes pl07. This point was made by various writers up until A.Furetière Dictionnaire universel (The Hague and Rotterdam 1690) art. "Espinette". Furetière drew most of his information about musical instruments from Mersenne. For an example of keyboard "bassus continuus" doubling viol parts see Chapter IV Ex.113.

163. Mersenne op.cit. pl6.

164. Ibid. pl07.

165. Traité de l'accord de l'espinette (Paris 1643) pl3.

166. A.Curtis, introduction to the Da Capo facsimile edition, pV n1.

167. F.Hubbard Three Centuries of Harpsichord making pl23.

statement almost certainly refers to the type of four part fugue played on three manuals and pedals, thereby ensuring total independence of parts¹⁶⁸. If the harpsichord was capable of doubling the parts of a consort then it was capable of playing them alone, and indeed a number of viol publications appeared throughout the century with a keyboard performance option. Such were Du Caurroy's Fantaisies of 1610 and Guillet's 24 fantasias of the same year¹⁶⁹. Du Caurroy states in his dedication that the fantasias were also intended for keyboard instruments "ainsi que l'usage l'a voulu, et les plus grands maistres de la profession l'ont estimé nécessaire", while Guillet's dedication designates his pieces "tant pour les violes que pour l'orgue". Such works would have to be put into score to make them playable, and judging by the composers' remarks this must have been common practice in the early part of the century¹⁷⁰. That it continued to be so, at least among experienced players, is evident from Roberday's Advertissement from his Fugues et Caprices for organ of 1660. Explaining that he has had them printed in open score to facilitate performance on viols "ou autres semblables Instruments" he anticipates that playing from score might present difficulties for the inexperienced, "Mais ceux qui possèdent un peu le Clavier sçauront qu'il ne leur sera pas si difficile, qu'ils se l'imaginent, d'acquérir l'habitude & la facilité de iouer sur la partition, & il y en a dans Paris, qui peuvent rendre tesmoignage de

168. cf. D'Anglebert's "Quatuor sur le Kyrie a trois Sujets tirés du plein chant" (Pieces de Clavecin, Paris 1689). D'Anglebert says in his preface: "Comme cette piece est plus travaillée que les autres, elle ne peut bien faire son effet que sur un grand Orgue, et même sur quatre Claviers differens, j'entens trois Claviers pour les mains et le Clavier des pedales, avec des jeux d'égale force et de differente harmonie, pour faire distinguer les entrées des parties".

169. E. du Caurroy, Fantaisies à III.IV.V. et VI. parties and C. Guillet 24 Fantaisies à 4 parties disposées selon l'ordre des 12 modes.

170. N. Dufourcq suggests in his introduction to J. Bonfils's edition of Du Caurroy's Fantaisies... (Paris, Schola Cantorum, n.d.) that the F-Psg ms 3169 (described in the Garros and Wallon catalogue as "1er tiers du XVIIe s.") is such a scoring, and Bonfils used it as the basis for his edition. But as B. Pidoux points out in the introduction to his own edition (Les Oeuvres complètes d'Eustache du Caurroy. I. Fantaisies à 3-6 parties, Brooklyn 1975) the MS is in fact dated 1753. Pidoux considers it more likely to have been made for study than for keyboard performance since the player would have to turn a page every 8 bars (of Pidoux's barring). A further possible reason for printing polyphonic keyboard music in open score is the difficulty of setting it up clearly with movable type (see Christopher Stembridge's Introduction to Ascanio Mayone: Diversi Capricci per sonare, Libro I (Padua: Zanibon, 1981)).

cette verité par leur propre experience". That this transfer of repertoire was not limited to polyphonic fantasias but included dance movements is evidenced by the francophile Huygens, writing in 1656: "Vous trouverez mes pieces (hormis les Giges et les Sarabandes) limitées à 12 mesures. J'en ay usé de mesmes en tout ce que j'ay produit sur l'espinette et pour les Concerts de Violes de Gambe"¹⁷¹. It has been suggested¹⁷², and it seems likely from their texture, that some of the anonymous pavaues in the Bauyn MS may be arrangements of viol pieces¹⁷³. The kind of keyboard piece to emerge from a scoring of viol dances may be seen in the keyboard versions of Du Mont's two organ or harpsichord allemandes in the Meslanges of 1657, "mise (sic) à 3. Parties pour les Violes, qu'on pourra jouer separement ou accompagner l'Orgue ou le Clavecin"¹⁷⁴. In texture they resemble the pavaues and allemandes of Chambonnières. The technique of adding keyboard figurations to a basically simple polyphonic texture is demonstrated in Nicolas Gigault's Livre de Musique¹⁷⁵.

Relation to organ repertoire

If contemporary viol repertoire can be shown to have contributed to that for keyboards both by surviving musical sources and by documentary evidence, it is more obvious that the spinet and harpsichord by their nature shared much of the repertoire for organ. In the sixteenth century all the principal joueurs d'épinette are known to have been organists, and most of the principal clavecinistes of the seventeenth century held organ appointments. On the other hand many players who were primarily organists are known to have possessed and presumably played a spinet or harpsichord. Such are Pierre (I) de la Barre¹⁷⁶ and Florent Bienvenu, organist of the Sainte-Chapelle, who left three

171. Correspondance p29.

172. B.Gustafson, French Harpsichord Music of the 17th Century, p104.

173. Bauyn III Nos.35-38.

174. Au lecteur.

175. (Paris 1682) pp16-19.

176. see above p3.

spinets in 1623¹⁷⁷. Titelouze experimented with a spinet with an enharmonic keyboard¹⁷⁸. He is also presumably the "Chantelouse" mentioned by Marolles together with the La Barres, Chambonnières, Du Mont, and Monnard, in whose hands "L'Epinette & les Orgues ont été ravissantes"¹⁷⁹. Throughout the century organists supplemented their incomes by giving spinet or harpsichord lessons¹⁸⁰. The works of the later clavecinistes show that there was nothing to prevent an organist writing in a distinctively harpsichord style, but the evidence suggests that there was no such clear distinction between the repertoires of the two instruments during the early part of the century, or in the century before. It would be tempting to see for example a division of repertoires in the publications of Attaingnant between the fantasias on plainsong themes¹⁸¹ and the dances¹⁸². Yet both are identically designated for organ or spinet. There is no reason why polyphonic pieces of liturgical intention should not have been played on the spinet. The lost Premier Livre de Tabulature d'Espinette of Simon Gorlier, evidently without an organ option in the title, apparently contained a repertoire of "Motets, Fantasies, Chansons, Madrigales, & Gaillardes"¹⁸³. The very few pre-Chambonnières pieces are mainly designated for "orgue ou espinette"¹⁸⁴. The connexion between stringed keyboard and organ repertoire is further confirmed by the main sources of information about the spinet and harpsichord in the early part of the century - Mersenne's Harmonie universelle (1636) and Jean Denis's Traité de l'accord de l'Espinette (1643 and 1650). The third source

177. M.Jürgens Documents I p690.

178. Mersenne Correspondance I p75.

179. Mémoires de Michel de Marolles (Amsterdam 1755) p207.

180. such as Pierre Richard in 1600 (see above p17). In 1618 Jean Le Faulcheur contracted to give spinet lessons and again in 1632 (Jürgens Documents I p465 and III). He appears in 1624 as "joueur d'épinette et organiste" (Ibid. I p332). Etienne Richard, organist of St.Jacques-de-la-Boucherie, was engaged to teach the future Louis XIV (see above p18). The Arrêt définitif of 1695 (see above p22 n123) mentions the following as teachers of harpsichord: Nicolas Gigault, Marin de la Guerre, and Guillaume-Gabriel Nivers, apart from Nicolas Lebègue and François Couperin.

181. see H.M.Brown Instrumental Music printed before 1600, 1531⁵.

182. Ibid. (1531⁴)

183. Ibid. (1560¹)

184. Such are the various pieces in Cellier's MSS, the La Barre incipits given by Mersenne (Harmonie universelle, Liure Sixiesme des Orgues pp391, 394-5), and Du Mont's publications of 1652, 1657, and 1668.

of information, Trichet's manuscript Traité des instruments, a simplified version of the instrument sections of the Harmonie universelle compiled around 1640, deals exclusively with the instruments without reference to their repertoire.

Information regarding repertoire in the writings of Denis, Mersenne, and Le Gallois

For a work ostensibly about the spinet Denis's Traité is disappointing as a source of information for its repertoire. But it does point clearly to the fact that much of this was shared with the organ, and that this was of the polyphonic fantasia type, albeit adorned with a number of graces some of which he lists. Apart from a brief discussion of the perennial problem of the discrepancy between keyboard tuning and that of lutes and viols¹⁸⁵ Denis twice claims that the excellence of the spinet and harpsichord lies in their ability to play music in several parts whether vocal or instrumental¹⁸⁶. On each occasion he inadvertently undermines his case, natural enough from a maker, that "l'Espinette est le plus parfait Instrument de tous les Instruments" by continuing to say that the organ can do this even better. His discussion of music in general is directed entirely to organists, concerning the performance of intonations and versets, ornamentation, ecclesiastical modes, and fugues¹⁸⁷. In the one place where he explicitly refers to spinet playing in detail the piece turns out to be another "fugue" and he soon reverts to addressing his reader as "Organiste"¹⁸⁸. One is left with the

185. pl2 (page numbers refer to the edition of 1650 as reprinted by the Da Capo Press. The text as far as p20 is identical in both editions - see A.Curtis's introduction to the facsimile).

186. pp9 and 13. That polyphonic vocal music formed part of the repertoire at least of the organ is attested by Mersenne's flattering dedication in Les Préludes de l'Harmonie Universelle (1634, Epistre à M.de Bourges, conseiller du Roy, etc): "Je vous offre cependant les Preludes de la science...& de conclurre, affin que son harmonie se ioigne à celle de vostre esprit, & vous fasse ressouvenir de la Vocale, dans laquelle vous réussissez si heureusement que les Organistes font gloire de iouer, et de faire entendre vos compositions sur leurs orgues quand il vous plaist de les leur donner".

187. Denis Traité ppl8-20; 19, 37-39; 25-36.

188. Ibid. pp37-38. This organ repertoire of contrapuntal fantasia, "recherche", and liturgical verset is precisely that which survives from the period before 1650, see N.Dufourcq, Le Livre de l'orgue français: Tome IV. La Musique (Paris 1972) p31.

impression that as far as Denis was concerned the spinet, for all its perfection, was a practice instrument for organists, and there is no evidence in the Traité to suggest that it had any repertoire of its own.

The information given by Mersenne is the fullest of the three, but at the same time of an opacity which makes it difficult to draw precise conclusions¹⁸⁹. In attempting to disentangle these scattered and often conflicting remarks it is necessary to bear in mind the writer's conservative attitude and his fascination for theoretical and speculative lines of thought. The Preface generale indicates the religious's lack of sympathy with more recent musical trends:

Certes c'est une chose estrange que de mille joueurs de Luth, & des autres instrumens, l'on ne rencontre pas dix qui prennent plaisir à chanter, & à exprimer les Cantiques divins; & qui n'ayment mieux jouer une centaine de courantes, de sarabandes, ou d'Allemandes, qu'un air spirituel: de sorte qu'il semble qu'ils ayent voté tout leur travail à la vanité, qu'ils entonnent dans le coeur par les oreilles comme par autant d'entonnoirs. I'auotte que ie suis d'aduis des plus excellens politiques à scauoir que cette espece de Musique, qui amolist, & enerve le courage, & qui émousse la pointe de l'esprit des ieunes gens, deuroit estre bannie des Republiques, comme toutes les autres choses qui corrompent les bonnes moeurs, dont on viendroit aysement à bout si les Magistrats établissoient des prix, & des honnestes recompences pour ceux qui pratiqueroient seulement la Musique Dorienne....

On the other hand his theoretical leanings ensure that discussions of performance style generally deteriorate into speculation about the number of notes it is possible to cram into a single bar. This being the case it is tempting to see his one example of spinet music as written expressly by La Barre to demonstrate this point rather than as an

189. Virtually all Mersenne's writings, printed and manuscript, have been examined for the light they might cast on keyboard style. Apart from those in the Harmonie universelle his discussions of keyboard instruments are limited to various curiosities of construction such as the jeu de violes (Correspondance IX p42f), enharmonic keyboards (Cogitata Physico-Mathematica p329), choirs of different metals (Reflectiones Physico-Mathematicae ppl65-166). These preoccupations recur throughout his musical writings including the Harmonie universelle.

example reflecting a current style of performance¹⁹⁰.

In conjunction with Mersenne's remarks it is useful to consider a distinction in performance styles made later by Le Gallois in his well-known Lettre¹⁹¹. It is striking how similar are Mersenne's remarks to those of Le Gallois even though there is half a century between them. Apart from distinguishing between the styles of Chambonnières and (Louis) Couperin, Le Gallois also distinguishes between "le jeu coulant" of Chambonnières and his school and "le jeu Brillant"¹⁹² which appears to refer to an independent

190. "Chanson composée par le Roy, & mise en tablature par le Sieur de la Barre, Epinette et Organiste du Roy & de la Reyne", Liure Sixiesme des Orgues p391 and pp394-395. The situation regarding keyboard examples in the Harmonie universelle is confused by the fact that Mersenne's printer Cramoisy was not equipped with musical type (see F.Lesure's introduction to the CNRS facsimile reprint). He was unable to include the long organ fantasia by Racquet in the Sixiesme Liure des Orgues and transferred the shorter La Barre piece (in truncated form) to its place to serve as an example for both organ and spinet. He explains that this is the "Musique à 4" promised in Proposition XXIII of the Liure Troisième des Instrumens à cordes in the preface to the Traité des Instrumens à cordes. However the situation is further complicated by the fact that he also promises a piece with particular ornament signs in Proposition XXII of the Liure Troisième (pl62: "les tremblemens, qui se font en descendant, se marquent par cette virgule , et ceux qui se font en montant par cette autre, qui ressemble à la lettre c."). Since there is no trace of these signs in either the chanson or the Racquet fantasia (the MS of which is reproduced between pp392-393 of the CNRS facsimile) it is possible that he may have intended to include a third piece. He exonerated himself by promising a tutor by Racquet "dans lequel il distinguera ce que la musique des voix a de particulier, & de plus ou de moins que celle des Orgues; ce qui est meilleur sur l'orgue que sur le Clavecin: ce qui réussit mieux sur ceux-cy que sur le Luth, &c", (Liure Sixiesme des Orgues p392), and works by Titelouze and others "qui touchent parfaitement l'Orgue & l'Epinette" to be published by Ballard (loc.cit.). None of these works except those by Titelouze for organ are known to have been published.

191. J.Le Gallois, Lettre de M. Le Gallois à Mademoiselle Regnault de Solier touchant la musique (Paris 1680). An annotated translation by D.Fuller of most of the section on keyboard music is in "French harpsichord playing in the 17th century - after Le Gallois", Early Music 4(1/1976)22-26.

192. J.Le Gallois Lettre p79.

tradition of seventeenth century French keyboard playing, but with which Le Gallois finds himself out of sympathy partly because it had been rendered unfashionable by Chambonnières and his pupils¹⁹³. Le Gallois was prepared to admit, albeit disparagingly, that "le jeu brillant" could have its respectable exponents:

A la verité cette methode a quelque chose de tres-beau, quand elle est dans sa perfection: Mais cela est tres-rare. Et la raison est qu'ordinairement les grands brillans sont emportez & trop elevez; de sorte que pour retussir dans ce jeu il faut estre tres-sçavant dans la musique, y jouter de tête, & se posseder parfaitement; ce qui est tres difficile, pour ne pas dire impossible. Aussi voit-on peu de personnes qui y retussissent; parce qu'il y en a peu qui ayent assez de science pour cela.¹⁹⁴

He continues to outline the faults of this style:

...leur jeu est souvent embrouillé, & passe par dessus quantité de touches, qu'on n'entend qu'à demy, quelquefois point de tout; à cause qu'ils passent trop vite; ou qu'ils n'appuyent pas assez fort pour les faire entendre, ou qu'ils frappent les touches au lieu de les couler. Enfin on n'observe dans leur jeu qu'une perpetuelle cadence, qui empêche qu'on n'entende distinctement le chant de la piece: Et ils y font continuellement des passages, particulièrement d'une touche à son octave; ce que Chambonniere appelloit chaudronner.¹⁹⁵

If one makes allowances for Le Gallois's discouraging tone there is a striking similarity between the style of playing described here and that described by Mersenne:

...ils font ouyr...des sons si forts, qu'on les compare & au tonnerre, comme il arriue lors qu'ils triplent ou quadruplent la cadence en faisant 32 triples, ou 64 quadruples crochues aux passages ou aux cadences triples ou quadruples, dont on void plusieurs exemples dans la piece qui suit. (La Barre's chanson)¹⁹⁶

Like Le Gallois, Mersenne was prepared to admire this style only when presented with the excellence and "beau toucher" of a player of the calibre of La Barre:

...la legereté de la main est fort differente de sa vistesse, car plusieurs ont la main tres-viste, qui l'ont neantmoins bien pesante, comme tesmoigne la duresse & la rudesse de leur ieu. Or ceux qui ont cette legereté de la main peuuent

193. It is difficult to find examples of this style in the surviving corpus of clavecin music apart from a few doubles such as Louis Couperin's to Chambonnières's Allemande Le Moutier (ed. Curtis pp50-51). Le Gallois was writing before the Italian fashion began to affect French music, and whose keyboard manifestations are described by François Couperin in L'Art de toucher le clavecin.

194. Le Gallois Lettre pp75-76.

195. Ibid. pp77-78.

196. Harmonie universelle, Troisième Liure des Instrumens à cordes pl62.

estre appellez Maistres absolus de leurs main & de leurs doigts.¹⁹⁷
 Mersenne's attitude to this style is a great deal more positive than
 Le Gallois's. He repeatedly implies in his section on spinet and
 harpsichord performance¹⁹⁸ that this represents the normal style of
 playing, to the extent of explicitly drawing a distinction between
 the repertoire of keyboard instruments and that of the more expressive
 lute:

les methodes et les manieres de toucher les instrumens sont
 aussi differentes que celles d'escrire, car l'on remarque que
 ceux qui touchent le Luth & l'Epinette sont quasi aussi differens
 à leur toucher qu'à leurs usages.¹⁹⁹

Again with reference to the harpsichord the style he describes is based
 on the division technique of the La Barre piece, where "la (main)
 gauche touche deux ou trois bons accords, lors que la droite fait
 des diminutions & des passages, & au contraire". In the light of this
 it seems probable that La Barre's demonstration piece, which after
 all uses a technique common to contemporary northern European keyboard
 music, may not be so unrepresentative of French style in the 1630s.
 Mechanical as it is and written to demonstrate a particular point,
 it seems unlikely that Mersenne should have chosen as his sole example
 of spinet music a piece in a style uncommon in Paris at the time.

In his eulogy of the Champion family, which was referred to in connexion
 with the relationship between spinet and organ repertoires, Mersenne
 gives a valuable brief outline of the development of keyboard music
 in the early part of the century which is worth detailed examination
 having appeared hitherto only in brief extracts concerning individual
 members of the family:

...premierement Thomas Champion Organiste et Epinette du
 Roy, a defriché le chemin pour ce qui concerne l'Orgue & l'Epinette,
 sur lesquels il faisoit toutes sortes de canons, ou de
 fugues à l'improviste: il a esté le plus grand Contraponctiste
 de son temps: son fils Jaques Champion sieur de la Chappelle,
 & Cheualier de l'Ordre du Roy, à fait voir sa profonde
 science, et son beau toucher sur l'Epinette, & ceux qui ont
 connu la perfection de son jeu l'ont admiré, mais apres
 auoir oüy le Clauecin touché par le sieur de Chambonniere,

197. loc.cit.

198. Ibid. Propositions XXII and XXIII.

199. Ibid. ppl61-162.

son fils, lequel porte le mesme n^o, ie n'en peux exprimer mon sentiment, qu'en disant qu'il ne faut plus rien entendre apres, soit qu'on desire les beaux chants & les belles parties de l'harmonie meslées ensemble, ou la beauté des mouemens, le beau toucher, & la legereté, & la vitesse de la main iointe à une oreille tres-delicate, de sorte qu'on peut dire que cet Instrument à rencontré son dernier Maistre.²⁰⁰

From this it seems clear that the contrapuntal style of Thomas Champion was continued, principally on the spinet, by his son Jacques who shared his "profonde science". Such a style, which would have seemed antiquated by the 1630s, earns Mersenne's somewhat cold praise for "la perfection de son jeu". Mersenne's sudden change of tone when he comes to Chambonnières would hardly be justified had he merely continued in the style of his forebears, but done it better. That Mersenne by 1636 (when Chambonnières was already in his mid 30s) had experienced the style represented by the pieces Chambonnières assembled for publication at the end of his life is emphasised by the strikingly similar terms in which Le Gallois described Chambonnières's playing in 1680, similar yet in a style that indicates personal experience rather than being yet another later borrowing from Mersenne. The points made by Le Gallois are identical to Mersenne's, but he even more and very significantly stresses the novelty of Chambonnières's expressive manner of playing:

...outre la science et la netteté, il avoit une delicatesses de la main que les autres n'avoient pas...il avoit une adresse & une maniere d'appliquer les doigts sur les touches qui estoit inconnuë aux autres...il employoit toujours dans ses pieces des chants naturels, tendres, & bien tournez, qu'on ne remarquoit point dans celles des autres.²⁰¹

Whereas others are praised for their learning and brilliance Chambonnières attracts a much more detailed and extravagant description than merely the ubiquitous "beau toucher", and in particular for his "naturel":

...il y en a une (manière) qui doit l'emporter par dessus toutes, parce qu'elle est plus naturelle, plus delicate, plus propre, & par consequent plus agreable; & telle est celle de Chanbonniere.²⁰²

If Le Gallois could still write in these terms in 1680 the impact of

200. Premiere preface generale au lecteur (n.p.). Extracts are quoted by H. Quittard in his pioneering article on Chambonnières ("Un claveciniste français du XVII^e siècle, Jacques Champion de Chambonnières", Tribune de Saint Gervais 7/1(1(1901) pp4-5).

201. J. Le Gallois Lettre pp69-70.

202. Ibid. p82.

Chambonnières's playing must have been all the greater on Mersenne and his contemporaries in the early 1630s, accustomed as they were to a respectably craftsmanlike but severe repertoire of fantasia and elaborately decorated variations on the spinet.

Harpsichord and lute in the mid- to late seventeenth century

It therefore appears that Chambonnières introduced a new style of playing in the early 1630s, characterised by the naturalness of his melody, and the subtlety of his touch and ornamentation. How much this style may have been influenced by the lutenists of the period when that instrument was passing through a golden age and stringed keyboard instruments were in recession, is a complex problem. It is far from being answered by the traditional view that the clavecinistes simply adopted from a modish lute style a set of procedures foreign to the nature of their instrument²⁰³. It has already been noted that more recent writers have rightly centred their discussion on the expressivity of the lute as reflected in the peculiarly characteristic texture of French lute music of this period, rather than merely on technical details of the style brisé. In particular Jean Jacquot, in broadening the discussion to a more general aesthetic level, suggests that the case for a direct lute influence has been overstated, preferring to see the keyboard style brisé as a manifestation of a general trend affecting not only the lute: "nous proposons donc d'interpréter la musique des luthistes et celle des clavecinistes du milieu du XVII^e siècle français comme deux modes d'expression d'un même langage et d'une même esthétique, dont le second comporte une certaine nuance d'abstraction, par suite de son absence de relief."²⁰⁴ It remains to be seen what light is shed on his conclusions, based as they are on late musical sources, by documentary evidence from the earlier part of the century.

That the spinet and harpsichord were of their nature inexpressive instruments is a commonplace of early seventeenth century writings on music. As G.B. Doni put it in a letter to Mersenne:²⁰⁵

203. see Preface.

204. J.Jacquot "Luth et clavecin français vers 1650" ppl37-138.

205. Mersenne Correspondance VIII p20 (letter of 7/8/1658).

je vous dirai que noz musiciens ne sont pas de mesme advis, veu qu'ils estiment plus la harpe, pource qu'elle à il piano e le forte, c'est à dire qu'on peut jouer plus fort et plus bellement avec plusieurs differences. Ce que l'on pratique quand on accompagne des melodies pathetiques et variées. Et sans doute que ceste qualité est bien plus considerable que celle de l'epinette.

Mersenne puts this more exactly in the Harmonie universelle, where the comparison is with the lute rather than the Italian harp:

Quant au son resonant de l'epinette il est le plus excellent qui se puisse imaginer, mais le Musicien n'a aucune puissance sur ce son, qui est tout uide & ne peut estre varié, & enrichi d'inuentions comme celuy du luth.²⁰⁶

The crucial word here is "resonant" which for Mersenne and his contemporaries had a precise technical meaning. Gantez explains this simply:

Le (son) continu, c'est celuy de l'orgue, parce qu'autant que vous tenez le doigt sur la touche, il continue le Son & non pas davantage. Le Resonant, c'est celuy du Luth, parce qu'encores que vous ayez cessé ne laisse pas de rendre encores quelque harmonie.²⁰⁷

It was the ability to affect this resonant after-sound with his left hand, as well as the initial percussive stroke, which gave the lutenist a source of expressive power embodied in the large repertoire of ornaments some of which were detailed in Jean Basset's lute tutor printed by Mersenne²⁰⁸, but many of which, according to Basset, defy notation. Naturally these resources were not available to keyboard players, although as we shall see they had ways of counterfeiting them. Ornaments were of course part of the technique of all instruments at the time, but for none did that technique reach such a degree of elaboration for expressive ends as for the lute. The true heirs of the lutenists in this respect were Hotman and Sainte Colombe, rather than the clavecinistes, for only the viol had the capacity to develop expressive ornamentation to an equivalent degree of complexity and subtlety.

A realisation of the expressive nature of the lute is not of course unique

206. Liure premier Des Instrumens pl2.

207. A.Gantez, L'Entretien des musiciens (Auxerre 1643) ed. Thoinan, pp110-111.

208. Liure Second des Instrumens pp76-82.

to seventeenth-century France. As E.G. Baron remarks with reference to quite a different style:²⁰⁹

Auf der Laute kan man die Acorte sehr starck anschlagen, und den Thon unter wñhrenden Harpegio insensiblement abnehmen lassen, daß er bald acutior bald remissior wird, welches auf dem Clavecin nicht als mit großer Affectation angehet, da sie erst von einem Clavier ins andere hüpfen müssen.

But this possibility, around which the texture of the music was built, must have seemed remarkable in the early seventeenth century. The excitement of exploring a newly discovered expressive world led to experimentation with accords avallés apart from the careful placing of notes and chords and the subtle techniques of modifying the dying resonance with ornaments "dont les uns l'allongent, & le continuent, les autres le changent"²¹⁰. A languishing expressivity was peculiarly suited to the prevailing mood, which in England was called melancholy, and which in France favoured the dark, low sonorities of lute and bass viol:

D'abondant l'on experimente que les airs de Balets, & des Violons excitent dauantage à raison de leur gayeté qui vient de la promptitude de leurs mouuemens, ou de leurs sons aigus, que les airs que l'on ioué sur le Luth ou sur les basses des Violes, lesquels sont pour l'ordinaire plus graues & plus languissans...Neantmoins tous les Musiciens sont de contraire aduis, & tant les Auditeurs que ceux qui chantent, aduoüent qu'ils reçoient plus de plaisir des Chansons tristes & languissantes, que des gayeres.²¹¹

If keyboard players were unable to modify the resonant sound of their instruments they could at least exercise an effect on its percussive sound, and one way of doing this was by means of ornaments. As Mersenne says, they should be incorporated into keyboard music as much as into vocal music or that of the lute and other stringed instruments²¹².

But the reader of his instructions for, and descriptions of, harpsichord and spinet playing is left with the impression that they were performed with a subtlety on these instruments which they had in common only with the lute: "Quant aux tremblemens, battemens, martelemens, myolemens, accents plaintifs, &c. l'on peut quasi les faire sur le clavier comme sur le manche du Luth"²¹³. The word "quasi" implies an analogy or imitation which is reinforced by his description of La Barre's use

209. Historisch, theoretisch und praktische Untersuchungen des Instruments der Lauten. (Nuremberg 1727), pl26.

210. Harmonie universelle, Liure Premier des Instrumens, pl2.

211. Ibid. Liure Second des Chants, pl72.

212. Ibid. Embellissement des Chants, p 355.

213. Liure Troisième des Instrumens à cordes, pl62.

of "tremblemens, qui enrichissent la maniere de iouer, & y apportent des charmes qu'il est difficile de s'imaginer si l'on ne les a entendus: neantmoins l'on s'en peut figurer une bonne partie par le discours que i'ay fait des tremblemens du Luth."²¹⁴ A straightforward rendering of ornaments could not achieve this effect, but it appears that keyboard players had a great deal more control over the initial percussive sound of their instruments than one might suppose. Mersenne on several occasions describes this as "adoucissement" saying that, together with the common ornaments and divisions, it is a standard part of the keyboard player's technique and which more than any other distinguishes the master:

Or ceux qui ont cette legereté de la main peuvent estre appelez Maistres absolus de leurs mains & de leurs doigts, dont ils pesent si peu qu'ils veulent sur les marches, afin d'adoucir le son de l'Epinette comme l'on fait celuy du Luth: de sorte qu'ils font ouyr des Echo tres-doux, & d'autres-fois des sons si forts, qu'on les compare au foudre & au tonnerre²¹⁵.

The in-built diminuendo of a lute ornament in which only the first note is plucked²¹⁶ is not of course literally possible on a keyboard instrument, nor does Chambonnières's simple and schematic table of ornaments indicate how it might be imitated. But later writers in his tradition do occasionally hint at how this might be done, as in the explanation of appoggiaturas given by Rameau:²¹⁷



As Saint-Lambert explains: "il faut couler ces Notes-là; c'est-à-dire qu'il ne faut pas lever les doigts en les touchant, mais attendre que la seconde des deux Notes soit touchée, pour lever le doigt qui a

214. Liure Troisième des Instrumens à cordes, pl62.

215. Ibid. pl62

216. This applies to appoggiaturas and mordents, but not to trills whose percussions were plucked with the left hand thereby, as Mersenne says, continuing the sound.

217. Pieces de clavessin (Paris 1724) Table of ornaments.

touché la premiere."²¹⁸ Such ingredients of Chambonnières's "jeu coulant" could imitate the lute on the level of ornamentation but there were further ways in which players could exploit the resonant sound of the harpsichord, considered by Mersenne to be its finest quality, in a way which recalled the lute. In the following remark Mersenne points not only to the fact that this manner of performing the port de voix and similar ornaments was known in the early 1630s. It may also be taken to imply that the related technique of filling out chords with acciaccaturas, indicated in D'Anglebert's Principes de l'Accompagnement²¹⁹ and described in detail by Delair²²⁰ derives ultimately from keyboard players' wish to throw the resonance of the ultimate concord into relief in a way which to Mersenne and his contemporaries recalled the lute:

Je laisse plusieurs gentilleses que les grands maistres font sur le clavier, par exemple de certains passages, dans lesquels deux sons conioints s'entendent en mesme temps, tandis que l'un des doigts tient l'une des marches abaissées, afin que la chorde qui a esté touchée conserue son resonnement. Et cette industrie peut servir pour faire entendre plusieurs accords tres-doux sur l'Epinette qui seront composez des seuls resonnements, & consequemment qui esgaleront quasi la douceur du Luth.²²¹

It also points to such obviously lute-like keyboard writing as the intermediary refrains of Louis Couperin's chaconnes, in what François Couperin called the "style luthé". More so than Chambonnières, Louis Couperin was conscious of the resonance of the harpsichord both in this respect and in his exploitation of the rich, low-lying tenor register, which one might call its lute register. As Le Gallois put it, Louis Couperin "touchoit l'oreille"²²².

It has already been remarked that the texture of French lute music of this period was part of its new expressiveness, with a fastidious placing of notes and chords for expressive effect, thrown into relief by an acute sensitivity to their resonance. As an aspect of keyboard playing this is a constant source of comment and praise in descriptions of Chambonnières's style. Le Gallois expresses it imprecisely:

il avoit une delicatesse de main que les autres n'avoient pas; de sorte que s'il faisoit un accord, qu'un autre en même temps eût imité in faisant la même chose, on y trouvoit

218. M.de Saint-Lambert, Les principes du clavecin (Paris 1702) p49.

219. J.-H.d'Anglebert, Pieces de Clavecin (Paris 1689) pl27.

220. D.Delair, Traité d'Accompagnement pour le Theorbe, et le Clavessin (Paris 1690)(n.p.)

221. Troisiesme Liure des Instrumens à chordes pl62.

222. Lettre p85.

neanmoins une grande difference.²²³

But Mersenne adds the important point that this is not merely the result of a "beau toucher", but of an equivalent keyboard sensitivity to the placing of notes:

Or la perfection consiste particulièrement à toucher de certains tons, & de certaines cordes si a propos que l'esprit de l'auditeur en soit charmé & rauy.²²⁴

Such subtlety of placing notes could be fully achieved only in the arpeggiated style, and as Perrine says "La maniere particuliere de jouter toutes sortes de pieces de Luth ne consiste que dans l'harpegem.^t ou Separation des parties."²²⁵

Apart from such curiosities as the épinette luthée²²⁶ Mersenne gives the first indication of the practice of transcribing lute pieces for keyboard "pour transposer les beautez & les richesses du Luth sur les autres instrumens"²²⁷. Admittedly he seems to imply a process of literal transcription, similar to Perrine's, rather than of arrangement, such as one finds in many later keyboard sources. But if the sources from this period containing arrangements of French lute music are mainly of north German origin, it is difficult to believe that this practice was limited to northern Germany. Towards the end of the century, as the lute declined in popularity, the process began to operate in reverse, with pieces originally conceived for keyboard being transcribed for lute²²⁸. The first documentary evidence of a claveciniste consciously imitating the lute style is a report in the Mercurie Galant for 1687 of the first Livre de pieces de clavessin of Élisabeth Jacquet.

The book contains several suites in different keys of which "toute la seconde suite est faite à l'imitation du luth."²²⁹ It is

223. Le Gallois Lettre p69.

224. Mersenne op.cit. Liure Troisième des Instrumens à cordes ppl64-165.

225. Perrine, Pieces de Luth en Musique avec des Regles pour les toucher parfaitement sur le Luth, et sur le Clavessin (Paris c1680) Advertissement p5.

226. Mersenne op.cit. Liure Quatrième Des Instrumens p214.

227. Ibid. Traité des Instrumens à cordes, Preface au lecteur.

228. Huygens, for example, writing in 1675, speaks of "une Gigue de feu grand Froberger, que j'ay transportée sur le luth" (Correspondance p69), and a transcription by Robert de Visée of F.Couperin's rondeau "Les Silvains" is in the Saizenay lute MS of the 1690s. Other transcriptions are discussed in Chapter III.

229. Le Mercure galant (March 1687) pp236-239. A book of harpsichord pieces by Charles Mouton is evidently lost (see Chapter III pl45).

significant as an indication of changing French taste that this should be worthy of comment. All the surviving pieces described as "luthé" date from after 1700 at a time when the lute was in the final stage of its decline in France. As François Couperin makes clear the "style luthé", the traditional style of French harpsichord music, was so called to distinguish it from the newly fashionable Italian sonata style the influence of which may be seen in Élisabeth Jacquet's book of 1707.²³⁰

It is possible, as Anthony suggests, that keyboard players of the period of Chambonnières and before also played the lute.²³¹ They would of course have had close contacts with lutenists - Blancrocher's death was lamented in tombeaux by Louis Couperin and Froberger as well as Denis Gautier and Dufaut. This would particularly be the case with large and important musical families such as the Dugués, La Barres, Richards, and Jacquets, the last of whom were related by marriage to Mesangeau. The tendency of fashionable musical amateurs to include lute as well as harpsichord among their accomplishments until as late

230. L'Art de toucher le clavecin (Paris 1717) p36. Couperin's exact terms are "les parties lutées, et sincopées qui conviennent au clavecin". Apart from various "luthé et lié" pieces by Couperin, there is a "Courante Luthée" in the d minor suite of Le Roux's publication of 1705. Later the term seems to have fallen into disuse and the idea to have been expressed by analogy. The first suite of Dandrieu's 1728 Livre, for example, contains a character piece entitled "La Lyre d'Orphée" in this style - lyre being a common 17c parallel for lute. More specific is the "Allemande la Sincopée" from the first ordre of D'Agincourt's 1733 book.

231. According to Jal (Dictionnaire art. "Epinette") Matthieu Dugué, brother of the organist and spinet player Jean Dugué, was "joueur de luth et d'épinette"; lute works by La Grotte, joueur d'épinette du roi, have already been mentioned (n54); the organist Louis Bourdin possessed a lute as well as several spinets at his death in 1643 (Jürgens Documents I p693); Jean Denis evidently wrote lute as well as harpsichord pieces for Mme de Lorraine (Huygens letter of 1653 cited by A.Curtis in his introduction to Denis's Traité facsimile pVII). For lutenists to have played the spinet seems much rarer, although Blancrocher possessed a spinet among a large collection of instruments, as one would expect for an aristocratic connoisseur (C.Massip La Vie des musiciens pl29), and according to La Borde (Essai sur la musique ancienne et moderne, Paris 1780, vol.III pl29) Ninon de L'Enclos "donnait chez elle des concerts, où la plus brillante compagnie venait admirer ses talents pour le luth et le clavecin." Anne de la Barre was another who played both instruments (see above n152).

as the 1670s has already been noted, although sources containing both repertoires are very rare, and French ones non-existent. While accounts of harpsichords playing together with lutes, and later in the century with theorboes, are plentiful (for example the description of the concert for the Landgrave of Hesse cited above p28) those which describe a lute and harpsichord solo group are rare, although descriptions are frequently so vague as not to exclude this possibility.²³² The majority of these references date from after 1650, possibly because journals such as La Muze historique and the Mercure galant were more eager to report fashionable private music making than were their predecessors. There are however a few descriptions from the reign of Louis XIII of groups which contain these instruments and which are small enough to be significant. The most notable are from the memoirs of Heroard who, apart from the groups involving La Chapelle (cited on p16) gives several other indications. One is a description of the musical establishment of the duc de Bouillon which, according to Heroard, consisted of "un luth, un clavecin et une viole par un nommé Pradel."²³³ This would have been similar to the establishment of the queen, Anne d'Autriche, and it would be natural to assume that they not infrequently played "de concert". The other reference places the spinet as the principal instrument of a group with a lute accompaniment. On the occasion in question Louis XIII "écoute avec ravissement un air joué par un page de M. de Saint-Géran sur une épinette, instrument nouveau pour lui, avec accompagnement de luth par Hauteribe, et de violon par Boileau."²³⁴ In spite of the small number of references it would be surprising if the two most widely used instruments in early seventeenth century Paris had not on

232. One of the few unambiguous references is by Le Gallois who says that Louis XIV heard with pleasure weekly recitals given by Hardel "de concert avec le Lut de feu Porion" (Lettre p73). The music played evidently consisted of Hardel's own harpsichord pieces. D.Fuller in a note on this passage ("French harpsichord playing in the 17th century" p26 n16) mentions in general the many references to lute and harpsichord playing together. However an extensive search in the literature has not yielded further unequivocal descriptions other than those given. Lute, theorbo, and keyboards were universally used in accompanying groups in the 17c under the heading of "les instruments harmoniques" and no special conclusions can be drawn from this.

233. Journal de Louis XIII I p392.

234. Ibid. I p93.

occasion been played together and exercised an influence on each other.

There is little direct evidence in French sources for the transfer of repertoire from lute to keyboard in the earlier part of the century. Apart from Mersenne's table for transcribing lute music the main evidence has been seen in the two publications of Perrine. These date from late in the century (c1680) and the method they prescribe is one of literal transcription. He was more concerned with rescuing the lute by teaching players to read from staff notation rather than tablature. Although he says that "on trouvera aucune difficulté à les jouer dans leur dernie^{re} perfection tant sur le Lut que sur le Clavessin"²³⁵ the possibility of keyboard performance is an accidental benefit of his method, a fact which is made clear in the Livre de musique pour le luth.²³⁶ In any case the idea seems to have been peculiar to him and according to Brossard he was not himself a totally successful practitioner of it:

Il pratiquoit luy-même sa methode assez bien et je l'ay connu particulièrement, mais ce ne fut qu'après la mort d'un de ses enfants qui a l'aage de 12 à 13 ans au plus la pratiquoit beaucoup mieux que son pere et que tous les connoisseurs et surtout M^r de Lully admiroient, c'est dommage que la mort l'enleva si jeune de ce monde.²³⁷

Evidence for the influence of lute on keyboard style is to be found in the keyboard sources themselves and in the arrangements of lute pieces they contain. These are a translation of one instrumental idiom into another, parallel, one rather than direct transcription.

235. Pieces de Luth en Musique (Paris 1680) Avertissement p4.

236. (Paris c1679) Preface p3.

237. S.de Brossard, Catalogue des livres de musique théorique et pratique, vocalle et instrumentalle, tant imprimée que manuscrite, qui sont dans le Cabinet du S^r Sebastien de Brossard...fait et écrit en l'année 1724 (F-Pn rés.Vm8.21) p242.

Eventual pre-eminence of the harpsichord

The harpsichord was thus established in the last decades of the seventeenth century in the position which had been the lute's. It appropriated at least some of the lute's expressiveness to its own technique, whether by imitation or analogy. Paradoxically it was the cultivation of the expressiveness peculiar to the lute which led to that instrument's becoming the preserve of connoisseurs and to its consequent etiolation. No doubt the greater vigour and brilliance of the harpsichord's sound played an important part in this process, and this was the result of improvements in its manufacture. According to Dom Caffiaux the harpsichord was unknown in France before Chambonnières²³⁸, and although this is something of an overstatement in view of the instruments listed by Jürgens and others it is nonetheless true that they were a rarity. When Trichet around 1640 described the harpsichord as an "instrument moderne"²³⁹ he meant primarily that it was not known in classical times, but he also implies that it was of recent introduction. Specialist makers were doing well by the 1630s and 1640s²⁴⁰ and various improvements are mentioned by Jean Denis²⁴¹ and Pierre (III) de la Barre²⁴². Apart from improvements by Parisian makers an increasing number of Flemish instruments were imported, laying the basis for the extraordinary reputation Ruckers instruments were to have in late seventeenth- and early eighteenth-century France²⁴³. Chambonnières himself is known to have possessed a two-manual instrument by Jan Couchet in the early 1650s²⁴⁴. From Mersenne's short history of the Champion family it is clear that Chambonnières's new style in the early 1630s was associated with the harpsichord rather than the spinet, and that was part of its novelty. The more

238. "Histoire de la musique depuis l'antiquité jusqu'en 1754" (F-Pn ms fonds français 22536-22538) pp286-287.

239. Traité fl14.

240. See for example the inventory of Jean Jacquet's workshop, made in 1632 (C.Samoyault-Verlet Les Facteurs pp92-94).

241. Traité pl3.

242. Letter to C.Huygens of 1648 (Huygens Correspondance pl49).

243. see F.Hubbard Three Centuries of Harpsichord Making p85 and R.Russell The Harpsichord and Clavichord (2nd ed.) p53.

244. Huygens Correspondance pp24-25.

sumptuous instrument had a greater capacity for resonance than the spinet and a more brilliant sound, offering a more effective alternative to the expressiveness of the lute. As Trichet says, in comparison with the spinet, "le son du clavecin est plus fort et plus esclattant"²⁴⁵.

If the instrument itself was improved this merely laid the basis for a newly developing style of performance from the 1630s. That this luxurious instrument found its advocate in a player of the aristocratic pretensions of Chambonnières no doubt assisted its rise in fashion to rival the lute. But by all accounts it was the quality of his playing which attracted attention. He initiated a style which could compete with the lute in subtlety and expressiveness and of which all keyboard instruments were to become the beneficiaries.

245. Traité loc.cit.

C H A P T E R I I

FRENCH LUTE REPERTOIRE c1600 - c1670

This chapter is intended to provide a panorama of the development of French lute style from c1600-c1670, defining its essential features, as a necessary point of reference for an eventual assessment of how much, or how little, of the style of the lutenists is reflected in the keyboard repertoire. It was during the earlier part of this period that the characteristic texture of French baroque lute music was evolved - what for convenience one may call by the generally accepted modern term style brisé¹. The development of this style, from its origins in late sixteenth-century division figurations, to its mature phase as a pervasive aspect of lute texture, is charted in detail in the main section of the chapter. The terminus of c1670 has been chosen, not only to put a limit to the already extensive source material, but also since there seems little point in looking for influences on keyboard style in lute sources compiled after the deaths of Louis Couperin and Chambonnières. However, inasmuch as important lute sources of the last three decades of the century contain repertoire which had been in circulation for some time, this has been taken into account where relevant.

The material for the chapter has been divided into two sections. Section 1 gives a brief account of the lute sources. The aim of this is to provide the reader with a general guide, and an indication of the relative importance of individual sources to the discussion². Information about sources (Section 1) has been separated from the discussion of style which is contained in Section 2 in order to allow the broad outlines of the development to emerge clearly. This constitutes the main part of the chapter. Virtually all the

1. The term "style brisé" appears to be of comparatively recent origin. I have been unable to find a use of it before 1928 (L. de la Laurencie, Les luthistes, p109). La Laurencie here refers to "ce qu'on a appelé le 'style brisé' des Gaultier", which implies that it had been current for some time. I have not found any seventeenth-century use of François Couperin's terms "luté" and "sincopé". The earliest example appears to be a "courante lutée" in the first suite of Gaspard le Roux (1705).

2. Detailed information about most of the sources discussed is given by Rave, "Some Manuscripts of French Lute Music 1630-1700".

surviving French lute sources from c1600-c1670 have been examined for this survey. Not all of them are discussed in detail. In general the main outlines have been drawn from a small group of the most important sources which have been selected for more detailed consideration. Further points of significance as they appear in other sources are noted where relevant.

Such a substantial discussion of lute style in isolation may need some justification in a study whose purpose is primarily concerned with keyboard music. In spite of the increased interest in French baroque lute music in recent years, an interest reflected in and nourished by the monumental series Corpus des luthistes français published by the CNRS, there has as yet been nothing approaching a work of synthesis for the development and principal features of the lute style³. There is thus no comprehensive survey to which reference can be made in an assessment of the degree and nature of lute influence on keyboard repertoire. Discussions of the style have hitherto been limited to remarks on the works of individual composers, contributed mainly by André Souris to the volumes of the CNRS series⁴. Sensitive and valuable as these are, they are based only on the versions of pieces presented in the editions.

Apart from the lack of a comprehensive survey to which reference can be made, it is not realistic to base such a survey solely on the modern editions. The series is not yet complete, but, more importantly, it is in the nature of such an edition to select one version of each piece, thus giving a spuriously definitive appearance

3. A comprehensive account of seventeenth-century French lute repertoire, by Jean-Michel Vaccaro, is projected. For details of further proposed publications in the Corpus des luthistes français series, see J. Jacquot, "Le luth et sa musique - From the Neuilly Colloquium to the Corpus of French Lutenists", The Lute Society Journal, xx(1978)15. Influences on lute style in the context of works by Denis Gautier have recently been discussed by David J. Buch, "La Rhétorique des Dieux: A Critical Study of Text, Illustration, and Musical Style", Ph.D. dissertation, Northwestern University, 1983 (see Introduction, pxiii).

4. See BESARD ppXXXVII-XLI, R. BALLARD 1 ppXIX-XX, and V. GAUTIER ppXXIX-XXXVI; also J.-M. Vaccaro in DUBUT ppXLV-LII. Souris's remarks on the publications of Robert Ballard have been valuably extended by Rave, op.cit., Chapter II/B.

to the version chosen. Another problem in dealing with this repertoire is that few sources have the authority of a direct connexion with the composer whose works they contain - in the period covered by this chapter only the prints of Francisque, Robert Ballard, and Pierre and Denis Gautier fall into this category; none of the manuscript sources can be said with certainty to originate from one of the principal lutenists. In this situation it is essential to take the nature of the source into account when considering a particular piece. There is frequently more stylistic cohesion between works of different composers in the same source than in works of the same composer in different sources. A notable example of this disparity of style is in the various sources for the works of Robert Ballard⁵. In the works of Dufaut, Souris finds "une diversité des styles assez troublante"⁶, which is hardly surprising in view of the fact that the sources used range from Pierre Ballard's publication of 1631 to the Saizenay MSS which date in part from the early eighteenth century⁷. The sources used for the Vieux Gautier edition date mainly from the final decades of the seventeenth century, thirty years and more after the composer's death.

For these reasons, the only satisfactory basis for this discussion is to be found in the sources themselves. In a repertoire where stylistic differences between composers are frequently slight, questions of attribution are of secondary importance, provided that the provenance and date of the sources considered are reasonably secure. Many significant and representative pieces are unattributed, but ought not to be left out of account for that reason. Also, each source tends to reflect the taste of its compiler(s). The same piece may appear in a plain version in one source, and in

5. Compare for example the galliard by R. Ballard from Besard 1603 given on pp71-75 of R. BALLARD 2 with other pieces in BESARD and with R. Ballard's own two publications. See also the discussion of pieces by La Grotte below (p58).

6. DUFAUT pXXIV.

7. In general I have accepted the datings of sources given by Rave, "Some Manuscripts".

another source with elaborately detailed rhythm indications, or with much more notated arpeggiation, presenting a markedly more brisé appearance⁸. To look only at the versions of pieces which happen to appear in the editions would lead to some very distorted conclusions. This survey is based, therefore, on a chronological progression of sources.

The discussion of style in Section 2 of the chapter is divided according to genre. In attempting a definition of seventeenth-century lute style it is not of course possible to make a neat formulation which will be valid for the entire repertoire. The style not only underwent considerable development during this period, but also took different forms in relation to the character of different types of dance movement. By arranging the discussion by genre it is possible to group all the information relating to a particular dance type under one heading. A similar arrangement in the discussion of keyboard style in Chapter IV will, it is hoped, facilitate comparison of particular points. Section 2 is also prefaced by a short outline of adumbrations of the style in the later sixteenth century, and its emergence in the early seventeenth century. While the courante is found in sources from the early years of the century, the other principal types (prelude, allemande, and sarabande) became well established only in the 1630s. The gigue and chaconne appear in significant numbers only from c1650. Within each genre the discussion preserves a chronological sequence.

Finally, a summary of the broad trends and most significant features is given at the end of the chapter. The reader may find it helpful to look at this digest of conclusions before turning to the detailed accounts of particular genres.

8. Compare for example the rhythms of Denis Gautier's popular courante "Le Canon" from Vm7 6211 with the other versions given in Ex.64, and the degrees of arpeggiation in the sources of Ennemond Gautier's "La Pleureuse" (Ex.71).

1. SURVEY OF FRENCH LUTE SOURCES c1600 - c1670.

Sources c1600 - c1630

The first extensive Parisian publication to show elements of a new style is Le Trésor d'Orphée of Francisque (Paris 1600). In addition to three fantasias and five preludes, this contains a group of international dances (passamezzi, pavaues, and galliards) and an extensive section of specifically French dances (branles, courantes, and voltes). It is also the first source to contain pieces in a modified tuning⁹. Evidence of a new style is limited to some division figures in the pavaues and passamezzi.

Identified works by French composers in sources datable to the first decade of the century have been collected in VAUMESNIL. The principal sources for this are both of German origin - Besard 1603 and Hainhofer (1604), the latter being notated in Italian tablature. In Besard 1603 the international genres - fantasias of Vaumesnil and Edinthon and galliards of Perrichon and Montbuysson - show no further development in the direction of the new style than does Francisque. Indeed, one of the fantasias attributed here to Edinthon had been published under the name of Francesco da Milano as early as 1536¹⁰. The courantes, branles, and voltes of Perrichon and Raél are also conservative in style in the versions given here in comparison with the Perrichon pieces in Herbert¹¹. As with other manuscript sources, in comparison with printed ones, the pieces in Hainhofer are considerably simpler in texture. The identifiably French repertoire of these sources thus does not add any new features to those present in Francisque, and will not be discussed. Of these earlier sources the most significant is R.Dowland 1610. Its French pieces present,

9. The "cordes analées" are courses 3 (up a semitone) and 5 (down a tone; tuning 2 in the list of tunings given in Volume II of this thesis). They were thus on a different principle from later tunings which entailed tuning the lower courses up, in spite of the ordinary meaning of the term "avalé".

10. VAUMESNIL pLV. The Besard version is very similar. Pages LV-LIX of this volume give a general stylistic survey of its contents.

11. Herbert is the subject of a separate discussion below.

in simplified form, many of the features of the style of Robert Ballard.

A general problem in dealing with sources of this period is that various difficulties stand in the way of defining the status of individual pieces, and thus of using them as a basis for stylistic evaluation. The discrepancy of style between works by the same composer as they appear in different sources has already been noted. Questions of attribution in manuscript sources are specially problematical since many of the dances are based on ballet timbres such as are found in the collections of Praetorius and Philidor, and it is by no means certain whether the setting, or perhaps only the melody, is by the named composer, making the task of dating the emergence of a style from particular works of a named composer hazardous. In particular, it would be very tempting, for the purposes of this study, to draw conclusions from lute pieces attributed to a composer who was known as a keyboard player. The single instance of such a composer to whom pieces are attributed in the lute sources is La Grotte. The courante attributed to him in Besard 1617¹² is therefore tantalising in that Nicolas de la Grotte was known primarily as a keyboard player who died c1600, and this is the only piece in VAUMESNIL which shows decided features of the brisé idiom. One might therefore be inclined to see in it an early manifestation of the style brisé in the late sixteenth century¹³. But it is by no means certain what the precise connexion with La Grotte is. On the basis of an examination of the sources c1600-c1630 it is unlikely that the setting is his. If the melody is, it was not necessarily a courante, or even a dance movement, originally. It may derive from a chanson or air de cour - a number of solo lute settings of

12. See VAUMESNIL pp121-123.

13. Another piece attributed to La Grotte in similar style has come to light since the preparation of the VAUMESNIL edition (Haslemere No.193, also Herbert f41b)). See Rollin in VAUMESNIL ppXXVI-XXVII for a summary of the available information about La Grotte. Poulton dates Haslemere c1630 although much of the repertoire is associated with the first two decades of the century ("The Dolmetsch Library, Haslemere, MS II B I"). Haslemere also contains two versions of the courante in Besard 1617. The Haslemere versions are similar to this, but with considerable variation of detail (see also n26 below).

of airs de cour arranged as dances survives¹⁴.

The two most important collections of the period 1600-1620 are the publications of Robert Ballard of 1611 and 1614. The dance movements named are ballets (both as a genre in its own right, and in groups from court ballets such as the Ballet de la Royne etc.), courantes (sometimes called Angéliques), and voltes (1611), with the addition of gaillardes and branles (1614). The publications of Robert Ballard have a particular authority being editions printed almost certainly under the supervision of the composer. They are important on account of the courante doubles which constitute the first fully developed manifestation of brisure as an all-pervading aspect of style. They also, in some of the ballet movements, prefigure some typical features of the sarabande.

The largest MS sources containing French repertoire of the period 1610-1620 are Montbuysson and Herbert. The repertoire in Montbuysson is probably somewhat earlier¹⁵, and is slighter in nature than that of Herbert, consisting of German or French settings of timbres interspersed with Italian lute airs. Very few of the pieces are attributed¹⁶. Herbert has been discussed by Dart, who dates its compilation 1624-1628 based on materials assembled c1600-c1624 on grounds of Lord Herbert's biography¹⁷. The English repertoire of this source has been discussed by Lumsden¹⁸, but the French repertoire

14. R.BALLARD 2 Dousiesme (courante) "A la fin ce Tiran" (pp31-32) is based on an air by Guédrón given in Bataille's fifth book of airs (1617). Herbert f169' has an arrangement as a courante by Belleville of the air "Bien qu'un cruel martire" from Bataille's first book (1608), and on f50 one by Gautier of "J'avois brisé mes fers" from Bataille's second book (1609). See also the concordance lists in CHANCY for solo lute arrangements by Bouvier and Dufaut of airs from Moulinié's books of 1629 and 1639.

15. A note on f54 reads: "Liure de tablette de l'ut pour Madame Elisabeth princesse de Hessen Commencé par victor de montbuysson; le dernier Januier 1611".

16. Only the following are attributed: f66' Courante de Victor de Montbuysson (ed. VAUMESNIL p95); f66' ballet de mercure (ed. MERCURE p51); f89' Courante de Gautier (unedited unicum). A ballet on f60 has pieces of the same timbre attributed to Mercure in other sources (see MERCURE concordance list).

17. R.T.Dart, "Lord Herbert of Cherbury's Lute Book", Music & Letters 38/2(4/1957)136-138. He includes a note on the physical characteristics of the MS which tends to support his conclusions.

18. D. Lumsden, "The Sources of English Lute Music, 1540-1620", Ph.D dissertation, University of Cambridge, 1957.

which accounts for the largest proportion of pieces has not yet been critically discussed¹⁹. Of the composers named, most were active in the period 1610-1620²⁰ and it is likely, as Dart suggests, that the pieces were collected on Lord Herbert's visit to Paris in 1608-9 and during his period as ambassador there, 1619-1624. Herbert's connexion with repertoire before 1620 is demonstrated by the following list of concordances with datable, French related sources:

19. Rave discusses the pieces attributed to Gautier ("Some Manuscripts" pp39-45). Curtis Price ("An organisational Peculiarity of Lord Herbert of Cherbury's Lute-Book", The Lute Society Journal 11(1969)5-27) suggests a rough chronology for the entering of pieces into Herbert, but not for their collection - this is not ascertainable from the organisation of the MS. The "peculiarity" is in fact a common way in which lute MSS were assembled. Works of some of the French composers named (Perrichon and Saman) are edited in VAUMESNIL, and Belleville in CHANCEY. One piece by "Boegaie" is in BOCQUET.

20. Jacques de Montmorency, Sieur de Belleville, was prominent in the production of court ballets 1610-1623. He appears in P. Ballard 1631 (Rollin, CHANCEY ppXVII-XIX) and had died by 1641 (Jürgens I p302).

Charles Bocquet was active from 1590 and died probably between 1607 and 1612 (Rollin, BOCQUET ppXI-XV).

Despont was possibly Luc, b1575, who entered the service of Marie de Médicis after 1620 and died 1630-1636; or Pierre, b1583, who was "maître de musique" to queen Marguerite in 1609 (Lesure, "Recherches sur les luthistes", p219).

Du Caurroy, d1609. The Fantasies à III. IIII. V. et VI. parties were published in 1610.

Du Gast, "gentilhomme provençal" about whom nothing is known. Dart surmises that he was a gentleman amateur at the Parisian court.

Gautier: probably Jacques. The pieces may have come to Lord Herbert either before Gautier left Paris in 1617 or when he was in England. Rave (loc.cit.) examines the probabilities of Jacques or Ennemond Gautier as the composer of these pieces.

Heart: either Marin, mentioned as "joueur du luth" and "maître joueur de luth" from 1610. He had died by 1638. Or his son Jean who is similarly mentioned between 1615-1640 (Jürgens I).

Henri de L'Enclos, 1592/3-1649 (A.Verchaly, MGG).

Charles de Lespine, described as "parisien", visited England in 1611 (Lesure, op.cit., p220).

Julien Perrichon, b1566, dead by 1600 (Rollin VAUMESNIL ppXVIII-XX).

Jacob Reys, b.1545, d.1605 (Lesure, op.cit., pp217-218).

Saman was known in England in 1610 through Robert Dowland's Varietie of Lute Lessons. In 1615 he joined Ennemond Gautier and Mesangeau as lutenist to Marie de Médicis. d1630 (Rollin VAUMESNIL ppXXVIII-XXIX).

Herbert concordances with printed sources 1600-1620

f1	Prelude Diomedes	Besard 1603 f4'
f12'	Courante Ballard	R.Ballard 1611 (ed.p82)
ff14'-15	Pantasia Lorenzino	Besard 1603 f27'
f22(b)	Gagliarda (anon.)	" f115
ff23'-25	La ieune fillette mr. Daniel	cf Vallet 1615 (ed. No.34)
f33	(n.t. 3 anon.)	cf R.Ballard 1614 (ed. p33)
f43	Angelica de Ballard	R.Ballard 1611 p64
f43'	Fantasie du Cauroy	cf Du Caurroy 1610 (ed. Pidoux p50)
f50	Courante Gauthier, sur J'avois brisé mes fers	cf Bataille Bk.2 (1609) f16
f55	Gall(iard): M ^r . D: B(acheler):	cf Vallet 1615 (ed. No.32)
ff62'-63	Courante Heart	cf R.Ballard 1611 (ed. p28)
f64	Courante Ballard	" (ed. p40)
f64'	Courante Ballard	R.Ballard 1614 (ed. p76)
f65	Courante Gauthier	cf Schele (MS 1614-1623) p16 (MERCURE No.4)
f69'	Courante Belleville Bien qu'un cruel martire	cf Bataille Bk.1 (1608) ff27'-28

Some of the composers continued to be active into the 1630s, but the repertoire represented here has no contact with their work around that date. The Robert Ballard concordances are all with his publications of 1611 and 1614; Belleville is represented in P.Ballard 1631 but none of the pieces here has a concordance there (the only concordance is with Bataille's first book of airs of 1608).

The French repertoire of Herbert is consistent with the forms represented in the sources of c1600-cl620 already discussed. Apart from a substantial number of preludes and fantasias, it consists mainly of courantes, some voltes, one pavane, and is of particular interest for containing a sarabande and a chaconne, both very rare at this date. It also contains some of the earliest examples of the unmeasured prelude.

An early source to show incipient features of the unmeasured prelude is Stockholm S.253²¹. The lute pieces in this source are mostly attributed

21. This is a miscellaneous MS which, in addition to musical items, contains descriptions of ballets, poems, recipes, instructions on how to make fireworks, and so on (information from Robert Spencer).

to Lespine, and the MS has dates ranging from 1614-1620, with Louvain and Brussels named as places of compilation.

Two sources of c1620 are of particular significance for containing works of Mesangeau - Besard 1617 (printed) and Prague 18 (1623-1627, MS). Mesangeau was generally considered by later writers to have been the originator of seventeenth-century French lute style²². He is also the only composer of whom we have works which can with reasonable certainty be dated to the 1620s, so it is natural to look to them for indications of how the transition was achieved.

The courante which appears in Besard 1617²³ cannot be taken as indicative, being an isolated piece. Although Besard evidently claims to have been given the piece by Mesangeau himself at Cologne²⁴ it has already been noted that Besard's versions of pieces must be approached with caution. This courante is altogether untypical of Mesangeau's style as represented by his other known pieces, with a triadic opening treated imitatively and extended sequences in both strains. The arpeggiated divisions in the second strain also have no parallel in Mesangeau's other works, but are very similar to those of the courante attributed to La Grotte in Besard 1617, already discussed. It may just possibly represent an early style of Mesangeau's, but in general the works in Besard have more in common with other pieces in his publications than with other known works of the composers named.

Prague 18, on the other hand, contains five courantes which provide a more substantial base from which to draw conclusions. Although notated in Italian tablature, these courantes have two concordances, not given in MESANGEAU, in Haslemere in French tablature²⁵. Since the readings of both these pieces are very similar it is probable

22. For example, the writer of the Burwell lute tutor says that "we must give him the praise to have given to the Lute his first perfection" (f5).

23. MESANGEAU ppl-2.

24. Rollin in MESANGEAU pXI.

25. Prague 18 f18 Haslemere f186' "Autre du mesme ton de Messangeau"
f17 f271' (unattributed).

that the compilers drew on the same or related sources²⁶. Prague 18 was compiled in Strasbourg, and while the provenance of Haslemere is uncertain, it too seems to have come from the German area²⁷. The Mesangeau courantes in Prague 18 constitute the earliest group of pieces which may unequivocally be taken as representing the French baroque lute style, albeit in its earliest phase.

An important source, which may date from the 1620s, is Newberry 70.5, which has not heretofore been noticed in the literature²⁸. It appears to be dated 1614 (p176), but such an early date is most unlikely in view of the prevalence of tunings 6-8b and tuning 10²⁹, which are highly characteristic of the 1630s, but not found in sources dating from 1610-1620. The repertoire of this source is almost entirely of the semi-measured prelude, allemande, courante, and sarabande (although not arranged in "suites") of Pierre Ballard's prints of 1631 and 1638, and such concordances as have been identified are also with sources of that decade³⁰. It thus seems likely that this MS dates from the late 1620s at the earliest. In view of its uncertain status, and of the fact that the pieces add few new features to those of sources of the 1630s, it has not been discussed here.

26. Just possibly the source for this was P.Ballard's lost publication of 1623. Prague 18 bears the dates 1623 (f1) and 1627 (f179'). The total number of folios is 218, and the Mesangeau pieces appear between ffl6-71. Both of these sources draw widely on the publications of the time. Haslemere has a version of Mesangeau's courante from Besard 1617 very close to Besard's, and two of La Grotte's courantes from the same publication, one of which diverges widely. The other is almost identical for the first strain, although parts of the second strain have considerable differences. P.Ballard 1623 contained pieces in vieil ton, the tuning of the Prague 18 courantes, as well as in a new tuning (see Rollin in MESANGEAU pXXI).

27. D.Poulton, "The Dolmetsch Library, Haslemere", p327.

28. I am grateful to Robert Spencer for drawing it to my attention.

29. In this chapter, and elsewhere in the thesis, tunings are referred to by number. A list of these is in Volume II.

30. Werl (c1620-1650?), Board (c1630), Sibley (c1630?), CNRS (c1632), Dalhousie 5 (c1632-1638), Longleat (c1634), P.Ballard 1638, and Basle 53 (c1645-1650).

Sources c1630 - c1640

It is hardly necessary to stress the importance of Pierre Ballard's publication of 1631. It is the first substantial body of French lute music to survive from the earliest period of the mature style. It is Parisian and exactly datable. Whether Pierre Ballard assembled it from miscellaneous papers collected over some years, or invited lutenists to contribute, there is reason to believe, since a number of the Ballard family were themselves lutenists and Pierre Ballard was exceptionally well placed to assemble such an anthology, that its readings are authoritative. Not only does it demonstrate the establishment of the new style by this date, but it also contains for the first time in significant numbers the types of movement which were to be standard for the remainder of the century - the unmeasured or semi-measured prelude, the allemande, the courante, and the sarabande. Apart from the courante, these genres are not generally found in earlier sources³¹. The organisation of the source is also of interest since pieces are grouped by composer, tuning, and key, frequently with the sequence of types: allemande - courante - sarabande, which is the nearest approach to a French "suite" in the sources. This source thus stands as a point of departure and standard of comparison in this discussion.

Of the composers represented (Robert Ballard, Mesangeau, Dufaut, Chancy, Bouvier, Belleville, Dubuisson, and Chevalier) the works of Robert Ballard stand somewhat apart from the others. Although in an "accord nouveau" they continue the style of his earlier publications. The prelude must have seemed quite old-fashioned by 1631, with strictly worked canzona-type imitations. The ballet and "Rocantins"³² also are similar to his earlier pieces. At all events, by 1631 Robert Ballard, who had already been well established as a player

31. Only the Reys sarabande in Herbert and a "sarabande espagnolle" and "courante sarabande" in N.Vallet's Amsterdam publication of 1615 date from before 1620. In non-French sources, a number of pieces entitled "Sarabanda francese" are in the Italian De Bellis MS of c1615 (see G.Reese, "An early seventeenth-Century Italian Lute Manuscript at San Francisco"). A slightly earlier source than P.Ballard 1631, although not for lute, containing a similar organisation of these movements by tuning and key, is Chancy's Tablature de mandore published by Pierre Ballard in 1629.

32. A popular timbre, also found in Praetorius's Terpsichore (1612).

in the 1590s, would have been by far the most senior of the composers in this publication, and his presence here has the character of a retrospective tribute to a distinguished figure of a previous generation.

The most important manuscript sources of the 1630s are CNRS and Dalhousie 5, both of which are closely connected with Mesangeau. CNRS bears the dates 1631 and 1632 and was compiled by or for Bullen Reymes (1613-1672) - an Englishman who took lessons from both Mesangeau and Merville³³. Dalhousie 5 is closely related to this source in that the principal hand (Rave's Hand A) is the same or very similar to it³⁴. It is probable that these manuscripts were written by a teacher for students since both sources, particularly the opening folios of Dalhousie 5, are rich in fingerings for both hands, such as one would expect in "instructive" versions. Although Rollin discerns only one hand in CNRS, and makes a case for its being a Mesangeau autograph, it seems more likely that there are at least two. Some pieces appear in very confident versions with fingerings, while others have missing rhythm signs, pitch anomalies and so on, which it is difficult to believe a musician of the calibre of Mesangeau would have permitted himself to write. Some of the pieces entered in Dalhousie 5 by Hand A (e.g. fl1') are also of a quality which would make one doubt their connexion with Mesangeau. Nevertheless, the hands are extremely similar, and there is undoubtedly a connexion with Mesangeau's circle. Most of the pieces with identifiable concordances turn out to be by him.

A further problem with these two sources is that few of the pieces bear either title or attribution, leaving their nature uncertain.

33. I am indebted to Robert Spencer for the following information: Reymes went to Paris in June 1631 to join the household of the English ambassador, Sir Isaac Wake. The fact that he took a lute with him implies that he was already a player. In December 1631 Mesangeau was in England and returned to Paris with a letter from Reymes's father. Mesangeau promised lessons in January 1632, and gave them spasmodically from February to July. From August 1632 Reymes took lessons from Merville before leaving Paris in September 1633.

34. Rollin (in MESANGEAU) presents the opening allemande, common to both sources, in facsimile for comparison.

While courantes and sarabandes are easily recognisable, duple-time genres are less so – a number of tripartite pieces with passages of chordal texture may be pavaues, yet there are two tripartite allemandes in P.Ballard 1631, one of which (by Dubuisson) has just such a texture in its third strain. It is possible that several binary movements which appear to be allemandes are in fact gigue. Otherwise the earliest gigue so called are in the parts of Vm7 6211 which date from the 1640s.

The solution of these problems is not of immediate concern here. The music contained in these sources is on the whole professional, mainly Parisian, lute music of the early 1630s. The repertoire is very similar to that of P.Ballard 1631, consisting almost entirely of preludes, allemandes, courantes, and sarabandes. Of principal interest here are the preludes, of which there are fourteen in CNRS and five in Dalhousie 5, both on account of their number and, in some cases, quality.

Pierre Gautier's³⁵ book, published in Rome in 1638, has not yet received attention from commentators apart from a short section devoted to it by Rave³⁶. It is rather inelegantly engraved, but the contents seem generally accurate apart from occasional missing rhythm signs and a few pitch anomalies. It contains a valuable explanation of ornaments in the introductory "Notations". Nothing is known of Pierre Gautier other than the fact that he was probably in the employment of Prince Eggenberg, Imperial ambassador in Rome, which may be deduced from the dedicatory letter. The contents are very similar in style to Parisian lute music of the 1630s, using the fashionable accords avallés (tunings 9 and 10) and requiring a ten-course instrument. One group of pieces is in standard d minor

35. I have adopted the spelling which has become a modern standard since the publication of the CNRS Vieux Gautier edition. Monique Rollin, in various articles for The New Grove, uses "Gaultier" for Denis and Ebnemond, and "Gautier" for Pierre and Jacques. Both Pierre and Denis use the spelling "Gaultier" in their prints.

36. "Some Manuscripts", ppl06–109. Rave was concerned solely with the identification of concordances, tunings, and with the physical characteristics of the sources he discussed, and makes little comment on the stylistic aspects of the repertoire.

tuning, the earliest use of standard tuning which may be dated with certainty, apart from Pierre Ballard's publication of the same year. Like his Parisian counterparts, Pierre Gautier favours a low tessitura with a number of pieces sans chanterelle. The sarabande on p47, for example, shows a conscious avoidance of the first course, using d on the second rather than a on the first where necessary. The repertoire is substantially that of prelude - allemande - courante - sarabande, but with some additions. The chaconne (pp82-83) is curious both in its appearance at this date and in its technical and formal features³⁷. The principal interest of the source for this study lies in the substantial number of preludes, which are among the most extended and elaborate in the repertoire. The dance movements are less distinctive, but contain nonetheless some noteworthy features.

Of the other printed sources of the 1630s, the four pieces for solo lute in Mersenne are by three of the composers represented in P.Ballard 1631 (a courante by Robert Ballard in vieil ton, and an allemande each by Mesangeau (tuning 9) and Chancy (tuning 10)). A further allemande by Basset (tuning 10) is the only known piece by this composer. They add no new features to this discussion. It is significant that the only piece here in vieil ton is by the elderly Robert Ballard; the composers associated with the 1630s write entirely in the newer tunings³⁸.

P.Ballard 1638 includes works by three of the composers of the 1631 publication (Mesangeau, Dufaut, and Bouvier). Chancy, Dubuisson, and Chevalier are not represented, their place being taken by Dubut³⁹. P.Ballard 1638 is very similar in arrangement and repertoire to the earlier publication, with mainly preludes, allemandes, courantes, and sarabandes, as well as a branle suite by Bouvier and some

37. A genre unique to Pierre Gautier is the "Sinfonie fugue" which shares little with the traditional contrapuntal forms of canzona and ricercar except their length. They are in a free texture of generally two or three parts, with little consistent treatment of motifs, but a movement similar to the pavaues of the collection - a texture similar to that of an allemande but less brisé and with more crotchet and minim movement.

38. P.Ballard 1631 and P.Ballard 1638 include no works in vieil ton, while the latter is, with P.Gautier, the earliest to include works in standard d minor tuning.

39. The repertoire of this source is edited in MESANGEAU, DUFAUT, CHANCY, and DUBUT.

air de cour arrangements. This source is of interest in containing all but one of the extant preludes attributed to Mesangeau. The dance movements add little new to the discussion.

For the 1630s, the repertoire of P.Ballard 1631 is discussed in some detail since it demonstrates the principal features of each genre. Otherwise only the preludes of Pierre Gautier are considered at length. They constitute the most developed form of the genre in this decade.

Sources cl640 - cl650

Sources before 1640 have been examined in some detail since they contain crucial evidence for the early development of the style, and also because a number of them have not been discussed before now. For most of the large number of sources dating from between 1640 and the end of the century, the reader will find full information in Rave⁴⁰. I intend here to provide only a brief résumé and characterisation of the more important of them, in order to help orientate the reader in the ensuing discussion of style (Section 2 of this chapter).

The 1640s, like the 1620s, represent something of a lacuna in our knowledge of the development of French lute style since there are few sources which can be securely dated from these decades. There are three possible sources - Basle 53 (cl640-1645), Dalhousie 8 (cl640-1650), and the earliest layer of Vm7 6211 (cl640-1650)⁴¹ - but they all present difficulties which make it impossible to base

40. "Some Manuscripts". Of the sources mentioned below, only Burwell, Viée, and Robarts are not discussed by Rave. For Burwell and Robarts see Robert Spencer's introductions to the facsimile editions. For Viée see C.Massip in J.Bran-Ricci etc., Musiques Anciennes, p24.

41. For approximate datings see the relevant sections of Rave, op.cit..

conclusions on them.

Basle 53, although of Germanic origin, contains attributions to French composers only, so one might assume that the many unattributed pieces are also of French origin. The composers named are, however, in general those associated with the 1630s and earlier - Despont, Mesangeau (d.1637/8), and Dufaut (the last two of whom figure prominently in the Ballard anthologies of the 1630s), as well as Merville and Vincent (who appear in MS sources of that decade - CNRS and Dalhousie 5). Basle 53 is of interest in that it contains the earliest version of a work by Ennemond Gautier (the courante "L'Immortelle"). The names of Amant (sc. Héman) and Pinel are generally associated with sources after 1650, but the pieces may be earlier works (Pinel was born shortly after 1600). Tunings range from vieil ton to standard d minor, which had already appeared in two printed sources of 1638. Basle 53 thus covers a wide span, and although it may have been compiled as late as the 1640s it is likely that its repertoire dates mainly from the 1630s and possibly earlier.

The lute repertoire of Dalhousie 8 (Lady Jean Campbell's Virginal Book) has also more points of contact with sources of the 1630s than with later ones. Concordances are mainly with CNRS, Dalhousie 5, and P.Ballard 1638, although there are a few with large retrospective collections of the late century such as Rostock 54. Rave dates this source in the 1640s on the grounds that a sarabande among the keyboard pieces has been attributed to Richard Portman and dated c1640⁴². Only one of the lute pieces is attributed (an allemande by "Goutier" on ff34'-35). There is no reason why the remainder should not all date from the 1630s.

The case of Vm7 6211 is more complicated since the manuscript was

42. Rave, op.cit. pl57 n12, and Musica Britannica Vol.XX (Keyboard Works of Orlando Gibbons ed. G.Hendrie) pl03.

compiled over a long period of time by several hands⁴³. The earliest section (most of ffl8-47) contains works of Mesangeau, La Mare le Bras (of whom nothing is known), Vincent, and a number of works by Bouvier and Dubut copied from P. Ballard 1638. This repertoire thus dates substantially from the 1630s, although the source was probably compiled slightly later. It cannot be assumed that any of the many unattributed pieces date from the 1640s. In view of this, the anonymous and unique "Tombeau de Mesangeau" is of particular interest being the earliest representative of this genre. It is cast in the movement of an allemande - some later tombeaux were courantes, such as the "Tombeau sur la mort du Roy d'Angleterre par Mercure" (Rostock 54 pp205-206)⁴⁴, and the "Tombeau de Madame" from Gallot's Livre. Pavane and gigue tombeaux will be discussed in Section 2 of this chapter.

Works of Ennemond Gautier (d.1651) must date from the 1640s and earlier, but since there is only one source so far considered which contains any pieces by him (Basle 53) it is impossible to say when individual works originated. The sources used for the modern edition date from the 1650s and later, the prints of Denis Gautier being the principal ones. It is difficult to assess the extent to which pieces by Ennemond may have been reworked by Denis for publication.

Notwithstanding the paucity of sources for the 1640s, it is still possible to discern broad outlines of development such as the emergence of the gigue, chaconne, and sarabande-rondeau - genres lacking, or in the latter two cases very rare, in sources before c1640. Lack of sources for the 1640s leaves here a crucial gap since these were forms cultivated by Ennemond Gautier⁴⁵.

43. For details see Rave, op.cit., pp133-139.

44. This title may apply to the preceding piece in the source, edited as PINEL No.19.

45. According to the writer of the Burwell lute tutor (f5') "old Gaultier" was illiterate, which may explain the absence of pieces of his from earlier sources.

Sources c1650 - c1660

A small number of important sources may be assigned with reasonable certainty to the 1650s⁴⁶. While this decade is not nearly so well served as the 1630s or the later decades of the century, there is a marked increase in the number of attributed pieces, which gives these sources a correspondingly greater value than those of the 1630s. In addition, they contain the earliest versions of many pieces which also appear in the later sources. Two of the sources discussed are important earlier sources for works by Ennemond and Denis Gautier - RhD and Reynaud⁴⁷. Neither of these has any evident connexion with these composers, so consideration of Gautier works will be centred on the prints of c1670. These plainly represent Denis Gautier's approved versions. A comparison of concordant versions gives colour to his complaint that pieces circulated in MS "sont tellement changées, & si fort défigurées quant on les enuoye en provinces, ou hors du Royaume qu'elles ne sont plus coñnoissables"⁴⁸. In general, with sources of this period, it is evident that some pieces with many concordances circulated as melodic timbres only, probably set by the compilers of the various sources⁴⁹.

A number of works by Pinel appear in the English source Dalhousie 4, but the principal source for Pinel is Schwerin 641 which appears to be closely connected with this lutenist, possibly compiled under his supervision⁵⁰. Viée is an extensive source (dated 1653), not

46. RhD, Reynaud, Dalhousie 4, Schwerin 641, Viée, and Du Fresneau. Robarts, which is given an anterior date of c1654 in the facsimile edition, dates probably from post 1660 since it contains on fF2' an arrangement of the gavotte "Nous sommes heureux" from Lully's Ballet de l'Impatience (1661, 1ère entrée).

47. Du Fresneau, dated 1658, also contains a number of Gautier pieces, but is principally a source for works of Du Fresneau. A comprehensive account of RhD is in D.J. Buch, "La Rhétorique des Dieux: A critical Study of Text, Illustration, and musical Style", doctoral dissertation, Northwestern University, 1983.

48. Gautier Pieces, p2.

49. For a revealing comparison of concordances see J.-M. Vaccaro, "Une courante célèbre de Dubut le père: une étude des concordances", paper given at the Table ronde internationale: De l'édition critique des sources à l'interprétation de la musique de luth, Tours 1980. A published report of this conference is forthcoming.

50. Rollin (PINEL pXXIII) concludes that one of the hands of Schwerin 641 may be Pinel's own, by comparing it with examples of his attested signature.

discussed by Rave. None of the pieces is attributed, but there are concordances for pieces by the Gautiers, Pinel, Dubut, and also some popular timbres. The lack of attributions is unfortunate since many of the pieces are evidently unica, and good quality sources of this date are rare.

Darmstadt 1655 is a source of Germanic origin, possibly from Strasbourg, which nonetheless contains a significant French element. As with Viée it is a pity that many of the pieces contained in it are neither attributed nor identifiable by concordance. Only 21 of a total of 107 pieces are traceable to Parisian lutenists. Since Viée is a French source, the provenance at least of its repertoire is reasonably certain. Darmstadt 1655, however, contains a number of pieces by Gumprecht and Stobel, so it is not possible to say whether the anonymous pieces are by French lutenists, or by German lutenists writing in a French style.

Sources c1660 - c1670

Of sources after c1660⁵¹, Brussels 10 presents rather thin versions of Gautier pieces. Only one piece in the entire source is attributed (to Gallot). Roughly half of the remainder are attributable by concordance to one or other of the Gautiers. A peculiarity of this source is that a number of pieces which look at first sight like unmeasured preludes turn out to be dances, written without barlines or rhythm signs. Ruthven is a source with an English connexion, dated 1656 but probably compiled in part later⁵². It contains works by Wade as well as by Vincent, Pinel, Mercure, and Bouvier, some of whom also appear in the Dalhousie MSS. It also contains works by Ennemond Gautier⁵³. Apart from works for angélique by

51. Brussels 10, Ruthven, Monin, Burwell, Vm7 6213, Robarts, and Rostock 54.

52. See Rave, op.cit., ppl97-203.

53. A modern MS note at the beginning of the source intriguingly states that it contains works by "Finel et Madame Pinel". This must be taken from the "Sarabande de Madame de Pinel" (fl5') which obviously refers to Madame, wife of Monsieur, brother of the king.

Béthune, Monin is important as the first MS source to contain a substantial number of pieces by Dubut⁵⁴. It also has pieces by the ubiquitous Gautiers and a prelude by Dufaut, as well as a number of unattributed pieces for theorbo⁵⁵. Burwell contains a small number of pieces by Jacques, Ennemond, and Denis Gautier, Pinel, Dubut, and Vincent. Most noteworthy is the unique version of "The losse of the Golden Rose lute" by Vieux Gautier. Vm7 6213 is a relatively small source of which Rave⁵⁶ notes that it has concordances mainly with late seventeenth- and early eighteenth-century sources. His dating of c1670 makes it one of the earliest, apart from Robarts, to contain Lully transcriptions⁵⁷.

Rostock 54 is a very large and comprehensive anthology of repertoire ranging from Mesangeau up to c1670. Of Germanic origin, Rollin thinks it may have been compiled in Alsace since it contains works by Gumprecht and Strobel⁵⁸. However, the presence of Neuward and Bechon, composers associated with the Swedish court, could equally be taken to indicate a Scandinavian origin. Although it contains an important number of unica, attributions of pieces also found elsewhere do not always agree with those in more central sources. Its value for this survey is further compromised by the fact that versions of known pieces sometimes differ substantially from those found elsewhere, as if they had been altered before entry in order to conform to the copyist's taste⁵⁹.

54. Rave (op.cit., p120) thinks that these are probably by Dubut "le père" since there are concordances with P.Ballard 1638, and none of the pieces in Monin has concordances elsewhere attributed to "le fils". In this case the other pieces probably date from before c1670 since the elder Dubut was already well established by 1638.

55. A courante on f40 ("le Canon") appears to be attributed to Mouton. Since this is one of the best known and most widely circulated Gautier pieces (attributed variously to Ennemond and Denis; V.GAUTIER No.20, D.GAUTIER No.80) it is unlikely that the copyist thought of it as by Mouton. The form of the attribution is unique ("escrit par Monsieur Mouton") and may just possibly mean that Mouton wrote out the piece, although Rave suggests that this hand is Béthune or Monin.

56. Op.cit., p213.

57. A minuet from La grotte de Versailles (1668) is on p13 (see above n46).

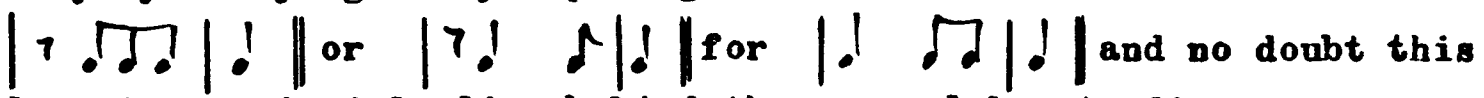
58. DUBUT pXXVII.

59. Rave, op.cit., p226.

2. THE EVOLUTION OF FRENCH LUTE STYLE c1600 - c1670.

The early Development of the Style (c1600-c1620)

Several writers have been tempted to see adumbrations of the new style in works of French lutenists of the later sixteenth century⁶⁰. Looking back from the standpoint of the later style it is of course possible to find familiar procedures in works as early as the fantasias of Albert de Rippe dating from the mid-sixteenth century⁶¹. These procedures consist of syncopated figures, whether in two parts (Ex.1) or three (Ex.2); a continuous rhythmic movement spread over two parts in contrasting registers (Ex.3); and the pattern of bass note followed by a chord (Ex.4). Similar features may be found in Le Roy's elaborated arrangements for solo lute of vocal chansons (1574)⁶². Doubtless such techniques did form the basis of the later style, but at the time they were written there was nothing peculiarly French about them. A list of very similar figures employed by contemporary English lutenists is provided by Newcomb⁶³. It was characteristic of plucked stringed instruments to point an entry by delaying or syncopating the first note:



60. According to La Laurencie for example (Chansons au luth et airs de cour français au XVIe siècle, Introduction pXXXI) the air de cour transcriptions of Adrian Le Roy possess "(un) style un peu heurté, où le discours musical se coupe de silences et se morcelle, (qui) annonce nettement l'écriture française de luth de la première moitié du XVIIe siècle."

61. RIPPE Fantaisies, from which the following examples are taken.

62. LE ROY.

63. W.W.Newcomb, Studien sur englischen Lautenpraxis im elisabethanischen Zeitalter, pp92-101.

64. Ibid., p98.

lack the rhythmic and metrical fluidity of the later style which was based on an independent instrumental repertoire of dance movements. This earlier type of texture also tends to form self-contained episodes rather than to pervade the entire movement; it is an aspect of division technique rather than a style in its own right.

The first source to show elements of genuine style brisé is Francisque (1600). Of the French dances, the courantes, voltes and branles, although showing the formal characteristics of their respective types, differ in their strongly defined two-part texture from those of later sources. The branles, however, do on occasion use a division figure which appears frequently in sources of the second decade of the century and later. In it the upper part ceases to move when the bass has a note on a main beat (Ex.5).

The dances in Francisque which contain the clearest hints of style brisé technique are the pavaues and to a certain extent the passamezzi. Here the brisé textures in doubles is a feature of lute sources of the first two decades of the century. The clearest examples occur in the "Pavane d'Angleterre" (fl0-10') where they offer occasional alternatives to scalic divisions, maintaining the quaver movement of the double. They originate in a syncopation of the original chordal texture, either as a syncopation of the upper parts over bass pitches on main beats (Ex.6 bb2-3); as a syncopation of the bass (Ex.6 b4); or as a continuous syncopation of all three parts (Ex.7), in which it is rare to find two notes sounded simultaneously until the approach of a cadence. These examples differ from the sixteenth-century ones already cited in that they do not form self-contained episodes of a set texture within the composition, nor is the sequence of pitches between the parts systematically worked.

The most important evidence for the earliest development of the style brisé is to be found in the courantes of the two collections of Robert Ballard (1611 and 1614), with their elaborately varied doubles. There are several important points of similarity with the works of later lutenists, particularly in the structure of the bass line, moving largely by step and frequently in descending scales with the melodic line in parallel tenths. On the other hand, the

texture is considerably fuller than was later to be the case, and even in the doubles the original three- or four-part texture is usually clearly discernable. Beneath the surface of asymmetrically delayed chord members there is the firm rhythmic impetus characteristic of the dances of the early decades of the century, and quaver movement is maintained more by passing and other unessential notes, and by arpeggiated chords, than was later to be the case. Ballard tended to avoid repeated patterns, but four-bar sequences consisting of two bars of alternating units in the pattern a b a b are not difficult to find (in the barring of the tablature). Such sequential repetition, common in the sixteenth century, was avoided by later lutenists.

Apart from brisé features in courantes, some of the ballet movements are in a texture of bass note followed by chord which in later sources is associated with the sarabande (Ex.8)⁶⁵. This texture appears occasionally in courantes as well, notably in the tenth courante of the 1611 collection⁶⁶. Perhaps significantly, this courante appears in Vallet's 1615 collection under the title "La Courante Sarabande"⁶⁷. Ballard's courantes also contain sections of strummed chords, another feature of the later sarabande. In each of the three Ballet groups of 1611 which contain the Ex.8 type of movement, it forms the third and last piece of the group (the other two pieces being in $\frac{1}{2}$ time) which perhaps gives an early date for the sarabande as the final element in a dance group.

The courantes of Herbert, which form by far the largest element in the French repertoire of this collection, tend to have a more clear-cut melodic direction than do those of Robert Ballard's publications. This is particularly the case in the works of Lespine

65. Other examples from R.BALLARD 1 are on p19 ("Entrée de luths. Troisième") and p29 ("Ballet. Troisième"). According to Devoto the earliest reference to the sarabande in France is in the collection of ballet titles compiled by Michel Henry, from a ballet of 1607-8 (D.Devoto, "De la zarabanda à la sarabande", Recherches VI(1966)30-31). See also n31 above.

66. R.BALLARD 1 pp57-58.

67. The piece is No.74 in VALLET. For further examples of this double title see D.Devoto (loc.cit.) and the concordance lists in R.BALLARD 1 and VALLET. It continued to appear until late in the century, see for example Keller (1663-post1680) ff82'-83.

both here and in Haslemere. Their symmetrical phrase structure makes one wonder how far this cosmopolitan lutenist was in touch with developments in Paris. Other courantes come closer to Robert Ballard's style, but many have markedly melodic openings, making it probable that they are timbre settings. Some of them are verifiably so in their derivation from known airs de cour. After a clearly defined melodic opening they generally develop more freely, often preserving the movement on a harmonic rather than melodic basis. Such is the case with the Gautier setting of "J'avois brisé mes fers" (Herbert f50). The first strain clearly derives its melodic contour from the original, while the second is so remote that it appears to be freely composed. In texture, the courantes in these sources are generally in a fairly well defined three parts with clear imitations, often of three or four rising or falling crotchet figures. Crotchet movement predominates. Some are entirely harmonic in appearance, such as the single courante by Lenclos (f64'(a)) and several of those by Saman⁶⁸.

Doubles, where they exist, are worked in a similar, if less elaborate, way to those of Robert Ballard. As in the Gautier example (Ex.9)⁶⁹ they maintain quaver movement mainly by means of arpeggiation, alternation of two parts, and stepwise movement, though here the phrase structure is clearer and the melody more pronounced than with Robert Ballard. A final pedal occurs, as here, in several Herbert courantes, but is not in the spirit of the later French courante. One courante is provided with two doubles (ff62'-63, attributed to Heart). This appears in the form A1 A2 B1 B2 | A3 B3 || and is a rare example of this pattern of repeat, otherwise indicated regularly only in the keyboard works of D'Anglebert⁷⁰.

The single most striking difference between the courantes of Robert Ballard's publications and Herbert, and those in later sources, is that the later ones show little evidence of being based on

68. Edited in VAUMESNIL.

69. In the case of unpublished works I have chosen to present complete pieces, rather than fragments, to demonstrate particular points.

70. See also Chapter III pl56.

on timbres. If one compares the Robert Ballard courantes in his publications of 1611 and 1614 with those he published in P. Ballard 1631, one may see how a first-rate lutenist of his generation attempted to come to terms with the later fashion. The upper line now has a less pronounced melodic contour, with fewer leaps and a restricted melodic ambitus. A small indication is that the upbeat here is in all cases a repeated note, whereas in his earlier ones it was frequently the rising fourth or three notes of a scale typical of a dance air. The melody here has an "abstract" quality, and phrases are fewer and shorter. The texture is slightly sparer, more fluid, than before, and with some filling out at cadences, perhaps in an intentional lessening of technical difficulty. The differences between the style of the period before c1620 and that after that date are particularly clearly demonstrated by the Mesangeau courantes in Prague 18 (1623-1627). These will be discussed in detail in the section on the courante below.

The principal Lute Genres c1620-c1670

PRELUDES

Sources before 1630 The earliest unmeasured preludes for lute are generally considered to be those contained in P. Ballard 1631. There are, however, two examples which date from rather earlier than this.

During the second decade of the century a rhythmic loosening of the old type of unmeasured prelude is apparent in examples such as the Lespine prelude (Ex.10)⁷¹. Although barred mostly in 2-time, some bars have more or fewer beats (b1 and b7), and the final bars constitute a closing flourish in free rhythm. This freedom is further developed in two preludes, dating probably from the early 1620s, or before, in Herbert⁷². These are notated in the semi-measured fashion which remained standard for lute preludes into the 1630s⁷³. They are largely chordally based, and give the impression of having their origin in improvisation rather than in carefully worked counterpoint. One is by Daniel Bacheler (fl.1600-1616) who may have been Lord Herbert's teacher⁷⁴. As Herbert gives it, it is a poor piece, probably in a corrupt reading, and quite unlike French examples in its seven-bar, duple-time opening and much parallel movement in the upper parts. It is, however, of interest if only to show that the genre was known in England c1620. Other Bacheler pieces have a decidedly French aspect, and this prelude may be a, presumably pale, imitation of contemporary French lute improvisation.

Of considerably more interest is the prelude (f44) by Despont (Ex.11). If the date of c1620 is correct, this prelude would be

71. From Stockholm S.253 (1614-1620).

72. The majority of the preludes in Herbert are indistinguishable in style from the fantasias of the same source, with fairly strict part-writing. The Du Caurroy fantasia on f43', for example, is a literal intabulation of the four-part original.

73. The term semi-measured, which I have used for convenience, is not quite exact; but neither is the term "unmeasured" when applied to preludes in which almost every note is governed by a rhythmic indication.

74. D.Lumsden, "The Sources of English Lute Music", I p98. The prelude is on f42'(a) of Herbert.

by a considerable margin the earliest known extended French example. In itself it does have a transitional appearance, with much simultaneous writing of chords and parts, logical part-writing, and a synchronisation of bass movement with chord change which an arpeggiated style of performance would not necessarily affect. But it shares with later preludes its freedom of modulation based on chromatic steps and seventh chords, and its rhythmically unpredictable and largely stepwise bass; and it allots considerable harmonic importance to sonorous, widely spaced first inversion chords.

Sources of the 1630s The conservative type of measured prelude, as exemplified in the Herbert prelude-fantasias, continues to be represented in P. Ballard 1631 in the "Point d'orgue" of Dubuisson (CHANCY p63). The remaining four preludes, however, exhibit the new characteristics which were to remain constant during the period under discussion⁷⁵.

The prelude may open with a chord, notated either broken (Dufaut) or not (Bouvier), or with a single part (Chancy). Whatever complexity may intervene, it returns to a purely harmonic, broken-chord movement at the end. A very common method of outlining a chord is by means of an arpeggio which breaks back, and is filled out with passing notes between its upper factors⁷⁶. In semi-measured preludes such passing notes are commonly notated unequally. For the harmonic structure of the piece, the placing of diapason pitches is of prime

75. References are to DUFAUT pp2-3 (Recherche), CHANCY pp2-3 and p9 (Chancy - both are called "Entrée"), and CHANCY p29 (Bouvier). This last is the only one in the collection to be called "Prélude". The transcription of these pieces is problematical, particularly when semi-measured. Souris here opted for a method which ignores the possible duration of notes. This gives a false impression of the sound, particularly since he omits the tenuti of the tablature from his transcriptions. I have preferred to use a method similar to that employed by the clavecinistes. In the case of semi-measured preludes, white notes (semibreves) are used to indicate the common, neutral note value (generally the crotchet of the tablature). An advantage of lute tablature is that a rhythmic pattern may be distributed between two or more registers without resorting to notational complexity.

76. See for example the openings of the Dufaut and Bouvier preludes.

importance, and this frequently assumes a pattern in approaching the final cadence (Dufaut lines 7-8, Chancy No.1 lines 7-8), sometimes including a dominant pedal (Chancy No.1 and Bouvier). One of the most effective placements of a diapason is at the climax of a rising arpeggio or scale figure, usually just before the peak of the ascending line in the superius (Bouvier line 1 (arpeggio), lines 2-3 (scale)). Variety is provided in these preludes by the alternation of bass and treble line as the leading element in giving impetus; stretches of treble domination, such as are to be found in recitative-like sections of keyboard unmeasured preludes, are rare here, where the balance of movement is more evenly distributed. A concealed line in the treble is one of the principal means of giving shape to progressions, the steps in the treble being rhythmically irregular on account of the varying number of intervening chord factors. Sections of, in effect, three-part writing are frequent, in which the melodic interest centres on an emergent inner part which generally derives its movement from 7:6 or 4:3 suspensions or 5:6 anticipations. Moments of direct imitation between parts (Chancy No.7 line 3) are very rare. In contrast to these moments, in which interest is focussed on an emergent melodic line, the prominence of any one part may be submerged in a purely harmonic movement, often of parallel $\frac{6}{3}$ chords (Bouvier line 3, Chancy No.7 line 2). A variant of this provides one of the commonest harmonic devices of these preludes, in which the $\frac{6}{3}$ chords alternate with root position triads (Chancy No.1 line 1, No.7 line 1). Raising the bass in the $\frac{6}{3}$ chord to form the third of a major triad provides the fluidity of tonal centre which is a principal characteristic of the genre. Unexpected raising of thirds and flattening of sevenths is a device used constantly to avoid the establishment of secondary tonal centres and to preserve the impetus of the movement.

The origin of this type of prelude in an improvised introductory flourish is clear. It nonetheless constitutes the most original formal contribution of the luthistes and their only abstract form. The preludes here are set pieces, quite different from the "Prelude pour sonder si l'Accord est non par tout" in Jean Denis's Traité. The lute examples are undoubtedly pieces for performance, skilfully constructed in their variety of movement and exploration of the sonority of the instrument.

These basic features of the preludes of P. Ballard 1631 are shared by the other sources of the decade. They remain the fundamental characteristics of the prelude throughout the period and will not be noted again. Discussion will be limited to additional features of significance, based on examples selected for particular points of interest.

In contrast to P. Ballard 1631, which contained no completely unmeasured preludes, CNRS and Dalhousie 5 contain both unmeasured and semi-measured preludes⁷⁷. There is no perceptible difference of character or figuration between the two types, although here semi-measured ones tend to be more elaborate. Harmonically a number of these preludes are more adventurous than similar pieces in P. Ballard 1631. There are several instances of the purely harmonic use of the augmented fifth and diminished fourth, such as are not usual at this early date. Contrapuntal conjunctions involving these intervals are not infrequent even in the sixteenth century, for example in the fantasias of Albert de Rippe, but not a savouring of these dissonances for their own sake, indeed the purely harmonic use of dissonances which were originally arrived at contrapuntally is a particular feature of the unmeasured prelude. More so than in other types of movement, dissonances (notably sevenths) are frequently neither prepared nor resolved, even where they occur in a particularly exposed position. After they have made their point, the music flows on. In any case, the evanescent nature of the lute's sonority makes regular resolution of dissonance less of a necessity. Occasionally odd harmonic conjunctions seem explicable only by convenience for the player's hand (CNRS f6' and f39'). Some tunings also appear to

77. CNRS has 9 unmeasured and 5 semi-measured preludes; Dalhousie 5 1 unmeasured and 4 semi-measured. In the semi-measured preludes the rhythm signs are presumably tempo indications rather than exact divisions of a beat. In a spread chord, such as that at the opening of Dalhousie 5 ff31'-32, the minim sign probably applies to the duration of the total chord when played, rather than to the duration of each individual note.

favour certain harmonic movements⁷⁸.

As regards texture, lutenists of this period tended to favour full chordal openings to establish the key before embarking on a more fluid harmonic and rhythmic movement. The chord may support a moving upper part outlining the scale (Exx.12 and 14), or may provide an upper pedal effect with a moving bass, in a pattern similar to the first type of sarabande movement (Exx.13 and 15)⁷⁹. This gives more scope for interesting dissonance, a fact which is exploited here. Ex.13 in particular might be termed a study in this effect, where the key is anchored by a repeated chord over a moving bass⁸⁰. The movement in Ex.12 is very similar to that in known Mesangeau preludes, particularly No.19 in MESANGEAU (from P.Ballard 1638). Chordal movement or a bass pedal marks the main tonal centres, while more active brisé texture occurs in movement from one centre to another. This is particularly evident in the alternative ending of Ex.12, where tonal fluidity and rapid brisure preserve impetus until nearer the end of the piece than in the original version. Noteworthy are the broken thirds of Ex.12 line 8, and the occasional use of allemande-type motifs.

Ex.12 illustrates the three types of texture common to the genre - 1) static harmony involving a pedal and chordal texture; 2) single-part movement, often punctuated by a diapason pitch; and 3) an active brisé two- or three-part texture involving secondary dominants and a shift of tonal centre. In different preludes, one or other of these textures may predominate, as in Ex.14 which has more than usual single part movement. Of significance in this prelude is the division of a scale passage over alternating courses (Ex.14 line 2). It would be perfectly simple and more logical to write this passage entirely on the second and third courses. It would also be easier to play. But the writer seems consciously to be striving for a *legatissimo*

78. Many of the preludes are of a comparatively slight, not to say sketchy, nature, being functional improvised flourishes. One (CNRS f6') begins in F and ends in d. A few, however, are more substantial, showing evidence of a care for construction. This is particularly so in Ex.12, the most elaborate of these preludes and for which the writer of the MS has provided a second, more effective, ending.

79. See Ex.8, and also the discussion of the sarabande below.

80. Another prelude on this principle is in CNRS f69.

effect. This type of baigné scale passage, known as campanella, is peculiarly characteristic of the lute and of this style.

Ex.15, from Dalhousie 5, apart from its pedalised opening⁸², shows a further development of single part movement. Sometimes this takes the form of a recitative-like passage with treble or bass movement punctuated by chords, sometimes in dialogue between treble and bass (Ex.15 lines 2-3). On occasion a trait may cover a wide range of the instrument (Ex.15 line 4) with conjunct movement giving way to notes outlining a chord in the course of the progression. The alternation of strong and weak fingers, middle finger and forefinger or thumb and forefinger in Ex.15 line 6, will give an alternation of strong and weak notes in these passages, perhaps reflected in an inequality of rhythm.

The preludes of Pierre Gautier (1638) are fully representative of the mature style. Like those of Pinel and Denis Gautier, they show evidence of a carefully compositional approach, although cast in the mould of an improvised genre. They are almost completely unmeasured apart from a very occasional trait in semiquavers. Their style is consistent with the preludes discussed so far, but with some notable characteristics personal to this composer. Most of these features are demonstrated in Ex.16 which is the longest and most elaborate of them. An opening group of arpeggiated chords, often with passing notes among the upper factors, establishes the key (in this case this section lasts into the second line), after which there are one or more passages dominated by an irregularly descending bass. As the piece proceeds there develops a more intricate and active movement involving a brisé texture of three parts rather than the simple arpeggiated chords of the opening. Such a passage is line 7 of Ex.17, in which no two successive notes are drawn from the same register, giving a very active effect which is well developed from the gradual expansion of register in the previous line. Towards the end there is generally a rising movement in the upper

82. A feature again demonstrated in the prelude on f31' of this source.

part to form a melodic climax before the final close. Important structural points in the movement are marked by a return to simply arpeggiated chords.

A characteristic of these and later preludes is a frequent use of three-note groups in conjunct movement, which may occur in any register. Here these are sometimes written with a slur (ec̣a) indicating that the first note only is to be plucked by the right hand. Such three-note cells in lute preludes have thus a clear origin in the technique of the instrument. Another new feature of these preludes is a sensitivity to contrasts of register, and to texture generally⁸³. Many have passages of low-lying writing in rather intricate texture (Ex.16 lines 4-5 and Ex.17 line 4). In such passages there is frequently, as here, a certain consistency of figuration pursued over the units of a harmonic sequence. There emerges from this a rising trait based on three-note groups and punctuated by diapason pitches (Ex.16 line 6). In contrast to the low-lying passage is a further intricate section (Ex.16 line 7) related to a common harmonic sequence (cf.Ex.30a), but which is mainly on higher positions (frets f, g, and h). This could be more straightforwardly laid out, but as it stands it has a convenience for the player in barré positions and the proximity of the same fret on different courses. And it is likely that a colour effect is intended by deriving notes from the higher positions on lower courses. In Ex.16 line 8 this complex upper movement is punctuated by diapason pitches, leading to a gradual filling out of the middle range of the instrument. A similar filling out of texture from a narrow pitch range is observable from the beginning of line 6 in Ex.17.

Of particular interest in Ex.18 is the pattern in line 4 of descending fourth followed by rising step. This is a common pattern also in keyboard works such as the toccatas of Frescobaldi, and later in the unmeasured preludes of Louis Couperin. Its appearance here

83. This is also apparent to some extent in the "Go" and "Got" preludes of CNRS. Neither of these has a concordance in P.Gautier.

shows it to be part of the common stock of figurations. Ex.18 is also a clear example of long phrases constructed on descending bass lines. Seventh chords are very common, particularly the sonorously spaced ⁶ inversion, as in Ex.18 line 5. Here the resolution of the discord is delayed over seven intervening notes, and eventually occurs only when the chord has changed.

The preludes of P.Gautier differ from those of the Ballard prints of the 1630s in their sparser rhythm indications, general lack of simultaneous chording, and almost total lack of motivic detail. These features were to remain characteristic in the following decades.

Sources cl650-cl670

The preludes of sources after cl650, although possessing considerable variety of style, continue the manner of Pierre Gautier. Paucity of rhythm indications is particularly noticeable in RhD and Schwerin 641, a trend which is continued in later sources. While a number of preludes have the character of a brief introductory flourish⁸⁴, others are of a scale and elaboration comparable to those of Pierre Gautier. Of the genres cultivated by the luthistes, the prelude comes closest to unorganised improvisation, and there is evidence that preludes are based to a certain extent on improvisation formulae⁸⁵. But the finest of them may justifiably be compared to those of the clavecinistes. Many of Pierre Gautier's preludes are very substantial, and those of Pinel have a lucidity and care for balance of movement which indicates a compositional approach, albeit in an improvisatory style.

84. For example, Reynaud f106(a), f111'(a); Robarts fA1, fC1, fE1.

85. The prelude in p43 of RhD has an almost identical opening to that in Gautier Pieces pp36-37, although the pieces are in different keys and the continuations are quite different.

The finest examples are those of Pinel and Denis Gautier, and these deserve close consideration. I have also selected one example for detailed examination (a Dufaut prelude from Monin) as representative of the typical treatment of the genre at this period.

Within a general style there is considerable variation of scale and treatment between composers and sources, as may be seen in comparing the Vincent prelude in Dalhousie 4 f2 (Ex.19) with the more typical anonymous prelude in Reynaud f111(b) (Ex.20). In Ex.19 there is an unusual emphasis on the upper line which dictates the course of the piece, the bass being to a large extent an accompaniment. The upper line, again untypically, consists largely of standard motifs, and suggests a rhythmic interpretation based on their normal guise in dance forms. Ex.20, on the other hand, has the basically three-part texture which is the predominant characteristic of the prelude at this period. There is a clearly perceptible tenor line based on 7:6 appoggiaturas, 5:6 anticipations, and passing notes; and the bass, rather than having the character of an accompaniment, is the leading structural element in its regular scale-wise descents.

The preludes of Pinel in Schwerin 641 are altogether more substantial than the generality represented by Exx.19 and 20. In texture Pinel's preludes are more uniform in appearance than those in other sources, although this may to a certain extent be due to the successive character of their notation, with very few simultaneous chords or part movements. They are almost purely harmonic, generally with the bass leading the progression, and with very little melodic definition. Within this framework, Pinel shows a conscious savouring of harmonic effect. This is demonstrated by his fondness for the augmented fifth (Ex.21 line 2), and in the careful placement of a major seventh (Ex.21 line 5). Such effects are a stylistic feature of the repertoire - the movement in which the bass leads in chord changes, giving rise to a rich sonority of suspended sevenths and ninths, is characteristic of the prelude in general - but they are rarely used with such exquisite sensitivity. Pinel may also lead a common formula in unexpected harmonic directions, as in the opening line of PINEL No.7.

In addition to their rich sonority and harmonic adventurousness, Pinel's preludes are specially notable for their expansiveness of gesture and variety of instrumental techniques and textures. These characteristics are most noticeable in the larger preludes, such as Ex.22. The initial establishment of the tonic D major lasts into the middle of line 2, and fills the entire instrument with sound. There follows a common formula which leads to the dominant (beginning of line 3) and thence, by means of a descending bass line, to the relative minor (line 4). The development of the prelude is brilliantly virtuosic, with barré chords and campanella scales (line 6), and rapid tiratas (lines 7 and 8). Contrasts of texture and register may be seen in the full-voiced chords of line 8 and the intricate campanella in a high register at line 10, followed by a descent to the diapason courses and a division of the brisure throughout the instrument (lines 12-13). As a preparation for the final section, a campanella scale (end of line 13) leads down to an active texture on the lower courses (line 14) after which there is an expansion of pitch range to the end of the piece. In its variety and rhetoric a prelude such as this may worthily be classed as a lute equivalent to the keyboard preludes of Louis Couperin.

Of preludes in sources slightly later than Schwerin 641, the most important are the small group in Monin, and those in the Gautier prints to which we may add the preludes in RhD. Ex.23 (from Monin) is a good example of how a prelude may be constructed almost entirely from standard formulae, yet in the hands of a sensitive lutenist can achieve a satisfying artistic form. The opening phrase is on a harmonic basis very frequently encountered, reinforcing the impression that preludes were pieces improvised using standard harmonic formulae⁸⁵. An abstraction of this formula is given as Ex.32d. Here, as in most cases, the cadential effect of the final

85. Further examples may be found in DUBUT No.2; DUBUT No.3 (a slightly extended version); RhD p199 (extended as in DUBUT No.6 by a phrase which descends to the tonic in a balancing progression); Gautier Pieces pp36-37; PINEL No.4 - this also demonstrates the more generous proportions of Pinel's preludes); Ex.22 (a yet more expansive Pinel variant). It is occasionally, but not commonly, found in earlier preludes (for example CHANCY pp2-3, and P.Gautier p92).

dominant chord (beginning of line 2) is obscured by its being in the minor mode, keeping the harmonic impetus fluid and leading seamlessly into a balancing phrase in which the bass descends further to the tonic (lines 2-3). This second phrase is constructed on the formula of 7:6 suspensions (see Ex.32a). The variable number of notes between bass pitches is a means of lending tension to a progression. Even when there is the same number of upper chord factors between bass notes, asymmetry is preserved by ordering them differently. It is noteworthy that the rate of chord change, which is synonymous with change of bass note, slows towards an important key centre, in this case the tonic (end of line 2), the effect of a *ritardando* being achieved by increasing the number of notes in the chord. There follows (line 3) a move to the relative major. Again change of tonal centre is reflected in a more rapid harmonic rhythm, using here the same pattern as the opening. Rapid chord change returns (line 4) for the move back to the tonic, very clearly constructed on a descending bass scale. The widely differing numbers of intervening chord factors in the upper parts (4-2-0-3), again presented in different pitch sequences, gives the effect of a quickening and slowing into the preparation for the final cadence. Noteworthy in this example is the fact that the chords on arrival at the principal tonal centres are distributed evenly throughout the instrument, while in the transitional sections they tend to stand away from the bass - a feature of preludes generally which may be observed on a more extended scale in the Pinel prelude Ex.22.

The preludes of Denis Gautier are less elaborate, expansive, and unpredictable than those of Pinel. He does not share Pinel's feeling for harmonic colour. The texture of Pinel's pieces is more richly furnished, filling the whole instrument with sound. In contrast, the works of Denis Gautier represent a paring down both of texture and scale to a smooth, economical elegance.

This abstraction is evident in the small quasi-motifs, of three or four notes, which are a feature of these preludes. Three of the preludes in the Pieces (pp6-7, 50-51, 66-67) open with a seemingly independent motif in a single part, which receives as much development as one can expect in an unmeasured prelude. At the opening of

Ex.24, for example, the first five notes (12315) are given a quasi-motivic quality by being immediately followed by their inversion (54351)⁸⁶. Yet in the context of the unmeasured prelude generally this opening figure is not a motif as such, but an abstraction from the very frequent opening chord laid out in the manner of the harmonic series, with steps between its upper factors, as in the Pinel prelude Ex.22. A more motivic appearance is presented by the opening of PINEL No.1, but it turns out to be part of Pinel's characteristically expansive way of announcing the tonic chord, in this case giving the upper factors with their steps before the more widely spaced lower ones. Denis Gautier's fondness for giving a shadowy motivic life to standard prelude formulae may also be seen in Ex.25. This appears to open with a characteristic mordent-like motif, defined in the total opening line by the placement of an ornament on every fourth note. This figure almost certainly derives from the auxiliary figure (171) frequently used as part of the melodic currency of the prelude to outline the $V^{\frac{6}{5}}$ chord or the resolution of a 7:6 suspension (as at the end of Ex.23). In Ex.25, however, it is given a subtle structural significance in that it lies behind much of the bass line in line 3. Manipulation of three-note figures is a characteristic of Denis Gautier's preludes generally.

This ability to make the clichés of the prelude style significant, whether conscious or not, is a feature of Denis Gautier's style. A further example is in the bell-like upper parts over a long pedal at the opening of Ex.26. The motif of falling fourths at the beginning, which is common enough, provides the bass structure when the pedal ends. Such hidden devices give these preludes a cogency, within their concise framework, lacking in others. These details may seem insignificant, even unintentional, but such relationships are the result of the natural working of the mind of a trained contrapuntist, perhaps reflecting Gautier's studies with Racquet. Certainly the Fantaisies of the Livre (pp20-21)

86. The prelude on pp66-67 of the Pieces has a very similar opening.

provides a very rare example of the "learned" style in the lute repertoire of this period.

Care for the balanced movement of answering motifs and phrases may also be seen to operate on a larger scale in the general contour of sections. It has been noted that much of the phrase structure of preludes is provided by descending bass lines. Denis Gautier also has a tendency towards the end of a piece to provide a climactic rising phrase, leading to an intricate texture on the upper courses of the instrument, such as may be seen in Ex.24 line 6, Ex.25 lines 5-6, and also at the end of the long prelude in the Livre pp68-71. The balance of registers is particularly clear in Ex.25 where the opening figure gradually descends to a busy texture on courses 5 and below, before opening out to cover the whole instrument. This is balanced by the rising line of lines 5-6 before the descent to the final, full-voiced close.

Harmonically Gautier uses the traditional language in a classical way without abrupt transitions or evident idiosyncracies. There are occasional surprises such as the diminished seventh in line 2 of Ex.27 which yields, when suspended over the following bass C sharp, the effect of a $\frac{7}{2}$ chord such as one associates more with the sophisticated harmonic style of François Couperin. The careful setting up of the chord, with a leap down to the lowest course for maximum effect, makes this conjunction particularly striking.

The finest of these preludes - those by Pierre and Denis Gautier, and Pinel - demonstrate the variety of treatment and expression possible in this form. Pierre Gautier's exploration of lute sonority and experimentation with larger-scale forms; Pinel's impulsive gestures and broad harmonic paragraphs; Denis Gautier's refined and classical elegance: all raised this originally rather unpromising genre to the most original embodiment of their aesthetic.

ALLEMANDES

Sources cl630-cl650

The earliest source to contain a significant number of allemandes is P. Ballard 1631. Of all the dance movements, they come closest to the preludes in harmonic procedure and abstraction of style. But if the prelude preserves nothing but the harmonic ground-plan of the canzona, the allemande preserves also the surface of its motivic interplay, although with little of its contrapuntal essence. Within a simple harmonic framework the allemandes are based on a series of generally four-note motifs which derive from the imitative points of the canzona and other contrapuntal forms (Ex.28a-l)⁸⁷. Some of these may appear in inverted form (a-c), but most not (d-l), thus preserving their mainly falling movement. They may be decorated or rhythmically altered, generally by dotting the second quaver or lengthening the first to a crotchet. One of the commonest figures is of three notes (m) which is sometimes used in a standard imitation between two parts (Ex.30), but more often appears in syncopated form maintaining the brisure on a quaver (Ex.28n) or occasionally semiquaver (o) unit. The figure (p) appears in a number of Souris's transcriptions, but is in reality the same three-note figure since the second quaver comes from a lower course of the lute and is a member of the supporting arpeggiated chord (q). This figure may also appear in decorated form, either as here or inverted (Ex.28r).

Typically these motifs are treated imitatively between parts, but for this purpose they are interchangeable in that any one may provide an imitation for any other. Consistency of imitation is, however, by no means rare and it is possible to find an entire section based

87. These motifs are abstracted from all the allemandes of P. Ballard 1631. The list is intended to be complete.

on a single figure. The first strain of CHANCY ppl0-11 is based on its opening figure comprising motif (a) with the addition of a falling sixth. This allemande has also a threefold imitation at the close of its second strain. The most common form of consistent imitation is where two motifs alternate. Longer lines in one part are generally formed by combining motifs either successively (Ex.28s), by overlapping two of them (t), or by both (u). In some allemandes the bass may join in the motivic interplay, but in others the interest centres on one or more upper parts with the bass providing a functional harmonic support. Of real counterpoint there is very little, apart from such formulae as Ex.29a. Occasional hints of inversion or diminution (Ex.29b) seem fortuitous and without significance. The part movement behind the brisé texture arises from the standard movements of simple harmonic formulae.

The texture in allemandes varies among these lutenists, but most typically is of two parts with a slight filling out towards cadences. Occasionally the effect of any melodic line is relinquished and the movement is preserved by breaking a harmonic progression into a regular quaver pattern. This is sometimes notated unequally (particularly in the Chancy allemandes) giving a movement more characteristic of later allemandes, in which a regular rhythm (♩ ♩) is divided between several registers. The means of notation lends itself particularly to this effect. Within this framework the treble and bass frequently move in parallel thirds or tenths, yielding lines of elegant plasticity and freedom. Otherwise harmonic procedures are similar to those of the preludes, having the aim of avoiding the establishment of secondary tonal centres by means of a mild chromaticism (Ex.30). The rising version of this progression yields the powerful chromatic bass of the Dufaut example (Ex.31). It is a feature of Dufaut's style to favour harmonic progressions of longer than usual span, and progressions employed by other lutenists are normally limited to the simple formulae of Ex.32a-c.

The phrase structure of the allemande shares the fluidity of its harmonic direction. Some phrases are more melodically orientated than others, but in general the movement is defined by the slow stepwise progression of the bass, moving within the range of a fourth or fifth in a series of asymmetrical but balanced patterns. At

its simplest it may be seen in the bass of the Chevalier allemande (Ex.33), although others such as Dufaut and Chancy have phrases constructed on the bass rising or falling through a tenth or an octave. In either case the melody owes its shape to the bass, decorating a parallel scale which moves a third or tenth above, and with a coincidence of thirds or tenths on main beats.

Individual composers exhibit varying differences of style within the conventions of the genre. Dubuisson, to judge by the single allemande by him in the Ballard collection of 1631, is the most conservative, with a squareness of movement not typical of the others. In particular its final strain has a minim and crotchet chordal movement more characteristic of the pavane. Mesangeau, and to a certain extent Chevalier, tend to have longer lines in the superius with more consistency of phrase building - the second strain of MESANGEAU No.14, for example, uses the figure in Ex.28b five times in succession in a rising sequence. Dufaut prefers a fuller texture, with more consistent use of motifs which, together with the harmonic characteristics already noted, may explain why he is described in Burwell as "very grave and learned"⁸⁸. In comparison with Mesangeau's, his allemandes produce an effect of drawing on forms and textures beyond the resources of the lute. In general these allemandes derive their character by allusion to the dance and to the language of the abstract contrapuntal forms of the time. They in turn provide an original to which later luthistes were to allude in a style which became progressively more remote from its prototypes.

The allemandes in CNRS and Dalhousie 5 share the emphasis on the melodic line noticeable in the Mesangeau allemandes here and in P.Ballard 1631. Most of them open with a chord with upbeat, followed by a bar or so of a characteristic figure in the upper part, before

88. Burwell, f5'.

developing an interplay of motifs between parts. A few have single-part openings. Some pieces are probably ballet or other timbre settings, with march-like movement, clear-cut melody, and functional bass. The melodic nature of these allemandes is emphasised by the fact that the upper line occasionally breaks into an improvisatory flourish, as in the fine Mesangeau allemande in CNRS ff20-21' (MESANGEAU No.38), which at times assumes the movement of a prelude, similar to the keyboard allemandes of Froberger, but unusual in the lute repertoire particularly at this period. This piece is untypical also in its more than usually intricate texture. One piece (Dalhousie 5 ff38'-39) is provided with a rare example of an allemande double, which converts the original crotchet and quaver movement into an anapaest rhythm of two semiquavers and quaver.

The allemandes of P.Ballard 1638 add little to the foregoing discussion. The Mesangeau allemande on pp20-21 (MESANGEAU No.33) provides a further example of his application to this dance of a freely improvisational movement similar to the prelude, in its second strain. One of Dufaut's allemandes is entitled "Point d'orgue", although the pedal applies only to the second couplet. Pedal points are in any case a distinguishing feature of Dufaut's allemandes.

The allemandes of Pierre Gautier (also 1638) display much the same structural and procedural characteristics already outlined for the allemandes of this decade. They have, however, a squareness not typical of, even avoided by, other lutenists of the period. This comes partly from his most characteristic opening gambit of a harmonically closed statement lasting one bar, and consisting of an accentuated chord with upbeat followed by a cadence formula. The opening of Ex.34 reappears in many of the allemandes in a virtually identical harmonic pattern, and with the same rhythm in the treble. Occasionally, however, he uses a more brisé opening, as in Ex.35, with less static harmony. He uses the conventional allemande motifs, but again there is a squareness in his frequent use of three-, rather than four-, note figures, and in frequent passages of crotchet movement (Ex.35 bl8). Even the conventional motifs are frequently

deprived of their anacrusial character by appearing in a form which transfers their first note to a main beat (Ex.34 b5, cf. Ex.17b). More so than other lutenists, Pierre Gautier is free in his part-writing, particularly in unprepared ⁵/₄ chords, and in the resolution of inner-part leading notes. With regard to this last point, it should be noted that the octave string of the lute diapasons gives these courses an ambivalence of register by which such seeming anomalies as the leading note (e natural) left hanging in Ex.34 b4 would disappear in performance. The most strikingly dissonant feature of his style is the effect of a chord of three conjunct notes (Ex.34 bb2-3). This is probably explained by the middle note of the three being a passing note to fill out a third, the group as a whole constituting a written-out ornament. The case for this acciaccatura type of interpretation is strengthened by the curious related effect in the double of the courante in P.Gautier pp36-37 (bb5 and 21-22).

Sources cl650-cl670

The dances of the 1650s represent a further stage of abstraction from their practical origin over those of the 1630s. If the earlier lutenists took the dance originals and derived art dances from them, those of the 1650s were basing their movements on prototypes which were already at one remove from their dance origins. This is perhaps most evident in the allemandes. They share with the earlier ones the same harmonic basis and features, such as the avoidance of phrase definition and the characteristic opening figures to establish the movement of the piece. The principal difference lies in the suppression of the characteristic allemande motifs. These are by no means totally absent, as may be seen in the typical Pinel example (Ex.36). The most frequently used motif is illustrated in Ex.28n with its inversion and ornamented derivatives (Ex.36 bb2-3). But it is clear from this piece that, although this motif lies behind much of the part movement, the final effect is of rhythmicised chord progressions rather than an interplay of varied motifs. Still the most extended melodic figure is at the opening, and generally covers four or five notes of a scale, rising or falling. This may emerge from an opening chord, or occasionally may appear on its own in an upper part, with or without a sketched-

accompaniment in the same register (see for example the opening of Ex.63, by Pinel). Occasionally this type of opening figure is treated imitatively, as in Ruthven ff10'-11 (MERCURE pp72-73). A consistent series of entries of the same or complementary figures (such as in the second strain of PINEL No.14) is rare. The suppression of motifs is emphasised by the number of occasions on which the rhythmic movement is maintained by a single repeated note (there are many examples of this, but notably in Darmstadt 1655 ff48'-49). An echo of the rhythm of motivic activity is maintained in the semiquaver decoration of a melodic line moving basically in stepwise crotchets. Indeed a feature of the allemande at this stage is a shift from a predominantly quaver to a semiquaver movement both for melodic steps and as a unit of brisure (see for example the second strain of Ex.36). Semiquaver movement is most consistently maintained in the doubles of those few allemandes provided with them. In the sources under discussion only Monin provides any, on ff72'-73 (DUBUT No.8) and also on ff64'-65 (also by Dubut - this piece has a double for the first half only⁸⁹). In these doubles the semiquaver movement does not result in an increase of motivic interplay, but is confined to the extension of upbeat figures and using the semiquaver as the unit of brisure. Pinel's allemandes, to compensate for lack of motivic activity, have a predominantly harmonic movement worked in the same basically three-part texture as the preludes. Many of these allemandes in fact present the aspect of rhythmicised preludes, in which the movement of the dance is maintained by the rhythmic distribution of chord members. The harmonic movement itself tends to be broad, detained by frequent pedal points, in keeping with the stately nature of the dance.

In these sources it is possible to trace two lines of development

89. The edition gives this piece in a version from Berlin 40601, without double, with a note stating that only the first strain is concordant (DUBUT No.22). Both strains are in fact concordant and it seems that the first couplet double has been confused with the second couplet.

from the earlier allemande with its predominantly two- to three-part texture and motivic surface, the one progressing to a harmonic type, the other to a melodic type. Those of Pinel (principally in Schwerin 641) are the most fully worked of the harmonic type. Here motivic use is limited to strain openings. The Dubut allemandes in Monin share this character, if to a lesser degree. The allemande "L'Encyclodédie" (ff54'-55, given as DUBUT No.14 in a version from a later source) is the most purely harmonic of these, with a texture anticipating François Couperin's "luté" style. The only motif used in this piece is Ex.17b, but its use is harmonic rather than rhythmic.

The other line of development is towards a melodic type, consisting of a single line with functional accompaniment, and may be seen in the Mercure allemande from Schwerin 641 (MERCURE pp76-77) and those from Ruthven (MERCURE pp70-71, 72-73). Mercure was a lutenist who worked for much of his career outside France, and this type of allemande is more frequently found in non-French sources. Among French sources, examples are to be found in Reynaud, where the allemandes are generally simpler in texture than those in other French sources. The allemande attributed to Gautier on fl14'(b) thins out on occasion to simple three-part crotchet chords. Division-type runs, as in the second strain of Reynaud fl00', are occasionally found (cf. MERCURE p79). Robarts, on the other hand, contains allemandes comparable to Pinel's, although with rather less purely harmonic movement⁹⁰.

A feature of the Gautier prints is their comparative lack of allemandes. The Pieces contains only one (a tombeau). Of the six in the Livre (if one counts the "Tombeau de Mesangeau" as an allemande) only two

90. A feature of this source is the notation of unequal quavers (♩ ♪), notably in the Emond (sc. Héman) piece on fG5'.

are by Denis Gautier⁹¹, the remainder being attributed to Ennemond. This lack of allemandes is not typical of the sources in general, and the Gautier prints appear to avoid any suggestion of an established sequence of dances within their key groupings. Of the Vieux Gautier allemandes, that on ppl2-13 of the Livre (V.GAUTIER No.1) is similar in style to the Mesangeau allemandes from Pierre Ballard's prints, with a spun-out single melodic line and functional accompaniment, developing into three parts only at cadences and pedal points, although there are mild imitations occasionally. The others (V.GAUTIER Nos.2 and 3) have generally a grave crotchet movement, which they share with the Denis Gautier allemande on pp78-80. This pavane-type allemande, with almost no semiquaver movement, little quaver movement, and an almost total lack of motifs, bears the title "Allemande grave". The other Denis Gautier allemande (Ex.37), while drawing on the current style, again demonstrates his characteristically careful construction. The phrases of the first strain are clearly defined by cadences, and there is an unusual degree of motivic unity within each phrase. The first (bb1-4) is based on three falling notes (cf. Ex.28n), the second (bb4-6) on three rising notes, and the third (bb6-8) again on three falling notes. The phrase structure of the second strain is more fluid, and generally the movement of falling and rising motifs is mixed. The curious digression into triple time appears to be unique to this piece, and may possibly reflect the allemande's relationship with the gigue.

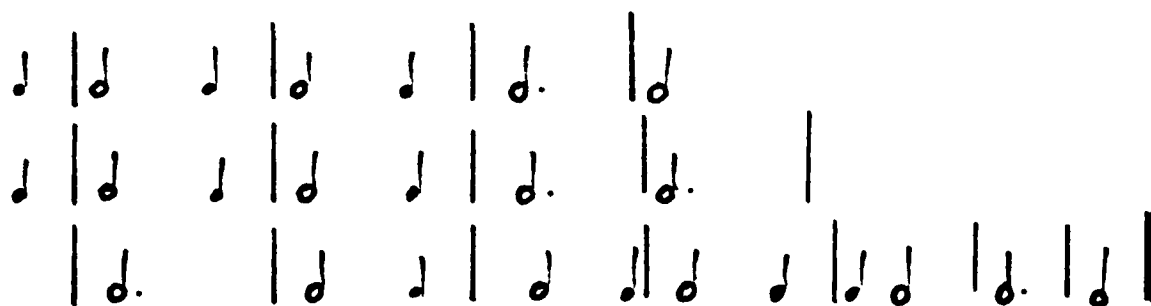
91. The allemande on pp80-81 of the Pieces is given in V.GAUTIER in a version from Saizenay 1 entitled "Tombeau de l'Enclos". This title is not given in the Pieces and the piece is probably by Denis Gautier since the Pieces appears to contain exclusively works by him, and it appears in other sources associated with him such as RhD.

COURANTES

Sources c1620-c1630

The courante is the only principal genre of which there is a substantial number of examples throughout the period covered by this chapter. Indeed, it was by far the most popular dance form. It thus provides the main strand of continuity from the early years of the century. Some adumbrations of the style, as revealed in courantes before c1620, have already been discussed (pp75-78 above). The first examples to display the main features of the fully developed style are those attributed to Mesangeau in Prague 18 (1623-1629)⁹², which also constitute the only body of repertoire which may with any security be assigned to the 1620s. In order to define the novel features of these early Mesangeau courantes it is necessary first to characterise briefly the main features of the current style from which they diverge.

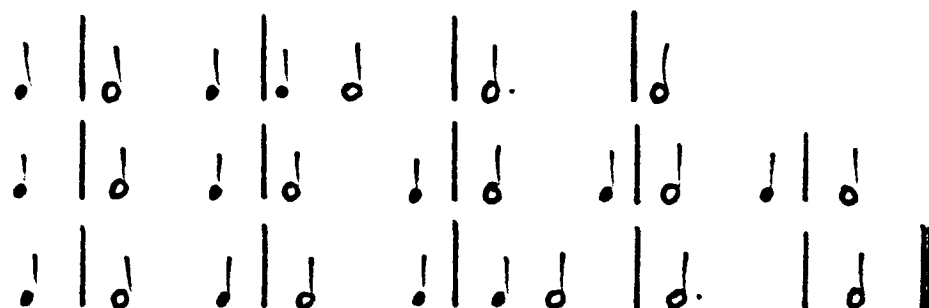
The courantes in Robert Ballard's prints and those in Herbert generally have a recognisably melodic opening with the clearly marked phrase structure characteristic of real dance music. The melodic line also shows a balance of falling and rising (closed and open) phrase endings typical of dance timbres (see for example the first strain of the Gautier courante Ex.9). A study of the metrical structure of the first strains of the Herbert courantes reveals a typical pattern of two short phrases followed by a longer one, but of unexpected length, giving the characteristic metrical ambiguity of the courante. At its simplest this is represented in the Lespine courante (Haslemere ff36'-37):



Lespine's courantes have the more straightforward metre of English

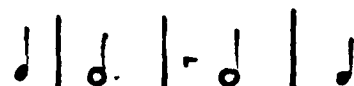
92. Nos.2-6 in MESANGEAU.

lute music, and the French lutenists in Herbert are rarely as obvious in their phraseology. But this is clearly the model from which they deviated, sometimes by having a cross rhythm in the opening phrase and making phrase lengths irregular, as in the courante by Despont in Herbert f63':



Frequently a short extra fourth cadential phrase is added before the double bar. The use of the courante's repeated chord cadence pattern (see Ex.9 bb3-4) commonly gives melodic definition to the first strain, however much this may evaporate in the second.

In the Prague 18 courantes the allusion to the dance model is more subtle. One means of achieving this is the elision of this two-bar final chord at the phrase ending. This cadence pattern is reserved by Mesangeau for the ending of a section and never appears within a strain. Lack of this punctuation mark gives the courantes their characteristic spun-out effect, in spite of internal cadences. The treble line rarely possesses a definite melodic profile, and if so it is only for the first few bars. The first strain of MESANGEAU No.2, for example, consists almost entirely of falling cadential formulae. (Rising phrases are rare.) These formulae make up the predominant element in the structure. In two cases (MESANGEAU Nos.5 and 6) any pretence at a melodic opening is dispensed with in favour of a harmonic cadence formula. In one case (MESANGEAU No.5) this takes the form of one of the subtlest hemiola patterns, more characteristic of the dance music of the later seventeenth century than of this period:



Second strains tend to be yet more allusive than first ones, frequently with bass-led harmonic progressions which preserve the movement but lack any melodic point.

There is nonetheless a clear contact with the pre-1620 repertoire: the imitative points of three or four falling crotchets remain⁹³ (MESANGEAU No.3, second strain), as does the generally crotchet-based movement - later lutenists tended to use the quaver as the unit of brisure. The harmonically based movement has a precedent in the type represented by the Lenclos example⁹³, and in spite of the prevailing melodic vagueness there is a greater continuity of line than was to be common in the following decades.

Sources c1630-c1650

The characteristics of these early Mesangeau courantes are continued and developed in the courantes of P.Ballard 1631. Much of what has been said of the allemandes in this source applies also to the courantes. The principal difference between the two dances lies in the fact that the courantes have a predominantly crotchet movement, while the allemandes disguise this under a surface interplay of quasi-polyphonic motifs in quavers. Quaver movement in courantes is limited to upbeat figures (the inversion of Ex.17a being by far the commonest and a characteristic of this dance). But, as in the Mesangeau courantes in Prague 18, there may be an increase of quaver movement towards a cadence.

The melodic line predominates to a greater extent than in the allemandes. In fact, the nature of the dance is of a continuously extended melodic line, and this accounts for the majority of these courantes. Melodic line is not affected so much by the brisure as it is in allemandes. Only the bass and occasional inner parts are frequently delayed to preserve continuity of movement. Occasionally the brisure may affect two parts (Ex.38) or three (Ex.39) giving the characteristic effect of scattered successive pitches. But continuity of line is evident in comparing the courante doubles of Bouvier No.2

93. See above, p77.

and Dubuisson No.2⁹⁴ in P.Ballard 1631 with those in Robert Ballard's publications. While in R.Ballard's doubles the underlying three- or four-part harmony affected by the brisé texture results in a more interrupted upper line, the simpler two-part texture here allows a more continuous movement, divided only between treble and bass.

As with the Prague 18 pieces, the phrase structure differs in form from that of earlier courantes, and is less clearly defined, emphasising the further removal of these pieces from their dance origins. First couplets are almost all of two phrases, rarely of one phrase only, and never of three. In fact it appears to be a formal aspect of the courante to have a cadential caesura in the first couplet. This normally occurs after about four bars, after which the second phrase is in most cases longer, but by no means always. There is no consistent phrase pattern in the second couplets, although occasional peculiarities of form perhaps indicate an origin in an air de cour melody. Such for example is the second couplet of Belleville No.1 with its untypical internal repetition. Several air de cour settings by Belleville are known and they share this formal peculiarity. A common air de cour melodic pattern, allied to the verse structure, consists of a first and third phrase, each repeated, with an unpeated second phrase giving the form A A B C C. When adapted to the binary structure of the courante this will give just such an anomalous structure as in this Belleville courante, and it is also the structure of his courante based on "Bien qu'un cruel martire"⁹⁵. The melodic cast of the final repeated phrase of Belleville No.1 is also very characteristic of the air de cour (Ex.41). Within this general phrase pattern minor differences are perceptible between individual composers. Dufaut tends to disguise any tendency to cadence by means of interrupted and dorian cadences, more so than, for example, Chancy.

Because of their predominantly crotchet movement there is much

94. References to pieces by Chancy, Bouvier, Belleville, Dubuisson, and Chevalier are to CHANCY.

95. Herbert f69', ed. CHANCY p59.

less motivic interplay in courantes than in allemandes. Consistent development of a crotchet motif may, however, be found. The second strain of Chancy No.4 is built entirely, apart from the final cadence approach, on a figure of three descending crotchets, including an appearance in augmentation, while the second couplet of No.11 is based on the inversion of this figure, exploiting a charming difference of effect in its appearances in $\frac{6}{4}$ and $\frac{3}{2}$ time. Extended sequential development may also be found, as in the second couplet of Bouvier No.2 where the motivic consistency of the couplet is emphasised in the quaver movement of its double. Most commonly, however, such regularity is avoided, giving the effect of a cultivated asymmetry, with the necessary balance preserved by a neatly complementary movement of three-crotchet figures in outside parts (compare for example the relative movement of outer parts in the allemande Ex.30 and the courante Ex.41).

Metrical and motivic fluidity is reflected also in the melodic structure of these courantes. Within a restricted compass (many phrases do not exceed the range of a sixth - in DUFAUT No.26 the entire first strain remains within a sixth while the second does not exceed an octave) the melodic line maintains an asymmetrical but balanced movement of stepwise crotchets. Leaps are rare, and usually of no more than of a fourth or fifth. Many of them are accounted for by a change of phrase in which the melody moves to a different register of five or six notes. The crotchet movement of the courante makes the underlying melodic contour more apparent than in the allemande, and it is noticeable how often the free development of a line runs into stepwise cadential movement, even away from cadence points; An entire phrase may consist of an extended cadence formula (for example, the opening phrase of Chancy No.5). The frequency with which opening phrases resemble cadence formulae (see also Ex.41) underlines the abstraction of the dance from its origins. The courante's cadence, being its most characteristic feature, is in itself sufficient to set the movement of the piece without any pretence at the semblance of a dance melody.

As in allemandes, the underlying structure of a phrase may be provided by an ascending or descending scale in the bass worked in irregular rhythm. Over this the melodic contour of the upper part is a decoration of a parallel scale a third or tenth above, the melodic line arriving

on the third or tenth above the bass on main beats. The upper line in this case constitutes a decoration of scale segments, the melodic structure deriving immediately from the movement of the bass. This type of movement is particularly characteristic of Dufaut. Also, as in the allemande, there are moments of purely harmonic movement where the upper line derives entirely from standard chord progressions (Ex.39). This is particularly apparent towards phrase ends where, like cadence formulae, it often serves to break up the beginning of sequential development of the preceding phrase.

The harmonic style of courantes generally is more diatonic than that of allemandes, emphasizing the impression that the fluid nature of the movement is based on line rather than on uncertainty of tonal centre. Such mild and transitory chromaticism as there is derives from the same type of secondary dominant sequence as in allemandes (Ex.30). This may be purely harmonic (Ex.42) but more frequently underlies a more complex texture (Ex.41).

Courantes in the related MS sources CNRS and Dalhousie 5 are generally simpler in texture than the printed ones of 1631, probably reflecting the fact that these sources were compiled for pupils. The anonymous courante Ex.43 may serve as a typical example. The first course is not used - in general the tessitura is low in these pieces, although a few use higher positions on the first course. It is almost entirely in two parts with additional notes being confined to extra chord members on strong beats and at cadences.

The opening of repeated upper note with a rhythmically accentuated chord is that of almost all of these pieces - the chord frequently lasting for the entire first bar. One brisé pattern is particularly characteristic of these sources. In it the bass marks the beginning of the bar, with the movement of the upper part occasionally delayed for this beat. This gives rise to the very typical tablature configuration of bass note followed by several upper pitches (Ex.43 bb4 and 7) which lies well under the hand of the player. The importance of an irregular stepwise progression over several diapason courses in providing the underlying structure of a phrase is well demonstrated in the second couplet.

Melodic simplicity is particularly marked in these courantes, several of which have an upper line consisting almost entirely of stereotyped cadential progressions (Dalhousie 5 ff6' and 47'). Noteworthy too is the incidence of types of movement already noted (p76 above) as characteristic of the sarabande. The pieces in question are untitled, but are clearly courantes from their cadence patterns. Dalhousie 5 f9' uses the type of movement given in Ex.8. Strummed chords are to be found in CNRS f34, Dalhousie 5 ff21'-22 and f40. In both sources these repeated chords are fingered to indicate a tirer et rabattre pattern ($\begin{smallmatrix} \text{a} & \text{a} & \text{a} \\ \text{a} & \text{a} & \text{a} \\ \text{a} & \text{a} & \text{a} \end{smallmatrix}$). Similar patterns continue to feature in the later sources, such as the Denis Gautier prints. Further patterns of this type are discussed below under the heading of the sarabande.

Of the courantes in P.Ballard 1638, the Mesangeau example on p9 (MESANGEAU No.24) demonstrates the sensitivity of this lutenist to the low register of the instrument, having a passage mainly on courses 3-6. Analogous passages may be found in Pierre Gautier, but he frequently uses these to contrast with passages of higher tessitura, unlike Mesangeau.

The principal interest of the P.Gautier courantes lies in the technical devices, some of which have been noted in the discussion of his allemandes. A further acciaccatura effect, other than the passing note, is indicated here by a circle. An expressive effect peculiar to Pierre Gautier, at least in that he was alone in notating it, is the vibrato indicated by an asterisk⁹⁶.

A few of Pierre Gautier's courantes are provided with doubles which, in common with others of the period, are simpler than those of Robert

96. Jean Basset in his lute tutor printed by Mersenne describes this ornament under the name "verre cassé". He says it was seldom used in his time having been over-used by the previous generation (Harmonie Universelle Livre Second des Instrumens, p81). Unfortunately Mersenne's printer had not the type to show all the ornaments in the demonstration pieces, and Mersenne invites readers to enter them by hand from his own copy, or get them from Basset (p90).

Ballard, being based on a two-part texture. The procedures of decoration are well exemplified in Ex.44 in which one may distinguish five techniques: a line of quavers in one part which may include campanella scales (bb8-9); a melody mainly in one part, but with pauses to allow for a broken chord in quaver rhythm (b6); an upper part in quavers, but with pauses to allow for bass pitches (bb16-18); two parts in interlocking brisure (b14); more than two parts in interlocking brisure (b2). These are standard techniques of brisure. No one of them is used for more than a bar or two, and quaver movement migrates freely between parts.

Sources cl650-cl670 The courantes in sources after cl650 exhibit a variety of types, some continuing the tradition of the 1630s, some developing in new directions. They reflect particularly clearly the character of each source. Dalhousie 4 tends to be conservative, continuing the idioms of the 1630s, while Robarts shows a preference for low tessitura, many arpègement signs, the inclusion of non-harmonic notes in chords, and strummed chords. (These are occasionally found in courantes at all stages of the century, but seldom as frequently as here⁹⁷.) Some sources contain a wide range of quality. The courantes of Reynaud vary from the rather crude and simple example on fl02' to good versions of Gautier pieces. A comparison of different versions of pieces with many concordances, such as the Gautier courante "Le Canon" (given in V.GAUTIER No.20 from Reynaud; for other versions see Ex.64) reveals the notational preferences of the compilers, particularly with regard to the representation of brisé texture. A pair of notes may be notated as simultaneous crotchets in one source, with an arpègement sign in another, while a third will have them as successive quavers. This makes it difficult to generalise about the prevalence

97. See for example the courantes on ffA3(b), A7, and C3.

of brisé texture at any stage. It is possible nonetheless to discern three broad categories of courante in the sources under discussion.

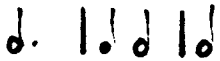
The first, and most conservative, is marked by a clearly defined melodic line (for example Reynaud ff104'-105). In some cases this suggests a setting of a timbre (such as the courante "La Belle" (PINEL No.37) whose melody appears in almost identical form in the Cassel dance MS⁹⁸). As with earlier courantes, the melodic opening frequently forms a rounded phrase of four or five bars. Sometimes the opening is in a single part without the customary downbeat chord (PINEL No.32; Reynaud ff104'-105, second strain). Two-part imitative openings are now not uncommon, such as Reynaud f101, and notably the Gautier courante "Le Canon" (Ex.64). (Its title must derive from the opening fugue-like figure more typical of a gigue.) The imitation is pursued for two bars. The second strain also opens in mildly imitative fashion. There is only one example of a triple opening imitation in these sources (Robarts fG3). A further opening pattern, of which there are several examples, consists of an intricate brisé interplay between two upper parts over a pedal (for example the Reynaud courante given as V.GAUTIER No.22).

As in earlier courantes, many open with a hemiola pattern, but not as frequently as in earlier sources. (The Dubut courante from P.Ballard 1638 pp58-59 (DUBUT No.26) is a good example of the earlier type, with subtle treatment of a variety of hemiola formulae.) In the courantes of Denis Gautier from the Livre and Pieces hemiolas are uncommon other than at phrase and couplet ends. The Vieux Gautier pieces in the Livre, on the other hand, for which one may assume an anterior date, are closer to the earlier type in this respect.

One courante of this melodic type is provided with a petite reprise

98. See J.Ecorcheville, Vingt suites d'orchestre, pp58-59 (Cassel). Pinel's courantes are notable for their melodic charm - the Burwell tutor describes his playing as "very gay and airy" so that they "might be turned into singing and dancing" (Burwell f68').

(Ruthven ffl4'-15, PINEL No.40). Although this is the only one to have it indicated, a number have a final phrase which may well have been repeated (see for example the courante in Monin f46, given as DUBUT No.39 in a version from Saizenay 1).

A second category of courantes has a substantially melodic, superius-led movement, but with passages of purely harmonic effect. This is the most common type at this period. Much of the writing is basically in three parts. Its harmonic nature is particularly evident when the melodic impetus passes to the tenor voice, as it frequently does in the approach to a cadence (for example the last two bars of Ennemond Gautier's courante "L'Immortelle", Ex.75). Also of harmonic effect are the cadential hemiola patterns. A particularly neat example of this is in the Hautman (sc. Hotman) courante in Dalhousie 4 (f11'-12) in which the final dotted minim of an obvious cadence in the course of the second strain becomes at the same time the first element of the  hemiola pattern.

The frequency of harmonic stereotypes emphasises the fact that, as with the allemande and other dances, the allure of the dance is its most important aspect. Since the harmonic aspect of this type frequently assumes an importance equal to melodic interest there is now, particularly in the Denis Gautier pieces, a delicate responsiveness to harmonic effect. Dissonances occasionally are used as sonorities for their own sake rather than arising contrapuntally in stereotyped progressions. In Ex.45 the leading note seventh at b2 and the ninth at b10 appear in the top line with a consciousness of placing new to the courante. Similarly the major seventh in b13 of V.GAUTIER No.21 is carefully worked into the phrase as a point of dissonance before the final cadence rather than occurring, as it were, accidentally as the result of a tenor suspension.

The third category of courante, in which a brisé harmonic movement prevails to the virtual suppression of melodic interest, is best represented in Schwerin 641. A courante such as V.GAUTIER No.25 well demonstrates this characteristic brisé texture in which continuity

of line is sacrificed to a succession of single pitches spread over various registers of the instrument. More extreme examples are to be found among the Pinel courantes, such as PINEL No.36. This relative unimportance of the melodic contour of the superius is also clearly demonstrated in the double of PINEL No.38⁹⁹. Hitherto double technique relied on linear principles of decoration such as the extension of quaver figures and turning crotchet upbeats into groups of three quavers as well as arpeggiation of chords or parts. This third category of courantes, however, relies almost entirely on arpeggiation to achieve a constant quaver movement. In the double of Reynaud fl03 the melodic line of the second strain is frequently so remote from the original as to be unrecognisable. This type of courante demonstrates particularly clearly the primacy in the style brisé of rhythm and stock figures, rather than melody, in defining the character of the dance.

SARABANDES

Sources before c1630

Sarabande-type movements have been noted as the final element in entrée groups in the publications of Robert Ballard (1611 and 1614). The grouping allemande-courante-sarabande does not appear as a regular feature in lute sources before P.Ballard 1631, and indeed sarabandes are very rare before that date¹⁰⁰. The sarabande of Jacob Reys in Herbert (ff84'-85)

99. The Schwerin 641 double is printed as part of No.38. A further double (from Rostock 54), much more melodic in character, is given as No.38bis.

100. See above, n31.

is therefore of considerable interest since Reys died c1605, and it is thus by far the earliest example of a French lute sarabande (Ex.46). It is clearly a quick dance¹⁰¹, and in the multi-sectioned form described by Mersenne. The main elements of the sarabande of the 1630s are present in it - regular four-bar phrases, although in this case they all contain a hemiola; tirer et rabattre chords; and strongly rhythmic chordal passages contrasting with more melodic sections.

Sources c1630-c1650

These features remain typical of this dance throughout the period.

Of the three principal dances in P.Ballard 1631, the sarabande is the most clearly defined. It has of course a number of features in common with the allemande and courante. The division of a rhythm over two or more registers is particularly evident, since the rhythmic movement of the dance is more regular than the courante. In the second couplet of DUFAUT No.46 all but two bars have the rhythm signs |. | yet this regularity is disguised in that the rhythm is divided between treble and bass lines, often with the quaver in the treble and the final crotchet in the bass, giving the effect of an arpègement rather than a rhythmic pattern. This figure is very characteristic of the sarabande. It may affect two lines, as here, or three in a broken chord pattern as in Bouvier No.4 line 2¹⁰². As in the courante, the harmony is mainly diatonic, with stepwise bass progressions predominating. Scalic bass structure is common - the entire first couplet of Belleville No.5 is built on a descending bass scale (f-C). Stereotyped hemiola cadence formulae are very similar to those in courantes with complementary melodic curves in treble and bass (cf. Ex.40). Secondary dominant sequences, such as have been

101. For a discussion of the speed of the sarabande in the seventeenth century, see n103 below.

102. See above, n94.

noted in other dances, are even rarer than in courantes, but when they occur they take very much the same form (see the second couplets of Chevalier Nos.9 and 14).

The danced sarabande was undoubtedly fast at this period, usually danced with castanettes¹⁰³. (Several of its typical features outlined below derive clearly from guitar dance music.) The sequence allemande-courante-sarabande, typical of Pierre Ballard's publications, would thus indicate a tempo progression of moderate-slightly quicker-slightly quicker still, not the "geschlossene Form" of slow-quick-slow assumed by Reimann¹⁰⁴. It is evident from Dumanoir that in the 1660s the sarabande was becoming assimilated to other triple-time dances such as the minuet and chaconne¹⁰⁵, and it is possible that the gigue supplanted the sarabande as a final dance as the sarabande became slower. Burwell (see Chapter I p22) says that the character of the lute is best served by a grave and noble movement. While later sarabandes possess a gentle melancholy which would evaporate in over-vigorous performance, those of the 1630s, if not as robust as the Reys sarabande (Ex.46), have a simple chordal movement which does not imply a slow tempo. A moderate liveliness with a slight quickening of tempo over the courante seems to suit these pieces best.

In general one may distinguish five types of movement as peculiarly characteristic of this dance. Of these, three are represented

103. The French sarabande could be quick at least until the 1670s (D.Devoto, "De la Zarabanda", p43). Castanettes are sometimes mentioned among the accomplishments of young ladies up to that period (Y.de Brossard, "La vie musicale", pl67). These would almost certainly have been used for dancing the sarabande, since Mersenne and others note that "elle se dance au son de la Guiterre, ou des Castaignettes" (Harmonie Universelle Liure Second des Chants, pl65). According to Mersenne the danced sarabande could have any number of couplets. For Mace (Musick's Monument, 1676, pl29) sarabandes were "more Toyish, and Light, than Corantoes" which implies a lively, but not necessarily very fast, tempo. Burwell, f70, allows that "A young Lady may dance the Sarabande with her Lute" as a single concession to other than sedate solo performance. This might imply something rather stately even though they are technically simpler than other dances.

104. M.Reimann, Untersuchungen zur Formgeschichte des französischen Klavier-Suite, p22.

105. Cited by Devoto, op.cit., p41.

in P. Ballard 1631. The first (type 1), of bass note followed by chord, has already been mentioned in connexion with Robert Ballard's entrées (see Ex.8). The bass generally moves by step, either in a falling sequence (MESANGEAU No.16), or a rising one (No.17). This movement is more common at this period than in later sources.

The second (type 2), recalling the lively dance origins of the genre, is a series of three strummed crotchet chords, and very often opens the piece. Most frequently the repeated chords are marked by a successive subtraction of chord members from the bass up. In these sarabandes the number of members in the opening chords may be in the sequence 4-3-1 (Belleville No.5 line 3); 4-3-2 (Bouvier No.10); 5-4-3 (MESANGEAU No.18; or 6-4-3 (DUFAUT No.46). This gives an in-built diminuendo from the first beat of the bar, a feature of the sarabande also noticeable in the feminine cadence formula which omits the bass tonic note on the final beat, the bar thus ending on one note only (Belleville No.5 bbl4, 16, and 20). In the chordal figure the initial chord generally has one or more notes doubled on two courses to give the maximum resonance and number of percussions in the arpègement, sometimes using all six upper courses, as in DUFAUT No.46. The purpose of this duplication was to enable the player to draw one finger over a number of courses without having to leave one out. It is clear from other sources (but not indicated in this one) that these chords were played in a tirer et rabattre sequence¹⁰⁶. According to Burwell, demonstrating the performance of a sarabande¹⁰⁷, "if there be three small stringes together you must not strike them as people did formerly with three severall fingers but with the forefinger only sliding from the Treble upwards (i.e. downwards in pitch) over the Stringes and repeating sometimes the Treble with the middle finger". The first chord would thus be played downwards with Burwell's "sliding stroke" of the forefinger, the thumb playing only the bass note. The second would be played upwards by the forefinger, while the light third

106. In the following, "upwards" is used with reference to pitch. In Burwell to play a chord "upwards" meant from the top course down in pitch.

107. Burwell, f29.

chord would again be played downwards. This is not clearly specified in Burwell nor evident in P.Ballard 1631, but later manuscript sources commonly give fingerings for the last two chords which clearly indicate an alternating motion with the forefinger

$$\left(\begin{array}{c} \dot{a} \dot{a} \\ \dot{a} \dot{a} \\ \dot{a} \dot{a} \end{array} , \begin{array}{c} \dot{a} \dot{a} \dot{a} \\ \dot{a} \dot{a} \dot{a} \\ \dot{a} \dot{a} \dot{a} \end{array} , \text{ or } \left| \begin{array}{c} \dot{a} \dot{a} \\ \dot{a} \dot{a} \\ \dot{a} \dot{a} \end{array} \right| \right).$$

The third type of movement (type 3) is characterised by a simple melodic line on the same principle as the courante's (DUFAUT No.47 line 1, Chancy No.6, etc.).

These types are not of course exclusive, and many sarabandes contain moments of all three types. The importance of rhythm in giving the allure of the dance is evident from the number of occasions in which the upper part is a rhythmicised single pitch. The rhythmic element also dictates the very clear and symmetrical structure typical of this dance, often with a standard phrase construction of bb2-2-4, the 4 containing a hemiola. (Chancy No.12, Chevalier No.14, etc.). Naturally many subtleties of phraseology derive from this simple model, but of the dances considered the sarabande is the least fluid in phrase structure.

The sarabande of CNRS f49 adds a further type (type 4) to the three in P.Ballard 1631, which is a conflation of the forms of sarabande and chaconne. The movement is similar to the Bouvier sarabande in CHANCY p27 (from P.Ballard 1631) which also begins on the second beat. The two repeated couplets of the sarabande are here written out in full, with the upper parts recast for the repeats. The first and second phrases have two different but complementary chaconne bass formulae. The sarabande on CNRS ff4'-5 has a very characteristic rondeau form, in which the refrain couplet has the same beginning but a different continuation at each appearance. In general, many sarabandes have a first couplet structure in which the initial eight-bar phrase is repeated, with its second four bars rearranged to cadence on a different key.

Finally, P.Ballard 1638 adds a common variant of the third, melodic type. In this the second beat of each bar is emphasised by a chord (type 5; see DUBUT No.79). This device is the commonest type of

movement in the keyboard sarabande, and was to become the hallmark of this dance in the later baroque.

While Pierre Gautier's courantes exhibit the fluidity of metre, and ambiguity and variability of phrase length common to this dance, his sarabandes are the most stereotyped, both formally and rhythmically, in the repertoire. They are all of two eight-bar couplets, each containing two four-bar phrases. Types 1-3 of movement are present, although there is a noticeable decrease in the incidence of type 1 from around this date.

Sources c1650-c1670	The sarabandes of the period after c1650 reveal a shift of preference towards the melodic type (type 3), with a relative decline in the number in strummed chordal texture (type 2), probably reflecting a more sedate tempo. Of the melodic type, many preserve the early chordal-rhythmic movement of the dance in having a strong chord placed on the second beat of the bar (type 5). Only one (<u>PINEL</u> No.58) is of the early type associated with Robert Ballard (type 1), although such movement does occur fleetingly elsewhere, as in <u>Monin</u> ff53'-54 (<u>DUBUT</u> No.82). It is not, however, used consistently except in the Pinel example. Few sarabandes contain one type of movement only, the above generalisation being based on the predominant texture of each piece.

Paradoxically, although the sarabande is the most clear-cut and stereotyped of the dances in its phrase structure, it displays the greatest variety of form. First phrases are generally of eight bars (2x4). Most typically couplets begin without an upbeat, although some have a quaver upbeat to the second strain and one (PINEL No.61) has a four-quaver upbeat at the opening. Second strains, however, are very varied in length. The 8 plus 8 proportion of the earlier sarabandes is comparatively rare, although some with 8 plus 12 are in fact of this type when the last four bars constitute a written out petite reprise. The majority have a longer second strain which may be of up to twenty bars (generally 8 plus 16, with

the last four as a written out petite reprise). A feature of Reynaud is second strains of irregular length (f107(b) has 11 bars, f113'(a)(Pinel) has 15). Petites reprises are common, whether integrated into the second couplet or marked with a renvoi. They are generally of four bars (the standard sarabande phrase length) but some have reprises of three bars (Reynaud f107(c) which repeats the final hemiola; Robarts fD7(a) where it is not a hemiola). Hemiolas are very general at section ends, and quite frequent at intermediate phrase ends. They may be notated in $\frac{3}{2}$ bars. One sarabande (Robarts fA4) is particularly rich in hemiolas and is barred throughout in $\frac{6}{3}$. The hemiola does not appear at this stage to be as indispensable feature of this dance as it is of the courante, and it is possible to find examples with none (such as PINEL No.60).

In spite of Mersenne's description of the sarabande as having an indefinite number of sections¹⁰⁸, a very large proportion are of two couplets only, nor is the rondeau type of sarabande, favoured by Denis Gautier, at all common. A single example of these is PINEL No.60 (from Dalhousie 4). It is in four sections of varying length, the first being of four bars and reappears at the end as an integrated petite reprise. The Vincent sarabande on ppl2'-13 of the same source opens with a chaconne-like bass of a descending tetrachord, but this is not repeated either immediately or en rondeau later in the piece.

Of the dance types the sarabande is the least brisé, although this varies between sources. The texture is generally of two parts only, filled out on occasion with chords. In Dalhousie 4 and Schwerin 641 the basically crotchet movement of the superius is not generally syncopated. Reynaud, however, and notably Robarts have a more brisé texture, while the Gautier sarabande in Darmstadt 1655 f13 has an upper line almost entirely in syncopated crotchets and quavers, as has Robarts fG5. But in none of these sources does syncopation

108. See above, n103.

affect the bass with any frequency. As with the other dances, the sarabandes of Rostock 54 are simple in texture with an emphasis on melodic line. Those of Ruthven and Monin, however, are more characteristic, with a very static melodic line and a prevailing rhythm of ♩ ♩ ♩ in the superius, giving the effect of a constant cross-rhythm over the crotchet movement in the bass. Of the genres considered, the sarabande more than others relies for its effect on rhythmic movement applied to a simple harmonic structure. The primacy of harmony over melody is evident in that the movement of the bass determines that of the other parts. Sections are very commonly constructed over long bass scales in crotchets, covering sometimes an octave and a fifth.

Of the sarabandes in these sources those of Denis Gautier are remarkable for their variety of textures and forms. In many cases this is the slightest of the dance types under consideration, but the sarabandes from the Gautier prints are of a degree of elaboration and formal subtlety not found elsewhere, and which makes them among the most extended and impressive of Denis Gautier's pieces. They therefore merit some detailed comment.

A few of the sarabandes are in the common two-section form. Of these the most extended is Ex.47. It is a fine example of how Gautier gives unity to an extended and varied piece by the discreet repetition and the subtle manipulation of motifs. It opens with a formal device, already noted elsewhere, which is used frequently and with great resource by Gautier. Its commonest form is of an eight-bar phrase repeated, but with its last four bars rearranged to cadence on a different key. In this case the opening phrase is of 8 plus 4 bars cadencing on the dominant (b12). On repetition the first four bars are unchanged, providing a kind of head-motif, while the last eight are adjusted to cadence on the tonic (b24). The last four bars are then repeated to provide a petite reprise to this initial section. (Other Gautier sarabandes also have this first section petite reprise, such as Pieces pp82-83 where it is separated by a double bar from the first strain.) Through repetition this four-bar formula acquires the character of a rondeau refrain and is one of Gautier's principal unifying devices. The strain continues

with two different, but complementary, phrases of eight and twelve bars respectively before being concluded by the petite reprise formula. The second strain is more fluid and brisé, contrasting with the first in its avoidance of clear phrase endings, but bound to it at the end again by the rondeau/reprise formula. Notable is the variety of forms taken by the hemiola formula in the course of the piece, including a charming chromatic variant at bb33-36. Apart from this device, and Gautier's expert melodic balance, the piece is subtly unified by the manipulation of small motifs. The bass figure at b20 is inverted to lead into the repeat of the reprise formula (b24) and used again to lead into the next section at b28. The new phrase begins with a figure which grows out of this (b29). Similarly the opening treble figure of the reprise formula (b25) is used to begin a new phrase (b37) where it takes a different harmonic turning. Unity achieved through such small figures is evident also in three-strain sarabandes such as Livre pp76-77 in which the first two strains have phrases beginning with a head-motif of three falling notes, while the last has this figure inverted. Rondeau/reprise formulae also appear in three-strain sarabandes such as Pieces pp82-83.

The longest and most elaborate of the sarabandes is of five strains (Pieces pp46-49). Here the reprise/rondeau appears in the first strain indicated by a renvoi, while a variant of it appears at the end of the second strain, separated by a double bar (bb34-37). This reprise bears a strong resemblance to a chaconne/rondeau formula, and the section beginning at b38 has the character of a rising version of the chaconne bass such as is commonly found in the chaconnes of Lully.

The speed of these Denis Gautier pieces is somewhat problematical. While it is possible to imagine that some of the simple, chordal pieces of earlier sources, with their strummed chords, would have been played quickly, the sarabandes of Denis Gautier have a solemn gravity, with a number of points of resemblance to the chaconne, which indicates a more moderate tempo. If there are strummed passages in his sarabandes they are also to be found in his courantes and even allemandes, but they rarely affect chords of more than

two or three notes. That there was a fairly sedate version of the sarabande at this time is implied by the writer of the Burwell lute tutor¹⁰⁹. In general Gautier appears to have favoured grave tempi in his own playing since the same writer reports a rather unkind remark of Ennemond Gautier's that "his Cousen Gualtier of Paris was fitt to goo along with a Buriall"¹¹⁰.

GIGUES

Gigues first appear in lute sources after cl650¹¹¹. Examples in both Sources cl650-cl670 2 time and 3 time are found in these sources, although none appears variously in both times, as do the well-known Froberger examples. All the movements entitled gigue in Schwerin 641, RhD, Reynaud, and the Denis Gautier prints¹¹² are notated in duple metre. Of the two identifiably French gigues in Darmstadt 1655, one (ff39'-40) is duple, the other (ff53'-54) is triple¹¹³. Only Robarts has a significant number of triple-

109. See above, n91.

110. Burwell, f68'.

111. The earliest example for lute is probably Vm7 6211 f35' (anon.). Rave dates the hand of this section of the MS cl640-1650 ("Some Manuscripts", p134). Rollin (PINEL pXXIV) notes that the gigues of Schwerin 641 (1651) were added later by a second hand.

112. Few of the pieces in RhD bear dance titles, but some are identifiable as gigues from concordances, such as that given as D.GAUTIER No.24 which appears with the title Gigue in Gautier Pieces pp30-31. Dalhousie 4 contains no gigues, reinforcing the impression of its conservative nature.

113. Ff39'-40, anonymous in Darmstadt 1655, is attributed in Rostock 54 to Dufaut; ff53'-54 is attributed to Gautier in Darmstadt 1655, but given as MERCURE p103 from Ruthven.

metre giges.

Duple-metre giges tend to be similar in construction to the allemandes of these sources, although in general they are less intricate in texture, perhaps reflecting a quicker tempo¹¹⁴. A number indeed are indistinguishable from allemandes, such as Schwerin 641 ppl48-149 (PINEL No.81) and several of the Robarts examples. A few, such as Schwerin 641 pp62-63 (given as DUFAUT No.73 from Berlin 40601) exploit the interchangeable motifs characteristic of the allemandes of the 1630s, but most are largely non-motivic, a feature already noted as characteristic of the allemandes of the 1650s and later.

The single distinguishing feature of these giges lies in their opening formulae. Most commonly these are of one of two types: either a motif in a single part¹¹⁵, or in two simultaneous parts¹¹⁶. These contrast with the upbeat followed by chord opening typical of the allemande. There is normally no imitation. The fugal-type opening with consistent imitation lasting up to four bars, common in the keyboard gigue, is considerably less common in lute giges¹¹⁷. As a rule the opening figure of the single-part or fugal types is not taken up again after the first few bars, although in one (DUBUT No.133, from Rostock 54) the opening fugal figure is alluded to in the final bars of the piece. In Robarts f64' (anon.) the opening figure reappears inverted at the beginning of the second strain, but this is very rare in lute giges. As one might expect, the giges of Denis Gautier tend to be more systematic in their use of material. The most ingenious is the "Gigue ou Tocsin" of Livre pp86-87 where there are three successive entries of the double fugue

114. Several contain the strummed chords of quicker dances, for example the opening of the second couplet of Reynaud f114'(a) and several bars in the first strain of Robarts fG4.

115. Reynaud f105'(a)(Gautier), Darmstadt 1655 ff39'-40 (sc. Dufaut), Schwerin 641 p151 (Gautier), ppl61-162 (MERCURE p105), and p171 (anon.). In one Dubut example (Monin ff57'-58) this takes the form of a charming campanella effect over a pedal bass. This is obscured in the version of this piece from Saizenay 1 given as DUBUT No.126.

116. Reynaud f109'(b)(anon.), f114'(a)(anon.), Schwerin 641 p29 (anon.), ppl56-157 (PINEL No.82), pp66-67 (DUFAUT No.77 from Berlin 40601), Robarts fG4'.

117. Schwerin 641 p42 (anon.), pp62-63 (DUFAUT No.73).

opening figure which continues to be developed throughout the first strain. (This piece is, however, untypical in being a character piece and a tour de force to conclude the book.)¹¹⁸

While the opening patterns of the duple-time pieces are undoubtedly a distinguishing feature of the gigue, a number of allemandes begin in very similar ways. Where the opening figure is introduced by an upbeat and chord it is difficult to see a clear distinction between the two dance types¹¹⁹. Indeed the gigue of Schwerin 641 p71 appears again on pp154-155 of the same source as "Allemande de Gautier" (D.GAUTIER No.29) but with the note values doubled. It would be tempting to see an implied tempo proportion here were it not that the situation is exactly reversed in the case of Robarts fC5 (notated in $\frac{4}{2}$) which appears as a C time allemande in the keyboard source Rés.89ter (ff23'-24). Like allemandes, also, the predominant rhythmic movement may be indicated either in even quavers or dotted quavers and semiquavers ($\uparrow \uparrow$)¹²⁰. In either dance, versions of the same piece from different sources may diverge in this respect, and some sources show a preference for one form of notation over the other¹²¹.

118. Two pieces are called "Gigue angloise". This can hardly indicate a type since one of them (Schwerin 641 p42) is a solid example in duple time with a fugal-type opening, while the other (Robarts fG6') is notated in $\frac{3}{4}$, and is in a rather flimsy texture.

119. The tempo relation of the duple-time gigue to the allemande cannot be deduced from these sources. Many pieces have no time signature, but when they do C, $\frac{4}{4}$, and 2 are all used, as they are in allemandes.

120. Compare for example the Vieux Gautier "Carillon" from Barbe (V.GAUTIER No.64, undotted) with the version of the piece called gigue in Perrine 2 (V.GAUTIER No.72, dotted). Perrine also gives two versions of Vieux Gautier's "La Poste" (see Ex.81), once as an allemande and once as a gigue. Other sources give it variously as allemande, gigue, and allemande-gigue. The distinction for Perrine is evidently one of time signature - C for the allemande and $\frac{4}{4}$ for the gigue - with consequent implications for rhythmic inequality. Thus, in C time semiquavers are unequal, while in $\frac{4}{4}$ time quavers are unequal, and indeed he notates them as such. The issue of allemandes-gigues as it applies to keyboard music will be further discussed in the section on the gigue in Chapter IV.

121. The gigue, like the allemande and the courante, may also be a tombeau as in Gautier Livre pp10-11 (V.GAUTIER No.57) which has the title "Testament de Mesangeau" in various sources, and also appears as an allemande.

Gigues notated in triple time have decided affinities with the canarie and sometimes also the volte¹²². Mersenne does not mention the gigue in his discussion of dance types. The canarie was however common in the 1630s since it is the first of the ballet-type dances which he discusses¹²³. His example has no upbeat, but is marked by the characteristic |. ↑ | rhythm. It was evidently very quick, "plus brusque que la Sarabande", and to be danced only by those "qui ont le pied fort prest". Like the sarabande it could have any number of couplets. The majority of gigues with these characteristics are to be found in Robarts, where they are very light in texture and on occasion resemble the canarie down to its |. ↑ | |. ↑ | | opening (fE3')¹²⁴. Few triple-time gigues have a fugal-type opening¹²⁵.

TOMBEAUX AND PAVANES

Sources cl650-cl670

The tombeau begins to appear in sources from about 1650, the earliest being the anonymous "Tombeau de Mesangeau" in the earliest layer of Vm7 6211 (cl640-1650; ff31'-32). Examples are mostly of the allemande type and share the character of Denis Gautier's tombeau for his wife (RhD pp64-65 and Reynaud fl10(a)), displaying slow-moving harmonies in the minor mode whose

122. For volte types see Ruthven ff4'-5, and fl0 (MERCURE pp103-106).

123. Harmonie Universelle Liure Second des Chants, p170.

124. Since Robarts is the earliest source to contain examples for solo lute, there appears to be a time factor involved in the absorption of dance types into solo instrumental repertoire. A canaries does, however, figure in the keyboard source Aberdeen (cl620).

125. Darmstadt 1655 ff53'-54 (MERCURE p103), and the second strain of Rostock 54 p39 (DUBUT No.129).

gravity is heightened by a tendency to settle on pedal points. With the tombeaux given in V.GAUTIER one may include the "Allemande, le languetock ou la Pompe funèbre" (No.7) and "The losse of the Golden Rose Lute" (No.8). In the former, the remarkable $\frac{6}{2}$ chord which opens the piece is a unique effect in the surviving lute music of this period. The edited version is taken from Saizenay 1, but this allemande also survives in a very similar version in the rather earlier Reynaud MS with the innocuous title "Allemande ton universel, ou becarre". A number of other pieces are probably tombeaux, such as the allemande "L'Offrande" attributed to Blancrocher in Oxford 618. These pieces are in effect substantial allemandes in the minor mode.

A further dance type which may have the character of a tombeau is the pavane, such as the "Tombeau de Mr Racquette" in Gautier Livre pp8-11¹²⁶, which is a rare example of a tombeau in the major mode. Perhaps one may see a lute impression of the organist's pedal point in the decorated cadences of the first and third strains. A sequence of full-textured seventh chords in the first strain belongs more to the harmonic language of Corelli than to that of the earlier seventeenth century. It has already been noted that tombeaux may also take the forms of courante or gigue¹²⁷.

Two pavaues - from Schwerin 641 (PINEL No.85) and Robarts (fC2', unattributed) - together with those of the Gautier prints, give the impression that this dance underwent least development during the period. They closely resemble those of the 1630s - tripartite in form, with a texture and part movement similar to the allemande, though with a tendency towards grave minim or crotchet chordal writing. They are typically in a three-part polyphonic texture with a varying amount of quaver brisure. Few are motivic, and the general movement is of a balanced rise and fall of free lines.

126. Tessier's transcription of this piece is reproduced in BONFILS 29/30, pp25-27.

127. See above, p70; and n121.

CHACONNES

Sources before c1650 The chaconne, and the related genres of rondeau and passacaille, are rare in the first half of the century, although, as has been noted, there are a few sarabandes which share features of the chaconne¹²⁸. Works of Ennemond Gautier (d1651) must also date from before c1650, although we cannot know how closely the form in which they survive reflects his original versions, since the sources are somewhat later than c1650¹²⁹.

Of interest from a purely historical point of view is the anonymous "chacogne" in Herbert (f47(b)). Although a poor piece and probably only a fragment, it shows a remarkable similarity in style to very much later chaconnes in its low-lying tessitura, repeated bass extended at each repetition, and alternation of chordal with more brisé sections.

The only other example among earlier sources is the chaconne on pp82-83 of P.Gautier (1638), which is curious both for its appearance at this date and for its structure. It does not have a recurring bass, nor is there any indication that the opening section is to be repeated as a refrain. It has the features of a sarabande, providing further evidence of a link between these two dances. This chaconne was clearly a vehicle for virtuosity: it has an extended passage of campanella scales, a feature of this lute style already noted (this includes a related effect where the same pitch is struck successively on two different courses); it also has passages of an almost experimental nature - a long sequence of quavers on the diapasons, and a couplet featuring a vibrato effect. This variety of effects between couplets was to be continued in some later chaconnes.

128. Type 4, see above, pl14.

129. See also Chapter IV n70.

Sources after cl650

There is very little formal standardisation in the lute chaconne, and virtually every example presents a different formal scheme. Like the keyboard chaconne, however, the refrain where present normally constitutes a harmonic formula, generally of four bars and containing a hemiola, the upper parts being repeated along with the bass. Very few are of the Lully type with a constantly repeated bass. Only the chaconne in Barbe p93 (DUBUT No.112) repeats its bass more or less exactly. A "rondeau chaconne" from the same source (p54, DUBUT No.111) is constructed on a repeated descending bass scale, but this is freely varied throughout the piece. Nor are there many examples of the Louis Couperin type of rondeau. In fact one of the commonest types has the rondeau refrain only at the beginning and end of the piece, with a varying number of intervening couplets, as in the Robarts pieces on ffA3' and El'¹³⁰. It does not appear that the refrain is to be repeated between these couplets since in no case are renvois provided. In a few chaconnes the refrain makes an appearance in the middle of the piece. Such is the Gautier rondeau in Reynaud fl10'(a), in which the intervening couplets are neatly dovetailed into the middle and final entries of the refrain. The refrain in this piece is also adapted to cadence on keys other than the tonic, a procedure similar to that observed in sarabandes. The long Vieux Gautier chaconne in Robarts ffC1-2 (Ex.82) also has entries of the refrain in the course of the piece.

That the essence of this dance, as of others, is contained in the movement of the piece rather than in its formal characteristics is evident from the number of chaconnes/rondeaux in which the opening formula does not reappear at all¹³¹. In some the rondeau formula is not repeated in its entirety, but its second two bars are used to form the final cadence of each section, thus binding the freely developed couplets into the pieces - such are Schwerin 641 ppl38-139

130. Both unattributed, but the second of which has a very similar refrain to V.GAUTIER No.49 and Barbe pl86 (BOCQUET p93).

131. See the following from Saizenay 1: p20 Chaconne (V.GAUTIER No.49); p56 Chaconne (DUBUT No.110); ppl22-123 Chaconne (V.GAUTIER No.50); pl86 Rondeau (DUBUT No.137).

(Gautier) and V.GAUTIER No.49. The similar piece in Robarts fEl' also uses this device in the intermediate sections although it does repeat the refrain at the end. A form favoured by Ennemond Gautier (for example in Robarts ffCl-2 (Ex.82), and V.GAUTIER No.49) is to open with a chordal version of the formula (repeated), followed by a brisé division of it (also repeated).

The commonest bass formula is the descending tetrachord, or its inversion of five rising notes. Frequently however the bass is varied in each section, as in V.GAUTIER No.49. Here the first section bass has the pattern 3451, the second the descending tetrachord, and the third a version of the passamezzo moderno.

A very noticeable feature of these chaconnes is that the tessitura of the refrain tends to be low, indeed many pieces are predominantly sans chanterelle. Strummed chords are almost as much a feature as they are of sarabandes, and these are frequently followed by brisé variants. The subsequent couplets, however, do often show a concern for contrast of texture and tessitura. Robarts fEl' contrasts high and low, brisé chordal and motivic sections very much in the manner of its keyboard counterparts. Schwerin 64l ppl38-139 also, although generally low-lying, develops in its fifth section a more widely spaced texture, and the final two sections develop small figures over the harmonic rondeau pattern. Saizenay 1 ppl22-123 (V.GAUTIER No.50) contrasts full-textured and low-lying tirer et rabattre chords with long passages of quaver divisions rising to the sixth fret of the chanterelle. The majority are notated in $\frac{3}{4}$ time, although two in Robarts (ffA3' and Cl-2) are in $\frac{6}{8}$ barring.

SUMMARY

For reasons given in the introduction to this chapter it has been found most convenient to divide the discussion of lute style by genre, and the division has been preserved for this summary which also includes some general remarks on the questions of tessitura and the "style brisé".

Preludes. Where one might expect to find a development of the semi-measured and unmeasured preludes from the old praeludial forms of canzona and fantasia, no clear line of development is in fact discernable in the available sources. The term "entrée" applied to some might seem to imply a derivation from the measured entrées of, for example, Robert Ballard. Early examples do not, however, support this derivation, and the term probably implies no more than an opening movement. The existing early examples show a gradual rhythmic loosening of the older type of measured, chordal prelude and the incorporation into it of freely improvisatory elements. That the prelude was essentially an improvised genre is evident not only from its free notation, but also from the prevalence of harmonic formulae and stock figures. In the hands of a sensitive lutenist these elements were used with considerable subtlety, and in a decidedly compositional manner. The prelude could in fact be just as premeditated as any of the succeeding movements. As Mersenne remarks of the lute prelude, it may itself be preferred by the listener to what follows¹³².

Preludes exploit a number of devices arising directly from the technique of the lute (campanella effects; small motivic cells of which only the first note is struck by the right hand). Yet in their principal features the lute preludes from the 1630s already exhibit the characteristics of keyboard preludes dating from after c1650 - a

132. Les Preludes de l'Harmonie universelle (Paris 1634) Preface au lecteur (n.p.).

largely three-part texture, contrasts of register and of brisé, as opposed to chordal, texture used as structural devices, traits, and the structural importance of bass pitches. As a genre, the lute prelude also lends itself to a sensuous and purely harmonic use of dissonance, which was to be one of the most remarkable characteristics of the keyboard prelude.

Allemandes. Of the dance movements, the allemande most clearly demonstrates the progressive removal of the art form from its danced prototype. Those of the 1630s are, as it were, at one remove, developing lines of plasticity and freedom, but still with the character of the dance given by standard opening figures and by a surface interplay of contrapuntally derived motifs. After c1650, however, many allemandes consist of standard harmonic formulae rhythmicised into the movement of the dance by the processes of brisure. There is a general suppression of motifs, and a shift from quaver to semiquaver movement. Occasionally standard figures of the four- or five-part dance music are identifiable, but pared down to a highly abstracted and allusive form. Apart from this harmonically based allemande, there is also a more melodic type, mainly in two parts with functional accompaniment.

Courantes. The courantes of the first two decades of the century frequently derive their melodic line from dance timbres or airs de cour, and even when this is not the case they have the clearly defined phraseology and melodic contour of dance music. Those from the 1630s, however, avoid this definition by the elision of phrases and the restriction of melodic ambitus. Since the courante as a genre is present in sources throughout the period, this shift in orientation away from melody towards the manipulation of abstract formulae is clearly traceable. Later courantes show a move from crotchet to quaver movement, implying an increase of brisure, and are of three main types. The first type has a clear melodic line, sometimes, but not necessarily, of dance origin. The second type is essentially melodic, with emphasis on the superius, but with passages of purely harmonic effect. These are generally based on stereotyped harmonic formulae and may involve hemiolas or tirer et rabattre effects.

Here the allure of the dance takes precedence over melodic definition. In the third type, quaver brisure of harmonic progressions prevails to the virtual suppression of melodic interest.

Sarabandes. The sarabande has the most clearly defined types of movement, of which there are five broad categories¹³³. The first type is of bass note followed by chord (see Ex.8). This was common in the first half of the century, but less so after c1650. The second type consists of tirer et rabattre chords. These also appear in courantes, but are a particular characteristic of the sarabande. The third type is melodic, similar in texture to the melodic type of courante, being mostly in two parts, but with occasional chordal accents and filling-out towards cadences. This type is, however, distinguishable from the courante in the sarabande's characteristic lack of upbeat, and in four-bar phrases ending on the third beat of the bar. The fourth type is a conflation of sarabande and chaconne. This was particularly finely handled by Denis Gautier. The movement of the two genres is very similar, and the sarabande's stepwise bass may often resemble a chaconne bass pattern. As in the chaconne, a cadence formula may constitute a unifying device. The fifth type is melodic, but with a prevalent second-beat chordal accent. This became the characteristic of the sarabande par excellence in the later baroque, particularly in keyboard music. In seventeenth-century French lute repertoire, however, it is no more common than other types. These types are not mutually exclusive, and many sarabandes contain sections of various types.

The sarabande is the least fluid genre in its phrase structure, with few phrases not of four bars. On the other hand, it is the most varied formally, with an indefinite number of strains. A very typical device is to repeat a four- or eight-bar phrase, adapting it on repetition to cadence on a different key. Of the dances, this is generally the least brisé, and more so than others relies on the

133. These types are numbered chronologically, i.e. type 1 is the earliest to appear in the sources, and type 5 the latest.

rhythmic allure of the dance, applied to a simple harmonic structure.

The sarabande began as a quick dance and remained so into the 1630s, explaining its position as the final element of the allemande-courante-sarabande grouping found in sources before c1650. After that date it appears to have slowed in tempo, and the Denis Gautier examples (printed c1670) are subtly reflective pieces.

Gigues. Gigues fall into two types - those in 2-time and those in 3-time. There is no evidence in the lute sources for a compound-time interpretation of duple gigues, since none appears also notated in triple time. The duple-time gigues share many of the features of the allemande, with a characteristic opening figure followed by freely developed phrases for the rest of the strain. The fugal openings common in keyboard gigues are rare in lute ones, nor does the opening figure tend to reappear, inverted or otherwise, in the second strain. Little can be deduced from time signatures with regard to a tempo relationship in pieces which occur variously as allemande and gigue. Few triple-time gigues have fugal-type opening figures. They are probably quicker than duple-time examples since they are akin to the canarie which, according to Mersenne, was a very sprightly dance.

Chaconnes. The remaining important genre, the chaconne and related forms, shares many features with the sarabande including its stereotyped four-bar phrase structure and tirer et rabattre chords. A common feature is for a chordal refrain to be repeated in a brisé division. The chaconne also shares the formal variety of the sarabande. Very few are of the Lully type, with repeated bass¹³⁴, or in Louis Couperin's rondeau form. Indeed, there is little evidence of a formal standard in lute examples, and the character of the dance is

134. Lully does not of course repeat the bass exactly, but sections of his chaconnes are constructed over variations of the same bass outline. It is curious that this principle is not found to operate in any lute chaconnes.

established solely by its movement. The commonest type has its refrain only at the beginning and end, with a variable number of couplets intervening. A few also have an appearance of the refrain in the course of the piece. In a number of chaconnes the opening refrain-type phrase does not reappear at all. As in the sarabande, the refrain phrase may be adapted to cadence in different keys. A device which may be used with great subtlety is to represent the refrain by its cadence formula only, which may appear at the end of a couplet to represent the refrain. Contrasts of texture and tessitura are a feature of couplets.

Tessitura. A very noticeable feature of the chaconne is the low tessitura particularly of refrains, which are generally written sans chanterelle. This is not, however, limited to the chaconne. Indeed, one of the most striking features of P. Ballard 1631, in contrast to earlier sources, is the low tessitura, reminding one of Mersenne's remark on the French preference for grave and melancholy music. A number of pieces do not use the top course at all. Mesangeau in particular shows a penchant for writing sans chanterelle, but pieces by other lutenists frequently have substantial sections without the top course, sometimes using it only for a few notes in an entire piece. It is rare to find a fret above letter f used on any course. This takes advantage of the new tunings which were designed to improve the clarity and resonance of the lower courses by raising them in pitch. Further evidence of the sensitivity of lutenists to the sheer sound of their instrument is in the variety of techniques for modifying the resonant after-sound, reflected in the tables of ornaments in the printed books of Pierre and Denis Gautier, Mouton and Gallot.

The "style brisé". In general, the dominant feature of the style lies in the operation of the brisure which, as has been seen, takes different forms in relation to different genres. This clearly derives from certain division figures of sixteenth-century lute music, and which were by no means exclusively characteristic of French music. At this stage it was used in regular patterns forming,

as it were, a block of one texture in the course of a piece. Later it became a pervasive aspect of style, but avoiding the symmetry of sixteenth-century examples. It first appears in the works of Francisque (1600), and its use was much extended and developed by Robert Ballard (1611 and 1614). At its most typical it is a means of preserving the impetus of quaver or semiquaver movement by dividing it between parts rather than by confining it to a single part. Its various modes of operation may be seen most clearly in courante doubles: 1) a line of quavers in one part, which may include campanella effects; 2) a melody mainly in one part, but with pauses to allow for a chord spread in quaver rhythm; 3) an upper part in quavers, but with pauses to allow for bass pitches; 4) two parts in interlocking brisure; 5) more than two parts in interlocking brisure. Any one type is rarely pursued for more than a bar, and quaver movement migrates freely between parts. It is, however, difficult to generalise about the prevalence of brisure since some sources present highly arpeggiated versions of pieces which appear elsewhere in plainer versions. The extent of its use clearly depended on the taste of the performer.

That it is a style peculiarly suited to the lute is evident from the ease with which it may be represented in tablature, typically by a scatter of pitches of differing registers governed by a single quaver stem. This gives a decidedly simpler impression than staff notation, which cannot fairly represent the effect without recourse to the complex notation of syncopations and tenuti. Tablature also leaves the player free to decide on the degree of pedalisation he requires, and which notes to interpret as melody and which as accompaniment. Many typical figures also lie very conveniently under the player's hand. In later sources (after c1650) the characteristic movement of a dance is maintained by dividing its rhythm over all the parts, rather than confining it to the melody, whether the $\downarrow \uparrow$ rhythm of the allemande or gigue, or the $\downarrow \uparrow \downarrow$ rhythm of the courante, sarabande, or chaconne. Thus many dances present the aspect of rhythmicised chord progressions. In the hands of one of the principal lutenists this is far from being a mere trick of style, but is used as a structural device, as in the characteristic increase of quaver movement towards cadences, or as a means of sensitively highlighting dissonance. As a general

principle, one may trace in dance movements a gradual progression away from the original danced prototypes, as the procedures of the style brisé dissolved the rhythmically defined, melody-orientated types in earlier sources into an ever more distantly allusive style.

CHAPTER III

REPERTOIRE EXISTING IN VERSIONS FOR BOTH LUTE AND KEYBOARD

In this chapter I attempt to define, by means of a detailed comparison of pieces existing in versions for both lute and keyboard, what the style of the clavecinistes may be said to have in common with that of the lute, and what distinguishes the two styles. Perhaps most importantly a comparison may help to decide whether features of keyboard style, which at first sight appear to derive from the lute, do in fact, or are in reality peculiar to the keyboard but intended to represent a lute effect.

From the concordance of keyboard versions of lute pieces, given in Volume II, it will be seen that the source material is very extensive. Sources may, however, be grouped according to their nature, date, and place or origin. Within these groupings, representative pieces have been selected for close examination. Only a study of different versions of the same piece can yield the firm detail upon which one may base a clear and fully articulated definition of the relationship between the two repertoires. The broad outlines of this definition are summarised at the end of the chapter.

In order to assess the relative importance of keyboard sources for this study, some discussion of the nature and status of the more important sources is necessary. As with Chapter II, the material of the chapter is presented in two sections. Section 1 gives a general survey of the sources discussed, and Section 2 contains the discussion of style. The aim of Section 1 is to outline what each of these sources may be expected to contribute to the discussion¹.

The principal gain from the source study is the new light shed on

1. It is not practicable here to give full details of every source mentioned. Many sources are referred to solely because they provide concordances for pieces in the principal sources. General references for all sources mentioned are given in the explanation of sigla at the end of this volume, and full information for most keyboard sources will be found in B.Gustafson, French Harpsichord Music of the 17th Century. Only additional information with a bearing on their value as evidence for the influence of lute style is given here. In the case of keyboard sources not discussed by Gustafson, references are given in a footnote at the first mention of the source.

individual keyboard sources. It emerges that the French element in Lynar is very likely, on the basis of a detailed stylistic comparison with lute versions, to represent a keyboard equivalent to the lute style of Robert Ballard. Indeed, Lynar is the only source to give a reflexion of French professional keyboard style in the period 1610-1620. The lute sources also shed new light on the repertoire of another important keyboard source of the period before 1650 - Copenhagen 376. Non-French keyboard sources after 1650 reveal a wide variety of approaches to representing lute style in keyboard terms, with different approaches being preferred in different areas. For example, the group of Munich MSS may be viewed as an attempt to adapt lute tablature to keyboard notation, an adaptation which only a close comparison with actual lute versions can accurately assess. Comparison with lute sources has also made it possible to assess and categorise the arrangements in the most important single source of seventeenth-century French harpsichord music - the Bauyn MS.

In Section 2 the grouping of sources adopted has in fact been imposed by the nature of the sources themselves. Generally speaking, sources of German origin tend to adapt lute features to an idiomatic keyboard texture, while Swedish ones tend to be more literal in transferring lute textures to the keyboard. The majority of French professional arrangements are the work of a single claveciniste of the first rank - D'Anglebert, and are the most sophisticated and effective in the repertoire. It would not be helpful to change the focus of attention constantly from one source group to another. Accordingly, sources are arranged in four broad groupings: 1) non-French sources before 1650; 2) non-French sources after 1650; 3) French professional sources; and 4) lute arrangements of keyboard pieces. Within these groupings the discussion is divided, where possible, by type of arrangement and genre.

From the wide range of available sources only a relatively small number are discussed in detail. Versions of the first quality, such as the arrangements made by D'Anglebert, clearly deserve the closest attention, and indeed have a musical interest quite independent of their historical significance. While the same cannot be said

of versions at the other end of the spectrum, there are nonetheless points of considerable value which may be derived only from the totality of the available source material. All in all, the whole range of sources provides a sufficient number of typical examples of suitable quality on which one may base conclusions.

One general problem of assessing the status of sources should be mentioned here. In no single instance can we be certain of what the keyboard players worked from when arranging lute pieces; indeed we cannot always be sure that they worked from any lute original. A close examination of the sources, however, enables us to establish degrees of likelihood which may provide a reasonable solution for this potential difficulty. The relationship may be analysed in terms of three broad categories: 1) pieces which circulated as melodies only. Here all the versions may differ in treatment, key, lute tuning, and so on. This is especially common with the widely circulated dance timbres of the early part of the century². A comparison of these remote versions can nonetheless prove instructive, since they provide examples of how lutenists and keyboard players approached in different ways the setting of a common melody with its associated tempo, mood, and general movement. In particular, it is these seemingly unpromising versions which have provided the basis for a distinction between the typical, functional, lute texture of dance music and its keyboard equivalent - what amounts to a standard keyboard format for dance music - which constitutes one of the most important findings in this study. 2) Dance movements where readings are fairly close, and where one or more keyboard versions may in matters of texture, tessitura, and details of brisure be taken to be modelled on a lute original. 3) Cases where the lute sources, often of widely scattered provenance, are virtually unanimous in their readings in

2. They have a later counterpart in the melodies from Lully's ballets and operas which appear with increasing frequency in both lute and keyboard sources from c1660. I have not included Lully transcriptions since they would greatly increase the source material without adding significantly to my conclusions. The majority are simple treble and bass settings, frequently departing in harmonisation and barring from the originals, suggesting that they are melody settings only. They date from a period when lute and keyboard styles are each clearly defined.

which case it is likely that the keyboard arranger worked from something close to the known lute versions. These examples are particularly useful as an indication of the keyboard figures typically employed to represent specific lute effects. To this category belong most of the settings from the second half of the century.

Finally, a small group of lute arrangements of keyboard works is considered briefly. These are valuable for the confirmation they give of the findings of the previous discussion. In some cases it is not possible to say whether a piece originated in lute or keyboard form, but since they have hitherto been classed as keyboard pieces, and there is no way of proving them otherwise, they have been included here.

A summary of the findings of the previous detailed discussions concludes the chapter. I have attempted to categorise in broad terms which lute figures are found in the keyboard style, and how closely they are represented. This provides the basis for the detailed consideration in Chapter IV of the nature and extent of lute influence in the central keyboard repertoire.

1. SURVEY OF KEYBOARD SOURCES CONTAINING ARRANGEMENTS OF LUTE PIECES.

Non-French keyboard sources before c1650

At the outset of the discussion of style (Section 2) a small group of three pieces has been selected from various non-French keyboard sources to demonstrate the emergence of characteristic textures of French-influenced keyboard music of the early seventeenth century. The sources from which these are taken are the English keyboard sources Parthenia In-Violata (printed)³ and Rés.1185 (MS)⁴, and the German keyboard source Witzendorff (MS)⁵.

For the first half of the century, two non-French manuscript sources are of particular importance - the German source Lynar (c1615-1650) and the Danish source Copenhagen 376 (1626-c1650)⁶.

Lynar is a major source for keyboard works of Sweelinck, but contains also works by virginalists and their north German and Dutch contemporaries. It is of professional quality, and may have been compiled in southern Germany⁷. The French element consists of eight courantes (Nos. 62-69 in the source), five of which are attributed to French composers (one to Gautier, one to Ballard, and three to La Barre). For three of them lute versions have been identified (Anon.C2 "La

3. See R.T.Dart in Musica Britannica XIX, p229. Dart dates this source c1625. For a full discussion of the source and its dating, see R.T.Dart's and R.J.Wolfe's notes in the facsimile edition. The Bull coranto discussed does not exist in a lute version, but has been chosen to exemplify a typical keyboard texture of c1620.

4. See Dart in Musica Britannica XIV, p259; Maas, English Pastime Music, pviii; and Gustafson, op.cit., I pp57-60.

5. See Gustafson, op.cit., I p21. Although a somewhat later source (1655-1659), it contains a keyboard version of a Mesangeau courante which provides a necessary point of comparison with the previous two pieces.

6. Datings for keyboard sources are those given by Gustafson unless otherwise stated. The French pieces in Lynar are edited in BONFILS 58/59; a complete transcription of Copenhagen 376 is in A.Dickinson, "Keyboard Tablatures of the mid-seventeenth Century".

7. See Gustafson, op.cit., I pp30-32.

Vignonne", Ballard Cl, and Gautier Cl)⁸. The importance of Lynar for this study is that it, alone of the sources considered, appears to present a contemporary keyboard equivalent to the earliest phase of the lute's style brisé as represented by the publications of Robert Ballard (1611, 1614) and Herbert⁹. Since Lynar is a source of professional quality, it provides a unique example of keyboard writing, with an element of lute influence, at the transitional stage before the appearance of Pierre Ballard's lute publication of 1631.

Lynar is the earliest keyboard source to contain attributions to a La Barre. This name occurs in many non-French keyboard sources throughout the century, and the possibility of there being a lutenist member of this large musical dynasty is an intriguing one¹⁰.

8. Keyboard pieces with lute concordances have been given short titles, underlined, for convenience of reference. These abbreviations are explained in the Note to Readers at the beginning of this thesis (pvi). Full concordance lists for all pieces existing in versions for both keyboard and lute are given in Volume II.

9. The fact that I have chosen to treat Lynar as representing the earliest layer of this repertoire needs some explanation since the dating of the French element in it is uncertain. The problems surrounding its dating and its status as a source of French keyboard music have been most recently discussed by Gustafson (op.cit., I pp30-32) who dates its compilation between 1615 and 1650. However, as he points out, the composers represented belong mostly to the generation born around 1560, although some were born as late as 1590. The 1650 date is postulated on account of a suite in later style, entered probably by a different hand, at the end of the MS. The eight courantes which constitute the relevant section of the source are attributed to composers of the generation represented in the lute source Herbert (see Chapter II, pp59-61) - Gautier and Robert Ballard - with which Lynar has concordances. In the case of the other composer in Lynar, La Barre, it is not known which member of that numerous family is in question, or whether he was a lutenist or a keyboard player (see the next footnote).

10. The problems surrounding La Barre attributions as they affect keyboard sources have been comprehensively discussed by Gustafson (op.cit., I pp58-60) who suggests that there may have been a lutenist or keyboard La Barre working in England from c1625. A study of the lute sources has shed disappointingly little light on this issue. The name occurs only twice in them, and at opposite ends of the century (Besard 1617 and Saizenay 1). The Anglo-French lute sources which might be expected to provide further evidence (CNRS and the Dalhousie MSS) have very few attributions. Nor have any helpful concordances emerged.

The other of the two early keyboard sources - Copenhagen 376 - is not of the quality of Lynar, yet it is a good amateur source and may have been compiled by a teacher for a pupil¹¹. Eleven of the sixty-nine pieces have lute concordances. One further piece, although without concordances, is attributed to the lutenist Mesangeau. Copenhagen 376 is of particular importance in that it presents examples of most of the principal keyboard textures and styles of arrangement which are typical of the main body of French-influenced harpsichord music throughout the century¹².

Although the discussion at this point is centred on these two sources, selected concordant keyboard versions are presented for comparison. Such comparison is particularly valuable in the case of a piece existing in widely different versions.

11. The fullest descriptions of the source are by Dickinson ("Keyboard Tablatures of the mid-seventeenth Century in the Royal Library Copenhagen", pp30-107) and Gustafson (French Harpsichord Music, I ppl0-18). Gustafson concludes that the manuscript was probably compiled by a number of amateurs, possibly a family, over the middle third of the century. The numerous fingerings which constitute one of the source's main points of interest imply amateur use. However, the actual arrangements are done skilfully enough to indicate that the writers may have copied from versions prepared by professionals. This is clear when one compares the Copenhagen readings with those of truly amateur keyboard sources such as Campbell and Innsbruck.

12. The title of the "Courante de Delphin" in this source (Anon.C4) has aroused some speculation since it has been used as evidence that Copenhagen 376 may have been connected with Delphin Strunck, and through him with the Sweelinck circle. The arguments concerning this view have been convincingly set out by Dickinson (op.cit., pp35-39, and also in "A Closer Look at the Copenhagen Tablature in the Royal Library, Copenhagen", Dansk Aarbog for Musikforskning, 8(1977)9-11). She concludes that this is just as likely to be the title of a ballet timbre ("A Closer Look", p9 nl4). The possibility of this courante, whether as original lute piece or dance melody, being the work of a German composer now recedes further since a version of it appears in the French lute source Vm7 6211, although without title or attribution. Whatever its origins, the courante evidently circulated as a piece, since it appears in the later German or Scandinavian lute source Rostock 54, again unattributed.

Non-French keyboard sources after c1650

German sources

Non-French keyboard sources from
the second half of the century

divide naturally into two categories - one of German, and one of Swedish sources. The first (of German sources) consists primarily of the three Munich manuscripts (c1660?), the two Darmstadt manuscripts (1672, 1674), and Hintze (1650-1674?). These contain mostly simple settings of popular melodies which may have been made from lute originals, but are more likely to be parallel settings for keyboard. They also contain settings of known lute pieces, mainly by Pinel and the Gautiers, which have been reworked to a greater or lesser degree to conform to a keyboard texture. They provide further evidence from the latter half of the century of the procedures outlined for Copenhagen 376. (The few pieces with lute concordances from French amateur keyboard sources employ the same techniques.) Other German keyboard sources of this period contain undoubted settings of lute pieces, whether of pieces known in lute versions or attributed to identifiable lutenists. These sources are from the end of the century - Nuremberg (1669-1721) and Ottobeuren (1695) - and reveal a continuing interest in French lute music of the period of the Gautiers and Dufaut some time after it had gone out of fashion in Paris. The versions they give are comparatively unskilled, and since they shed little new light on the techniques of the central repertoire they will not be considered in any detail. For convenience, one isolated piece from an English keyboard source is included here - a courante by Dufaut from Ch.Ch.1236 (c1650-1674).

A particular point of interest is raised, among these German sources, by the Munich manuscripts. These are written in a kind of letter notation which could be seen as an effort to appropriate to the keyboard some of the advantages of lute tablature. A similar form of notation is used in the early, amateur French keyboard source Aberdeen (c1620)¹³ and also in the very professional French source

13. See Barry Cooper, "A New Source (c1600) of Chansons and Keyboard Music", Recherches XXI(1981)13-17. Aberdeen is a source of such poor quality that the question of whether it contains arrangements of lute pieces is not of concern here.

of the 1650s, Oldham, where it is used for two autograph pieces by D'Anglebert¹⁴. In the case of Aberdeen and the Munich MSS it is possible that this was a form of notation designed for beginners rather than an imitation of the lute. They do not exploit the durational ambiguity of lute tablature which would be its main advantage, nor do they use lute-type rhythmic indications. A genuine example of beginner's notation in a keyboard source, with letters written under the notes, is provided by Gen.2350/57¹⁵. The fact that D'Anglebert used a letter notation, complete with rhythm signs and tenuti in a complex brisé texture, leaves no doubt that he at least intended to take advantage of the lute tablature's simpler notation of brisé texture. The Munich handling of it is simpler, but the pieces are simpler as well. Indeed, their nature is such that surprisingly little can be concluded from a study of the pieces, other than that their writers chose to adapt lute tablature to the keyboard. Some conventionally notated keyboard sources such as Dart¹⁶ seem at first to be careless in the alignment of notes in chords, but on closer inspection this appears to represent a notated arpègement, providing a further example of a desire to approximate to the flexibility of lute notation.

Swedish sources

The principal Swedish keyboard sources of concern here are:

Skara (1659-1661), compiled by Gustaf Düben and containing almost exclusively dance movements; Ihre (c1679), a professional MS source whose French element consists almost exclusively of transcriptions; Stockholm 176 (after 1681), also professional, containing a substantial number of transcriptions, including keyboard versions of pieces from Lully's stage works;

14. Oldham also contains a version of Monnard C2 which may originally have been a lute piece. See the section on lute versions of keyboard pieces below (p207).

15. See below, n43.

16. A French amateur MS compiled post-1687 (Gustafson, French Harpsichord Music, I pp113-114).

and Stockholm 228 (after 1685), a household MS which includes three Gautier pieces in keyboard versions¹⁷. These constitute the second group of non-French sources from the latter half of the century, and are generally of slightly later date than the German ones. They are noteworthy in providing the only substantial body of pieces to be set as almost literal transcriptions for keyboard, generally preserving the pitch of the lute versions and reflecting the originals down to small details of brisure. They provide useful points of reference as more or less exact replicas of lute textures transferred to the keyboard.

The repertoire of these sources presents something of a puzzle. It consists of settings of airs, popular timbres, chorale settings (Stockholm 228), and dances, probably mostly by German or Scandinavian composers – the majority anonymous but there are some attributions to Düben and Strobel. Apart from one La Barre attribution and a couple of concordances with pieces attributed to him elsewhere (Ihre), no pieces which could possibly be by French harpsichordists have been identified. Yet all these sources contain a significant number of keyboard settings of pieces by identifiable French lutenists. It is odd that this should be the only French repertoire represented at a time when works by Chambonnières occur in Germanic and English sources, and the prints of Lebègue were being widely circulated and copied. One can only assume that this resulted from the provincial conservatism of Swedish musical centres, where the type of repertoire current in the 1650s continued to be cultivated after it had gone out of fashion elsewhere. Works by Dufaut, Mercure, the Gautiers, Mouton, and Gallot continued to figure in Swedish lute sources into the eighteenth century¹⁸.

17. Further details for all these sources will be found in Gustafson, French Harpsichord Music.

18. Kenneth Sparr, "French Lutenists and French Lute-Music in Sweden" (Table ronde internationale: De l'édition critique des sources à l'interprétation de la musique de luth, Tours 1980. A published report of this conference is forthcoming). According to Sparr the following French lutenists are mentioned in seventeenth-century Swedish court records: Lespine (c1620), Bechon (1644–1647), Voullon (theorbist, 1646–1653), several members of the Béthune family (1649–1651), Picquet (1650–1652). Also the Swedish nobleman Louis de Geer evidently took lute lessons in Paris in 1639–40 (see L.de Geer).

In view of the literalness of these arrangements, one piece (DG.C2 "La belle homicide") raises an interesting possibility. This was one of the most widely circulated pieces in the seventeenth century, and a version of it appears in Mouton's first book of Pieces de Luth. The keyboard version in Stockholm 176 is the closest to Mouton's of any keyboard version; in fact this is one of the closest keyboard settings to a lute version in these sources (see Ex.65), and raises the question whether some of these keyboard versions may have been copied from Mouton's currently unlocated Pieces pour le Clavecin of 1679¹⁹ for which only a Swedish reference is known. Possibly Mouton's publication was similar in nature and intent to Perrine's Pieces de luth en musique (1680)²⁰, containing lute pieces written in staff notation rather than tablature and therefore suitable for use at the harpsichord. If it could be shown that the Swedish arrangements were probably copied from Mouton's harpsichord Pieces, it would bring us within sight of the only known corpus of pieces to be written for keyboard by a lutenist. Unfortunately, an examination of the sources makes this unlikely. No known pieces by Mouton have been found in the Stockholm keyboard tablatures of this period, and the only piece not by himself to figure in Mouton's known publications is this courante by Denis Gautier. Nevertheless the possibility is intriguing, if unlikely.

A number of these non-French keyboard sources are given close consideration since, in the absence of a substantial number of French arrangements, they provide keyboard versions of the principal lute genres. The problems facing arrangers are common to all keyboard players, whether French or not, and the solutions adopted reveal certain standard procedures in terms of a French keyboard style, albeit internationalised. They thus provide a useful point of reference in assessing the central repertoire, which has so often

19. K.Sparr, op.cit..

20. Perrine 2, see below, pl49-150.

been said to have adopted the stylistic vocabulary of the lute. In themselves they provide clear evidence of the interest taken in lute repertoire by keyboard players in the French style.

French professional keyboard sources

Only two French professional keyboard sources present arrangements of lute music in significant numbers - Bauyn (after 1658?) and Rés.89ter (probably 1677-1680; an autograph manuscript of D'Anglebert). This section also gives a brief account of the two publications of Perrine (c1680) since they are frequently mentioned for comparative purposes in the stylistic commentary in Section 2 of the chapter.

Bauyn is a large anthology compiled by a professional copyist²¹. Four of the pieces in Bauyn III are definitely arrangements made from works by known lutenists. At least a further three may well derive from lute sources. Definitely arrangements are three sarabandes (Gautier S3, Mesangeau S1, and Pibel S2), and a canarie (VG.Canarie 1)²². Possibly arrangements are a fantasia attributed to Lorency, Vincent Pavane 1 (for which no lute source has been

21. Bauyn was compiled in three distinct sections: Bauyn I contains works by Chambonnières; Bauyn II, works by Louis Couperin; and Bauyn III, which has been characterised by Gustafson as "a wide sampling of other music which was prized by a discriminating Parisian harpsichordist" (French Harpsichord Music, I p96). For a full discussion of this source, see Gustafson, op.cit., I pp96-105. The pieces relevant to this discussion are all contained in Bauyn III.

22. These are Nos. 62, 64, 65, and 90 in the source.

identified), and Anon.Pavane 1 which also appears as a lute piece in Saizenay 2²³. The arrangements are not of the quality of Rés.89ter. However, in view of the fact that this is the single most important source of seventeenth-century French harpsichord music, they merit at least some brief consideration.

In contrast to Bauyn, and indeed the other French professional sources, Rés.89ter is unique in providing a significant number of settings which show a very skilful arranger at work, who is prepared to make substantial alterations in adapting his originals to his own highly personal idiom. Of forty-eight pieces in Rés.89ter, fifteen are attributed to lutenists. Lute versions for all but two of these have been identified.

23. Nos. 37, 43, and 93 in Bauyn III.

With regard to the second group, Gustafson suggests (French Harpsichord Music, I p327) that "Lorency" may be the Italian lutenist Lorencini. This is unlikely since the majority of Lorencini's works appear in very early century sources, mainly Besard 1603, nor is this piece in Crawford's Lorencini edition. The piece may be Italian, but its use of chromaticism, particularly the diminished fourth, is more reminiscent of Froberger and Roberday (a transcription is given by Kitchen, "Harpsichord Music of seventeenth-Century France", p.xlii). The lack of integrity of parts suggests that it is not an organ piece. It recalls the lute in the pedalisation of lower bass notes, and free-voiced texture with mild brisé syncopations. Nevertheless, it is fuller in texture than is usual with lute arrangements in this source, and could well be an original harpsichord piece.

In contrast, Vincent Pavane 1 probably is of lute origin. Numerous works are attributed to Vincent in lute sources, whereas this is the only keyboard piece attributed to that name. Its texture is much freer and sparer than that of the "Lorency" fantasia, with the frequent wide gaps between bass and two upper parts characteristic of lute texture, and a well-developed quaver and semiquaver brisure. The extended pedal in the third strain recalls the lute pavaues of Vieux Gautier, notably "Circé" (V.GAUTIER No.48).

Anon.Pavane 1 almost certainly is an arrangement from the lute. Its spare, three-part texture and very free voicing point to this, as well as the fact that the lute version is in f sharp minor, a key peculiar to the lute. There is no reason why the lute version could not have been in a minor like the keyboard one. The upward transposition of a third is found in the other Bauyn arrangements (see for example VG.Canarie 1, Ex.69). It is thus likely that this is a rare example of a keyboard arrangement of a lute pavane.

In view of the large number of lute arrangements in non-French sources it is surprising that there should be so few in French ones. In the 1630s Mersenne indicated at least the possibility of transferring lute repertoire to other instruments by providing instructions for transcription from tablature "pour transporter les beautez & les richesses du Luth sur les autres instrumens"²⁴. The great majority of known French arrangements are the work of a single harpsichordist, D'Anglebert. Why he should have made such arrangements remains a problem, particularly since he was involved in court music at a time when the lute was going out of fashion²⁵. One possibility is that they were apprentice works, made early in his career (the 1650s and 1660s). Yet the arrangements all figure in Rés.89ter which was compiled in the late 1670s and are fully characteristic examples of his mature keyboard style²⁶. Another is that they were made in response to the request of a patron such as the Princesse de Conti, dedicatee of his published collection of 1689. But the Pieces de Clavecin contain arrangements only of Lully pieces, while the lute arrangements all appear in a manuscript evidently reserved for D'Anglebert's personal use. A third possibility is that the making of such arrangements may have been traditional for keyboard players, in which case it is odd that so few others survive in the French sources, and none, other than these, are attributed to the principal clavecinistes. Other harpsichordists apparently did not take the trouble to arrange lute pieces in an age when virtuosi played largely their own music, although there is evidence in the keyboard sources that harpsichordists played one another's works. Louis Couperin, for example, provided doubles for Chambonnières's allemande "Le Moutier" and Hardel's popular gavotte. D'Anglebert also arranged and provided doubles for pieces by Chambonnières, Louis Couperin, and Richard. In one instance he modelled a piece of his own on a sarabande of Chambonnières, which Gustafson suggests may have been an act of homage to his teacher. This could also be the case with his arrangements of works

24. Harmonie Universelle, Traité des Instrumens a cordes, Preface au lecteur (n.p.).

25. See Chapter I, pp21-23.

26. Douglas Maple, who is currently engaged in a detailed study of Rés.89ter, has identified two layers of entry into the MS, one later than the other. Lute transcriptions occur in both layers (communication from Douglas Maple).

by the lutenists Mesangeau, Pinel, and the Gautiers. At all events, it is certain that D'Anglebert had a particular interest in lute repertoire, and in incorporating elements of lute style into his own keyboard works.

The arrangements in Rés.89ter constitute the single most important evidence of the connexion between lute and keyboard styles. They are the only such arrangements known to have been made by a claveciniste of the first rank, and are of a quality which sets them apart from others. For this reason all those pieces for which lute versions have been identified have been subjected to close scrutiny. They yield the most concrete evidence of the degree to which harpsichordists were influenced by the style and technique of the lute, and of how this operated, in the greatest detail. As with the other main sources considered, selected concordant versions for both lute and keyboard are presented for comparison. These throw into relief both the quality of D'Anglebert's arrangements, and the differing approaches of keyboard players to representing lute effects. They may also demonstrate several keyboard alternatives for the same lute figure. Most importantly, they provide direct evidence of which keyboard figures it is possible to say are related to lute effects, and how close that relationship is.

Two further sources which should be mentioned here are the publications of Perrine (c1680)²⁸. Although these are primarily lute sources, they are written in staff notation and the pieces were designed to be playable on the harpsichord as well as on the lute. Perrine 1 is a lute tutor, but has a version of the Gautier courante "Le Canon" in staff notation. More important is Perrine 2 which presents thirty pieces by Ennemond and Denis Gautier in this notation. Although Perrine envisaged the possibility of keyboard performance²⁹, this publication is essentially an unsuccessful attempt on the part of Perrine to revive the flagging fortunes of the lute by

28. See also Chapter I, p49.

29. Perrine 2, Aduertissement, p4.

making pieces more accessible than they would be in lute tablature. They are in no sense arrangements, but a literal transcription of lute pieces into keyboard score. They are of particular interest in that they provide an impression of lute textures in staff notation as transcribed by a seventeenth-century lutenist, and therefore are a useful standard of comparison in considering keyboard arrangements in general.

Lute arrangements of keyboard pieces

This is a small group of pieces by Chambonnières, Hardel, Monnard, and Montelan which have hitherto been considered in the literature to be original keyboard works. In the case of Chambonnières and the first of the Hardel pieces there is no doubt of this. The second Hardel piece, with the Monnard and Montelan pieces, are less certainly so, and the likelihoods of lute or keyboard origin are assessed here.

2. REPERTOIRE EXISTING IN VERSIONS FOR BOTH LUTE AND KEYBOARD

Non-French keyboard sources before c1650

Before embarking on discussion of the main early keyboard sources (Lynar and Copenhagen 376) some early manifestations of the style brisé in European keyboard music generally will be considered briefly. Two examples of keyboard music with lute connexions will be discussed: one (an anonymous courante from an English keyboard source, Ex.49) exemplifies a keyboard texture which may be taken as a norm for French-influenced dance music in the seventeenth century, against which the greater or lesser degree of lute influence in keyboard music of the principal sources may be assessed. The second piece (Ex.50) is a courante attributed to a known lutenist (Mesangeau) and demonstrates the effect of a fairly close keyboard version of a lute original.

It has often been remarked that procedures foreshadowing the style brisé of French keyboard music may be found in European keyboard music generally in the early seventeenth century. Tagliavini, for example, has noted such effects in the spezzato style of Frescobaldi and other Italian composers³⁰. Similar effects may be found in the later works of the English virginalists, particularly when they employ the French dance genres. This raises the question whether these effects may be said to originate specifically in lute technique, or are part of a general style current at the time.

The Bull coranto in Parthenia In-Violata (Ex.48) employs in its doubles the division of a continuous quaver rhythm over several registers and the interruption of the superius already noted as characteristic of French lute music in the works of Francisque.

30. L.F.Tagliavini, "The Art of 'not leaving the instrument empty'", Early Music 11/3(7/1983)305-306.

In the Bull example the first of these procedures has the effect of an arpeggiated division figure in which certain notes are pedalised giving the appearance of two parts. In this case the figure may be more a trick of notation than an example of genuine style brisé, yet it does seem to represent an attempt to render in keyboard terms the small tenuti which are natural to the lute.

A more striking example is the version of the Orlando Gibbons coranto in Rés.1185 No.48³¹. This shares with French lute music of the same time the tendency to maintain quaver movement by dividing it between several registers of the instrument³². It is also based on a common lute cadence formula in which a bass note precedes a three-quaver anacrusis figure in the superius³³. How far this represents a direct imitation of lute practice, and how far it is rather an attempt to render in keyboard terms something of an imitable lute effect, are questions for whose answer one may turn to the many pieces which are common to English lute and keyboard sources, such as the anonymous coranto given as Ex.49³⁴.

In Ex.49 both lute and keyboard versions display the typical textures of their respective instrument types, common in simple dance music at this period. The lute texture is predominantly in two parts, with occasional accentual chords, and with little quaver brisure. The keyboard version, on the other hand, is in three parts, rather than two, with a constantly maintained quaver brisure arising mainly from the two left-hand parts, leaving the right hand free to present the melody. This three-part keyboard format was to remain constant for keyboard arrangements of lute music, as opposed to more

31. Musica Britannica XX (ed. G.Hendrie) No.39. I have used the siglum Rés.1185 for this source in preference to Gustafson's Cosyn since the major part of the MS, including Ex.49 discussed below, was not copied by Cosyn. Numbering of items in sources is taken from Gustafson, French Harpsichord Music.

32. The modern edition halves the original note values and omits half the barlines making it less French in appearance than the original.

33. See for example the lute versions of Ex.49, bb9-10.

34. This shares the main features of the Gibbons coranto and is therefore of particular interest since it comes from the earlier section of the source, copied around the 1620s possibly by Bull. (For an analysis of the hands in Rés.1185 see Gustafson, op.cit., II p97.)

literal transcriptions, in sources of all types throughout the century.

The differences between this keyboard texture and that of real lute music become apparent when one compares Ex.49 with a piece which is undoubtedly close to a lute original such as the Mesangeau courante Ex.50. Although no lute version has been located for this piece, the conjectural reconstruction of the tablature shows how readily it may be transferred back into a typical lute texture³⁵. The keyboard version is basically in the standard three-part keyboard format, with probably some added continuity in the tenor. But it is much nearer to lute music 1) in its slow-moving stepwise bass, not active as in the versions so far considered or in the freer arrangements of Copenhagen 376 discussed below; 2) in its tenor part arising mainly from broken chords without much concern for the construction of a coherent line; and 3) in its literal rendering of typical lute formulae, such as at bbl9-22 (compare for example Ex.40 and bbl7-20 of the lute versions of Ex.49). This is an arrangement of an actual lute piece rather than a setting of a melody, but it does throw into relief both the similarities and the differences between keyboard music which at first sight appears to imitate the lute, and lute music itself.

The pieces described above are set in versions of the standard three-part keyboard format. The courantes of Lynar, however, are in the predominantly four-part texture associated with north European keyboard dance music generally in the period 1600-1620. Although the arranger of the pieces is not known, they do represent a very likely keyboard equivalent to the lute style of Robert Ballard (1611, 1614) which similarly is fuller in texture and more robust in rhythm than was later to be the case in lute

35. I am very grateful to Tim Crawford for supplying a tablature reconstruction.

music. Since the Lynar pieces are of good quality, they may plausibly be taken to represent the probable texture of Parisian keyboard dance music around 1620³⁶. Of the three pieces with lute versions, Ballard C1 shows decided evidence of being a keyboard arrangement of a lute piece. Gautier C1 and Anon.C2 "La Vignonne" are less clearly lute-influenced, being probably parallel timbre settings.

Several features support the view that the Lynar version of Ballard C1 (Ex.51) is an arrangement from a lute original. Lynar shares the high, close spacing at the opening of Robert Ballard's printed version³⁷, a significant feature since most keyboard sources tend to

36. There is a constant problem in dealing with these earlier sources of determining whether a piece is an arrangement of a lute piece, or a parallel melody setting. Of the three pieces in Lynar with lute concordances (Gautier C1, No.66; Ballard C1, No.68; and Anon.C2 "La Vignonne", No.69) "La Vignonne" is certainly a timbre setting. This was one of the most popular melodies of the day.

Ballard C1 may be a timbre setting, but this is less likely than in the case of Gautier C1 on account of certain details of the settings and the fact that it is attributed to Ballard in four sources. Also, the fact that Reys provided a variant of the second strain for the Herbert (f71c) lute version could be taken as a compliment paid by one lutenist to another, and would be such only if the original piece was written by Ballard. The title "Courante de la Reine" in R.Ballard 1614 need not imply that it is a dance timbre since other, non-concordant, courantes with this title are found in many sources. (Other dances with this common dedication include sarabandes, gavottes, and branles.)

Gautier C1, on the other hand, is almost certainly a timbre setting since it is in R.Ballard 1614, is attributed to Heart in Herbert, and is anonymous in Haslemere and Fuhrmann (who gives it in another key). The fact that the Lynar and Herbert versions provide it with multiple doubles, a rare phenomenon in either lute or keyboard sources, while Robert concludes his version with a brilliant and rather uncharacteristic tirata, implies that it was a favourite pièce de résistance.

37. I have presented only the Lynar and Herbert (f64) versions for comparison. Ballard's version is edited in R.BALLARD 2 pp40-41. Fuhrmann's version (lute, edited in R.BALLARD 2 p96) seems to be a simplified version of Ballard's, made with an eye to lessening technical difficulty. It is difficult to assess the contribution of Reys to Herbert (f71c, edited in R.BALLARD 2 p97) since his version is rather similar to Fuhrmann's. The Lynar keyboard doubles are closer to the lute ones in Herbert (f64) than to Ballard's printed ones.

have a substantial gap between the right-hand melody and the two close spaced accompanying parts (cf. Ex.49). Such alterations as Lynar makes to the bass of the first strain seem designed to obviate the difficulty on the keyboard of reaching the low pedal note in bb2-3. The lower notes of the parallel sixths at b5 are transferred to the left hand presumably also for technical convenience. This strain at once shows the arranger's care to reproduce in keyboard terms the texture of the early phase of style brisé lute music, and is typical of the full texture, often of four parts with a second part in the right hand, which differentiates Lynar from other, presumably later, sources which employ a sparser texture in the standard keyboard format outlined above. Another feature which points to this being an arrangement from a lute original is that Lynar has the melody of the first strain repeat at the lower octave, as do all the lute versions.

The second strain, however, diverges more widely from Ballard's, particularly in the sequence of three-crotchet imitations (bbl7-19) where Ballard avoids the rhythmic symmetry cultivated in Lynar in a manner more typical of the virginalists than of French style brisé lute music. Herbert (f64) on the other hand reduces this passage to a more abstract chordal movement with brisure on a crotchet unit, very typical of this stage of lute music. This gives an accent on the second beat of the bar and is reflected in Lynar's syncopated tenor line. If the Lynar arranger worked from a source close to Ballard's lute version it is significant that in the doubles he preserves the division elements which involve conjunct motion, but replaces the lute technique of dividing quaver movement between a number of parts with stepwise quavers. In this again Lynar is closer to Herbert (f64). As with bbl7-19 Lynar cultivates a sequential symmetry, particularly in the second-strain double, which, however well developed in its balance of repetition and extension of figures, is foreign to French lute style.

In this piece the Lynar arranger emerges as an obviously skilled keyboard player and composer who is prepared to adopt lute textures when they are not in conflict with traditional renaissance keyboard procedures, but who replaces the most characteristically lute effects with keyboard figurations of a rather conservative kind. While

he does reflect some features of tessitura of his original, he is not concerned with reproducing lute sonorities as such on the keyboard.

The impression that the Gautier courante (Gautier Cl, Ex.52) is a melody setting rather than an arrangement of an original lute piece is reinforced by a comparison of lute versions of the first strain which diverge widely in bass line and harmonisation³⁸. The best lute versions are those of Ballard and Heart³⁹. Fuhrmann again presents a simplified version, while Haslemere is rather thin and weak, reflecting the trend after the 1620s towards a more economical texture. The first keyboard strain is a typical Lynar full-voiced setting with little to recall the lute versions. The first double, however, does exhibit a loosening of texture, at moments strongly recalling lute practice, particularly in the treatment of the alto suspension in b6a. This bears little resemblance to Ballard's lute double with its quaver brisure, but is exactly analogous to the unprepared suspension at the same place in the Heart version (Herbert; original, not the double). In several doubles Lynar does have some figurations decidedly evocative of lute writing. The second double of this strain is the nearest approach in this source to Ballard's division of quaver movement over different registers of a four-part texture.

The circle of fifths sequence in the second strain probably accounts for this piece's popularity since it is an ideal vehicle for improvised decoration. Lynar subjects this to a variety of treatments. In its first appearance a rhythmic figure is used, found also at this point in Fuhrmann and Haslemere, but worked in Lynar in four parts

38. J.-M. Vaccaro (see Chapter II, n49) has remarked, with reference to later lute sources, on the tendency to avoid first inversion chords in more conservative sources. Both Fuhrmann and Ballard employ a first inversion dominant chord in b2 (of the tablature) while the rest have a root position chord. A first inversion (with G sharp in the bass) would not have been possible for the Lynar arranger since his short octave would make that note sound E, which also explains the rather awkward looking left-hand leap.

39. Ballard's version is edited in R.BALLARD 2, pp28-29. The Heart version (not given) is in Herbert ff62'-63.

as a symmetrical sequence rather than two as in the lute sources. The first double looks initially to be built on a keyboard pattern but this is largely because the trill is written out. In fact its hemiola, chordal character has an affinity with the purely chordal treatment of this passage in Heart's first double. This freely chordal treatment is suitable for the lute, but Lynar preserves a strictly four-part texture. Lynar's second double has no counterpart in the lute versions, but the final double recalls Ballard's lute double in its arpeggiated quaver movement. The keyboard version, however, works this in a regular broken-chord pattern which lies easily under the player's hands whereas Ballard avoids this symmetry in his brisure.

In general, although this piece comes nearest in the collection to French lute style of the early decades of the century, Lynar still uses elements of the style brisé in blocks of similar texture, a rather old-fashioned characteristic (see Chapter II, pp74-75). The Lynar arranger was again prepared to adapt details of lute technique to a traditional keyboard style. However, lutenists at this stage had not yet developed the extreme sensitivity to sonority so characteristic of their later style. The lute-influenced features in Lynar are therefore not so obvious as they were to become in later keyboard music.

The third piece in Lynar which has lute versions (Anon.C2 "La Vignonne") will be discussed under the heading of Copenhagen 376 since it has a concordance in that source. It thus provides an example in which one may examine the contrasting keyboard styles of these two sources - Lynar representing an early development of the style, while Copenhagen 376 is fairly typical in repertoire and treatment of seventeenth-century French-influenced keyboard sources in general.

Copenhagen 376

The pieces from Copenhagen 376 have been subjected to a fairly close scrutiny since the source gives by far the majority of keyboard settings of this period, with parallel versions of some of them in other keyboard sources providing useful comparisons. More importantly, this source is the first substantial one to use the principal techniques of keyboard setting which remain constant throughout the century, not only in non-French sources but French ones as well. These techniques are summarised, and related to those of other sources, at the end of this chapter.

Pieces in Copenhagen 376 with lute concordances may be divided into two classes: 1) melody settings; and 2) arrangements from lute originals. The placing of a piece in one category or the other is in many cases based on probabilities rather than certainties. While a piece such as the Pinel allemande Pinel A1 appears in a number of lute sources attributed to this lutenist, so that we may reasonably assume the keyboard version to be an arrangement, in other cases, such as the anonymous pieces, the likely nature of the keyboard version can be assessed only on the basis of style, texture, and other details of the keyboard writing.

A group of seven pieces has been selected to demonstrate particular points. In the first category (melody settings) are two courantes (Anon.C2 "La Vignonne", and Anon.C3 "La Bourbon") and two sarabandes (La Barre S1 and Pinel S1). "La Vignonne" exists in a wide variety of lute and keyboard versions, providing a rich field of material for comparison⁴⁰. It is thus possible, in considering this piece, to establish in a fairly detailed way, the respective norms of lute and keyboard texture which operate in the main body of the repertoire. The version in Lynar highlights the differences between the style represented by Copenhagen 376 and that from which it evolved. "La Bourbon" adds some details of tessitura, brisure, and treatment

40. Here, as in other pieces with multiple concordances, a number of different versions are presented in the examples in Volume II. The keyboard sources are of widely different provenience and date, yet demonstrate the remarkable homogeneity of style in French-influenced dance music for keyboard in the seventeenth century.

of the keyboard format which point to a degree of lute influence, albeit in a timbre setting. The two sarabandes are of particular interest in that they are the first keyboard examples of this genre so far considered. The lute sarabande has a number of clearly defined features, outlined in Chapter II, and one may see here how far these are reflected in keyboard versions.

The second category (of pieces which are either certainly, or very likely to be, arrangements of lute originals) consists of four allemandes (La Barre A1, Mesangeau A1, Pinel A1, and Anon.A2). The keyboard versions of these yield particularly clear evidence of what is peculiar to keyboard style, and what may be said to be in imitation of the lute.

Melody settings. The numerous settings of "La Vignonne" (Ex.53) provide useful material for a comparison of quality and technique between sources, and at the same time throw into relief the conservative nature of Lynar⁴¹. Of the lute versions, that of Robert Ballard (R.BALLARD 2, pp23-25) is the most elaborate and sophisticated, displaying a number of characteristic lute effects: the repeated notes in the melody (bb11-12) are richly harmonised with tirer et rabattre chords (these recur in other lute sources but in simplified form); and the small three-crotchet imitations of the second strain, which the melody yields in its transformation into a lute courante, are worked by Ballard in constantly changing rhythmic patterns. Most of the other lute versions present them plainly in two parts. As regards the other lute versions, the intricate brisé texture of Ballard's doubles is not reflected in any other lute source; but Berlin 40264 makes much use of tirer et rabattre chords in the second strain.

41. Two versions of the melody, from Antoine La Cauchie's La Pieuse Alouette avec son tirelire (1619) and Adrian Valerius's Nederlandtsche Gedenk-Clanck (1626), are given in BONFILS 58/59 (n.p.).

None of these specifically lute effects is reflected in the keyboard versions. The Lynar setting is one of the least lute-like in that source, full in texture with many small imitations, keyboard broken-chord divisions (first strain double bb9a-l4a), and superius divisions based on conjunct quavers and broken thirds common to both lute and keyboard repertoires of the early part of the century. The Copenhagen version demonstrates clearly the difference between Lynar and the normal keyboard texture after the 1620s. The melody is given without brisé interruptions to the right hand at an un-lute-like high pitch⁴². The left hand has a fairly strictly maintained two parts with a fully developed tenor part. What brisé effect there is is provided by the syncopated delay of either tenor or bass note in a crotchet rhythm, although b8 provides a moment of busy quaver syncopation reminiscent of Ex.49. One may therefore define this type of setting as representing a keyboard texture parallel to the lute's, but not derived from it. The specifically keyboard features are the three-part format; the integrity of parts, particularly a well maintained tenor line; and the generally fuller texture than that of the lute versions. It has been noted in the discussion of Ex.49 above (pp152-153) that this is the normal keyboard texture for the simpler type of dance music throughout the century.

Its lute equivalent is provided by the versions given in Ex.53. They are mainly in two parts, but free-voiced in that a chord may occasionally be added for rhythmic emphasis in a hemiola or elsewhere, and a few notes of an inner part may make a fleeting appearance. Sometimes the movement becomes purely chordal, as with tirer et rabattre chords, or the common pattern of bass note followed by chord. Since the texture is largely of two parts, the superius tends to be affected much more frequently by brisé interruption than is the case with the keyboard. Other than in the more sophisticated settings of Robert Ballard and in the fully developed art dances of the later seventeenth century, doubles in simple dance versions

42. According to Praetorius (Terpsichore (1612) pXIII para.IX) the French transposed dance music up a tone or a fifth when they played it on organs and other instruments in order to give it a livelier sound.

tend to use conjunct quavers with occasional broken chords rather than brisure divided over three or four parts. Occasionally special effects are used, such as the high position barré chording in the first-strain double of Basle 53 (ff1'-2'), or campanella scales. In assessing lute influence in keyboard versions one may therefore look for reflexions of these characteristically lute features of tessitura and spacing, superius interruption by brisure, and even perhaps such specifically lute effects as campanella and tirer et rabattre.

The Copenhagen double of "La Vignonne", where one might expect to find a more brisé texture, is basically a reworking of the original three parts in quaver rhythm. The texture is much fuller than in the equivalent lute versions and there is little lute-type brisure except in the occasional delay of tenor or bass on a quaver rather than crotchet unit. A closer approximation to lute practice is provided by the much later Ihre keyboard double (1679; not given) in which quaver rhythm is distributed fairly evenly over four parts⁴³.

The keyboard versions of Anon.C2 "La Bourbon" (Ex.54) add several other common features of keyboard writing at this stage. Of the settings in Copenhagen 376, the second may have been entered to provide a more up to date version, with a graceful and economical texture in the standard format, than the heavier, more elaborate and presumably earlier version which is often in four parts recalling the Lynar examples. The first version shows a sensitivity to tessitura in having the second half of the first strain at the lower octave. It also makes more use of quaver brisure, affecting occasionally the superius (b9) than does the second version. The completion of the opening chord after a crotchet's delay in the bass (second version) is a common keyboard device, whereas the full opening chord of Rostock 54 is more common for lute courantes at this point. Also,

43. Part of the Ihre version is given by Dickinson ("Keyboard Tablatures", I p86). The keyboard version in Gen.2350/57 is an amateurish fragment, very simple in texture, with letters written in below the notes as a beginners' aid.

in the second Copenhagen version, the derivation of much of the tenor line from parallel tenth movement with the superius is a keyboard characteristic. The Rostock 54 lute version provides an example of a campanella division figure (b9). Nothing of this is reflected in the Copenhagen double, although it is perfectly possible to notate small pedalisations for keyboard⁴⁴.

Two of the sarabandes of Copenhagen 376 appear to be keyboard timbre settings (La Barre S1 and Pinel S1). Sarabandes are particularly indicative of the extent to which harpsichordists may have wished to imitate lute style, since this dance in its lute manifestation is associated with a number of characteristic techniques⁴⁵. Pinel S1 in particular was a very widely circulated melody, and provides a great variety of versions for comparison.

Because of its nature as a melodic setting rather than an original lute composition, the lute versions of La Barre S1 (Ex.55) have a stronger melodic character than do many lute sarabandes⁴⁶. However, the essence of the lute settings is in their spare texture with

44. See for example the Bull coranto (Ex.48) discussed above (pp151-152).

45. Details of types are given in the discussion of the lute sarabande in Chapter II and on p129. They may be summarised as follows:

Type 1: bass note followed by chord (Robert Ballard type, cf. Ex.8).

Type 2: tirer et rabattre chords, frequently with successive subtraction of chord members.

Type 3: melodic.

Type 4: sarabande/chaconne

Type 5: melodic, but with a second-beat chordal accent.

46. The question of La Barre attributions has already been mentioned (see above, n10). According to Devoto the sarabande was originally associated with a particular melodic timbre, and the melody of La Barre S1 may be another such timbre ("De la Zarabanda", pp27-28; he does not mention French lute concordances for this timbre, but the very early Reys sarabande in Herbert (see Ex.46) is similar. Otherwise only the anonymous sarabande in Reynaud f98 resembles it among lute sources). La Barre S1 is attributed to La Barre only in the keyboard source Chigi whose setting is quite different from the anonymous one in Copenhagen 376. The likelihood is that this is a sarabande timbre, perhaps originally a sung air, which was set variously by La Barre, Merville, and others. For sarabandes with text underlay see 16-Cosyn No.101 and 54-Gen.2350/57 in Gustafson's catalogue. A sarabande by Hardel with words is in the guitar MS F-Pn Vm7 575, p38.

occasional chordal accents, and with a degree of metrical ambiguity provided by the placing of bass notes. This does not appear to have been of concern in the keyboard settings. The double hemiola at the end of the lute settings, whose rhythmic units are marked by the placing of bass notes, is not reflected in either of the keyboard versions. Only the characteristic lute spread chord of b4 etc. finds an echo in the delayed tenor note of for example Chigi⁴⁷ b13. The more typically lute version of this, in which the melody emerges from a spread chord (Rostock 54 b14), is not used in the keyboard versions. As well as this, they lack the rhythmic subtlety of the lute settings and show a care to maintain a constant crotchet movement in which the light alternation of sarabande rhythms based on longer note values (| ♩. || ♩ ♩ || ♩ ♩ ||) is submerged. The fuller keyboard format assists in this process, especially when the tenor is derived from parallel tenth movement with the melody (Copenhagen 376, b13-end).

Keyboard sources mostly replace a lute chordal effect by a melodic one. The lute strummed chords at the opening of Ex.55 are never transferred literally to the keyboard. Generally such purely chordal lute texture is replaced by the melody with chordal accent on the second beat type of movement (type 5). The keyboard versions here confine themselves to a repeated melody note. This piece provides a good example of how little of the typical lute sarabande tends to be reflected in its keyboard counterpart in ordinary dance music.

The foregoing remarks apply equally to Pinel S1 (Ex.56)⁴⁸. In its manifestation as a lute sarabande the settings show a richly varied

47. Italian keyboard MS of c1650 (Gustafson, French Harpsichord Music, I p86).

48. This melody has been set by B.Rogers, G.Steenwick, B.Broeckhuisen, and Buxtehude among keyboard players; and by Merville and others, as well as by Pinel, among lutenists (see the concordance lists in Volume II). As Dickinson remarks, it must have been one of the most popular sarabandes of the seventeenth century ("Keyboard Tablatures", I p92). She suggests that it may originally have been written by one of the Pinels. Whether it was originally written by a Pinel or not, the only setting attributed to that name (in the keyboard source Faile) appears to be the poorest version.

use of the characteristic types of movement of this dance. Pickering has strummed chords, bass note followed by chord, melody with chordal accent on the second beat, and the device of having the melody emerge from a chordal movement, as well as the general characteristics outlined in the discussion of Ex.55. To these Rostock 54 adds, even in the plain setting, a certain amount of quaver brisé movement. In view of the available lute versions it is unlikely that the Faille⁴⁹ keyboard setting reflects at all closely a lute original by Pinel. It is worked in the standard three-part keyboard format. The typically light lute phrase ending of Rostock 54 b4 is rendered with a heavy four-part chord, and the chordal lute texture at the opening of the second strain is replaced by poorly conceived imitations. The Copenhagen 376 setting is preferable. The final spread chord of each strain may be taken as the replacement of a lute effect by an analogous keyboard one. In lute pieces these are normally spread from the bass up in crotchet rhythm as in Pickering. Drallius⁵⁰ is equally in keyboard format, but here the prevalence of minims in the left hand gives something of the lightness and shifting metrical accent of the lute sarabande, as does Vat.Mus.569⁵¹.

The Buxtehude setting (Ryge⁵²) throws these early amateur settings into perspective with its richly worked brisé texture typical of German keyboard music after Froberger. Its texture is somewhat fuller than is usual in a lute sarabande, but it does incorporate some recognisable lute-based figures in its division of quaver movement over a three- or four-part texture, such as the incorporation of the melody into a broken chord (b2), and the broken thirds of the second strain, often found in lute sources notated either as quavers or by means of an arpègement sign. The quaver syncopation of the superius at several points of the second strain may well have its counterpart in the device of a rhythmicised single pitch to be found in several English and German sources of French lute music⁵³.

49. Household keyboard MS probably originating in Flanders c1625 (Gustafson, French Harpsichord Music, I pp77-78).

50. German household keyboard MS dated 1650 (Gustafson, op.cit., I p20).

51. Italian amateur keyboard MS c1660-1665 (see B.Johnsson, "Romersk tasteinstrumentmusik i det 17. århundrede").

52. Danish keyboard MS c1700 (Gustafson, op.cit., I pp48-50).

53. See for example MERCURE pp92, 93, and 95; and Darmstadt 1655 fl3 (attributed to Gautier, but unedited).

The most pleasing aspect of Buxtehude's setting is the care taken to vary the rhythm and texture, and the subtle delineation of hemiolas. Variety of movement types has been noted as characteristic of the lute versions, but here, although some general features have been taken over from the lute, they are worked in the context of a mature and independently developed keyboard style. How far the other keyboard sources are from this stage of refinement is demonstrated by the double of Vat.Mus.569 with its clumpy left-hand chords and straightforward decoration of the melody in comparison with the delicate quaver brisure spread over three parts in the lute double of Rostock 54.

Arrangements from lute originals. The examples considered so far have been melody settings in which the keyboard versions use for the most part a typical keyboard texture, the versions being parallel settings to the lute ones, rather than being derived from them. In pieces which are arrangements from lute originals it is possible to see how keyboard players either replaced typical lute textures and devices with analogous keyboard ones, or indeed retained in their arrangements more literal representations of lute effects. The way in which these latter possibilities are made to fit into the keyboard format is particularly indicative of what in keyboard repertoire may be taken to reflect the influence of the lute.

A group of four pieces (all allemandes, Exx.57-60) seems to consist of arrangements from lute originals, rather than parallel melody settings. Of these, two (La Barre A1 and Pinel A1) are worked in the current keyboard style, frequently replacing lute effects by analogous keyboard ones, while two (Mesangeau A1 and Anon.A2) seem to be more literal transcriptions. In no case can one say precisely what the arranger worked from but some of the pieces occur in a variety of lute sources in such similar readings that it can reasonably be assumed that the arranger's Vorlage was probably not too remote from the known lute versions.

Since the Copenhagen version of La Barre A1 (Ex.57) keeps fairly

closely to the lute versions, it provides a useful demonstration of how similar figures are treated in literal, analogous, or parallel keyboard manners. The first two bars are given in a form identical to the lute, including the upward spreading of the chord (b2) in its most typical lute allemande form. Berlin 40623⁵⁴, on the other hand, preserves the rhythm of the lute version in the second half of b1, but adapts it to the standard keyboard three-part format. Gresse⁵⁵ at this point represents a further stage of removal from lute practice. At b3 Copenhagen 376 preserves the simple, non-motivic accompanying parts of the lute. The quaver delay of the bass is not in the lute sources, and is not usual in an initial lute chord, but is nonetheless a typical lute method of drawing attention to the beginning of a significant bass progression, as in b4. Berlin 40623, on the other hand, and to a lesser extent Gresse, work this passage (bb2-4) in a sequence of small imitations, a device which frequently takes the place in keyboard versions of a plain lute original.

It is noteworthy how closely Copenhagen 376 reflects the lute versions at b4. The other two keyboard settings employ a much more straightforward melody and accompaniment texture. Berlin 40623 at this point uses the bass octaves found in some amateur sources, probably as a means of avoiding emptiness of texture⁵⁶. The lute's octave-tuned diapasons fulfil the same function. More sophisticated arrangers never use this crude device, preferring to add an independent tenor line. (A freely conceived tenor part is a feature of most arrangements.) For example, at bb5-6 Copenhagen diverges from the lute versions in the interests of preserving a left-hand tenor part. A literal rendering of the lute versions here would sound rather empty on the keyboard. The tenor thirds at the opening of b6 are a favourite means of filling out a keyboard texture, although in this instance the lute versions have parallel sixths later in the bar, reflected only in Berlin 40623. For most of this strain the Copenhagen arranger

54. German amateur keyboard MS, dated 1678 (Gustafson, French Harpsichord Music, I pp24-25).

55. Dutch professional keyboard MS compiled after 1669 (Gustafson, op.cit., I.pp80-81).

56. See the discussion of Ex.60 (Campbell) p171, and Anon.C7 (Nuremberg)

keeps the tessitura low and close spaced, which may be the result of a conscious effort to reproduce lute sonority, the first example of this so far encountered. He has also not chosen such a high transposition as the other keyboard arrangers.

The second strain also preserves much of the lute's texture, while the other keyboard sources lapse into purely keyboard figures. There are occasionally slight additions to the tenor part (for example in b9), but in general this piece shows less concern than previous examples to maintain the integrity of a tenor line. It is noteworthy that Copenhagen 376 preserves exactly the bass rhythm at bar 11, but makes a complementary tenor-bass movement of it by means of octave displacement. All the keyboard versions preserve the parallel thirds of the last bar, as typical of the keyboard as of the lute, but only Copenhagen 376 notates them brisé. Such thirds are very frequently marked in lute sources with an arpègement sign, though not in this instance. Whilst it is clear that the Copenhagen 376 version is an arrangement from the lute, it is always possible that this piece, given its strongly melodic character, may at some stage have been set for lute from a keyboard or other instrumental original before being re-arranged for keyboard.

Melodic continuity is also a feature of Pinel A1 (Ex.58). The characteristics of Pinel's lute allemandes have already been outlined (Chapter II, pp96-97), and they recur in the lute versions of this piece⁵⁷, although it is more melodically orientated than those, for example, of Mesangeau or indeed of many of Pinel's own. This may explain why the Copenhagen arranger has chosen to throw the melody into relief by setting it at the upper octave and using the standard keyboard format, in contrast with the low tessitura and homogeneous part-writing of the more literal settings considered below. It also provides a good example of the keyboard preference

57. The fact that this allemande appears in a number of lute sources of the 1630s (Dalhousie 5, cl632-1638; L.de Geer, 1639; and Longleat, cl640) while most of Pinel's pieces are found in lute sources of cl650 or later, indicates that these features were not a later development, but existed alongside the styles of allemande represented in the publications of Pierre Ballard of that decade.

for continuity of line. At moments this is sought at the expense of a lute device, such as at the end of b7 where an allemande motif in the right hand replaces the lute's broken chord from which the melody emerges. Again at b8 the contrapuntal ambiguity of the lute (is the second quaver a tenor part or a melody note?) is replaced by a melodic motif to balance the succeeding one, a device repeated in b9. In this format the keyboard player's right hand is free to ornament the melody, as at b2. At b11 he employs the lute device of lingering on an expressive melody note, with an ornament, while delaying the bass.

At other points care is taken to preserve continuity of line in the tenor. At b3 the bass is transferred to the upper octave as a tenor line, probably to avoid too wide-spaced a texture⁵⁸. At b4 a tenor line is constructed from two isolated notes, and the bass is expanded to anticipate the tenor figure at the following bar. This bar (b5) further realises a polyphony only referred to in the lute version. It is a common keyboard formula much used by virginalists. The lute version, with an interruption of the line by a superius pitch, is an excellent example of brisé lute allusion to a common formula. In the second strain the Copenhagen arranger seemingly abandons his efforts to make the left-hand parts follow closely the lute version, replacing quaver brisure by rather square two-part chords. Again in b12 the tenor part is elaborated from the characteristic tenor step of the lute, which it incorporates.

In spite of the fact that the arranger has taken care to reproduce elements of the lute texture in the left-hand parts, particularly in the first strain, this is a recreation in keyboard terms of a characteristic Pinel allemande rather than a close imitation of a lute original. Very much the same remarks apply to the Innsbruck⁵⁹ keyboard setting, which gives a form of the melody close to that of the lute source Rostock 54. Otherwise it is a more amateurish

58. The left-hand chord at the end of this bar is odd for the C/E short octave (cf. Dickinson, "Keyboard Tablatures", I p44 for details of the instrument demanded by this source).

59. Franco-Italian MS dated 1648, containing lute and guitar pieces in addition to keyboard ones (see M. Rollin in PINEL, pXVIII; also W. Boetticher, Handschriftlich Überlieferte Lauten- und Gitarrentablaturen, pp135-136).

arrangement than that in Copenhagen 376, and its high tessitura makes for a rather thin, un-lute-like, sound in spite of added chords in the right hand.

A much closer keyboard approximation to lute texture is provided by Mesangeau A1 (Ex.59). Although no original lute version of this piece has yet been identified it is nonetheless possible to reconstruct a possible lute version with a reasonable degree of confidence⁶⁰. The act of reconstruction indeed provides valuable confirmation of previous findings. The fact that relatively little has had to be changed in converting it back into an idiomatic lute piece makes the keyboard version a useful standard of comparison as a piece which may fairly be described as in imitation of the lute.

The alterations generally result from the keyboard arranger's care to preserve the continuity and integrity of parts⁶¹. This concerns mainly the octave displacement of notes (b3 fourth crotchet, b8 fourth crotchet, b22 second half of the bar) perhaps arising on occasion from the arranger's interpretation of the pitch ambiguity of the diapason courses (b22 first half); or the omission of some notes uncomfortable for the lute, probably added by the keyboard arranger (b13 second crotchet, b19 second crotchet, b15 second half), in both cases to maintain the integrity of parts. Some small pedalisations, seemingly drawn from the lute, do not in fact work well (b21 second crotchet).

This is the first example of an arrangement which attempts to reproduce

60. This is one of a number of pieces ascribed to lutenists in keyboard sources for which no lute version has yet been found. In texture it is somewhat fuller than is normal in Mesangeau's known lute allemandes, but it is very unlikely to be an original keyboard piece by Mesangeau since he is not known to have played keyboard instruments, although related by marriage to the Jacquet family of harpsichord makers. Much of the piece transfers very naturally to the lute, as the intabulation shows, and it shares many features with Mesangeau's allemandes. I am very grateful to Tim Crawford for providing a reconstruction.

61. Unlike many keyboard tablatures Copenhagen 376 is generally clear in this regard.

in keyboard terms what was clearly in origin a typical lute piece of the mature brisé style, in which melodic line is relatively unimportant compared with the recreation of the allure of the dance type. The keyboard version reflects this in its abandonment of the standard keyboard format in favour of a freer texture. The principal difference between this more literal type of setting and the settings considered so far is that the texture is mostly concentrated in the middle and lower ranges of the keyboard. This contrasts with the more usual keyboard texture in which a melodic line is emphasised by standing apart in pitch from the accompanying parts. In the more homogeneous texture of Mesangeau A1 ambiguity of parts is much more pronounced, as it is in the lute style, and the upper line is freely involved in the general brisure.

If Mesangeau A1 is a close keyboard version of a lute piece, which nonetheless does not neglect keyboard effectiveness, the final piece to be considered from Copenhagen 376 (Anon.A2, Ex.60) belongs to a small group of pieces from the earlier non-French keyboard sources generally which appear to be fairly literal transcriptions of lute originals. They provide examples of the rather unsatisfactory effect of lute textures when transferred directly to the keyboard⁶². None of the lute or keyboard sources of Anon.A2 is French, yet this melody is set in both lute and keyboard sources as a typical French allemande with quasi-fugato style of opening (see Chapter II, p97)⁶³. As in this instance, it is rare for the subsequent entries to imitate the opening motif. The lute setting in Board demonstrates the close relation of the quasi-imitative style of opening and the opening which consists of a chord followed by a characteristic

62. A further example of this type is Anon.A3 (not given), although in this case the imitation of the lute is rather closer, with frequent quaver interruptions of the melody and many common lute figures, represented in lute versions of this piece, literally rendered.

63. The version of the melody in 'T Uitnemen Kabinet is given by Dickinson, "Keyboard Tablatures", I p99. It is possible that Copenhagen 376 could have been compiled largely from a melodic source such as 'T Uitnemen Kabinet, but this seems unlikely in view of the very similar treatment of the opening in all three sources of this piece.

allemande melodic motif.

The keyboard version in Copenhagen 376 was probably arranged from a lute source similar to Board. It is noteworthy that all versions present substantially different readings in the second strain, but even here the keyboard settings seem to derive from lute settings in their untypically, for keyboard, thin two-part texture and close spacing. The Campbell⁶⁴ version of Ex.60 (and also of Anon.A3) uses parallel bass octaves - a procedure not found in the better quality sources, but used on occasion in amateur ones to avoid the emptiness of texture resulting from a literal rendering of a lute original and also perhaps to imitate the dual pitch of the lute's diapason courses by simple means, rather than having to invent an independent tenor part⁶⁵. Copenhagen 376 is a more sophisticated rendering, although it too reflects lute texture closely in the first strain and at b11-12. It uses a lower transposition than Campbell and the bass is sketchy in places in the manner of the lute. It does not however copy the lute version in the subsuming of the melody in a broken chord (b10), choosing instead to maintain the continuity of the melodic line.

Copenhagen 376 contains in one source the three main types of keyboard equivalent to lute repertoire: 1) parallel settings, mainly of popular dance melodies, in a specifically keyboard texture designed to emphasise the melody, but which may on occasion incorporate effects drawn from lute practice; 2) close arrangements, which adopt the broad features of lute style in matters of tessitura and brisure, but which make some alterations necessary for keyboard effectiveness; and 3) fairly literal versions of lute pieces, in places amounting to no more than simple transcriptions, in which the texture and spacing natural to the lute are left intact, without evident concern for keyboard effectiveness. These categories form the basis of assessment for the remaining discussions in this chapter.

64. The keyboard element in the lute source Dalhousie 8 - see G.Hendrie in Musica Britannica XX, pp92 and 103.

65. See also Ex.57 (Berlin 40623 version) and Anon.C7 (Nuremberg).

Non-French keyboard sources c1650 - c1700

After c1650 the problem of the status of keyboard versions is not so acute as with earlier sources since they are usually arrangements of known works by named lutenists. These sources divide naturally into two groups - German sources and Swedish sources - each of which represents a particular style of arrangement.

German sources

Arrangements of lute pieces continue to figure in German and other keyboard sources in the second half of the century. The general style of arrangement is typified by the two examples selected for discussion (DG.A1 and Dufaut C1⁶⁶) in that both represent a rather unsatisfactory attempt to reconcile the traditional texture of keyboard dance music with the subtly articulated style brisé of lutenists such as Denis Gautier and Dufaut.

For the Denis Gautier allemande DG.A1 (Ex.61) I have given the keyboard arrangement in Darmstadt 18 and the lute version in Perrine 2⁶⁷. Perrine's version gives a valuable representation of the sound of the piece in keyboard score, with indications of pedalisation and the differentiation of melody and accompaniment, from a contemporary lutenist. The keyboard version in Darmstadt 18 is a good example of the half-way stage between a recasting in keyboard terms and a literal transcription. The melody has been transposed to the upper octave and the accompanying parts adapted to the two-part left-hand texture, yet remaining closely based on the lute versions. The result is hardly a satisfactory compromise. Since the melody line is clearly distinguished in pitch from the accompanying parts, the ambiguous relationship between melody and accompaniment, wherein lies

66. Dufaut C1 is an isolated example of an arrangement of a French lute piece in an English keyboard source of this period (Ch.Ch.1236). It is included here for comparative purposes.

67. The Saizenay 1 lute version is in V.GAUTIER (No.11), and is very similar to the Barbe and Gautier Pieces lute versions.

part of the charm of the lute style, is lost. Thus the a' in the first bar is necessarily incorporated into the melody where Perrine has it as part of the tenor line, and where the tablature of the other lute sources is ambiguous. The constant arpègement in the lute's second strain - the characteristic division of brisure over the whole texture, in which no distinction in rhythmic inequality is made between upper and lower parts - is not represented in the keyboard version. This throws the subtle melodic curves of the original into undue prominence and the result is thin and weak. It demonstrates how important is the delicate interplay of parts in an undefined texture for the mature lute style. A more satisfactory keyboard rendering from Darmstadt 18 is of Anon.G2 (not given). But this is more in the nature of a melody setting in both keyboard and lute sources than a setting of a Denis Gautier allemande, one of the subtlest and most complex genres in the lute repertoire.

Another type of compromise setting is the Dufaut courante from the English keyboard source Ch.Ch.1236 (Ex.62). The piece is unique to this source, but is clearly modelled closely on a lute original. Unlike the Darmstadt pieces, it does not attempt to give coherence to the melodic line, which is frequently affected by the brisure. This is possible here since the entire texture has been transposed upwards allowing the ambiguity of parts to be retained. The piece nonetheless demonstrates that the constant division of quaver movement over a number of parts - natural to the lute and so aptly represented by tablature where the multi-voiced texture has the appearance of a single line spread over a wide pitch range - does not work very comfortably when literally transferred to the keyboard unless handled with the mastery of a D'Anglebert, whose arrangements will be discussed later.

Swedish sources The Swedish keyboard ~~tablatures~~
 constitute a self-contained family
 of sources whose distinguishing
 characteristic, in comparison with other non-French keyboard sources,
 is their rather literal approach to the problem of transferring
 lute pieces to the keyboard. However, a comparison with the staff

notation lute versions given by Perrine (Perrine 2) shows that these arrangers were not entirely neglectful of keyboard effect.

Allemandes. The contrast between Swedish keyboard versions and more conventional ones is best demonstrated by the Pinel allemande Pinel A2 (Ex.63). For this piece the German keyboard source Ottobeuren avoids lute effects in favour of a continuous right-hand melodic line, transposed to the upper octave and largely ignoring possible tenuti, particularly in the opening figure, where the Skara version gives a fairer keyboard equivalent to the lute texture. In the second strain a small melodic three-quaver motif is developed to replace the quaver brisure between parts in the lute versions and Skara. The Skara keyboard setting, on the other hand, shows a sensitivity to lute sonority in preserving the ambiguity of pedalisation here⁶⁸. The brisure of Skara also is on the quaver and semiquaver units of the lute versions, rather than the crotchet of Ottobeuren. The Skara arranger (Gustaf Düben) adheres closely to his original, but does nonetheless make some slight alterations such as the upward transposition of the superius at the opening of the second strain, probably to avoid too low and close a texture on the keyboard. As with the Copenhagen 376 arrangements, he is concerned at b7 to maintain melodic interest where the lute has purely chordal movement. Other small differences such as the more brisé rendering of bbl3-14 and the slightly different form of the melody (a beat out in places) may reflect the original he used.

Courantes. The courantes represent the same literal approach as the allemandes. The two most significant pieces are the very widely

68. The ambiguity is also present in the keyboard tablature.

circulated courantes of Denis Gautier, "Le Canon" (DG.C1, Ex.64) and "La belle homicide" (DG.C2, Ex.65) which provide a wide range of both lute and keyboard sources for comparison.

"Le Canon" has two staff notation versions by Perrine⁶⁹ with which to compare the keyboard settings. It is noticeable that the rendering in Perrine 1 is drier than that in Perrine 2, which is perhaps a warning not to take the durations indicated by him as obligatory. It is likely that Perrine developed his technique of transcription from one publication to the next in order to take advantage of the capacity of staff notation to indicate the precise length of notes – the one real gain over lute tablature rather than the frivolous one of allowing the uninitiated to get an idea of the music. It is unlikely that the two Stockholm keyboard MSS used Perrine as their source since, apart from added notes, there are innumerable differences in detail which the arrangers would have had no reason to introduce for their own sake. The same goes for the Stockholm versions between themselves, which appear to be parallel settings of very similar lute originals. Since they are such literal versions, with only a few differences from the lute versions (largely added notes and changes to the pitch of bass notes), it is probable that such variants as there are derive from the readings in the sources copied. Noteworthy are the variant versions of bb20–23, a very common lute cadence formula⁷⁰. The Stockholm 176 version is more subtle here with its pedalised alto a, not possible on the lute since the note derives in this instance from the fourth course, the a course being used for the c' sharp. The keyboard versions of this lute cadence formula, with its emergent tenor part, are good indications of what may be said in keyboard music to be drawn directly from lute practice.

"La belle homicide" (Ex.65) was equally widely circulated. In view of the number of sources it is remarkable how unanimous the lute versions of this and "Le Canon" are. For comparative purposes the

69. I have given most of the French lute sources of this, and some non-French ones. The Reynaud lute version is in V.GAUTIER No.20.

70. See also Ex.59.

keyboard version in the English source Babell is particularly useful since the source was evidently compiled from excellent French keyboard originals⁷¹.

The main difference between versions is in b2 where the effect of a quaver brisé chord, notated as such in some lute sources though not in Mouton 1, is replaced by a division of quaver rhythm between melody and bass, a common keyboard replacement of one figure by an analogous one. The lute tablature frequently implies a division of quaver rhythm between superius and alto. This is not reflected in the keyboard setting, but its more melodic appearance may be merely for convenience of notation, and need not exclude an arpeggiated or pedalised style of performance. At b14 the second-beat chord may have been added to give a rhythmic accent, but also possibly to fill out the rather spare lute texture. In looking at this as a keyboard piece, the interruptions of the melodic line at b7, bb20-21, and elsewhere are not as natural to the keyboard as to the lute. As will be seen, they are sparingly used in the more sophisticated arrangements of D'Anglebert.

Of other keyboard versions of "La belle homicide" the version in Stockholm 2⁷² compares unfavourably with that in Stockholm 176.

It carries the linear rendering of the lute tablature further, as at b21, and some octave transpositions are probably due to scribal carelessness in the placing of octave lines in the keyboard tablature (see bbl7-18). The keyboard version in Babell, on the other hand, is a more complex attempt to make the lute texture effective in keyboard terms than either of these. It is clearly a transcription from lute tablature, but done with a care for keyboard idiom in added notes and the sequence of notes in spread chords not evident in the Stockholm settings. It is also more literate in the realisation of tenuti. It has been remarked (in connexion with Dufaut Cl) that a continuous polyphonic brisure is not so much in the genius of

71. See Gustafson, French Harpsichord Music, I pp68-73.

72. Amateur keyboard tablature of cl680 (Gustafson, op.cit., I pp26-27).

the keyboard as of the lute, and the arranger here has on occasion sensitively replaced a syncopation in the superius by a repeated quaver (e.g. bb8 and 14). On occasions where Babell has superius interruption, such as in b4, it is arranged in a figure which preserves the balance of the hand by giving the right-hand thumb a note on the rest. This is also a feature of D'Anglebert's arrangements, and an indication of the care with which he sought to create figures natural to the keyboard, which yet preserved the original lute effect.

It seems from the lute sources that as a piece became better known it tended to be treated in more brisé fashion since there was progressively less need for melodic clarity. Babell has given a fairly brisé version, but sensibly alternated brisé with more rhythmic textures. However, in all versions there is an inevitable thickening of effect in the transfer to the keyboard. None of the keyboard versions can quite give the effect at the opening of a second-beat accent leading to a hemiola, so clear in most of the lute versions, nor the clarity of the lute's bass progression at bbl8-19.

Sarabandes. As usual the sarabandes present the greatest challenge to the keyboard arranger. The chordal/rhythmic nature of the lute sarabande frequently takes forms which are ineffective on the keyboard and must be replaced by analogous ones which yet preserve the interest of the piece. Here the attempts made by arrangers to represent specific lute effects may be clearly seen since their lute originals are unlikely to have been very different from the consensus of known lute versions. The Swedish sarabande settings have this advantage over the two considered from Copenhagen 376 which were parallel melody settings. The two sarabandes here considered exemplify one rather ineffective solution to these problems, and one which manages to recast a lute sarabande into an effective keyboard piece.

In Gautier S2 (Ex.66, from Skara)⁷³ the keyboard arranger has the problem of representing tirer et rabattre chords, and of maintaining the balance of types of movement which is the essence of the lute sarabande. Here the arranger, rather than attempting a literal rendering of these lute features, has emphasised the melodic line, with a second-beat accent produced by means of a chord. This replacement of type 2 sarabande movement by type 5 (see above pl62 n45) will be seen to be a normal procedure in keyboard arrangements. Although care has been taken to vary the placement of chords, the rhythmic pattern is maintained, whereas the lute versions tend to vary it from bar to bar, avoiding the somewhat monotonous keyboard effect. For the left hand the arranger has adapted the original to conform to the usual keyboard three-part texture, on occasion deriving his tenor line from the lute bass (bb2 and 22). The additional bass notes at the opening of the keyboard arrangement give a harmonic monotony absent from the lute version. Other features such as the treatment of the seventh at b17 show an equal lack of sensitivity. The keyboard version is thus basically a setting in the standard format, including upward transposition, but with some attempt to reproduce lute effects by analogy if not literally. (As the lute version from Burwell shows, inner parts when present in lute settings are as likely to be alto as tenor lines, as in b3.) Altogether this keyboard setting is rather unsubtle, neither possessing the variety of the lute version, nor taking advantage of the lute's occasional quaver brisure.

In contrast, Dubut S1 (Ex.67, from Stockholm 176) shows that it is possible to make an attractive keyboard piece out of a fairly literal setting of a lute original⁷⁴. Occasionally the bass octave has been

73. The attribution to Vincent (Burwell) is more likely to be correct than the unspecified Gautier of Skara. The writer of the Burwell lute tutor was evidently French trained, while many pieces in non-French keyboard sources are attributed to "Gautier" in a way which suggests that this merely implies that the composer was a lutenist.

74. A transcription of the lute version is in DUBUT No.109.

changed to facilitate a left-hand stretch, and the tirer et rabattre chords (e.g. b3) which add variety to the lute version are, here as elsewhere, not reproduced, their accentual value being replaced by an ornament. Again the brisé interruption of the superius, natural to the lute, can prove slightly uncomfortable on the keyboard, particularly after a run of semiquavers, such as at bb22 and 31. The keyboard setting manages to make a virtue of the piece's rhythmic regularity by using it for cumulative effect and subtly varying the form of the opening two-bar rhythmic unit by means of added bass or melodic movement. This piece demonstrates how the characteristic lute sarabande can work well on the keyboard, even though examples of this chordal/rhythmic type are rare in the central harpsichord repertoire.

The literal nature of these Swedish arrangements makes them of particular value in showing the effect on the keyboard of typical lute textures and progressions when fairly directly transcribed. This is specially so in such frequently occurring features as cadence formulae and other stock figures. When sensitively handled this type of arrangement can yield an effective keyboard piece, such as Dubut S1, but a comparison of the Swedish versions of the Gautier courante "La belle homicide" with the version in the English keyboard source Babell shows that lute effects are often better replaced by analogous keyboard ones - that is to say, by configurations which are natural to the keyboard while yet reproducing the essence of the lute effect - than literally transcribed. The arrangements considered so far cover the entire range of keyboard techniques in this repertoire: parallel settings in the traditional keyboard format (Copenhagen 376); settings which represent lute effects by analogy (Babell); and literal transfer of lute pieces to the keyboard (Swedish sources). In the light of these categories we may proceed to examine the arrangements in the most important of the central French harpsichord sources.

French professional keyboard sources

Bauyn

Of the small number of pieces in Bauyn III which derive from the lute, three deserve special comment -

Anon.Pavane 1 (No.37), Mesangeau Sl (No.52), and Ennemond Gautier's canarie VG.Canarie 1 (No.65).

There can be little doubt that the anonymous pavane (Ex.68) is an arrangement of a lute piece⁷⁵. The keyboard alterations concern mainly the maintenance of the integrity of parts and the rearrangement of chords for keyboard effectiveness. Thus at b4 the tenor sixth is not resolved in the lute version; at b9 and b32 it fills out the inner parts in thirds, and at the end of b9 it smoothes over the lute's brisure, seemingly in the interests of maintaining the four parts at which the lute version only hints; at bbl4-15 the keyboard version again makes the four parts continuous; at b29 the final alto crotchet is pedalised in the keyboard version - this would not be possible on the lute here since both quavers derive from the same course; and again at b27 the keyboard makes a regular four-part texture out of the lute's brisé arpeggio. The most notable rearrangement of parts is at b9 where the lute has a full, sonorous and low-set fourth chord. The keyboard's more conventionally treated ⁶/₄ chord is weaker in effect. Other small differences, such as the florid decoration of the lute cadence at b23, probably reflect discrepancies between the arranger's source and Saizenay 2.

On the other hand the arranger has adhered closely to a number of very characteristic lute effects. The configuration of upper parts at b10 is literally reproduced, as is the brisé pattern of the final cadence (bb34-35). Noteworthy are the tendency of the keyboard to tie notes which are repeated on the lute, and also the lute's written out port de voix in the alto at the end of b4 - a kind of

75. See above, pl47 n23.

tirer et rabattre device in its simplest form whose effect is not exactly reproduceable on the harpsichord. This piece provides a useful point of comparison with the pavaues of Chambonnières, discussed in Chapter IV.

Mesangeau Sl⁷⁶ exists only in a keyboard version. As it stands here it is somewhat dissimilar in style from the lute sarabandes given in MESANGEAU which are mainly of the first or second types, and include a fine sarabande/chaconne (MESANGEAU No.42). The Bauyn sarabande probably replaces tirer et rabattre chords (type 2) with the melody and chordal accent of the second beat type of movement (type 5), as is usual with keyboard arrangements of lute sarabandes (see above p178). Allowing for this probability, it appears to be a fairly close transcription, although the texture is more often in three or four parts than is usual with Mesangeau's known sarabandes. The piece provides an excellent example of the sensitive use of quaver brisure, which is reserved for the climax of the second strain.

Ennemond Gautier's canarie (Ex.69), for which a lute version is available, confirms the impression that the Bauyn arrangements adhere closely to their originals. The upward transposition of a third⁷⁷ is a more sensitive solution to the problem of lute tessitura than the transposition of the right hand up an octave adopted by many non-French sources, since it allows for the lute's ambiguity of melody and accompaniment, particularly in the present case where the characteristic dance rhythm is scattered over different registers of the instrument in the brisé manner (see for example b8). Yet in this piece the arranger has made little concession to keyboard effectiveness other than the realisation of tenuti, which gives a

76. Not given; see MESANGEAU, p57.

77. That the standard tuning was regarded as representing d minor is implied by the staff notation versions given by Perrine, and also the versions in the Swedish sources.

slightly fuller effect than that conveyed by the tablature⁷⁸. Even so, this literal rendering of the lute's rhythmic continuum does not work so naturally on the keyboard and the final effect is rather thin.

All in all, these Bauyn versions do not shed much light on the question of keyboard adaptation since they in general appear to be rather literal versions. Only in those pieces where some effort seems to have been made in the direction of keyboard effectiveness, such as Anon. Pavane 1 and Mesangeau S1, does this source provide worthwhile keyboard alternatives.

Rés.89ter (D'Anglebert)

By far the most important body of material for this study is provided by the arrangements of lute pieces made by D'Anglebert. The nature of the Bauyn transcriptions implies that they were supplied to make some favourite lute pieces available to keyboard players. Only D'Anglebert shows an interest in the recreation of lute works on the harpsichord for its own sake. D'Anglebert's technique of arrangement in general entails a number of procedures which remain constant through all the settings, although they vary slightly from one dance to another. Three main types of lute influence may be identified: 1) figures and textures taken directly from lute style, and transferred to the keyboard with little or no adaptation; 2) figures which are adapted to a keyboard texture, but which are nonetheless analogous to lute effects (these may in fact convey, in keyboard terms, a more telling imitation of lute effect than would a more literal rendering); and 3) passages cast in the traditional keyboard format, not perhaps intended as directly representative of particular lute effects, but displaying features

78. The transcription in V.GAUTIER No.56 gives a very melodic interpretation compared with this.

of a style common to both instruments.

The professionalism and standing of D'Anglebert is seen in transcriptions that go further than previous sources in their degree of adaptation; indeed the transcriptions are virtually recompositions of the originals.

Allemandes. The extent of D'Anglebert's adaptation of lute idioms is particularly evident in the keyboard version of Ennemond Gautier's allemande "La Vestemponade" (Ex.70). In it a typical lute allemande of the mid-century of the melodic/chordal type is converted into an equally typical baroque keyboard allemande with mainly quaver and semiquaver movement and an active bass line. Although only one lute version has been identified for this piece (Robarts fC5), it is unlikely that D'Anglebert worked from anything very different from it. As a comparison of the concordances of other Ennemond Gautier pieces shows, they circulated, certainly in French sources, in well defined form. Robarts tends to have slightly more fully chorded readings than do other versions, but otherwise they are very similar⁷⁹.

The most noticeable D'Anglebert characteristic in this arrangement is (typically) a concern for melodic continuity, as opposed to the lute's usual texture in which the melody on occasion becomes momentarily submerged in a rhythmic/chordal movement from which it eventually re-emerges. Thus at b1 the rhythm of the lute's broken chord is reproduced by D'Anglebert in the melodic line. Throughout the piece numerous small additions are made to the *superius* to enhance its prominence (see for example b5). Again at b10 D'Anglebert gives a decorated melodic line where the lute has only chords. Allied to the concern for melodic continuity is the care to maintain the integrity of other parts, particularly the bass. At b3 for example D'Anglebert replaces the rather sketchy lute bass with one of more

79. Compare for example the Robarts version of Ex.71 (VG.C1 "La Pleureuse") with the others given.

contrapuntal definition which recalls the opening motif of the piece. Similarly there is much addition to the tenor line and, particularly in the second strain, substantial passages of strictly four-part writing, often entailing harmonic enrichment (b13).

The keyboard version's rich and stately effect derives partly from the very full chording and numerous added chord members, but also from the care taken to maintain quaver and semiquaver impetus, for which D'Anglebert displays a resourceful and varied technique. At b3 a rhythmic sequence is given a variety of forms, and more notably at b5 the rhythm of quaver followed by two semiquavers is given first by a broken chord in the left hand, replacing the lute's tenor movement; then by a decoration of the superius; and finally again by superius decoration. In the following bar the movement is entirely of semiquavers produced by a four-note figure treated quasi-contrapuntally, and giving a climax of movement and motivic density to the strain. None of this is deducible from the lute version, although the arpègement signs imply a semiquaver rhythm (when transferred to D'Anglebert's note values). It is noteworthy that this rhythmic elaboration gives D'Anglebert the opportunity to point out references to the original opening figure, such as at bb8-9, in contrast to the lute's very plain version of this which gives the effect merely of working an allemande formula without particular contrapuntal or developmental significance. In this again D'Anglebert shows an ingenious variety by having the rhythm now in the superius, now in a brisure of the tenor and bass (beginning of b9). Also at b12 he maintains semiquaver movement by distributing it between parts, throwing into relief the climactic full chords at the end of the bar in a manner absent from the plain lute version. This procedure differs, however, from the characteristic lute polyphonic brisure in its strict adherence to four parts and the frequent sounding of two or more notes simultaneously, giving a very full and rich keyboard effect.

It would be impossible to deduce the lute original from the keyboard setting, and it is obvious from the high degree of elaboration of the keyboard over the lute version how far the typical allemande of the clavecinistes, with its contrapuntal and motivic development,

is from its lute equivalent.

Courantes. The courantes make up by far the largest group in the lute arrangements of Rés.89ter. They are all attributed to Ennemond Gautier, and lute versions have been identified for all but two.

The lute versions have frequent differences of detail, but it is possible to reconstruct a hypothetical original such as D'Anglebert may have used. Conversely, these keyboard versions may shed some light on performance details which are undefined in the lute tablatures. For example, only Schwerin 641 of the lute sources for "La Pleureuse" (Ex.71) notates the opening bar exactly as D'Anglebert does, although the others, with the exception of Brussels 10, have arpègement signs⁸⁰. Also, at b5 D'Anglebert spreads the chord downwards⁸¹, as do the lute sources Brussels 10, Schwerin 641, and Robarts, indicating that the arpègement sign used in Barbe at this point may on occasion, in spite of Perrine's instructions⁸², mean a downward spread. Similarly the delayed superius at b17 may indicate the manner of lute performance although it is not notated in any of the lute sources, and at b22 the thirds between tenor and bass, which are otherwise arpégé only in Robarts, may be intended to be performed brisé as here.

The courante as a genre is lighter and more fluid in nature than the allemande, allowing a closer adherence to the lute texture in transferring it to the keyboard. The principles outlined in the discussion of "La Vestemponade" (Ex.70) remain nonetheless in operation. D'Anglebert again emphasises by small additions the significance of thematic detail, as at b5 where he adds a note and repeats the bass rhythm of b2, making the functional lute bass echo the opening figure of

80. The Barbe lute version, not given, is in V.GAUTIER No.39.

81. Numbering of bars is given from the tablature ($\frac{3}{4}$ not $\frac{2}{2}$).

82. Perrine 2, Auertissement.

the piece. Again, as at b21 and bb24-26, slight decorations of the melodic line are used to emphasise the climax of a phrase. This piece demonstrates D'Anglebert's flexible approach to the lute courante. While the right hand reflects the lute superius with occasional chords for accentual purposes and the lute's ambiguity of melody and alto part, with carefully realised tenuti, the left hand is generally worked in the brisé two parts of the standard keyboard format. Thus D'Anglebert manages to preserve the essential ambiguity of parts of the original, preferring the upward transposition of the whole texture by a third to merely soloing the melody in the right hand at the upper octave. By these means he creates an effective piece cast in keyboard terms, but in a way which allows the principal features of the lute texture to be adopted without undermining this effectiveness.

The tenor part is not constructed in the regular way noted in non-French sources, which tend to have a clearly defined two-part left hand throughout the piece. D'Anglebert uses the device with subtlety as a means of filling out the texture towards the climax of a strain. Thus at bb9-11 a tenor line is devised from a very few lute notes giving a three-part texture, while at the end of the second strain the somewhat ambiguous texture of bb23-26 develops into four real parts at the approach to the final cadence. A similar sensitivity to texture is evident in the placing of left-hand chords, such as at the opening of b9 where the chord gives impetus to the beginning of a new phrase. In his treatment of brisure D'Anglebert takes care to avoid the sometimes uncomfortable effects of lute brisure when directly transferred to the keyboard. The addition of the tenor g at b15 gives a balance to the left hand, and the quaver brisure of bb24-26 is also worked in a balanced way, quite unlike the seemingly arbitrary interruption of parts observed in, for example, the Dufaut courante Dufaut C1 (Ex.62) and some Swedish sources.

On a number of occasions D'Anglebert has provided effects which are analogous to those of the lute, but are really of keyboard origin. The most obvious example of this is the broken chord patterns in the final bar of each strain. These preserve the rhythm and direction of the equivalent lute chords but are given in a peculiarly keyboard form, that of bbl4-15 being particularly characteristic of D'Anglebert.

He also tends to fill out broken chords with acciaccatura-type passing notes (b2) such as are recommended by Delair and in D'Anglebert's own figured bass tutor. It has been seen that this was one of the means by which harpsichordists reproduced the sonorous effect of a lute spread chord⁸³. In this case the figure assumes a motivic importance, immediately echoed by the bass at b2, and again at b5. This sensitive use of standard figures is the principal feature of the arrangements, and frequently lends a subtlety to the piece unsuspected in the original. The lute's rhythmic sequence at bb20-22 is rendered in a form which rounds off the monotony of repetition by means of subtle variants, and the use of quaver brisure and a gradual filling out of texture from this point enhances the approach to the final cadence with an effect of textural and rhythmic climax.

Altogether this is the best sort of creative transcription which, far from reproducing the lute version literally, seeks to replace elusive lute subtleties by analogous keyboard ones, thus enhancing the effect of the original in purely keyboard terms.

In "La Pleureuse" D'Anglebert has preserved much of the characteristic sparseness of the lute texture, particularly at the opening. Whether the title was given to it by Vieux Gautier or not, it well describes the character of the piece. In "La Superbe" (Ex.72), however, D'Anglebert has chosen to give the piece a much more solid texture, with an opening reminiscent of "La Vestemponade". This again reinforces the character implied by the title⁸⁴.

The keyboard effect of the full chording of bbl-3 is without parallel

83. See Chapter I, pp44-45.

84. The situation regarding the lute sources of "La Superbe" is more complicated than most in that the piece circulated in two different tunings - B flat (tuning 14) as well as standard d minor tuning. (The Vm7 6216 lute version is in V.GAUTIER No.40, and is not given here; it alone has more than two strains, and of those in standard tuning is the only one in the key of B flat rather than F). D'Anglebert may well have used a B flat tuning version for his arrangement since most of the ones in standard tuning are a fourth lower and virtually sans chanterelle, giving a very different impression from his bright and stately piece. The titles for Exx.71 and 72 are not in Rés.89ter, but just as "La Pleureuse" suits the drooping melodic line and broken thirds of Ex.71, so he seems to have made a conscious effort to reflect the idea of "La Superbe".

in the lute sources. Whereas the thin texture of a melodic line over a pedal note may be acceptable in the course of a piece, D'Anglebert evidently considers it to be ineffective as an opening formula. The stately solidity of this piece derives largely from D'Anglebert's use of constant crotchet movement. At b8, for example, he has transferred the final quaver to a tenor note, preferring to have a crotchet in the bass rather than the final delayed quaver bass note of many of the lute versions. In the context of this rhythmic solidity he shows great sensitivity in the use of quaver brisure, which is never automatic, but used to enhance particular effects. Thus the interruption of the melodic line at the opening of b11 seems designed to emphasise the f' sharp, the acciaccatura filling out the broken chord also contributing to the effect.

At bbl9-20 the lute sources have many varieties of the broken pattern. It has been noted that some of the Swedish sources use a dry notation of brisé lines consisting of quavers with quaver rests or semiquavers with semiquaver rests rather than the more usual tied notes. This was also the procedure adopted for the version of Denis Gautier's courante "Le Canon" in Perrine 1 (Ex.64) and in some Swedish keyboard versions. In the Swedish tablatures the rests can hardly have been intended to be literally observed, giving a constant staccato effect, so the notation is imprecise. D'Anglebert uses both types of notation, but with a fastidious attention to precise articulation - at bbl9-20 rests are used to indicate a phrasing of the brisé melodic crotchets in groups of three, subtly defining the triple-time metre.

After the fully textured opening D'Anglebert does in fact retain much of the lute detail in a fairly literal rendering, such as the typical lute version of the cadence formula at bbl1-12, and the two-part arpégé texture with several bass pedals found in much of the second strain. Most of the lute versions introduce quaver brisure towards strain endings, as does D'Anglebert. But he also employs his usual procedures aimed at keyboard effectiveness. Thus an ornament gives melodic definition to the second crotchet in both b4 and b5 - in the lute sources this note has the effect of a delayed chord factor. In general only the Germanic lute source Rostock 54 has anything like D'Anglebert's melodic definition. Some of the lute sources, notably Vm7 6213, have quaver brisure in bb27-28. D'Anglebert here very typically uses quaver movement in the form of melodic échappées

over a fully textured accompaniment, such as he tends to use at the ends of strains. This technique of replacing a lute effect by an analogous keyboard one may also be seen in b8 where the left-hand broken chord is nearest to the Reynaud lute reading, but closer spaced and arranged to accommodate a suspended tenor line, thus adapting the standard keyboard format to represent the lute effect.

For two courantes (VG.C3 and VG.C4, not given) no originals have been identified⁸⁵. They display many of the features of Exx.71 and 72 such as the balanced quaver brisure in the right hand (VG.C3, b3), the predominance of melodic quaver movement, and full texture. In VG.C3 he uses the lute arpègement sign which probably means a slightly lesser degree of unequalisation than the fully notated brisure. It has been seen that D'Anglebert is careful to indicate exactly the effects he requires. This is one of many features of lute notation which he adopted, including various ornament signs. (Other clavecinistes generally used the symbols of Chambonnières, none of which are to be found in lute sources⁸⁶.) These two courantes use a number of lute devices fairly literally such as the configuration of brisé upper parts over a pedal at the opening of VG.C4, typical of Vieux Gautier, and the emergence of the melodic line from a broken chord (b3 of the same piece).

D'Anglebert's version of "Les Larmes" (Ex.73) provides an excellent example of his ability to adhere closely to a lute original while making just enough alterations, and additions of chord members and tenor notes, to make it effective on the keyboard while preserving the effect of the original. This contrasts with the Ottobeuren keyboard setting of this piece, whose octave transposition of the

85. See GILBERT, pp168-170.

86. Chambonnières's coulé sign is similar to the lute arpègement () but he uses it to indicate a third filled out with a passing note, whereas the lute sign means simply that the two notes are to be played successively. D'Anglebert frequently interprets this arpègement of a third in Chambonnières's sense, cf. Ex.73 b10 ( barring).

superius betrays a lack of concern to reproduce lute sonority. (The Parville keyboard setting is closely modelled on D'Anglebert's.)

D'Anglebert's first bar shows his ability to represent a lute effect literally by casting it in a form natural to the keyboard. This is a favourite pattern of his, noted already on several occasions in the preceding courantes, which gives the effect of the lute's brisé superius while preserving a balanced movement in the right hand.

The careful notation of small pedalisations in the right hand of b5 also shows care to represent a lute effect exactly in keyboard terms.

This figure is presented by Ottobeuren in purely melodic terms.

Passages of two-part writing, such as at bb8-9 and b26, are reproduced as in the lute sources, although many of them use the arpègement sign while D'Anglebert writes out the brisure in full. At other times he departs significantly from the lute versions in the interests of keyboard effectiveness. At b22 many of the lute sources have an arpègement sign to emphasise the first note. D'Anglebert choses instead to transfer the accent to the second beat by means of an ornament. A further stage of removal from the lute versions is evident at those moments when D'Anglebert represents a lute effect by an analogous one deriving from his generally fuller texture. At bbl2-13 and at bl5 he gives the quaver rhythm of the brisé versions by means of an added tenor part, at the same time filling out a texture which would sound bare on the keyboard. This piece provides further examples of the concern for maintaining continuity of line, and the articulation of brisé melodic lines by fastidiously placed rests.

In contrast to this version, that in Ottobeuren, although a better rendering than many of the settings in that source, is rather thin and weak especially in two-part passages where there is a wide interval between superius and bass. Here the effect of dividing quaver movement between the parts is inappropriate given the solo melodic nature of the superius. The ambiguous part writing of the lute versions has generally been rendered melodically, and such extra notes as there are in the left hand have not been added with the telling economy of D'Anglebert.

"La petite bergère" (Ex.74) has a greater degree of added rhythmic and textural solidity than the foregoing. At b3 all the lute versions have the characteristic $|\text{.}\text{r}|$ rhythm, converted by D'Anglebert to $|\text{r}|$ by the addition of a bass note, another example of his dislike of leaving a beat empty. Similarly at b17 D'Anglebert transfers the chordal accent from the second to the first beat, the effect of which is further enhanced by the upbeat rhythm which he favours. Passing notes and pedalisations give a fuller effect to the opening bars. He emphasises the superius minim at the opening of b2 with a port de voix, giving for a moment a rich augmented fifth triad, rather than with the arpègement of some of the lute versions which would give an emphasis to this note analogous to François Couperin's suspension. As in previous examples D'Anglebert tends to fill out the texture towards the ends of strains.

D'Anglebert's use of the whole range of possibilities of setting is indicative of the level of artistry in these arrangements. Where it suits his purpose he may use a lute figure exactly, as at b4 and b21 where the bass delay reflects that of Robarts and Reynaud. Elsewhere he replaces lute effects by keyboard ones, such as the rhythmically elaborate final chord patterns which also have a rhythmic and textural fullness not in the equivalent lute formula. At bb5-6 the lute texture widens to a tenth. D'Anglebert adds a tenor part here to fill the gap, but its syncopated line preserves the quaver brisure implied by the arpègement signs of Robarts, Barbe, and Perrine 2. Similarly at b10 and b12 he does not quite represent the lute's two-part first chord and three-part second chord, preferring to give the lute's superius brisure to the tenor. At b23 he uses the commonest keyboard equivalent of the lute's tirer et rabattre by having a chordal accent on the second beat. Here he preserves the lute rhythm by a two-part brisure as if the first of the two lute quavers were tied to the preceding crotchet. The treatment of the $\frac{5}{4}$ chord at b30 in Robarts, a typical lute figure, is replaced by a full chordal/rhythmic formula, lending weight to the final cadence. Noteworthy in the lute versions of this piece is the fact that many chords marked elsewhere with the arpègement sign appear in Milleran with the vertical stroke indicating that they are to be sounded simultaneously - an indication of the variety of performance possible in these pieces.

Ex.75 ("L'Immortelle") must have been the most popular of all Ennemond Gautier's courantes judging by the number of sources, both keyboard and lute, in which it appears⁸⁷. Of the lute versions Basle 53 is the earliest, and if one accepts a slightly different version of the opening, thinner chording, and some differences in the bass, it is remarkable how the form of this piece remained substantially the same throughout such widely scattered sources. Only Basle 53 of the lute sources notates the opening figure in brisé form, although Monin has an arpègement sign. This is reflected in the Stockholm 176 keyboard version. In the other lute sources it appears in virtually every possible permutation:

l. $\begin{smallmatrix} \uparrow \\ a \\ a \end{smallmatrix} \begin{smallmatrix} \uparrow \\ a \\ a \end{smallmatrix} c$ (Basle 53); l. $\begin{smallmatrix} \uparrow \downarrow \\ a \\ a \end{smallmatrix} \begin{smallmatrix} \uparrow \downarrow \\ a \\ a \end{smallmatrix} c$ (Monin); l. $\begin{smallmatrix} \uparrow \downarrow \\ a \\ a \end{smallmatrix} \begin{smallmatrix} \uparrow \downarrow \\ a \\ a \end{smallmatrix} c$ (Barbe);
 l. $\begin{smallmatrix} \uparrow \downarrow \\ a \\ a \end{smallmatrix} \begin{smallmatrix} \uparrow \downarrow \\ a \\ a \end{smallmatrix} c$ (Vm7 6211 and Robarts); but appears as $\begin{smallmatrix} \uparrow \downarrow \\ a \\ a \end{smallmatrix} \begin{smallmatrix} \uparrow \downarrow \\ a \\ a \end{smallmatrix} c$ in most sources, giving a tirer et rabattre and barré effect whose logic is lost on the keyboard. Some lute sources (e.g. Robarts) treat the melody more continuously than others. Barbe, on the other hand, has it syncopated for most of the second strain.

The variety of keyboard sources at once emphasises the quality of D'Anglebert's settings and provides examples of virtually all the main types of setting, from the most literal (Swedish sources) to one in standard format (Ottobeuren), and to sophisticated French settings which recast the piece in keyboard terms while preserving essential features of the lute (Babell and Rés.89ter to which it is closely related). Most noteworthy is the degree of sensitivity with which the two best French sources treat quayer brisure. At b3 and again at b25 for example the c' sharp is emphasised by a delay which is given a natural keyboard form by being the upper factor of a broken right-hand third. At bbl9-20 D'Anglebert preserves the

87. For reasons of space only the lute versions of Perrine 2 (in staff notation), Basle 53 (the earliest version), and Rostock 54 are given in Ex.78. The Ruthven lute version is edited in V.GAUTIER No.66, and the other French versions (Monin, Barbe, Robarts, and Vm7 6211) are close to it. Schwerin 641 gives a poorly notated version. Notes have had to be omitted and the piece was originally misbarred, but when sorted out it is substantially the same as the others although with some differences in chording and a certain amount of notated inequality.

arpègement of the lute melody as a means of maintaining quaver impetus towards the climax of a phrase. Dart here maintains quaver movement less effectively by the syncopation of an added tenor part (b20). D'Anglebert's purposeful use of rests at this point contrasts with the typically imprecise use of them in Stockholm 176. The syncopation of the melodic line to heighten the sense of climax is continued by D'Anglebert at bb23-26, a sense which is enhanced by the added 5:6 progression in the tenor (b24) after which he keeps very closely to the typical brisure of the lute's cadence formula in contrast with the rather square reworking of it in Ottobeuren.

Elsewhere lute figures have had to be replaced by keyboard ones. The tirer et rabattre effect in bbl-2 is not reproduced even in the more literal Swedish sources. The three French sources replace this with another lute effect of quaver brisure over several registers, which fits into the general pattern here. On the other hand, the distribution of quaver rhythm over the factors of a chord is replaced by D'Anglebert at b5 by conjunct quaver movement in the tenor. The Dart and Babell versions preserve the original effect more closely. A further change in the interests of rhythmic variety and keyboard effect is at b9 where Dart and Babell keep the lute's syncopated tenor, but D'Anglebert emphasizes the cadential hemiola with crotchet chords and ornaments on main beats. Similarly at bl3 D'Anglebert adds weight to the pedal effect by means of right-hand chords. Pedal moments such as this can sound empty if transferred directly to the keyboard, as in Dart and Babell. Throughout the second strain the predominantly low, two-part texture is filled out by a tenor part in Rés.89ter and to a lesser extent Dart. It has been observed that this is more skilfully handled by D'Anglebert to contribute to the sense of climax towards the end of the strain.

The replacement of lute effects by analogous keyboard ones has been noted in the opening bars. Here they serve to retain the typical lute brisure, the essence of which is that the movement of the piece, its melodic rise and fall, is spread over the whole texture, a process in which the style brisé helps by avoiding the definition of parts. Since all the French versions transpose the melody to the upper octave the danger of placing too much emphasis on the melodic line - giving it the effect of a timbre setting - must be avoided

as it is by D'Anglebert in the syncope of the superius by making it merely the top notes of broken chords.

Of the other keyboard versions, Dart's upward transposition of a fourth, giving a very high melodic line, shows a lack of concern to reproduce the tessitura of the lute. As with the Ottobeuren arrangements this gives an undue prominence to the superius, and undermines the point of the brisé texture which is to make the melodic line merge with the other parts. Of the Swedish keyboard sources, Skara is the best, keeping closely to the original although with some additions for keyboard effect. Both this and the rather poor Stockholm 2 version avoid the very low sans chanterelle tessitura of the lute in the second strain. In spite of their literal approach these Swedish versions tend to present the upper parts in continuous melodic form rather than with the subtle pedalisations carefully notated by D'Anglebert. Ottobeuren alone of these sources is in the standard three-part keyboard format. It is rather inept in detail and makes no attempt to reproduce specifically lute effects.

Sarabandes. There are four sarabandes among D'Anglebert's arrangements - one each by Denis Gautier, Ennemond Gautier, Mesangeau, and Pinel (DG.S1, VG.S1, Mesangeau S2, and Pinel S2). It has been noted that sarabandes present the greatest challenge for the keyboard arranger since several of their most characteristic features derive from inimitable technical devices of the lute. D'Anglebert shows considerable resourcefulness in making an effective transfer to the keyboard with an elegant economy of means.

D'Anglebert's arrangement of the Denis Gautier sarabande Ex.76 is a fine example both of his resourcefulness in representing lute effects on the keyboard, and also of his subtle use of standard devices to articulate the structure of the piece. Each strain begins with the characteristic lute tirer et rabattre chords, whose essential effect is of rhythmic variety on a static harmonic framework. This is precisely the effect aimed at by D'Anglebert, except that he has

replaced one lute texture with another one of quaver brisure spread over several registers. The fact that the syncopation affects mainly the superius, the typical sarabande effect of a rhythmicised single pitch, gives this part the slight prominence usual in the keyboard sarabande.

D'Anglebert's sensitivity to lute effect is evident from the fact that he preserves weak phrase endings. Other arrangers frequently spoil this by having a chord on the final crotchet of the bar. Here the pedalisation of the final bass note of each phrase gives the effect of Type 1 sarabande movement. All the phrases of the first couplet are enchâiné in this manner except the last, giving a very satisfactory shape to the strain. D'Anglebert is also sensitive to the texture of chords - using a three-note chord at b6 to represent the lute's chord in which one factor is doubled. This would have the sonority of a three-note chord on the lute, but the effect is not possible on the keyboard unless by means of an acciaccatura. D'Anglebert sometimes chooses to alter perfectly reproduceable lute effects for the sake of variety. Thus the quaver brisure over several registers at b6 is replaced at b8 by a melodic figure. A frequent effect in sarabandes is to increase the quaver brisure towards the end of a strain (see for example Mesangeau Sl, discussed above on pl81, as well as here). D'Anglebert enhances this heightened activity by the effect of quaver leaps (bb22-23), a device not used by Denis Gautier, who produces quaver movement by syncopating the superius.

While preserving the essence of the lute dance, D'Anglebert makes some alterations in the interests of an effective keyboard texture. At bb3-4 he recasts the spare lute texture in the traditional keyboard format of a right-hand melody and two left-hand parts. This involves discreet additions to the tenor line, which only Barbe of the lute sources hints at. Again at bb9-12 he enlivens the skeletal lute texture with a division figure. A similar trend towards maintaining melodic interest may be seen at b27. D'Anglebert uses the technique of dividing quaver rhythm over several parts sparingly, preferring here to achieve an analogous rhythmic effect by making this figure melodic. By comparison Denis Gautier's version of this bar would sound dull on the keyboard, although his subtle cross rhythm  is lost in the keyboard version (bb26-27). D'Anglebert also adds

occasional enrichments to Gautier's rather plain harmonic style, such as the seventh at b5.

Similar techniques are used in the Vieux Gautier sarabande Ex.77, but the solutions take slightly different forms⁸⁸. At b1 the lute's chordal movement is in a slightly different pattern from that of Ex.76. The effect of the melodic note on the second crotchet being added to the opening chord is replaced by having a strong chord on the second beat. Here again D'Anglebert replaces the lute's repeated chords by dividing quaver movement over several registers, while at bbl3ff the lute's strummed chords are replaced by a fully chorded texture with repeated notes in the superius to represent the original rhythm. Similarly at b5 the rhythm of the lute's strummed chords is replaced by the working of the superius melody in sarabande rhythmic patterns. The very typical lute texture of bbl8ff, however, is lost in the keyboard version. This expansion of pitch range - achieved by a simultaneously rising melodic line and a progression down the diapason courses, with progressively fuller inner parts - is very characteristic of the lute style, particularly at the approach to a cadence, and arrangers do not seem to have attempted to reproduce it. Further examples of the replacement of one effect by another are at b2, where a bass note replaces the lute's second-beat chordal accent - this is a common keyboard equivalent. Here also the rhythm of the delayed superius of most of the lute versions is replaced by D'Anglebert in an added tenor part; and again at bll the tenor note replaces a repeated melody note. These replacements are a common result of recasting the lute texture in the traditional keyboard format. Thus at b7 the lute's brisé formula is replaced by a three-part texture with a prominent melodic line. At bb 17-18 he derives a characteristic tenor part movement from only two lute notes.

The tendency of the keyboard format to give more emphasis to the

88. Edited lute versions are in V.GAUTIER No.45 (from Oxford 617) and DUFAUT No.51 (from Berlin 40068).

melodic line is evident at bb25ff where the lute's brisé thirds are replaced by melodic quaver additions to the superius. These slight changes of effect are sometimes used to point the form of the piece, such as the added chord at b8 which strengthens a new melodic beginning.

A few small details of writing are noteworthy. Bar 12 is a rare example in D'Anglebert of the clavecinistes' typical downward spread chord, used here to replace a very simple melodic movement, and which rarely appears in lute sources in this form. This piece also provides further examples of D'Anglebert's sparing use of the lute's arpègement sign. It is not explained in his table of ornaments, where it is applied to three- and four-note chords, but seems to imply a more subtle inequality than the customarily notated quaver brisure, akin to François Couperin's suspension in its function of giving a slight melodic accent through delay. This piece also shows D'Anglebert's dislike of leaving a beat empty. At b8 and again at b10 he maintains crotchet movement, achieving a movement which is stately rather than having the graceful fluidity of the lute sarabande.

A different set of problems is presented in the setting of the older type of sarabande Mesangeau S2 (Ex.78). Whatever the exact form of D'Anglebert's source⁸⁹, the problem remains of representing the type 1 sarabande movement (of bass note followed by chord), which is very rarely transferred literally to the keyboard. The arrangement shows varying approaches to the solution of this. In bbl-4 D'Anglebert replaces the lute's chordal movement by a more pronounced melodic line, emphasised by means of decorative quavers. The placement of a tenor note on the second beat gives the typical keyboard type of movement of melody with the second-beat accent (type 5). The keyboard version preserves the bass anticipations, but without the same effect since they are now subservient to a melodic

89. The source situation for this piece is less clear than with the Gautier examples, where there is a reasonable consensus of readings. The CNRS version has substantial differences in the second strain from the versions in P.Ballard 1631 and Dalhousie 5, mainly the result of rebarring (the P.Ballard 1631 printed version is edited as MESANGEAU No.12). Dalhousie 5 is much closer to the printed version, but there are enough small differences to imply that it was not copied from it.

line. Since the lute's effect is rhythmic rather than melodic it can play on rhythmic formulae such as the hemiola at bb6-7 and again at b14. The keyboard does not use this type of sarabande movement and its subtle ambiguity must be replaced, in this case by quaver melodic decoration. Only at bb26-27 does D'Anglebert give a rare literal version of the lute movement. Elsewhere there are many changes designed to create a melodic line. He is, however, helped in his creation of a keyboard texture by the frequent presence of a tenor line in the lute version (bb21-24, bb29ff) which he preserves.

Altogether this sarabande least reflects the nature of the original. D'Anglebert has filled out weak phrase endings by the addition of tenor notes (b4) and typically maintained the solidity of crotchet rhythm (b8) as against the shifting permutations of minim and crotchet, frequently running into hemiola formulae and undermining the establishment of a rhythmic pattern, which are the essence of this type of lute sarabande.

Pinel S2 (Ex.79) was clearly a popular piece since it survives in four keyboard sources, though only one lute version (in Saizenay 2) has been identified. There are sufficient differences among the keyboard versions to indicate three distinct settings: 1) Bauyn/Parville; 2) Rés.89ter; and 3) Gen.2356. Although the simplicity of the lute version is more closely reflected in the other keyboard versions than in Rés.89ter, this piece shows D'Anglebert at once retaining more effectively some lute features, while also recasting details to yield effects natural to the keyboard.

The lute version is of the same chordal type as Ex.78, featuring the bass note followed by chord of type 1 sarabande movement, and tirer et rabattre chords (type 2). Like the Dubut sarabande Ex.67 it shows how well the chordal type of movement with bass anticipations can transfer to the keyboard, even though it is rarely used by the clavecinistes. Of the keyboard settings, that in Rés.89ter reflects the lute texture most clearly in its division of quaver rhythm over broken chords (b1), its parallel thirds (b5), and quaver brisure over several parts (b6). D'Anglebert's careful remodelling in the interests of natural keyboard effect and melodic profile may be

seen in the bass at b16, and the extra melodic quaver of the petite reprise (b18). As in the lute version, he is careful in using chords for their accentual weight, and would not have favoured the heavy effect of the quaver chord at b10 of the Parville version.

Gigues. Of the two Ennemond Gautier lute gigues arranged by D'Anglebert ("La Cloche" and "La Poste"), "La Cloche" (Ex.80) is of outstanding interest since it provides a unique example of a systematic attempt to render the typical lute device of campanella in keyboard terms. This piece constitutes the principal evidence for D'Anglebert's interest in lute techniques, and in the problem of transferring them effectively to the keyboard⁹⁰.

The campanella device figures at bb3-5, and notably from bb22-28. At the opening D'Anglebert's primary concern has been to present the typical melodic curve of the initial phrase (bb1-5). He does nonetheless savour some of the small dissonances resulting from the pedalisation of notes, which is the essence of campanella. Such are the c'-d' between tenor and bass at b3, and between treble and alto in b4. The main instance of the device is, however, at bb22-28 where it is highlighted as a bell-like interweaving of parts over a bass pedal. D'Anglebert has brilliantly contrived here to render the lute version almost literally, while at the same time creating a texture which seems perfectly natural to the harpsichord. The intense savouring of momentary dissonance in the close-spaced parts justifies what would normally be an uncommonly thin keyboard texture, especially at bb27-28. A charming feature is that, after this highly sensitive writing, in which the player would have to linger over each dissonant effect to allow the instrumental resonance to tell, D'Anglebert reasserts the straightforward movement of the gigue with a knowingly

90. The title appears only in the late German keyboard source Ottobeuren, whose titles seldom agree with those in the central lute sources, but it is nonetheless particularly appropriate for this piece which appears to have been written to feature the device.

hackneyed cadence formula.

One detail should be mentioned here. It has been remarked (Chapter I, p44) that the port de voix, as notated by Rameau and discussed by Mersenne and Saint Lambert, contains an element of campanella in the retention of the appoggiatura while the main note is sounded⁹¹. That this was indeed the keyboard interpretation of this ornament is made clear in this piece at the beginning of b5, where the lute draws the two notes from different courses to give the characteristic "sting". It is probable that D'Anglebert intended a similar baigné interpretation of ornaments elsewhere (for example bb24-25), where they would add a further dimension of pedalisation. Nothing could be further from the subtle artistry of D'Anglebert than the crudely melodic transcription of this piece in Ottobeuren.

"La Poste" (Ex.81) is an altogether more straightforward piece of the allemande/gigue type. It is indicative that D'Anglebert here transfers the superius to the upper octave, thus giving it more the character of a melodic line than do the lute versions. Nor is he concerned with reproducing the campanella version of the opening figure given in some lute sources (Monin and Vm7 6213). The prominence of the upper line results in fleeting references to the opening motif in other parts going without decorative emphasis. Thus, while the tenor at b4 has an alternative ornamentation of the motif, with its entry accentuated by a syncopation, the bass at b6 is presented as a functional support for a decorated melodic line. Further elaboration of the superius may be seen in b14 and elsewhere. D'Anglebert adheres fairly closely to the lute versions, allowing for the normal strengthening of the tenor line and the filling out of the texture towards cadences.

Of particular interest is the fact that D'Anglebert, here as elsewhere,

91. This interpretation for the port de voix is also mentioned in Nivers's Livre d'orgue (1665) and Raison's Livre d'orgue (1688).

is capable of giving effective keyboard form, with the minimum of alteration, to a typical lute texture when it suits him. Thus the lute's pedalisation pattern of bbl0-12 is exactly reproduced⁹². This piece also provides examples of the lute's port de voix using two courses (bbl-2), noted in connexion with "La Cloche". Here, however, D'Anglebert is not concerned with immersing his texture in pedalised dissonances, and renders the ornament by its more normal keyboard equivalent of a mordent. It would in any case sound odd applied to an initial note on the keyboard. As a lute effect it is invariably in semitone form (all the lute sources except Vm7 6211 in bbl-2), giving it its characteristic "sting". Perrine's versions are particularly useful for notating it exactly.

Chaconnes. The Ennemond Gautier chaconne Ex.82 is of particular significance in that it is the only known keyboard arrangement of a lute chaconne in this repertoire. The lute version must date from before 1651 (when Ennemond Gautier died) in which case lute chaconnes such as this, with its low-lying chordal refrain and couplets in contrasting texture and tessitura, may well have provided the model for the chaconnes-rondeaux of Louis Couperin. In this instance contrasts of tessitura are limited since the entire piece is sans chanterelle⁹³. In the Robarts version the piece consists almost entirely of peculiarly lute effects - tirer et rabattre chords, sliding strokes, and type 1 sarabande movement. It thus presents a considerable challenge to the keyboard arranger, and D'Anglebert's version is the most radical of his settings amounting to a virtual recomposition of the piece. There is no reason to suppose that D'Anglebert worked from anything very different from Robarts since other Vieux Gautier pieces in that source are similar in their readings to those in concordant versions. However, there may have

92. D'Anglebert here gives a fairer representation of the original effect than the transcription in V.GAUTIER.

93. That Ennemond Gautier was capable of exploiting what in lute terms are extreme contrasts of register in the chaconne is evident from V.GAUTIER No.50.

been some differences in the sequence of couplets.

In arranging this quintessentially lute piece D'Anglebert has made some fundamental alterations, principally with a view to gaining melodic lines from the original chordal texture. He has created a predominantly four-part texture from the free-voiced original. The chaconne bass has been recast into a less repetitive standard pattern (1763451) from the lute's simple, chordally based one (15651). This gives it more melodic definition, while the lute version relies for its effect on a very full, low sonority with typical treatment of chords. In fact this demonstrates more than any piece so far considered, the importance to the luthistes of sheer sonority rather than melodic or rhythmic definition, with only a characteristic movement to relate it to a dance type. The importance of movement also has been noted in connexion with chaconnes having neither repeated bass nor refrain⁹⁴.

In Ex.82 the lute couplets have been aligned to the keyboard version to facilitate comparison. The original sequence is as follows:

<u>Rés.89ter</u>	<u>Robarts</u>
Refrain (x2)	Refrain (x2)
<u>brisé</u> repeat (x2)	<u>brisé</u> repeat (x2)
Couplet 1	Couplet 3
Refrain (plain)	Couplet 2 (refrain integrated)
Couplet 2 (refrain integrated)	Couplet 1
Couplet 3	Couplet 4
Couplet 4	Couplet 5 (alludes to refrain in its cadence pattern)
Refrain (x2)	Refrain (x2; simplified variant)
<u>brisé</u> repeat (x2)	

D'Anglebert has contrived a finer structure than Robarts, since in his sequence the refrain is progressively curtailed and disappears entirely between couplets 3 and 4 to return in full with brisé repeats at the end⁹⁵. But he has retained some features of the

94. See Chapter II, p125.

95. It should be noted that V.GAUTIER No.83 omits couplets 3 and 4 from D'Anglebert's version.

original such as the immediate variation of the refrain in quaver brisure at the opening, which appears to be characteristic of Ennemond Gautier since it also occurs in V.GAUTIER No.49. The varied statement of the refrain at b10 of D'Anglebert's version is however only slightly more brisé than the refrain itself, in contrast to the corresponding lute statement. The lute's tirata at b8, which in common with the tirer et rabattre chords implies perhaps a slightly less sedate tempo than D'Anglebert's version, has been replaced by a quaver scale. On the other hand, he gives a quaver brisure at bb17-18 for the lute's crotchets, making for less variety of movement but perhaps greater momentum.

For the most part the inimitable lute texture has been replaced by analogous keyboard figures. This concerns principally tirer et rabattre quaver chords, which are rendered by the common devices already noted in connexion with these arrangements - a left-hand arpeggio (bb2, 9, 16); a downward spread chord and syncopated superius (b5); a quaver brisure over two registers (b23); or quaver decoration of a melodic line (bb25-26). At other points the effect of the lute brisure has been retained but by different means. In b19 D'Anglebert relies on syncopating the superius, an effect used less consistently in the lute version. At b21 the effect of oscillating brisé quavers is retained, but in the context of a more melodic emphasis than the lute, which is basically the rhythmicisation of a single chord. More melodic moments in the lute version, such as b33, have been rendered fairly straightforwardly allowing for the widening of range of the texture common in these arrangements. However, the sometimes rather thin lute texture has on occasion been substantially filled out, as at b34. The pedalisation of the first note of the scale at b29 also represents the lute effect accurately.

In general the full four-part keyboard texture, with its low tessitura, is a fair representation of the original lute effect. This piece would not respond well to the literal treatment of the Swedish sources but in his recasting of it D'Anglebert has created a keyboard piece worthy to stand beside his own chaconnes or those of Louis Couperin.

Lute versions of keyboard pieces

For the following six pieces attributed to keyboard players concordant lute versions have been identified. In the case of two of them (Chambonnières's courante "Iris", and Hardel's gavotte) there is no doubt of their being original keyboard compositions. For the remaining four (courantes by Hardel and Monnard, and a courante and gavotte by Montelan) I have assessed the probabilities of their belonging to one or the other repertoire on the basis of the stylistic criteria outlined in the preceding discussions, while taking other relevant information into account.

Chambonnières

The lute version of Chambonnières's courante "Iris" (Ex.83) is particularly valuable for the confirmation it gives of previous findings regarding the typical textures of lute and harpsichord repertoires. It also provides an excellent example of how an idiomatic keyboard courante may be turned into an equally idiomatic lute one, as well as providing a useful contrast between the two genres.

The many keyboard sources are fairly unanimous in their readings, differing only in detail, and none are at all similar to the lute version⁹⁶. The transformation has been achieved by treating the courante melody as a timbre - the lute version has a different bass - and recasting the traditional keyboard format into its lute equivalent of two parts with an occasional chordal accent. The low-lying thirds of the lute version are reminiscent of the texture at the opening of Ennemond Gautier's courante "L'Immortelle" (Ex.75). The most significant feature of the lute version is that the bass has been altered mostly to make it move in thirds or tenths with the superius. It also (as at bb22-24) yields a logical progression

96. Of the many keyboard versions of this piece only Chamb.I and Bauyn are given, and Hintze as an example of an outlying German source such as the Göttweig lute arranger may have used.

over the bass courses. This contrasts with the keyboard bass which tends to move in complementary curves to the melody in a more contrapuntally balanced movement.

The keyboard original is in the standard format with an uninterrupted melodic superius apart from some arpégé thirds at b8. It is significant that these take the form of broken two-note chords in the right hand, thus giving a balance to the hand, rather than the syncopation of single notes which does not always lie naturally on the keyboard. Babell (keyboard source, not given) notates this effect fully in quavers. The brisure affects only the two left-hand parts and is on a crotchet unit. The lute brisure on the other hand is on a quaver unit, whether written out (b22, where rhythmic inequality is typically distributed between two parts) or indicated by an arpègement stroke. Since it applies to a predominantly two-part texture it constantly affects the superius, giving the typical lute quaver brisure distributed over different registers. Of the keyboard sources only Redon introduces some quaver brisure and then only between the left-hand parts. Chambonnières's quaver movement derives exclusively from melodic decoration. The quaver movement of the doubles in Roper and Rés.89ter is also derived entirely from melodic decoration. On only one occasion (b27) is quaver brisure used with the lute function of emphasising a melodic peak, indicated here by a coulé sign.

It is interesting to see the principles of arrangement from lute to keyboard operating in reverse in the replacement of keyboard figures by analogous lute ones. Thus at b25 the keyboard's second-beat chordal accent is replaced by tirer et rabattre chords. Concordant versions show a variety of spread chord patterns at strain ends. Lute sources very rarely depart from the standard pattern used in Göttweig. It is noteworthy that the tenor pattern at b13, although as common in lute sources as keyboard ones, is not adopted. One might expect such formulae to be reproduced and the fact that it is not reinforces the impression that the piece has been set as a timbre.

Hardel's gavotte (Ex.84) was one of the most popular and widely circulated of harpsichord pieces. All versions show slight differences, but it was clearly not set as a timbre since the lute versions retain the original harmonies, albeit in simplified form⁹⁷. These versions were probably made independently since there are numerous small differences of detail - at bb9-10 for example Saizenay 1, whose bass line diverges more radically from that of the keyboard versions than does that of Barbe, marks the sequence by the use of the diapason courses. In contrast to the Chambonnières courante they preserve a basically crotchet rhythm, maintaining a graceful lightness of texture, and it is noteworthy that the little brisé keyboard touches such as broken left-hand chords, syncopated tenor line and so on, most elaborately worked in Rés.F.933, are in no way reflected in the lute versions.

The unique courante in the lute source Saizenay 1 (Hardel Cl, not given) is also set in a largely two-part texture, although with some filling out towards cadences. Hardel's courantes in Bauyn are distinguished from those of Chambonnières, as represented by Ex.83, in their fuller voicing, often of four rather than three parts, and more intricate texture with more frequent quaver delays of the superius. They also show a sensitivity to spacing and the positioning of expressive notes, as well as a use of chromaticism (for example Bauyn III No.45, second strain) not usual with Chambonnières. Whether this is an arrangement of a keyboard piece or an original lute one cannot be decided. The Hardels were a dynasty of instrument makers to whom Jacques Hardel may have been related. One of them is described as "maître faiseur de luths"⁹⁸. The only musician of this name of whom we have evidence is Jacques, who is not mentioned other than as a harpsichordist.

97. The Bauyn keyboard version of this piece is edited in BRUNOLD/DART No.131; that from Parville is in CURTIS-CO No.11. Only the better of the remaining sources are given - Babell and Rés.F.933. The Saizenay 2 lute version is identical to that in Saizenay 1 from which it was probably copied.

98. F.Lesure, "Les luthistes parisiens", p212. According to David Fuller (art. "Hardel", The New Grove) an inventory of 1678 of effects of one of the Hardels includes two harpsichords (one with two manuals), a spinet, and materials to make others.

Monnard

Similarly the Monnard family included a lutenist and two organists⁹⁹. The courante Ex.85, normally taken to be a keyboard piece, looks more like a lute piece since the keyboard version is rather spare in spite of its standard three-part keyboard format. The similarity of the lute versions from widely disparate sources implies that, at least in its lute manifestation, it circulated as an entity rather than as a timbre. The economical bass movement is more characteristic of the lute. However, no other Monnard pieces have been found in lute sources, not even the sarabande which was one of the most widely circulated pieces in the keyboard sources. At least one member of the Monnard family was well thought of as a keyboard player since he is mentioned by Marolles along with Titelouze, the La Barres, Chambonnières, and Dumont (see Chapter I, p34).

Montelan

One of the more intriguing findings arising from the concordance study on which this survey is based is the existence of lute versions for two of the Montelan pieces in La Barre 11 (Exx.86 and 87). Montelan was an organist and composer whose life spanned almost a century¹⁰⁰ and the keyboard source dates from after 1724¹⁰¹. It is unclear whether these are original keyboard pieces since they appear in lute sources of the 1680s and 1690s attributed to Héman and Le Moyne.

The gavotte (Ex.86) looks like a melody setting since all three versions are in different keys and the lute version in Saizenay 1 has a different bass for the second strain. Comparison of the versions is not very instructive since both lute and keyboard versions are

99. B.Gustafson, French Harpsichord Music, I p328.

100. 1646-1738. He married Molière's only daughter in 1705, and was organist at Ste-Madeleine-en-la-Cité and at Saint-André-des-Arts from 1669 till 1715. Jean Rousseau, writer of the viol tutor, recounts in 1688 that the violist Demachy and the lutenist Robert de Visée played in one of the concerts given every Tuesday at Montelan's house (see A.Curtis, "Musique classique française à Berkeley", ppl27-128).

101. Gustafson, op.cit., I pl19.

equally characteristic of their respective types.

The courante (Ex.87) may have been a keyboard piece originally on account of its rather Chambonnières-like texture. Active bass patterns such as that at b3 are more typical of the keyboard than the lute. The carefully notated lute fingering at this point gives a charming irregularity of articulation not possible on the keyboard. However, it is rare to find a lute courante barred in $\frac{3}{2}$, while this is normal for keyboard ones.

SUMMARY

The very quantity of the source material for this chapter is in itself an indication of the interest taken by harpsichordists in lute style and its adaptation to keyboard style. Since there are sources available to represent all phases of the development of seventeenth-century French-style harpsichord music it is possible to chart in considerable detail the character of the lute influence. Most importantly, perhaps, these sources reveal with a new clarity the purely keyboard tradition within which the clavecinistes worked, and the extent to which the tradition represents a parallel development of an independent style in which lute features were adopted by keyboard players, either directly or by analogy.

The Lynar pieces stand somewhat apart from other arrangements in that they constitute a keyboard equivalent for the earliest phase of the lute style - that represented by the publications of Robert Ballard and Herbert, and other lute sources of the period c1610-c1630. While they do not generally show any attempt at imitation of particular lute sonorities as such, they do represent a loosening of the four-part keyboard texture of the virginalists in a manner similar to the loosening of the normal late sixteenth-century lute texture in the works of Robert Ballard. This consists mainly of the syncopation of parts, particularly melody notes, in a way which gives a new rhythmic fluidity. They also on occasion employ the division of quaver movement over four parts, with an avoidance of rhythmic symmetry, which is the hallmark of Robert Ballard's lute style. In the pieces which seem most likely to be direct arrangements from lute versions, they also to some extent reflect lute textures by features of spacing. Divisions, however, still retain the regular patterning of the older style, and are more conservative in this respect than are the lute doubles of Robert Ballard.

The textures of the later keyboard style first become apparent in the many French-influenced pieces, particularly settings of French dances, which begin to appear in northern European keyboard sources

(mainly English and German) from the 1620s. These display what amounts to a standard keyboard format, consisting of a right-hand melody with two accompanying left-hand parts. It is clearly distinguishable from the fuller, generally four-part, texture of late renaissance dance music for keyboard. This standard format is not of course unique to the seventeenth century, but is at least as old as the Buxheim Organ Book. Nor is it unique to non-French seventeenth-century sources, but it demonstrably constituted the keyboard tradition in which the clavecinistes worked. Within this texture, the style brisé operates in the arpeggiation of the two left-hand parts, or in the "suspension" of selected notes of the superius. This specifically keyboard texture differs from its lute equivalent in several important respects. The principal one is the independence of the keyboard bass line, which in traditional contrapuntal fashion tends to move in contrary motion to the melody, the two forming complementary curves. The standard lute texture, on the other hand, is generally of two parts rather than three, although with occasional accental chords. The bass line here tends to shadow the melody in similar motion at a third or tenth below, and since the texture is of two parts only, the melody tends to be far more frequently interrupted by the brisure. This involvement of the melody in the general arpeggiation creates the characteristic lute ambiguity of melodic line. It is not always clear in the case of pedalised notes whether they are melodic or belong to an accompanying part. The standard keyboard format is well suited to the rhythmic fluidity of the newly fashionable French dances, and in the free treatment of the accompanying parts one may see an analogy to the lute's style brisé. This format was probably not evolved in direct imitation of lute practice, but represents a parallel manifestation of the same style applied to different instruments. It does, however, allow for the incorporation of lute effects when this is desired, and, in an arrangement of an "art" dance by a quintessentially lute composer such as Mesangeau, may approach very closely the lute's texture and effect.

The main body of non-French keyboard sources presents three main types of arrangement. These are: 1) settings of popular dance melodies; 2) arrangements of identifiable lute pieces, in which some

effort has been made to recreate the original in keyboard terms; and 3) more literal versions of lute pieces; these may more justly be classified as transcriptions rather than arrangements.

In the first category, the typical lute texture of two parts with occasional accentual chords has its counterpart in the standard keyboard format. But whereas the lute versions frequently involve the melody in the brisure and occasionally abandon it completely in favour of a purely chordal movement, the keyboard versions generally show a concern to maintain the continuity of the melodic line which, because of its solo nature, is subject to varying degrees of ornamentation. Particularly in the sarabande, in which the lute has several characteristic types of movement based mainly on chordal rhythmic patterns, the keyboard arrangers are careful to maintain the prominence of melodic line. Care for continuity of line is also evident in the tenor part which generally preserves its integrity throughout the piece. While lute versions have only fleeting moments of interest in a tenor line, or reduce it to a few isolated notes more in the nature of factors in a broken chord, keyboard ones commonly use the contrapuntal devices of suspension and imitation, and frequently derive their tenor line from the melody itself by parallel movement at the tenth below.

The second category is comprised mainly of pieces arranged from lute versions in which characteristic lute figures, rather than being reproduced literally on the keyboard, are replaced by figures which derive from keyboard rather than lute technique. Indeed they would not be comfortable on the lute, but are nonetheless analogous to the lute figures in effect. The most obvious examples of this are the various methods of arpeggiating chords, particularly at strain endings. But it is also evident in the application of brisure to the two left-hand parts of the standard format. The melodic line may also be ornamented in quaver rhythm, replacing the typical lute brisure divided over two or more parts, but preserving the same rhythmic effect. While in the lute versions the melody may be submerged in chordal movement, or in the typical quaver brisure, keyboard arrangers tend not only to preserve a recognisable *superius*, but also to enhance its prominence by adding decorative detail. Significant or expressive melody notes may be highlighted by delaying

the movement of the bass and also having an ornament, a procedure much used by the lutenists. The versions discussed present a wide variety of approaches, and some arrangers were more radical than others in their efforts to make a satisfactory keyboard piece. Versions which aim to preserve something of the lute effect make this immediately apparent in their low tessitura, generally unmotivic texture with frequent ambiguity as to the identity of parts, and typical spread chord patterns. This category provides the most useful body of repertoire on which to base an assessment of the degree of influence which the technique of the lutenists may be said to have had on keyboard players.

Less useful is the third category which consists of more or less literal transcriptions of lute tablature. However, they still have an interest in the effect which lute figures, literally transferred, have on the keyboard. Such pieces as the Mesangeau allemande in Copenhagen 376 provide a valuable standard of comparison as pieces which are undoubtedly intended to imitate the lute. They are also of interest in the small additions or other adaptations which the arranger, if a skilled one, may feel it necessary to make.

The arrangements made by D'Anglebert in Rés.89ter are some of the most sensitive settings of lute pieces in the repertoire, and also demonstrate the alterations which a first rank claveciniste felt it necessary to make in order to create effective keyboard pieces. The desire for melodic continuity is immediately apparent, as is the concern to preserve the integrity of parts, especially the bass. D'Anglebert on occasion replaces an economical lute original with the richly motivic texture of the baroque keyboard dance, subtly worked in terms of the standard format. In doing this, he may give the piece the stately rhythmic impetus characteristic of his own keyboard style. He also shows considerable skill in making small details motivic, thereby adding a developmental aspect not always present in his originals. In his treatment of keyboard idiom he is resourceful in rendering details of the lute brisure in a form natural to the keyboard, particularly in the case of complementary syncopations between parts. This brisure is never automatic, but is artfully used to enhance particular effects. Typical lute devices, such as tirer et rabattre chords, are rendered analogously by figures which are

more effective in keyboard terms. If D'Anglebert's versions are somewhat more solid than others in rhythm and texture, he shows great fastidiousness in the notation of detail, and resource in the variety and balance of keyboard figures designed to replace lute ones.

In these pieces, D'Anglebert shows an extreme sensitivity to texture. In fact, from one phrase to the next they cover the entire range of possibilities from the most purely keyboard textures and idioms to the most direct representation of lute effects, such as *campanella*. He frequently creates a full keyboard texture from a rather sparse original, as in "La Superbe", but he is also capable of the most delicate writing in imitation of the lute, as in "La Pleureuse". Sensitivity to texture is evident too in his preference for a slight upward transposition of all the parts, rather than the solution adopted by many other keyboard arrangers of soloing the melodic line at the upper octave. Keeping all the parts within a relatively narrow compass enables him to preserve the ambiguity of part writing so characteristic of the lute originals, and allows a more plastic moulding of textural intensity to give shape to phrases and strains. Thus he reserves the fuller textures for the beginnings and ends of strains, in particular reserving a full, actively brisé texture for climactic points - a feature of only the best French arrangements. Such lute textures as the first type of sarabande movement are given a structural dimension matched only by the finest of lutenists such as Denis Gaultier. Variety of texture also gives more definition to the character of phrases than is usual even in lute versions.

A particular feature is the unique fastidiousness in details of notation. The placing of rests in a syncopated melodic line, for example, is used with great subtlety as a means of articulating phrases. Indeed, the notation itself speaks for his interest in the lute style since he adopts wholesale the system of lute ornament signs, rather than the purely keyboard signs of his teacher Chambonnières. D'Anglebert's own keyboard style is that which, of all the clavecinistes, has most thoroughly assimilated the style of the lute. That he thought of these arrangements as an adaptation of the idiom of the lute to the harpsichord, rather than simply as parallel keyboard pieces, there can be no doubt. They provide the clearest evidence of what the clavecinistes considered possible

or desirable to take over from lute style, and what was better replaced by the traditional keyboard language.

CHAPTER IV

THE RELATIONSHIP OF SEVENTEENTH-CENTURY FRENCH

HARPSICHORD REPERTOIRE TO LUTE STYLE

This chapter, for which the foregoing discussions have been essential preliminaries, is the most important part of the present survey. On the basis of examinations of lute style (Chapter II) and of its direct interaction with keyboard style (Chapter III), I have attempted to isolate those elements in the specifically harpsichord repertoire which may be shown to stem, either directly or by analogy, from the practice of the lutenists. These chapters provide the criteria by which may be assessed the general principles deriving from the lute style, and also the particular points of detail. Three types of keyboard writing have emerged: 1) a purely keyboard tradition expressed in the standard three-part format; 2) keyboard effects analogous to lute ones, but which do not directly imitate lute technique; and 3) direct imitation of lute effects and techniques. I now attempt to define further the nature of the relationship between the lute and keyboard repertoires.

In the keyboard arrangements from lute repertoire considered in Chapter III one might justifiably expect to find features of lute style in the keyboard writing. This expectation is by no means so self-evident when dealing with original harpsichord repertoire. The fact that demonstrably lute-derived features are present here shows the extent to which the clavecinistes absorbed the style of the lute. Such features, in a repertoire which did not necessarily have a prima facie motive for imitation lute style, are a true indication of the extent and nature of the influence of that style. How this influence operated in detail will emerge during the course of the chapter.

The chapter is divided into two sections. Section 1 examines briefly a small number of sources surviving from the late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries - what one might call the "lost" period of French harpsichord repertoire. Unlike the non-French, but French-influenced, sources of arrangements from lute repertoire examined in the earlier part of Chapter III, these are specifically French sources of original keyboard music. Although the pieces concerned are in general musically jejune and otherwise amateurish, they are

the only repertoire we have from the period before Chambonnières. This section includes for the first time an assessment of the only substantial piece for "espinette" currently known from this period - a pavane by Jacques Cellier, dated 1594.

Section 2, the main part of the chapter, examines the corpus of seventeenth-century French harpsichord repertoire from c1650 to c1690. While the discussions in Chapters II and III have necessarily been based on original sources since much of the repertoire is not available in modern editions (and even where editions are available the versions they present are essentially small selections from a wide range of available source material), for the central harpsichord repertoire the source situation is more straightforward. Contemporary printed versions are available for works of Chambonnières, Lebègue, Jacquet, and D'Anglebert, as well as one substantial autograph manuscript of D'Anglebert. For this section, therefore, the modern editions of the keyboard repertoire have been used. A detailed examination of all known versions of each piece was not possible. Such comparisons are naturally of great interest but, inasmuch as I have made them, they have not caused me to revise any of my central conclusions as to the nature of the relationship with the lute.

The discussion is divided by genre for the same reasons that this division has been adopted in the two preceding chapters. This common principle of organisation for Chapters II-IV may also facilitate comparison of particular points between repertoires. Within this framework, the discussions of the prelude, allemande, and courante are further divided by composer. One of the most striking results of this study has been the precision with which an assessment of lute influence brings into focus the stylistic characters of individual clavecinistes, particularly in the case of the three principal figures - Chambonnières, Louis Couperin, and D'Anglebert. To discuss the repertoire in general, without differentiating between personal characteristics, would give a false impression of stylistic uniformity. Nor would it be possible to discuss the style in general without resorting to many cumbersome qualifications and distinctions. The remaining genres of sarabande, gigue, and chaconne are, however, discussed without this subdivision, since by that stage the principal stylistic traits have already been defined and there is no need to

repeat them, although they may be referred to on occasion in order to distinguish between treatments.

Points of detail and individual effects are illustrated by selected examples given in Volume II. For more general points, concerning large sections or entire pieces, the reader is referred to the standard editions: Brunold and Tessier's edition of Chambonnières, Curtis's of Louis Couperin, Dufourcq's of Lebègue, and Gilbert's of D'Anglebert¹. For the Premier Livre (1687) of Élisabeth Jacquet whole pieces are given since there is as yet no modern edition.

The main findings of the thesis are presented in general terms in the concluding summary.

1. Dart's edition of Louis Couperin contains 32 pieces not given by Curtis. While these reinforce the conclusions reached in the discussion of Louis Couperin, they add no new features, and I have limited examples to Curtis's edition for simplicity of reference. Curtis, on the other hand, includes eight pieces not given by Dart. I have adopted the abbreviations for these editions devised by Gustafson: BRUNOLD-TESSIER, CURTIS-CO, DUFOURCO-L, and GILBERT. Sigla for editions of works by minor clavecinistes are explained in the list of abbreviations in the bibliography.

1. LATE SIXTEENTH- AND EARLY SEVENTEENTH-CENTURY KEYBOARD SOURCES

A small number of sources survive from the period between the *Attaingnant* prints of the 1530s and the publications of *Dumont* (from 1652). They are the pieces of *Cellier*, *Megnier*, and *Costelay* given as examples in the two manuscripts of Jacques *Cellier*, and the pieces entered at the end of the tenor part book of a copy of *Arcadelt's* first book of madrigals, now in the library of Aberdeen University. To these one may add a small group of pieces which may conceivably be by Jacques *Champion*, father of *Chambonnières*, in *Bull* and *Celle*; and the repertoire contained in *Gen.2350/57* which may date, in part at least, from as early as the 1630s. These sources differ from the earlier keyboard sources discussed in Chapter III in that, with the exception of *Bull* and *Celle*, they are all of French provenance, and all may contain original French keyboard repertoire. The versions given by *Cellier* are rather poor, surprisingly since he was organist of Reims cathedral as well as an expert draughtsman, while those in *Aberdeen* are amateurish in the extreme. They are nonetheless worth examining as the only known examples of a lost repertoire.

The first of *Cellier's* manuscripts² contains a brief fragment attributed to Pierre *Megnier* and given as an example of "Tabulature Despinette ou D'orgue" (fl165), and a more extended extract from a fantasia "sus orgue ou Espinette" by *Costelay* (fl189)³. Of the two the *Megnier* piece appears to be the more accurately notated. It has nothing to suggest an individual spinet, as opposed to organ, style (Ex.88).

2. *F-Pa* (manuscripts) fonds français 9152. The musical section of this large miscellaneous collection of drawings is between ffl160-192. It is headed (fl160): "Ensuivent plusieurs instrumens musicaulx avec leur tabulature ou reigles au dessous. 1585". Both MSS are discussed in *H.Jadart*, *Les dessins de Jacques Cellier* (Paris 1900) and also in *S.Jeans* and *G.Oldham*, "The Drawings of Musical Instruments in MS Add.30342 at the British Museum", *Galpin Society Journal* XIII (1960) 26-31. *Jeans* and *Oldham* conclude that the British Library MS is either a copy of f.fr.9152 or that both were copied from a common printed source as yet not identified.

3. This is reproduced as Abb.2 in the *MGG* art. "Costelay". The photograph is not clear and several important details are invisible.

The Costelay fantasia (Ex.89) seems to have been jotted hastily into the manuscript, probably not by Cellier since the hand is quite distinct from that of the other musical examples⁴. Even allowing for errors of clef placement and other details the piece has some crude and unprofessional features⁵. Like the Megnier fragment this piece is in a generalised keyboard idiom without any specifically spinet features such as have been outlined in Chapter III.

More significant is the pavane, presumably by Cellier himself, in the Reims MS (Ex.90)⁶. It is of particular importance as the only known substantial and complete piece for spinet of the late sixteenth century - it is presumably designed to accompany the diagram of the "Clavier d'orgue ou d'Espinette" on p34. It has until now evaded critical attention, or even mention. While largely free of the notational anomalies of the other pieces given by Cellier, its very simple texture and unsophisticated left-hand part imply that it is a beginner's piece and not representative of the best keyboard writing of the time. Nor is there anything to suggest that it draws any significant features from the technique of the lute.

Similar in technique, but at a very much lower level of competence, is the keyboard section in Aberdeen which Cooper⁷ concludes was compiled at Nîmes after 1613. The most substantial piece is the fantasia on Battaille's air "Ma bergere non legere". In two or three parts it derives only its opening motif from Battaille's air, the remainder

4. Since the version is corrupt I have given a literal copy as well as a suggested reconstruction.

5. The dot, which at first sight seems to be a fingering indication, is explained on p36 of the Reims MS as a flat sign ("Ce point signifie un b.mol"). In fact it is used in the fantasia to indicate any accidental, as was the common practice of sixteenth-century French notation.

6. F-RS ms.971, pp34 and 36. A note on p37 reads "De la main de Jacques Cellier Dñl/A Reims 1594".

7. See Barry Cooper, "A new Source (c1600) of Chansons and Keyboard Music", Recherches XII (1981) 5-17. The keyboard section of Aberdeen probably dates from after 1613 since it contains a "Fantaisie sur l'air de ma Bergere" (ff41'-42) based on a melody from Battaille's fourth book of airs published in that year (f11). The repertoire consists mainly of dances, many of which bear common timbre titles such as "La Daufine", "Destin", and so on.

being a free development of quaver division figures. The untitled piece Ex.91 is the only one to use letter notation, but in a way similar to the Munich MSS which does not exploit the spatial possibilities of this notation⁸. Parts are not correctly aligned, nor in this case are letters placed appropriately on the staves, again implying a beginner's notation rather than a conscious imitation of the lute. Similarly the setting of "La Princesse" (Ex.92) inhabits a different world from the settings of this timbre by Robert Ballard and Vallet. But it does provide evidence that such popular melodies constituted at least part of the repertoire of keyboard instruments in the early seventeenth century.

A further possible source is Bull, compiled in Antwerp in the 1620s, which contains three pieces assigned to "Chappel". Although Bull is not a French keyboard source, it has been ingeniously suggested by Dart that this may refer to Jacques Champion II, sieur de la Chapelle, and therefore that this source contains in these pieces original French keyboard repertoire⁹. This hypothesis has been assessed by Gustafson¹⁰ who concludes that it is unprovable, and there is no need to extend his discussion here. Of the three pieces in question the fantasia (ff58'-61) may be compared to the Racquet fantasia intended by Mersenne as an example of an organ piece in the Harmonie Universelle¹¹ but there is nothing peculiarly French about either piece. The pavane and galliard (ff61'-65) are of the four-part polyphonic type associated with the virginalists and do not reflect the transitional features of the Lynar courantes considered in Chapter III. A further piece attributed to Chapel (Celle p94) is another setting of the timbre of La Barre Al.

8. See Chapter III, ppl42-143.

9. Thurston Dart, "John Bull's Chapel", Music and Letters, 40(1959) 279-282.

10. Gustafson, French Harpsichord Music, I pp78-79.

11. It is edited in BONFILS 29/30, ppl4-19.

Gen.2350/57 is another amateur manuscript, although of rather better quality than Aberdeen. Its dating is problematical, and Gustafson concludes that it may have been compiled as late as the 1660s¹². Its repertoire, however, consists mainly of the timbre settings and air de cour arrangements associated more with the 1620s and 1630s¹³. Whatever the date of this source, the arrangements are very simple in texture and there is little evidence of either keyboard or lute style brisé¹⁴.

Very little may be deduced from these few early sources. Their common feature is a lack of any attempt to adopt features of lute style, other than the single piece in letter notation in Aberdeen. Their value as representative sources is compromised in one way or another and they cannot be taken to reflect the style of the best Parisian spinet or harpsichord players.

12. Gustafson, French Harpsichord Music, I pl20.

13. There are two settings of Guédron airs from Battaille's sixth book of airs (1615): "Ces Nymphs" (No.15; Battaille ff14'-15) and "C'est trop courir les eaux" from the Ballet de Madame (No.21; Battaille ff4'-5). Another setting of the latter is in the Swedish lute source Per Brahe (1618-1621), f40 ("Balletto").

14. A thorough investigation of this source has been undertaken by David Fuller, who will present his conclusions in his forthcoming book on French harpsichord music.

2. CENTRAL KEYBOARD SOURCES c1650 - c1690

PRELUDES

The unmeasured prelude is the most complex genre of the keyboard repertoire in the number of influences contributing to it. On one hand there is a purely keyboard tradition derived from Froberger, and in order to disentangle this some discussion of Froberger's toccata style is necessary. The preludes of Louis Couperin are to a significant extent modelled on Froberger's toccatas, but they also present general features of notation, structure, and improvisation formulae which are developed from the lute prelude. More importantly, perhaps, numerous details of texture, brisure, and treatment of motivic cells can be shown to be directly based on lute practice, as well as keyboard counterparts for characteristic lute sonorities such as campanella and the dynamic nuancing of chords and appoggiaturas.

Subsequent clavecinistes reflected in their preludes varying degrees of lute influence. Lebègue's add few new features to those of Louis Couperin, while D'Anglebert's interest in lute repertoire, as revealed in his arrangements, is very clearly evident in his own preludes, both in general structural principles and also in details of writing, making them the closest keyboard approximation to lute style in this genre. The preludes of Élizabeth Jacquet, on the other hand, are in a more purely keyboard tradition, reflecting lute practice only in residual features derived from unmeasured notation. In assessing these diverse affinities with lute style, and isolating particular features, the discussion of the lute prelude in Chapter II provides both the point of departure and standard of comparison.

Froberger. The toccata style of Froberger was demonstrably influential on the formation of the style of Louis Couperin's unmeasured preludes. It derives, however, from the keyboard style of his teacher Frescobaldi

rather than from any lute prototype¹⁵. Frescobaldi's toccata style in turn appears to be of purely keyboard origin, or at least to take vocal rather than other instrumental models¹⁶. It has a lute counterpart in the toccatas of Kapsberger, but these were written under Frescobaldi's influence. However, Kapsberger's toccatas may have played a role in the development of the style of Pierre Gautier's lute preludes which are among the most substantial examples of the genre in the 1630s.

The toccatas of Froberger are a development of Frescobaldi's style and show little direct lute influence. They rely on broadly arpeggiated chords, tirate, and trills rather than on the brisé interplay of three freely conceived parts which constitutes the main characteristic of the lute preludes. The decorative patterns in broken chords, generally broken downwards, are not natural to the lute, nor does the bass line have the structural prominence or concern for sonorous spacing of the lute preludes. If certain harmonic effects such as the major seventh chord and the diminished fourth are found in Froberger as well as the lutenists, it is because they form part of the common harmonic language of the time. French lutenists were using them in the 1630s, long before Froberger visited Paris.

The toccatas have little in common with the lute prelude, but the various tombeau-type movements clearly do use figures drawn from lute technique, particularly in the importance of bass pitches with the irregularity of number and arrangement of intervening factors, noted as a basic feature of the lute prelude. Most intriguing is a seeming imitation of a very characteristic lute device, the campanella scale. If the slurs of the scale at the end of Froberger's Lamento for Ferdinand IV (Ex.93) are read as tenuto signs¹⁷ and the four-note

15. Features common to the toccatas of Frescobaldi and Froberger and the preludes of Louis Couperin have been discussed by J.Kitchen, "Harpsichord Music of seventeenth-Century France", pp25-30.

16. Frescobaldi, in his preface to the first book of toccatas (1615), relates their structure and manner of performance to "Madrigali moderni".

17. See the discussion of Lebègue's preludes below (p230). Slurs are also used to indicate a keyboard tenuto by Rameau (1724). Paul Brunold (Traité des signes et agréments employés par les clavecinistes français, pp48-50) cites further examples from Marchand and François Couperin.

groups divided between the hands, this acquires the baigné quality described in the preludes of Pierre Gautier and others (Ch.II p84). The scale ends with a port de voix whose effect is that described by Rameau (see Chapter I p44). These baigné scales are common to prelude-type works of both Froberger and Louis Couperin - an example from Froberger's tombeau for Blancrocher and a Louis Couperin prelude is given by Curtis¹⁸. In the absence of early French keyboard sources it is not certain whether Froberger initiated the style or not, but it is possible in that Louis Couperin described one prelude as written in imitation of Froberger, and according to Mattheson Froberger based his style directly on that of the lutenists rather than of French harpsichordists¹⁹. But it is difficult to believe that it had never before occurred to resident French harpsichordists to imitate the fashionable style of the lute.

Louis Couperin. The preludes of Louis Couperin retain a number of the purely keyboard figures which typify Froberger's toccatas, such as the extended traits and single or double trills which form a predominant part of the texture. Louis Couperin also tends to prefer the downward spread, decorated chord as an opening formula to the lute's widely spaced chord with passing notes between its upper factors. The opening of Couperin's "Prélude à l'imitation de M.^r Froberger" (No.1)²⁰ is clearly modelled on that of the first toccata from Froberger's 1649 collection, and no doubt represents the manner in which Froberger's plain chords would have been interpreted (Ex.94). The lute manner of spreading chords is found only at the openings of Nos. 39 and 68 (Ex.95a), although it is not uncommon in the course

18. CURTIS-CO, pXVII.

19. "Nachdem nun Froberger, im übrigen, seine Zeit zu Rom nützlich gebracht hatte, ging er nach Frankreich, und nahm die frantzösische Lautenmanier von Galot und Gautier auf dem Clavier an, die damals hochgehalten wurde". Grundlage einer Ehrenpforte (Hamburg 1740), p88.

20. References for works by Louis Couperin here and elsewhere in this chapter are to CURTIS-CO.

of a piece. In using this lute-type spread chord Couperin commonly extends it in a dramatic, keyboard way (Ex.95b).

Couperin also adopts un-lute-like figures from Froberger such as the descending triplet figures in the last two lines of No.64 (Ex.96). The typical decoration of a chord with cambiatas involving falling thirds and fourths (see Ex.94b) is rare in lute preludes although not unknown (see for example Ex.26), and seems to the part of a common style rather than being derived from the lute (Ch.II pp85-86). The tripartite form of many of Louis Couperin's preludes appears also to derive from the keyboard toccata. There are no lute preludes with measured, imitative middle sections. These are to be found only in the preludes of Louis Couperin and Élizabeth Jacquet and probably derive from the sectional toccatas for Froberger, although middle sections in triple time are also found in instrumental music such as the viol fantasias of Moulinié²¹.

Louis Couperin's debt to Froberger is most clearly in evidence in his occasional borrowing from Froberger's toccatas (Ex.97)²². Although this example shows keyboard-derived aspects of Couperin's style, the notation itself, in notes of unspecified duration and with abundant tenuti, is clearly derived from lute tablature. In their structure, characteristic types of movement, and even details of technique, Couperin's preludes share many features with the lute prelude as outlined in Chapter II. Examples of individual features could be multiplied at will, only a few representative ones are given.

The most noticeable common feature is the importance of the bass line in defining structure and dictating the pace of harmonic change. This may be seen in the context of a typical lute structure as outlined in the commentary on the Dufaut prelude Ex.23 (Ch.II pp88-89). The structure of the lute prelude is typically of static harmony at

21. A single anonymous prelude (Parville No.1) in this form, with a measured middle section in C time, was included by Curtis in his Louis Couperin edition on grounds of style (CURTIS-CO No.55).

22. I am indebted to Kenneth Gilbert for pointing out this resemblance. Further correspondences may be found elsewhere, some of which are noted in Curtis's "Unmeasured Preludes in French baroque instrumental Music", Master's dissertation, University of Illinois, Urbana, 1956.

the principal tonal centres, and often involving unexpected harmonic fluidity by means of raised thirds and lowered sevenths when there is a move from one centre to another. The pace of chord change is determined by the number of intervening notes between bass pitches. The opening period of No.28 is articulated by the rate of change of bass pitches (Ex.98). The key of C is defined by static harmony and an extended pedal. This is followed by more rapid harmonic movement and a more frequent change of bass leading to another pedal effect when the dominant is reached in line 4. The emergence of a bass pattern in a cadential approach, particularly noticeable in lute preludes in the placement of diapason pitches (Ch.II pp80-81) is reflected in preludes such as No.28 (end of p47-p48) and at the end of No.33. The last two lines of No.68 (Ex.99) also show a use of the variable rate of chord change to build up tension before the final cadence, in this case by a strong, stepwise bass movement with a quickening of harmonic rhythm before the in-built ritardando of the final close. Long phrases, as in lute preludes, are constructed on slowly descending bass lines, although Couperin uses an ascending bass movement somewhat more than do the lutenists. A particularly striking placement of a bass pitch is after a dramatic ascending trait in the superius (Ex.100a). This effect is not found in lute preludes in quite the same form. There the line tends to have a less vigorous movement, punctuated by a diapason pitch just before the peak in the superius, emphasising its climax (Ch.II p81).

Since the bass generally leads a chord change, the intricately brisé upper parts produce a rich sonority of suspended sevenths and ninths, and, as in the lute preludes, the effect of delayed resolution is exploited to give point to a phrase, such as the very common delay of resolution of the seventh in a $\overset{6}{5}$ chord (Ex.101). Equally the major seventh and augmented fifth, carefully placed, are common to both repertoires, in Couperin's case the latter being sometimes given in the form of a diminished fourth (Ex.97, line 1). As in the lute repertoire these dissonances are savoured for their own sake. Whereas Froberger tends to build up a major seventh chord by means of tied notes over a bass movement (Ex.96a) prior to resuming movement in the treble, the chord is generally struck rather than tied by the lutenists and Couperin. Couperin, on the other hand, uses a richer variety of inversions than do the lutenists, who

tend to use mainly the $\frac{6}{5}$ position of seventh chords. He frequently uses the $\frac{6}{3}$ and $\frac{6}{2}$ inversions, and favours the sharp dissonance of the $\frac{6}{2}$ inversion of the major seventh. Effects surrounding the augmented fifth on the mediant are very frequent in the preludes. A favourite device is to give the mediant note in the bass under a suspended dominant chord instead of the expected tonic (Ex.101). This device seems peculiar to Couperin and is not used by the lutenists, nor is the full mediant $\frac{9}{5}$ with augmented fifth (No.1, p4, line 1) although rich mediant $\frac{7}{5}$ s with augmented fifth may be found in lute preludes such as Ex.21 (line 2) by Pinel. Otherwise the common harmonic practice of the lutenists prevails, with many sequences based on the alternation of ($\frac{6}{5}$) and $\frac{5}{3}$ chords, and a tenor line derived from 7:6 suspensions and 5:6 anticipations. The prominence of the tenor line gives the left hand the character of its equivalent in the standard keyboard format described in Chapter III.

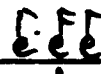
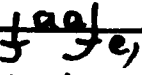
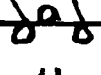
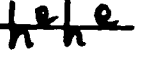
Apart from the brilliant descending broken chords (Ex.94b and No.12), as used by Froberger, many of the keyboard preludes open with improvisation formulae similar to those of the lute. The most frequent of these in Couperin's preludes involves a tenor part moving an octave, a ninth, then a tenth above a bass pedal, with a variable number of intervening pitches in the upper parts (Ex.94b). This is not so common in lute preludes but is not infrequently used by Pinel and Denis Gautier (see Exx.22 and 26; also Gautier Pieces p36, and Gautier Livre p6). The very common lute formula described in the discussion of the Dufaut prelude Ex.23²³ appears also in Couperin's preludes such as No.7 (Ex.102a), as does the device of a long bass pedal under intricate, brisé upper parts (No.76 and the final section of No.45; for a lute example see Ex.26).

A device used by both Couperin and Lebègue, but not common with lutenists, is of a repeated spread chord (Ex.102a). A similar effect is sometimes to be found in lute preludes (Ex.103, by Pierre Gautier; In this example the repetition of the chord is not spread, thus it may be that the keyboard second chord is to be played faster than

23. Chapter II, p88 n85 gives further lute examples.

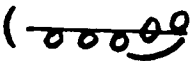
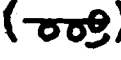
the first. Alternatively it may derive from the echo effect described by Baron²⁴, but it is uncommon in lute sources in this form. Many of Pinel's preludes begin or end with a leisurely arpeggiation of a single chord, with alternate "sliding strokes" of thumb and forefinger (for example PINEL No.7). It is possible that some dynamic nuance is intended here and the keyboard chords may represent an analogous effect.

Allemande-type figures and three- or four-note melodic cells, noted in the preludes of Pierre and Denis Gautier (Ch.II pp85 and 89) also have a place. Thus in Ex.104a the three-note upbeat is very characteristic of allemandes of both the lutenists and Froberger. In Ex.104b three-note motifs alternate with the mordent figure used by Denis Gautier (see Ex.26). The derivation of such cells from lute technique, where they are often slurred to indicate that the first note only is to be plucked, has been noted (Ch.II p85). Many of the more intricate three-part passages in Couperin's preludes are based on these.

Other devices seem to be in direct imitation of particular effects based in lute technique. Campanella scales have been noted in works of both Froberger and Couperin. In Ex.105 the descending scale with multiple tenuti is combined with a motif of three repeated notes frequently found in these preludes. Repeated notes also figure in the final chords of this prelude and of No.85, but may appear at any stage (Ex.106a and b). These are frequently found in lute preludes. They may sometimes take the simple form common with Pinel:  implying an alternation of middle finger and forefinger on one string (PINEL No.1), but more typically they take a form allied to the campanella technique (Ex.19, line 2, by Vincent): ; Ex.20 line 3 (Pinel): ; RhD pl99 (Denis Gautier?): . In Couperin's preludes these repeated notes are not

24. See Chapter I, p43.

25. Repeated top notes of chords are also a feature of theorbo chording, where the same pitch is derived from the first and second courses as a result of the re-entrant tuning. Pitches are repeated here and in lute chords to allow the player to make a "sliding stroke" across all courses without encountering discords.

uncommonly combined with three-note cells () or ports de voix (). The slur here clearly implies the tenuto effect described by Mersenne as a keyboard subtlety in imitation of the lute, and illustrated by Saint-Lambert and Rameau (Ch.I pp43-44). Other small pedalisations indicated to remain as dissonances are as characteristic of the lute as the keyboard. In particular the acciaccatura additions to chords are described by Mersenne as a device used by keyboard players to emphasise the sonorous, as opposed to the percussive, sound of a consonant chord - an effect analogous to the lute's (Ch.I p42). It may also help to reproduce the effect of the common type of lute chord in which a factor is doubled on two courses, giving the initial spreading of the chord a full sonority not directly imitable on the keyboard.

Lebègue. The preludes in Lebègue's first book (1677) exhibit much the same characteristics as those of Louis Couperin, but in simplified form and on a smaller scale. The principal point of difference lies in their semi-measured notation - as in the lute preludes notated in this manner the note values seem intended to represent approximate tempo indications rather than precise relationships. The slanting barlines are a unique feature, and appear to indicate chord changes. Barlines are also used in the preludes of D'Anglebert's Pieces de Clavecin, but there they seem intended to mark out the main sections of the piece. In a letter²⁶ Lebègue explains that his slurs are to indicate tenuti, which enhances the likelihood that Froberger used slurs for this purpose. Otherwise these preludes present no new features other than a predilection for two brisé parts in the right hand, frequently in thirds.

D'Anglebert. The preludes of D'Anglebert stand somewhat closer to their lute counterparts than do those of Louis Couperin. They

26. See B.Gustafson, "A Letter from M. Lebègue concerning his Preludes", Recherches XVII(1977)7-14.

lack the brilliantly decorated descending broken-chord patterns and traits which have a keyboard origin in Froberger's toccatas. They also lack the expanses of treble/bass recitative-type dialogue. They resemble the lute preludes of the 1650s and later in their almost total lack of motivic detail. Also in common with lute preludes they are more purely chordal, and lack the brilliant contrasts of movement and the dramatic gestures of Couperin. Thus where Couperin places a bass pitch dramatically at the end of a brilliant ascending trait, D'Anglebert prefers the gentler lute version of this effect where a tenor or bass pitch interrupts the ascent of a moderately moving superius line before its peak (Ex.100b). In their structure they conform generally to the patterns already outlined. In the d minor prelude (GILBERT pp46-49) the first period consists of an elaborate movement of upper parts over a pedal, followed by a section of comparatively rapid chord change with a variety of intervening movement between bass notes, leading to a new phase of static harmony on the dominant. The next section begins with thin, central spacing before expanding in pitch range. This is the most substantial of the preludes and has a solidity of periodic harmonic architecture similar to the longer lute preludes of Pinel, and which contrasts with the more capricious movement of Couperin. In part this is due to the use of harmonic and rhythmic sequences, otherwise rare in unmeasured preludes, to articulate large phrases (GILBERT p48 line 1, lines 3-4)²⁷.

Standard opening harmonic formulae again point to the improvisational origins of the genre. The same rising five-note superius as in the first prelude is used in the C major prelude (Ex.107a) and may be compared with the opening of the Pinel prelude Ex.22, and more particularly with PINEL No.7 (Ex.107b), where the modulation is pursued more adventurously. In all cases the ascent is characteristically given with a variety of events between each superius note. The

27. Further sequences are in the short C major prelude from Rés.89ter (GILBERT pl46 lines 2-3) in a full four-part texture with double alto and tenor suspensions, and in the first prelude of the Pieces (GILBERT p2 lines 4-5). Another unusual structural device here is the repetition of the opening at the end, but with the original tenor movement transferred to the superius.

unpredictable placing of superius notes is exploited in the delayed superius resolution of Ex.108 where the a' is repeated intermittently in various dissonant conjunctions before finally resolving on to a g' sharp. Similar effects may be observed in the preludes of Pinel though not on such an extended scale. Harmonically these preludes are not as adventurous as those of Louis Couperin or Pinel. Yet their full texture, often of four parts and with many full chords, gives a characteristic richness to the usual seventh and other dissonant chords.

D'Anglebert does not exploit contrast of register to the same extent as do Louis Couperin and some of the lutenists. His writing in general is solidly balanced around the middle of the keyboard. He does nonetheless use a considerable variety of texture, often with telling structural effect. In the second prelude of the Pieces (GILBERT pp28-29) the opening consists of an interplay of closely spaced, active upper parts over a pedal, and gradually opens out until a full D major chord is reached at the beginning of line 3. Similarly the final section (p29 line 2) begins with single-part movement in the centre of the keyboard and as the bass descends the texture becomes fuller, the harmony richer, and the rhythmic decoration more elaborate until scalar traits lead the bass down to its lowest octave for the final cadence. Although some details such as these bass scales are rare in lute preludes, the general effect, with tension built up through variety of movement and a structure built on an irregularly descending bass line, is in the tradition of the lutenists.

Devices of lute derivation noted in Couperin's preludes are also found here. D'Anglebert makes less use of multiple repeated notes, but two notes are common, notably in final chords, in the rhythm $\text{f} \circ$. He also, rare for a claveciniste, uses the lute ensemble sign of a vertical line to indicate that notes should be sounded simultaneously.

Jacquet. According to an announcement in the Mercure Galant²⁸ the entire second suite of Jacquet 1 is written in imitation of the lute. It is somewhat disappointing to find that this suite is indistinguishable in style from the other three. Indeed this is the only suite in which all the dance movements use the G2 clef for the upper stave²⁹. From this point of view the first suite would be a better candidate since most of the movements use the C1 clef. Alternatively the third suite, although alternating between G2 and C1, uses the low C3 clef in its chaconne, thus approximating to the lute's tessitura. Nor is there any information in the prefatory material (incomplete in the only known copy) to indicate which suite, if any, was so intended. From a stylistic point of view these suites are perceptibly less in imitation of the lute than some movements of Louis Couperin and D'Anglebert, or indeed Froberger. No concordances with lute repertoire have been identified, nor with other keyboard sources.

The preludes of Jacquet 1 are notated similarly to D'Anglebert's printed ones, though without barlines in their unmeasured sections. Three of the four preludes are in the three-section form used by Louis Couperin. The measured middle sections, however, are not in triple time but in $\frac{3}{4}$ time with a lightly imitative texture. The final unmeasured sections are very brief, amounting only to a closing flourish. The unmeasured opening of the F major "Tocade" is also brief, most of the piece being measured.

Although these preludes retain many of the features of earlier examples there is a perceptible increase in regular patterning

28. See Chapter I, p46.

29. An inventory of this source with analysis of keys and clefs is in Volume II, p.xxxiv.

Jacquet evidently played the lute herself since her will (1729) mentions two lutes as well as three harpsichords, a bass viol, and a treble viol (S.Wallon, "Les Testaments d'Elisabeth Jacquet de la Guerre", Revue de Musicologie 40(12/1957)212).

which was later to be continued in Rameau's a minor prelude (1706) and those of François Couperin. Thus the d minor prelude (Ex.109) opens with a downward broken chord, but it is decorated with a consistently maintained three-quaver figure. It continues with an upper-part chordal pedal such as has been noted in some lute preludes (Exx.13 and 15) but has not so far been encountered in keyboard ones. The bass movement is again rhythmically sequential in a pattern not generally found in lute preludes. In the g minor prelude (Ex.110) there is a regularity in the treatment of rising and falling three- and four-note patterns (lines 2-4) untypical of lute preludes and of earlier keyboard ones. In general these preludes show a more logical construction in the balance of rising and falling phrases.

The principal difference between these and other keyboard preludes lies in their abandonment of the keyboard format with a two-part left hand, which in turn derived from the lute prelude's three-part framework (Ch.II pp81 and 87). The left-hand part tends to consist of a single line or of chords. The texture is more in the tradition of the baroque keyboard toccata than of the lute prelude. Ex.111 is a toccata in all but name, with brilliant scale and arpeggio figures and regular patterning. The unmeasured notation appears to have been retained as a convenient way of representing the necessary rhythmic freedom, particularly since Jacquet uses the principle of varying the number and direction of events between structural pitches, one of the basic features of the lute prelude. The preludes generally lack specific devices based on lute technique, although the end of the d minor prelude has three soundings of the same chord in a manner noted in Lebègue and Louis Couperin and which may have some relation to lute practice, if rarely found in lute preludes in this form (Ex.109, line 14).

ALLEMANDES

Many of the common features of the keyboard allemande are present in those of Chambonnières. The discussion of his allemandes is accordingly more extended than that of other clavecinistes, in order to establish the basic points of reference. As in the case of the prelude, the styles of the principal composers are clearly differentiated – Chambonnières basing his allemandes on a subtly concealed polyphonic framework, while Louis Couperin's have more affinity with lute examples in their more melodic conception, with a bass which echoes and reinforces the melodic line in the lute manner. D'Anglebert employs a more richly developed baroque keyboard idiom. Both he and Louis Couperin show that sensitivity to instrumental sonority and to dissonance treatment in the context of brisure which has been noted as a characteristic of lute style. It is in these moments of sensitive harmonic brisure, which often contrast strongly with the surrounding movements and textures, that the influence of lute style is most clearly felt. The allemandes of Lebègue, Jacquet, and others add little new in respect of lute-derived features. They nonetheless provide further confirmation of the common practice of keyboard style.

Chambonnières. If the allemandes of Chambonnières are the obvious starting point for this discussion they are untypical in several important respects of either the lute allemande or that of the other clavecinistes. The principal difference lies in their polyphonic framework, akin rather to the allemande for viols than to that for lute or keyboard generally. Ex.112 ("La Rare") demonstrates how this underlying framework is decorated with the typical upbeat motifs found in lute allemandes of the 1630s and which constitute the main point of contact with that repertoire. The four parts are conceived in traditional polyphonic terms, rather than in the parallel rise and fall of melody and bass through an octave or a tenth noted in Chapter II (p93) as characteristic of the lute allemande³⁰.

30. David Fuller (The New Grove, art. "Chambonnières") has very perceptively observed that the tenor line in "La Rare" is in a kind of free canon with the superius.

A relatively undecorated allemande whose polyphonic nature is not concealed is "L'Affligée" (No.134)³¹. The similar "Allemanda Gravis" of Dumont³² has a keyboard version which is a virtually literal transcription of an allemande for four viols (Ex.113). The allemandes of Chambonnières share to a large extent the fluidity of phrase structure and harmonic direction of those for lute, but they generally have more melodic emphasis - the superius is rarely interrupted in the brisé manner, and passages of extended sequential melodic development are not uncommon, as for example in the second strain of "La Loureuse" (No.11). Longer lines are constructed by the same techniques of addition and conflation of motifs noted in lute allemandes (Ex.28 s-u).

Within this framework the character of the allemande is established by the use of typical opening figures. This is generally the most extended melodic figure of the lute allemande, after which the piece develops by means of a free use of complementary three- or four-note motifs (Ch.II p92). In Chambonnières's case, however, this opening figure is frequently treated imitatively in subsequent entries in a manner rare in the lute allemande. The figure tends initially to be given in the superius and imitated in the second bar in either tenor or bass (Exx.112 and 114a), the imitation on occasion being inverted (Ex.114b). As with the lute allemande, these figures generally step out the intervals of a rising or falling third to sixth, and are made up of balancing motifs of the kind given in Ex.28. The standard opening figures are common to both repertoires and examples could be multiplied at will. One which is peculiarly suitable for the lute includes a pattern of broken thirds of which there are many lute examples (see the opening of the second strain of the Mesangeau allemande Ex.59 and the Pinel allemande Ex.63). In No.19 it is presented in the pedalised form of these lute examples, noted as giving the fairest keyboard representation of the lute effect (Ch.III pl74). In common with other rising opening figures, such as that of Ex.114a, it is related to the typical lute

31. The numbering for pieces by Chambonnières, here and elsewhere in this chapter, is that of BRUNOLD-TESSIER.

32. BONFILS 13 No.1.

prelude opening of a broken chord with passing notes between its upper factors.

In their rich use of characteristic motifs Chambonnières's allemandes are akin rather to the lute ones of the 1630s than to later types, which are either melodic or with a texture of chords rhythmicised by the techniques of brisure (Ch.II p96). Given the difference that here they are worked on a genuinely polyphonic structure, they are similarly treated with patterns of balancing imitations (Ex.112, bb5-6). They also share the relative rhythmic solidity and care for balancing movements of the earlier lute examples (Ch.II pp92-93). The motifs are, however, more significantly worked by means of the contrapuntal devices of inversion, augmentation, and diminution, whereas in the lute examples such devices appear fortuitous. There is also more consistency of imitation within strains, with entire periods constructed from a single motif. Thus the second strain of No.7 is largely constructed from a single decorated figure (Ex.28j). This more consistent and purposeful use of motifs is noticeable in comparing allemandes of Chambonnières with, for example, Mesangeau Al (Ex.59) - in which they are used in the typically lute manner in a keyboard arrangement.

Although it is true that lute allemandes do not generally employ motifs consistently, it has been noted that Denis Gautier's may be constructed with more than usual concern for motivic unity within phrases (Ch.II p99), a feature of Gautier's style and a principle frequently followed by Chambonnières. A comparison of Ex.115 with Ex.37 is instructive in highlighting similarities and differences between the two repertoires. The Gautier piece (Ex.37) is based on a typical three-note cell (Ex.28m and n) and variants. Its development consists of a number of balancing phrases derived from this, yet without the emergence of any extended melodic phrase. Chambonnières's allemande, on the other hand, opens with a characteristic figure covering a rising fifth, which is continued and extended into an upper line of comparatively pronounced melodic character. Lower parts have little motivic activity except where the superius line rests. Chambonnières's melodic line is constructed from the common stock of figures, to form phrases of equivalent balance and plasticity, but motifs are conflated into longer lines.

Certain aspects are, however, common to both pieces. The type of varied and balanced imitation between parts in Ex.37 bb6-8 and bb9-10 has its counterpart in Ex.123 bb24-25. A typical formula such as the brisé tenor delay of Ex.37 bb3-4 is reflected in Ex.123 bb22-23, as is the standard movement of tenor and superius at the end of the second strain of each piece. Yet it is clear in comparing the Chambonnières piece with close transcriptions of lute pieces, such as the Swedish examples discussed in Chapter III, that they are conceived in different idioms in a common style rather than that Chambonnières was writing in direct imitation of the lute.

The texture of Chambonnières's allemandes shows little attempt to imitate the sonority of the lute. While the lute allemande is typically in two parts with some filling out towards cadences, Chambonnières uses mainly three or four parts with a concern for maintaining a balanced texture on the keyboard. The effect is thus wider spaced, fuller, and more polyphonic than the lute. The bass plays a more active part in motivic development, although there is an equal tendency to settle on pedals, particularly at strain openings³³. Equally the largely four-part texture is not that of the standard keyboard format outlined in Chapter III, and which is the normal keyboard equivalent to the lute. A feature of Chambonnières's allemandes is moments of static crotchet movement, where the largely quaver and semiquaver interplay of motifs ceases (Ex. 116). Yet these moments have quite a different effect from the occasional movement in crotchet chords observed in lute allemandes (Ch.II p98). They are contrapuntal rather than harmonic in nature, generally involving a 7:6 suspension between two upper parts, and their open three-part spacing in no way recalls the full, close spacing in the low register of the lute. Where such movement is purely chordal (as in No.1 b19) Chambonnières generally uses a wide pitch range and open spacing. Moments of rich, low texture, such as No.46 b3,

33. An example of the conversion of the melody with two-part accompaniment type of allemande to a more motivic type may be seen in the Berlin 40623 keyboard version of Ex.57 bbl-3.

are rare.

Yet Chambonnières is by no means insensitive to spacing in keyboard terms, and can use textural contrast effectively, as in Ex.117, where the texture of three close-spaced parts in the tenor register throws into relief the subsequent melodic entry which stands away from the other parts and acquires a solo character. As do the lutenists, he tends to expand the pitch range towards strain endings, for which Ex.59 bb21-22 may be compared with Nos.7 and 41, but this is a very common feature.

Chambonnières rarely shows the sense of harmonic dissonance, savoured for its own sake, notable in the works of the Gautiers and Pinel. His dissonances tend to be arrived at contrapuntally and are not treated with the sensitivity to placing evident for example in the Denis Gautier *Allemande* Ex.37. On the other hand he uses more chromatic movement than do the lutenists generally. Only Dufaut approaches him in this respect, other lutenists using a significant number of chromatic progressions only in preludes (Ch.II p94).

Unlike D'Anglebert in his lute arrangements, Chambonnières incorporates few demonstrably lute effects into his basically keyboard writing. The expressive use of *superius* interruption (such as in Ex.118) is rare, although the syncopation of inner parts is as common as in the standard format between tenor and bass. The most frequent device here is the arpègement of right-hand sixths or thirds (Exx.115 b16, 114a b2). Altogether, Chambonnières employs the same general principles as the lutenists in the construction, movement, and formal patterning of these pieces, but expresses them in keyboard terms without borrowing specific devices designed to reproduce the lute's technique or sonority.

Louis Couperin. The *allemandes* of Louis Couperin are, apart from some highly individual features of style, more representative of the keyboard *allemande* in general than are those of Chambonnières. They employ devices which, in their exploitation of instrumental sonority, provide parallels to specific lute effects. Their underlying framework also is more akin to the lute in the frequent parallel movement of *superius* and bass rather than the classically polyphonic

structure of Chambonnières.

Couperin, on the other hand, makes greater use of imitation and shows a more logical approach to phrase construction than do either Chambonnières or the lutenists. Thus a three-fold imitation, rare in lute allemandes, is very common at the opening of second strains. This appears to be a keyboard extension of the lute device of opening a strain with a characteristic motif over a pedal, and recalls the figures of the imitative canzona. The imitation of a bar-long figure in the first strain of No.40 (Ex.119a), and particularly the antiphonal layout of imitations worked in three parts at the opening of the second strain (Ex.119b), are contrapuntal in a way not found in lute allemandes. He also employs on occasion a canzona-like chromaticism as in the opening of the allemande No.93 (Ex.120).

In common with Chambonnières and the lutenists, Couperin employs the standard allemande opening figures to establish the character of the dance. A very common formula is one in which the tenor line steps out the first three notes of a scale, forming consecutively an octave, ninth, and tenth over a bass pedal, a device already noted in his preludes. He also uses the common prelude opening harmonic formula noted in Exx.23 and 32d (see Ex.102b)³⁴.

These improvisation formulae provide further links between prelude and allemande. It has been observed that lute allemandes frequently have the aspect of rhythmicised preludes in their harmonic formulae and principles of phrase construction (Ch.II pp96-97). But whereas lute allemandes typically begin with a characteristic figure and thereafter develop a free interplay of motifs, those of Couperin, while drawing on the common stock of upbeat motifs, show a more logical approach to melody and section construction. Apart from moments of canzona-like imitation the melodic line is more pronounced and continuous than that of Chambonnières. Thus Ex.121 consists of several phrases based on a figure rising from the third to the fifth

34. See also p228 above.

of the scale and which is extended to cover the first to seventh degrees in a climactic phrase at the strain end. Phrases are frequently constructed on a single motif, as has been noted in some of Denis Gautier's allemandes, who together with Dufaut shows a more contrapuntal awareness than is usual with the lutenists. Thus in Ex.122 the opening phrase (bb1-5) is constructed from a falling motif, while the second phrase (bb7-9) has a continuous line rising to a climax before the final descent to the cadence (bb10-11).

Couperin's contrapuntal orientation results in his bass lines having a more active role, often playing a major part in phrase formation as in No.23 where the second line has a bass imitation of the entire opening three-bar phrase. Sequential repetition as a means of structural articulation is also more common than with either Chambonnières or the lutenists (Ex.123, among many instances).

In texture these allemandes are cast in a closer approximation to the standard three-part format than those of Chambonnières, although with quite a high incidence of two-part imitations in the right hand. Also, the inner part frequently has the character of an alto rather than a tenor line, a feature more typical of lute than of keyboard style (Ch.III pl78). As with the examples in this format described in Chapter III, the tenor is frequently derived from movement in parallel tenths with the superius (Ex.124). Bass movement is also frequently in tenths with the superius, as in the lute allemandes, with a coincidence of thirds on main beats, in contrast to Chambonnières's more independent polyphonic parts. However, the prevalence of imitation and the melodic prominence of the upper line give a different effect from the typical lute movement in which the brisé technique gives an ambiguity of line and an equality of emphasis to the parts in the structural rise and fall of the phrase. As with the lute there is a tendency to fill out the texture at strain endings (No.19, and of each strain), generally with an increase from three to four parts. Purely chordal movement is also common, but Couperin rarely presents this in the form of plain crotchet chords. The device of full quaver chords in a rapid harmonic movement involving cross-rhythms is unique to Couperin (Ex.121 b6). Crotchet chords are generally decorated in a variety of ways - with slides and repeated notes (Ex.125a), or with brisé left-hand parts (Ex.125b). This approximates to the broken-chord type of lute movement, yet as with similar

effects in the D'Anglebert arrangements the repeated notes in the right hand give a melodic emphasis not present in lute examples. In addition to harmonic sequence and passages of full chords in quaver rhythm, recalling continuo practice, Couperin uses continuo-type bass patterns (Ex.126) not found in lute allemandes.

If Couperin uses a more robust and continuous melodic line than does Chambonnières, he frequently contrasts this with moments of languishing sensitivity to instrumental sonority in a manner parallel to the lute. Thus he may build up sonorous harmonic clusters as at the opening of "La Précieuse" (Ex.127; see also No.86). He is also sensitive to the dissonances produced by small pedalisations. Pedalisations in a semiquaver figure in Ex.128a give an effect similar to the lute's campanella, and the direction to play this piece "fort lentement" allows a savouring of this effect. Couperin is also more sensitive to contrasts of register than is Chambonnières. Thus No.46 has a full opening with a wide pitch range, followed by a texture of three close-set parts which gradually open out into a contrasting brisé-chordal movement to the end of the strain. He also shows a lute-like sensitivity in the placing of dissonance, particularly in the telling placement of an inner-part dissonance at the climax of a phrase (Ex.128b), a device also used by Pinel and Denis Gautier. Couperin however pursues this further in rich double suspensions (Ex.128c).

Like D'Anglebert in his arrangements, Couperin incorporates into the keyboard format certain devices derived from lute practice. The maintenance of quaver movement by syncopating inner parts (Ex.122 b8, also No.86 second strain b3) is a common lute device, as are the parallel thirds and sixths (Ex.129a) in upper parts which are probably meant to be played arpégé as Chambonnières frequently indicates³⁵. The related effect of a figure based on broken thirds as at the opening of No.19 and richly used in the second strain of No.86 (Ex.129b) has been noted as native to the lute, although adopted by the clavecinistes most commonly as part of an opening formula. The emergence of the melodic line from a spread chord (Ex.130a) has been noted as a lute effect, and also the delay of a bass pitch

35. Compare Ex.57 b12.

to allow an expressive, decorated superius note to tell (Ex.130b). Again like D'Anglebert, Couperin tends to use such effects for a particular expressive purpose rather than as a pervading aspect of style. Thus the brisé distribution of quaver or semiquaver movement over several parts in Ex.131 is used to contrast with the more robust opening figure of the piece. Brisé interruption of the superius, although more frequent than with Chambonnières, is also reserved for expressive use rather than being a constant stylistic feature (Ex.102b b3; see also Ex.122 bb7-8). The D'Anglebert arrangements are particularly instructive in relating these points to lute effects.

Lebègue and others. The allemandes of Lebègue and the various La Barre and anonymous allemandes of Parville add no new features. They continue the style of Louis Couperin, although motifs tend not to be as significantly worked, nor are the allemandes as rich harmonically. Lebègue has a slightly more marked predilection for the brisé distribution of two or three parts over a pedal. These and the allemandes by various clavecinistes in BONFILS 18 demonstrate how remarkably unified is the style of the mid- to late-seventeenth century. They are still basically in the standard keyboard format, but with a greater or lesser degree of evidence of lute devices. The Richard allemande (BONFILS 18 No.VII) opens with a very characteristic brisé lute pattern (Ex.132)³⁶. The development of the piece, however, is in keyboard terms with a five-fold imitation after the double bar, which in turn leads to two or three brisé parts over a pedal. This oscillation between lute and keyboard textures is entirely typical of the keyboard allemande.

Noteworthy are the occasional examples of the "allemande fugue" type, as in BONFILS 18 No.XX. This certainly derives from the viol consort rather than the lute since it is not found in lute sources and the keyboard version of the Dumont example (BONFILS 13 No.2)

36. Compare for example the lute sources Reynaud f107*(a)(anon.) and Robarts fD5' (Emond). These however have the figure in two-, rather than the keyboard's three-, part form.

is a fairly literal transcription of the viol parts. The only significant difference is a slight filling out of texture and some quaver brisure at strain endings³⁷.

The single known allemande of Hardel³⁸ is in a much more open and less motivic texture than usual. In spite of its very un-lute-like wide spacing, it shows considerable sensitivity to the expressive effect of superius delay and also of the brisé distribution of movement over four parts.

D'Anglebert. The principal features of D'Anglebert's allemandes have been described in the discussion of his arrangement of Ennemond Gautier's "La Vestemponade" (Ch.III ppl83-185). It is noticeable that the pieces in Rés.89ter are less elaborate than those in the Pieces. The allemande in GILBERT pl47 is close to the standard format of right-hand melody with two left-hand parts. Extra parts in the right hand derive from pedalisations such as the fully notated arpégé thirds at bl3. As in the standard format the tenor line often derives from parallel tenth movement with the superius.

The fullness of D'Anglebert's texture is demonstrated by the opening of GILBERT p76 (Ex.133a): the melodic figure is a very common one in lute repertoire (Ex.133b; see also V.GAUTIER Nos.63 and 64), but whereas Gautier uses it in a single part with non-imitative entries of other parts, D'Anglebert has a fully developed texture from the start. The first strain of this allemande demonstrates his further development of the logical structure observed with Couperin. Most of the strain consistently develops one figure by means of imitations, leading to a more extended line in the superius towards the close. The second strain has a similar structure, taking a different but complementary motif as its basis. This consistent use of figures

37. A transcription of both viol and keyboard settings is given by A.Cohen in "A Study of Instrumental Ensemble Practice", ppl6-17; see also Ex.113.

38. Bauyn III No.44, etc. A transcription is in Kitchen, "Harpsichord Music in seventeenth-Century France", ppxxvii-xxviii.

is a further development of Louis Couperin's typical three-fold imitations at strain openings.

The bass also plays a yet more active part than with other clavecinistes. Stretches of bass dominance are frequent (GILBERT p30 bb7-8, p77 bb15-19). It also underlies typically baroque sequential progressions such as Ex.134. Regular progressions such as these are foreign to the lute style. However, as with the lute, chord clusters are built up from pedalised notes in semiquaver motifs (Ex.135a), and movement is on occasion maintained by rhythmic distribution over three- or four-part chords (Ex.135b). As in the lute arrangements this is not quite in the lute form since there are simultaneous soundings of notes and repeated notes in the superius emphasise melodic continuity (Ch.III pl83).

Jacquet. In comparison with those of D'Anglebert, the allemandes of Jacquet 1 are much more melodically conceived. Yet they still belong to the seventeenth-century tradition, without the Italianate features of her Pieces of 1707. They are generally in a version of the standard format and derive from the melodic type of allemande, examples of which were discussed in Chapter III, and which represents one aspect of the keyboard tradition. They employ the standard opening figures (p64 has the tenor octave-ninth-tenth progression) after which a melodic line is spun out over two left-hand accompanying parts with little motivic interplay.

There is little evidence of the adoption of lute devices, although p26 (Ex.136, from the suite supposedly in imitation of the lute) is mildly reminiscent of lute practice in its delayed superius and arpégé thirds at b3. Yet these very features emphasise how far this type of keyboard writing is from lute repertoire. They are applied to a typically keyboard texture and are far from permeating the whole piece. These pieces are in no way in imitation of the lute in the sense of the Mesangeau allemande (Ex.59) or those of the Swedish keyboard sources, nor are they similar to the "pièces luthées" of François Couperin and others.

COURANTES

The majority of keyboard courantes are cast in the standard three-part format, in which the affinity to lute style is limited to general features. There is, however, a particular interest in the employment of techniques of brisure for expressive purposes in a manner very similar to that of the lutenists. Both Chambonnières and D'Anglebert use these techniques occasionally in the context of a normal keyboard texture, while in the courantes of Louis Couperin the expressive effect of such moments is very marked.

Chambonnières. The principal differences between the courantes of Chambonnières and their nearest lute equivalent have been discussed in connexion with the courante "Iris" (Ch.III pp204-205). The melodic type of courante is found in the lute repertoire at all stages of the century (Ch.II pp76-77, and pl08) although it is more common before c1650. As with lute courantes, some of Chambonnières's have petites reprises either fully written out (No.105) or marked with a renvoi (Nos.12 and 57; see also Ch.II ppl08-109)³⁹. The form of the courante-passacaille (No.142) appears to be unique to this piece⁴⁰.

As regards principles of setting, Chambonnières displays the contrapuntal bias observed in his allemandes in that his bass line tends to move in complementary curves to the melody. He does not use the alternative movement, typical of the lute courante, in which melody and bass move in parallel thirds or tenths to anything like the same extent. This accounts for the difference in bass line between the original of "Iris" and its lute version (Ex.83). In the lute version the melody and bass typically form part of one movement in their parallel rise and fall, homogeneity of movement being emphasised by frequent arpègement. Chambonnières does nonetheless use the slowly ascending bass common in lute courantes towards cadences (Ex.40). This is very

39. The fact that petites reprises were common in danced courantes, and also the clinching nature of their melodic formulae, is evident from the burlesque description of a Lully courante in Molière's Les Fâcheux (1661; Act I, Scene III).

40. Its rondeau structure is more clearly developed in the version in Parville than in the Bauyn I version given in BRUNOLD-TESSIER.

suited to the lute in that there is normally an expansion of range towards strain endings to include the lower diapason courses, after which the texture contracts in the final cadential formula. Allowing for his contrapuntal bias, Chambonnières's basses share the irregular scalar structure of the lute courantes (compare Nb.33 and Ex.33).

If Chambonnières is conservative in his exclusive use of the melodic type of courante, he is also conservative, in lute terms, in melodic structure. A strain typically consists of a characteristic opening figure, establishing the allure of the dance, followed by a series of asymmetrical but balanced patterns of increasing length – typically of 3–4–7 bars (No.32, converting Chambonnières's $\frac{6}{2}$ barring into the $\frac{3}{4}$ barring normal in lute courantes). Conservative also is his use of the repeated chord cadence pattern characteristic of the courante. This is invariable in both lute and keyboard sources at strain endings, but Chambonnières frequently uses it also in mid-strain in a manner not common in lute sources after the 1620s (Ch.II pl01). It may also appear after a one-bar opening figure (Ex.137a; see also Nos. 67 and 77). He may even use it as an opening formula (Ex.137b; also No.78) and generally, though not always, decorates it with a motif or broken chord pattern. As with the lute, too pronounced an intermediate caesura is generally avoided by means of oblique cadences (Ch.II pl03). Melodic definition results in a less fluid movement than the lute's in that the rhythmic structure is more clear-cut, without so much recourse to purely rhythmic formulae derived from the characteristic movement of the dance, or the subtle and complex hemiola formations noted in some lute examples (Ch.II pl09). Some courantes have a very symmetrical phrase construction, such as the regular four-bar phrase structure of No.65, or the first strain of No.57 with its balance of rising and falling hemiola patterns.

Motivic interplay is as rare in these courantes as in the more melodic type of lute ones, and generally limited to a tenor or bass figure to bridge the melodic point of repose between two superior phrases. Thus in Ex.138 the bass anticipates the motif which opens the following melodic phrase. Some courantes (such as Nos.20 and 48) are purely melodic settings in the standard keyboard format without motivic interplay. Inasmuch as Chambonnières does employ the common

stock of motifs it is in a more organised way than with the lutenists. The imitation of the motif of falling fourths at the opening of No.43 (Ex.139; cf.Ex.28j) is consistently pursued, and its pattern is continued in a melodic line whose definition derives from patterns of rising fourths and fifths. The melodic leaps which give definition to this strain are not common in lute courantes where a leap generally arises from a change of melodic register from one phrase to the next (Ch.II pl04).

Imitation, where it is used, is most commonly direct, but it may also be inverted (Ex.140a) or augmented (Ex.140b). This play with standard motifs operates on a more conscious and contrapuntal level than with the type of lute imitation given in Ex.29b, which has more the effect of an accidental conjunction of two stereotyped patterns. Extension of such figures is a frequent method of melodic construction with Chambonnières, as with the lutenists, although subsequent imitative treatment of extended figures is more characteristic of the keyboard (No.3 bbl2-13). On occasion such figures may provide a structural basis for a strain, such as the canzona-type rising fourth figure exchanged between melody and tenor in Ex.141. This is a subtle and characteristic working of the standard keyboard format, with a tenor line moving in parallel tenths with the superius. Elsewhere entire phrases are constructed from varied repetitions of a single motif, such as Ex.142. It is rare in lute repertoire to find such consistent imitation of an entire figure of a bar's length.

There is no attempt to reproduce lute sonority in tessitura, nor is brisure on a quaver unit common. In this respect there is a noticeable difference between the courantes of the printed books and those of Bauyn I, in which moments of quaver brisure of a four-part texture, though not common, are nonetheless to be found (Ex.143a; also No.117, second strain). The second strain of No.108 (Ex.143b) has brisé clusters in four parts recalling the brisé/harmonic type of lute courante in their rich surface of suspended sevenths and ninths (Ch.II pl09). There is also occasionally a hint of disintegration of a solid texture as in Ex.143c-d. The effect of quaver brisure is sometimes created by a series of interlocking imitations in the rhythm |. ↑ | (Ex.144; also No.80 b5, No.119 bb3-5). This is in fact a device of keyboard counterpoint and is not common in lute

sources.

While such effects are to be found in isolation they are far from permeating the entire texture, nor is the melodic line fragmented by the operation of brisure as it is even in the more melodically conceived courantes of Denis Gautier (Ex.45). The stereotyped part movements of cadential formulae are given in a straight keyboard form without the hesitancy of line created by the distribution of quaver movement between parts (compare the strain endings of the Chambonnières courante Ex.83 with the lute equivalent in Ex.72 bbl1-12). Interruption of the superius is rare even in doubles, although some evidence of the kind of patterning observed in D'Anglebert's arrangements may be found (Ex.145). Doubles are constructed here, as with other clavecinistes, mainly from quaver decoration of the melodic line with virtually nothing of the brisé three-part texture to be found for example in the double for the lute courante PINEL No.38.

The only recurrent lute device is the arpègement of parallel thirds and sixths in upper parts, which may take the form of written out coulés (Ex.146a) noted as a keyboard version of this device in D'Anglebert's arrangement of "La Pleureuse" (Ex.71). Occasionally an ornament may be used to accentuate the peak of a phrase in the expressive lute manner (Ex.146b) or a superius delay with the effect of an expressive suspension (Ex.146c).

Louis Couperin. In structure the courantes of Louis Couperin are similar to those of Chambonnières. A typical form is in the first strain of "La Mignonne" (Ex.147) in which a characteristic opening figure of one bar leads to the courante's repeated chord formula which is in turn followed by melodic Fortspinnung⁴¹. Outer parts generally move in complementary curves. A favourite pattern of Couperin's is for a descending tenor scale to be complemented by a rising superius line (Ex.148). In this he shares the contrapuntal instinct of Chambonnières, an instinct also evident in his treatment of motifs and figures.

41. Similar forms are in Nos.20, 57, 58, 78 (second strain), 87.

Motifs tend to be used more consistently than with the lute in the construction of extended lines. In No.35 the rising fourth canzona motif noted in Chambonnières No.52 (Ex.141; cf. Ex.28b) is used sequentially to create a melodic climax in the tenor (Ex.149). The seemingly random interplay of complementary motifs common in lute courantes is not usual, and lower-part motifs are generally used to link superius phrases. When they are used imitatively the imitation normally involves one motif consistently, as at the opening of the second strain of No.94 (Ex.150) which uses the same motif as Chambonnières No.43 (Ex.28k).

If motifs are treated in consistent imitation, more extended figures are as well, most commonly at strain openings. A frequent point of imitation here is the extended quaver figure at the opening of No.24 (Ex.151), found also in the second strains of Nos.47 and 48. Such regular imitation is very rare in lute courantes. Couperin's tenor often imitates the melodic line, even if the imitation is frequently not exact.

As with Chambonnières, minim chordal hemiolas are not uncommon (Ex.152a) but Couperin is unique in fully voiced chordal movement involving a strong cross-rhythm pattern (Ex.152b), a feature noted also in his allemandes. This example may represent a keyboard equivalent to the rhythmic effect of tirer et rabattre chords found in lute courantes. Couperin also shows a greater sense of textural contrast in the alternation of delicate quaver brisure with strongly rhythmic chordal moments (Ex.152c). These courantes, like the allemandes, are more lively rhythmically than those of Chambonnières.

In general Couperin favours a full, balanced keyboard texture without attempting to imitate the lute's tessitura. His courantes keep close to the standard three-part format, although some have much four-part writing (Nos.30 and 66). The integrity of the prevailing three parts is generally maintained, in contrast to the contrapuntal ambiguity of the lute (Ch.III pl03). A notable individual characteristic of Couperin's treatment of the format is his predilection for "shadowing" the melody in the tenor. The tenor's moving in tenths with the superius acquires here an added prominence. In the first strain of No.48 (Ex.153) it assumes the character of a second melodic

line, parallel to the superius but of equal prominence. Even the pièce croisée (No.24) uses this format, although with the left-hand parts an octave higher than usual. The tenor may also move at the sixth below, as at the opening of No.41.

The most distinctive feature of Couperin's style is that into this traditional format he incorporates many more features either in imitation of, or analogous to, lute effects than does Chambonnières, although not to the same extent as D'Anglebert in his lute arrangements. These may be divided into two types: firstly of general features of brisure common to lute and keyboard styles; and secondly of features which display Louis Couperin's special sense of instrumental sonority, a sense he shared with the lutenists.

Elements of the first type include the predominant element of brisure which affects the left-hand parts in which the rhythmic interplay of tenor and bass, sometimes on a quaver but mainly on a crotchet unit. This has been noted in Chapter III as the traditional keyboard device corresponding to the lute brisure which affects the entire texture. If this is an aspect of traditional keyboard practice, which may be described as analogous to lute writing, brisé elements affecting the right-hand parts are more directly derived. As with Chambonnières, parallel thirds and sixths between upper parts are common, although the principal manuscript sources for Couperin use arpègement signs only rarely. Sometimes thirds are stepped out in a coulé. Louis Couperin's extension of such stock devices may be seen in the second strain of No.24 (Ex.154a). This makes much use of a decorated figure of brisé thirds with a charming effect in which one hand takes over from the other at the same pitch.

As in keyboard arrangements of lute music (see Ex.78) a quaver brisure distributed over three or four parts may occur towards strain endings (Ex.154b; also No.3 bb12-13 and No.41) - the increase of quaver movement towards a cadence has been noted as characteristic of lute courantes of the 1620s and 1630s (Ch.II p102). The merging and dividing of two parts typical of the lute brisé style (Ex.45 bb21-23) is also employed in these courantes either between two left-hand or two right-hand parts. Thus in Ex.155a an alto part emerges from the pedalisation of a superius note. A similar device

frequent in the lute style is of a melodic line emerging from brisé chords (Ex.155b; cf.Ex.44 bb2-3). Cadence formulae may have a slightly more brisé form than with Chambonnières, as in Ex.155c where the standard tenor line is interrupted by two superius pitches and there is an expressive delay in the superius. On occasion Couperin even uses the type 1 sarabande movement (Ex.155d) found in some lute courantes (Ch.II p76). This, however, is not quite in the standard lute form, nor are these devices generally as pervasive an element of style as in the lute repertoire.

Apart from an expressive use of quaver brisure the most striking similarity to lute style is in the second type of feature, revealing a special sense of the sonority of a plucked stringed instrument. A dissonance may be carefully placed in an inner part at the climax of a phrase (Ex.156a; cf. Ch.II pl09, and Ex.45 b21), or savoured as a struck melodic note (Ex.156b, cf. Ex.45 b2 and b10), although the harmonic style tends to be richer than that of the lute - in Ex.156a the dissonance is a double (⁹/₇) suspension. Lingering on a dissonant chord (Ex.156c) is very much in the spirit of the lute - as in lute courantes (for example PINEL No.32, second strain) the playing on dissonance in a three-part brisé texture shows a sensitivity to effect and gives an expressive quality not present in a more purely contrapuntal movement. A further sonorous device, although given a typically keyboard form, is the downward spread, widely spaced chord in quaver rhythm at the opening of the second strains of Nos.58 and 88 (Ex.157a and b), analogous to similarly luxuriant lute chords. In these ways Louis Couperin incorporates lute effects into a traditional keyboard idiom, but they are given an expressive value which, in common with liveliness of melody, rhythm, and contrast of texture, is unique to his very personal style.

Lebègue and others. The courantes of Lebègue again add little to the foregoing discussion. They share the formal patterns and melodic emphasis of Louis Couperin but lack his harmonic and rhythmic individuality, nor have they in the same degree the contrapuntal framework of Couperin or Chambonnières. Doubles consist of quaver decoration of the melodic line, without any of the lute double

techniques outlined in Chapter II (pp107 and 110). The rising bass scale pattern which opens the courante in DUFOURCO-L p32 includes some chromatic steps which recall the old canzona formula used by Dufaut (Ex.31).

Courantes of other clavecinistes are also in the same general tradition, although many employ a somewhat lower tessitura than do those of Lebègue. Of the three Hardel courantes in Bauyn III that on f35' shows the same full four-part texture as his allemande, with brisure affecting all parts, and also some chromatic progressions, while that on f36' has some very widely spaced texture⁴². In none of these is there any evidence of specific features in imitation of the lute.

D'Anglebert. In general there is little in D'Anglebert's own courantes to recall the specifically lute devices and textures of his arrangements. The keyboard format, with its melodic right hand and two-part left hand, is maintained. In this, frequent additional chord factors in either hand give a fuller texture than is usual. Notated pedalisations in simple lines on occasion give them a more complicated appearance, and the left-hand parts of Ex.158 recall Perrine's notation of simple-looking lute lines. The prominence of the melodic line is expressed in its very profuse ornamentation, whether fully notated or indicated schematically, and there is comparatively little motivic activity for the left hand. Melodic decoration contributes to the rich texture favoured by D'Anglebert, as does his rhythmic solidity. The dislike of leaving a beat empty, noted in the lute arrangements, is evident here, and also in his versions of the Chambonnières courantes for which he provides doubles. Indeed, his alterations to these courantes are mostly in the direction of rhythmic solidity and textural enrichment.

In his generally full texture D'Anglebert appears to draw less on

42. These two courantes are edited by H. Quittard in "Un ancien claveciniste français: Hardelle", Revue Musicale, supplement, (15/11/1906), pp3-4.

elements of lute style than does Louis Couperin, but such elements are nonetheless present. The close-spaced thirds at the opening of GILBERT p78 (Ex.159), followed by a gentle expansion of register, recall similar patterns in the lute sources. The thirds, however, are not low as they would be in a lute courante (see Exx.71 and 75). Also comparable to lute writing is the expressive involvement of dissonance in quaver brisure in Ex.160a (cf. GILBERT p53 b16), and the division of quaver movement between two parts as at the opening of the second strain of GILBERT p6 (Ex.160b). The emergence of two parts from one by means of pedalisation is common.

Most significant are figures which appear in the lute arrangements to correspond to particular lute effects. The common device in the arrangements in which the quaver movement of a brisure of two or three left-hand parts is taken up by conjunct superius quavers may be seen in Ex.161. Such devices, together with rhythmic solidity and full texture, are characteristics of D'Anglebert's style. Otherwise these courantes employ the common formal and textural principles of the keyboard tradition.

Jacquet. Also in this tradition are the courantes of Jacquet 1. They share the general features of texture noted in the allemandes of this collection. Melodic line predominates, frequently with a rhythm of dotted crotchet followed by quaver, giving a slightly arpégé effect with a tenor or bass in equal crotchets, and there is little use of motifs. Melodic integrity is suggested by the fact that, according to the Mercure Galant announcement, most of the pieces may be played on violin or viol with a bass⁴³. The courantes show a pleasingly individual harmonic sense in the pathetic descending chromatic bass in the second strain of p66, and a fondness for building up dissonant chords which are lingered on, such as the $\frac{7}{4}$ chord in p46 b8 and the $\frac{9}{5}$ with augmented fifth at the equivalent point of the second strain.

Very occasionally there is a hint of complementary quaver movement distributed between two right-hand parts (p7 b3) giving the effect

43. The text of the announcement is given by Gustafson, French Harpsichord Music, I pl37.

of a brisé superius. But lute effects are limited to the first courante from the "lute" suite (Ex.162). This has a similar figure in b2 to that used by D'Anglebert at the opening of "Les Larmes" (Ex.73); and also quaver brisure of two parts (b6), fully notated arpège thirds (b11), and a syncopation of the superius (b12) notated in the "dry" manner found in Perrine 1 and some Swedish sources (Ch.III p175). The other courante from this suite (Ex.163) has nothing to suggest the lute. These figures are common enough in keyboard sources and it is significant that they, constituting as they do the only perceptible difference between the pieces from this suite and those of the other ones, should justify their being described as in imitation of the lute.

SARABANDES

By now the general stylistic differences between clavecinistes will be apparent from the discussions of the prelude, allemande, and courante. Accordingly, the discussions of the sarabande and the remaining genres have not been divided by composer. Inasmuch as these differences have a bearing on the sarabande, they are briefly summarised below. The discussion is initially concerned with general matters of structure, texture, and harmonic usage. More particular points of lute influence are then enumerated, principally concerning keyboard effects analogous to lute ones, and the treatment of brisure. Tessitura is an important aspect of lute influence here, since many lute sarabandes are written sans chanterelle - a feature which this dance shares with the chaconne. Instances of direct imitation of lute effects associated with this dance are also outlined, and the extent to which these are reflected in keyboard examples. The sarabande provides a particularly useful point of comparison between the two repertoires since there are five identifiable types of lute sarabande. Keyboard examples are examined to establish the degree to which each of these types is represented. Finally, the question of the tempo of keyboard sarabandes is discussed in the light of conclusions drawn from the lute repertoire.

Differences in style between individual clavecinistes may be observed

here as in other genres: the sarabandes of Chambonnières's printed books tend to be more elaborate than is usual in lute examples, although those from manuscript collections are frequently simple in texture and provide some of the closest equivalents to lute prototypes. Those of Louis Couperin are notable for their variety of movement and texture, and also for the comparative harmonic richness of this composer's style. The sarabandes of Lebègue provide some of his finest pieces, but add little new in relation to the lute⁴⁴. D'Anglebert provides at the same time pieces which in their patterning and sonority recall most vividly those for lute, yet in their rich texture and harmony are cast in his highly personal keyboard style. As with other dances, the sarabandes of Jacquet 1 are in the keyboard tradition, but with some adoption of lute devices. These may well derive here from keyboard sources rather than directly from the lute. In movement and harmony they belong to a later style than those of Chambonnières and Louis Couperin⁴⁵. The sarabande of the "lute" suite (Ex.164) is hardly more lute-orientated than the others, with its high melodic line at the opening and chromatic bass line in the second strain. The overall effect is of a keyboard piece, with no more to recall lute practice than the sarabande on Jacquet 1 p70 which has no pretensions to lute derivation.

Although the keyboard sarabandes share most of the structural characteristics of the lute ones outlined in Chapter II, they are almost all binary, rather than multi-sectioned as are many lute sarabandes⁴⁶. They lack the formal subtleties of those of Denis Gautier (Ch.II ppl17-118) based on the manipulation of small figures rather than the spinning out of continuous melody. One subtlety

44. Some have an unusual metrical regularity (see for example the first eight bars of DUFOURCO-L p5) but, unlike the very regular lute sarabandes of Pierre Gautier, this is skilfully concealed by the variety of ways in which the metrical pattern is presented.

45. In the sarabande on Jacquet 1 pll, for example, accentual chords may settle on rich dissonances such as the diminished seventh (b2), a feature also of D'Anglebert's sarabandes.

46. Louis Couperin No.67 is the single example of a three-strain sarabande for keyboard.

of lute phraseology is, however, encountered on occasion: a phrase is repeated, but with its termination recast to cadence on a different key⁴⁷. This is frequently the structure in lute sarabandes (Ch.II pll4 and pll7). The related use of a head motif may be seen in Ex.165. The most salient common structural factor with lute sarabandes is in the formation and structural importance of the bass line. Chambonnières No.5, for example, has a bass of scale segments moving in complementary curves, while the first strain of No.140 is constructed entirely on a descending bass scale (Ch.II pll1).

In texture they range from a purely keyboard type to a rather closer approximation to lute effect than is common in other dances. While some of Chambonnières's sarabandes are in a full four-part texture (No.5), the majority are in the standard three parts. The keyboard texture is, however, flexible, on occasion taking a lute-like form in which the inner part is an alto moving mostly in thirds with the superius (see Ch.III pl78). Louis Couperin's contrasts in movement and texture are well demonstrated in Ex.166. A widely spaced four-part texture (bb6-7) gives way to a delicate quaver brisure (bb8-9), which in turn is followed by strongly rhythmic, centrally placed chords (bb10-11) - a sequence of movements already noted in his courantes. In his sensitivity to instrumental sonority, Couperin comes closest to the lutenists, particularly in sarabandes. The low tessitura of No.5 is notable and, more so than Chambonnières, he tends to lighten the final chord of a phrase in the lute manner (Ch.III pl95). Low tessitura and sans chanterelle writing have been noted as particular characteristics of the lute sarabande, as of the chaconne. Some of Chambonnières's have a noticeably lower tessitura than most⁴⁸. In this respect D'Anglebert's "sarabande grave" (GILBERT p56), with its rich chordal texture and quaver brisure, is clearly modelled on the lute sarabande, although its highly ornate working and the incidence of bass quavers towards the end are distinctly keyboard features. Imitation, on the other hand,

47. See D'Anglebert in GILBERT pl4, first strain, and also the Hardel sarabande in Bauyn III No.48.

48. See for example BRUNOLD-TESSIER Nos.23 and 120.

such as in the Chambonnières sarabande Ex.167, is very rare in lute examples. The canonic sarabandes of Louis Couperin (Nos. 25 and 50) are a purely keyboard genre. Of all lute dances, the sarabande is the least liable to have even the most concealed counterpoint.

Lute sources vary in the use of quaver brisure in sarabandes - in Schwerin 641, for example, it is not common, while in Reynaud it is frequent. Its most typical use is in the division of sarabande rhythmic patterns between parts⁴⁹. These uses are also reflected in keyboard examples. With Chambonnières (Ex.168a) a spare three-part texture with movement divided between parts on a crotchet unit is quite typical of the lute⁵⁰. In Louis Couperin No.42 (Ex.168b) the rhythm $\text{♩} \text{ } \text{♩}$ is consistently divided between superius, tenor, and bass, while b5 of this sarabande and Ex.168c provide examples of interlocking $\text{♩} \text{ } \text{♩}$ patterns. The brisure of several upper parts over a slow-moving bass in Ex.168d is very typical of lute practice. In Ex.168e Couperin also uses brisure as a variation technique in a sequence. This use is not common in the lute repertoire since sequences are infrequent. As in his courantes, Louis Couperin is in general the most sensitive of clavecinistes to the expressive value of brisure and related effects.

One of the commonest manifestations of brisure in keyboard sarabandes is the arpeggiation of right-hand thirds, generally in a simple three-part texture⁵¹. This is also part of the language of the lute sarabande⁵². The arpègement of thirds and sixths is of course related to the effect of superius delay, and such melodic syncopation is very common in lute sources. Since the lute texture is frequently in two parts only, this tends here to be a pervading aspect of style. Keyboard composers, however, with their fuller,

49. See Chapter II, pl11, and Ex.47 bbl-2 etc.

50. The sarabandes from Chambonnières Livres, like the courantes, use perceptibly less quaver brisure than do those of his from Bauyn I and other manuscript sources.

51. See bl4 of the Jacquet sarabande Ex.164. This, together with the expressive use of superius delay and the two-part quaver brisure of b6 and at the end of the second strain, constitute the only lute-derived effects in this supposedly "lute" sarabande.

52. See Chapter III Ex.79 b5.

generally three-part, texture use it more selectively, and with an expressive value. Thus Chambonnières uses it to emphasise a melodic peak (Ex.169a) and Couperin uses it with a notably expressive effect (Ex.169b). Similarly, the sensitive play of dissonance by means of small pedalisation (Ex.169c) has a markedly expressive value. The related effect of a melodic line arising from a broken chord, a feature of lute style (Ch.III pl63) is not so common in keyboard sources, but examples may be found (Ex.169d)⁵³.

A common device is of a rhythmicised repeated note in the superius. This is normally given a harmonic significance not usual in lute sarabandes. In the Chambonnières example Ex.170a it is reinterpreted harmonically in succeeding bars until at b3 it forms a major seventh appoggiatura. Characteristically, Couperin uses this effect more richly – in Ex.170b the e' in its last appearance forms part of the $\frac{9}{5}$ with augmented fifth. Such a rich effect would be foreign to the style of Chambonnières, and indeed of most of the lutenists.

In the maintenance of quaver movement, the usual function of brisure, some keyboard effects are analogous to lute ones, rather than directly imitative of them, while others are peculiar to the keyboard style. The downward spread chords at phrase ends in Ex.171 would not be natural for the lute, but nonetheless have something of a lute effect. The lute chord here, as may be seen in the examples in Chapter III, is almost invariably spread upwards in crotchet rhythm⁵⁴. A feature which is without parallel or analogy in lute sarabandes is quaver division figures in the bass⁵⁵.

Harmonically the sarabande tends to be the simplest genre of the lute

53. See also BRUNOLD-TESSIER No.15 b12 and No.120 b7.

54. Compare the final chords in the lute and keyboard versions of Ennemond Gautier's courante "L'Immortelle" (Ex.75).

55. See Chambonnières, opening of No.15; Couperin No.21 bbl4-15; and D'Anglebert, GILBERT p56. Jacquet 1 pl1 has much parallel quaver movement between superius and bass or tenor, further evidence of the removal of her style from that of the lute.

repertoire, where it is generally closer to its dance origins. The clavecinistes use a noticeably fuller texture, and this is allied to a greater harmonic richness than in lute examples, perhaps also reflecting a slower tempo. Louis Couperin has a particular fondness for luxuriant appoggiaturas and a more frequent use of secondary dominant harmony. Lutenists rarely use this in sarabandes (Ch.II plll) although Pinel, whose harmonic style among lutenists comes closest to that of Louis Couperin, on occasion uses it to colour a characteristic phrase such as a petite reprise (see PINEL No.62). An effect such as the remarkable diminished fourth in Ex.172a is without parallel in lute sarabandes. Lesser unprepared dissonances, however, such as the fourth at the opening of a strain (Ex.172b), are occasionally found in lute sources, particularly in the works of Pierre Gautier (Ch.II p96).

Since the sarabande in its lute manifestation has a number of characteristic types of movement which spring directly from the technique of the instrument, it is, together with the prelude and chaconne, one of the primary genres in which one may expect to find palpable keyboard imitation of the lute⁵⁶. This is particularly so in the case of types 1 and 2.

The first type, of bass note followed by chord (see Ex.8), is very common in lute sources from early in the century. It is not usual in keyboard sarabandes, but there are instances where it is used as a special effect, and in a way obviously designed to recall the lute. This movement occurs, for example, in the Mesangeau lute sarabande Ex.78 and D'Anglebert preserves the effect virtually exactly in his keyboard arrangement of it (Ex.173a and b). A passage such as Ex.173c, with its low and sparse chordal texture, is clearly drawn from lute practice. A further example is in the widely circulated sarabande by Monnard. This is a simple piece in the standard keyboard format, which may be a timbre setting, but its petite reprise provides a rare keyboard example of type 1 movement used in its simplest

56. A résumé of lute sarabande types is in Chapter III, pl62 n45.

lute form (Ex.173d)⁵⁷. It has been noted that this movement type may be used as a subtle method of linking phrases, as in D'Anglebert's version of the Denis Gautier sarabande Ex.76 (Ch.III p195). It may also serve this function in sarabandes of purely keyboard origin⁵⁸.

Tirer et rabattre effects (type 2), very common in the lute version of this dance, are virtually never directly imitated on the keyboard where the effect of a series of rhythmic variants on a single chord is normally represented by different, but analogous, figures. A common keyboard equivalent, in which the lute chords are replaced by type 5 (second-beat chordal accent) movement may be seen in the arrangement of the Dubut sarabande Ex.67. This pattern is particularly favoured by D'Anglebert either in a normal keyboard range (Ex.174a) or in a rich, lute-like tessitura (Ex.174b) where the right-hand chord is given a downward arpeggiation in bb2 and 4 in imitation of the lute's "sliding stroke". Rhythmicised static harmony may also be represented by a rhythmicised repeated note in the superius (Ex.174c). That this is an equivalent for the lute's tirer et rabattre is clear from the keyboard version of the Denis Gautier sarabande Ex.76. On the keyboard, however, it is not generally so simple harmonically. The repeated superius may be reharmonised, or some contrapuntal decoration may be introduced (Ex.174d). This type of pattern is very common in keyboard sarabandes⁵⁹.

Keyboard composers vary in their predilection for different types of sarabande movement. The great majority of those of Chambonnières are of the melodic type (type 3). They are in the standard format, noted in Chapter III as the traditional keyboard equivalent of the type 3 lute sarabande with its largely two-part texture and occasional accentual chords. The air-like quality of the melody is particularly noticeable in petites reprises (see BRUNOLD-TESSIER No.10) where lute sarabandes tend rather to have a harmonic formula. Many of

57. BONFILS 18 No.III in the version in Gen.2348/53. This and the light phrase endings imply that it may have been arranged from a lute piece, although it has not been found in any lute source (see also Ch.III p207).

58. See Chambonnières No.121; Louis Couperin No.97; and D'Anglebert in GILBERT p35 b14 and b17.

59. See Chambonnières Nos.10, 43, 73, and 96.

Chambonnières's sarabandes have the character of air settings (Nos.28, 85, 112) in contrast to the typical lute sarabande with its rhythmic/chordal movement⁶⁰. Melodic profile is enhanced by a higher incidence of leaps, particularly rising and falling fourths, than is usual with lute sarabandes. Such fourths in lute sarabandes frequently have an ambiguity of melodic value in that the upper note seems merely to be an added factor to a chord (see Ex.77 b1). The melodic nature of the upper line in Chambonnières's sarabandes is also frequently enhanced by its high tessitura, its solo nature evident from the gap between it and the accompanying left-hand parts of the standard format (BRUNOLD-TESSIER No.40).

Louis Couperin, although he generally prefers a sonorous, low-lying movement, also employs the lighter melodic type (Nos.10, 17, and 42). Similarly D'Anglebert prefers in the majority of his sarabandes to use a lute tessitura and chordal brisure, but also provides examples of a more melodic type such as the D major sarabande in GILBERT p80. But even here D'Anglebert's lute orientation is evident in the largely stepwise movement of the melody. This characteristic is highlighted when one compares it with the settings of sarabandes by Lully and Marais (GILBERT pp98 and 198) whose melodies are well defined by leaps.

Of the remaining types of movement, the sarabande/chaconne (type 4) is rare in the keyboard repertoire. Only some of Chambonnières's sarabandes from manuscript sources (for example BRUNOLD-TESSIER No.109) suggest something of it. On the other hand, the generally melodic type with a second-beat chordal accent (type 5) is fairly common at this stage, although nothing like as pervasive as it was later to become. It has been noted that it may often be taken as a keyboard replacement of the lute's tirer et rabattre (type 2).

If the lute sarabande, particularly in the first half of the century,

60. The title "Jeunes Zéphirs" (No.59) was evidently adopted by Chambonnières from a parody setting with text in Ballard's first book of brunettes (BRUNOLD-TESSIER p126).

was a brisk dance, most keyboard ones seem to demand a fairly slow tempo with the possible exception of some of the simpler Chambonnières ones in manuscript sources⁶¹. Few have the very simple and light chordal texture of the lute ones of Mezangeau. In those of Louis Couperin it is perhaps indicative of the tempo of at least some of them that an upbeat figure of three semiquavers figures prominently in CURTIS-CO No.5. In the Oldham version of this piece it appears initially with the instruction "point cela". A tempo in which semiquavers are unequal may be taken as being somewhat slower than one in which quavers are the unit of inequality, as is normally the case with lute sarabandes. The rich, low texture of this piece, with many acciaccatura additions to chords, forming a sonorous keyboard equivalent to the type 5 lute movement, also implies a relaxed tempo.

That there were two speeds for the sarabande is implied by Lebègue's designations "grave" and "gaie"⁶², but this is not reflected in the character, texture, or key of the pieces. While the "sarabande grave" in DUFOURCO-L p8 has a full, widely spaced texture and stately allure, that in DUFOURCO-L p25 is of simple melodic type with a high tessitura in its second strain, and many are, like p8, in major keys. The sarabande in DUFOURCO-L p68 is marked "fort grave" but is similar to others, without the special movement and texture of Louis Couperin's "fort lentement" allemande (CURTIS-CO No.40). That a moderately quick tempo for sarabandes persisted into the 1680s is indicated by the fact that D'Anglebert felt it necessary to give the direction "lentement" both to the richly worked, lute-orientated "sarabande grave" in GILBERT p56 and also to its simpler, more melodic companion (GILBERT p57)⁶³.

61. One particularly air-like piece appears as a sarabande ("O beau Jardin") in Rés.89ter (No.22) and a volte in Bauyn I (No.80) and Parville (No.80).

62. Saint Lambert (Les Principes du Clavecin, p25) gives the following sequence of tempo words: lentement-gravement-légèrement-gayement-vite-fort vite. "Gai" seems therefore to be a moderate, rather than a particularly fast, tempo.

63. This direction is omitted in GILBERT.

GIGUES

It is evident from the foregoing discussions which details of lute style were customarily incorporated into the traditional keyboard texture. These details also appear in gigue, and in the related genres of canarie and volte, and will not be noted again. The principal issues in this genre are the respective preferences of notation (as expressed in time signatures), and the treatment of types in matters of structure and texture.

It has been observed (Ch.II pl19) that the majority of lute gigue are in duple time, often with a close relation to the allemande. This type of gigue is rare in keyboard sources, where by far the commonest metre is $\frac{3}{4}$ ⁶⁴. Only two keyboard gigue are in C time - one by Richard (BONFILS 18 No.XI) and one from Élizabeth Jacquet's "lute" suite (Ex.175). Apart from the imitative opening of the Richard example, neither is distinguishable from an allemande. In view of the rarity of duple-time gigue in keyboard sources, and the fact that the only example from Jacquet 1 is in a suite supposedly written in imitation of the lute, it is possible that the allemande-gigue may have been considered as primarily a lute genre. Certainly the allemande-gigue by Joseph de la Barre (BONFILS 18 No.XVIII) is one of the closest keyboard approximations in structure and texture to the lute duple-time gigue⁶⁵.

While keyboard gigue are most commonly notated in $\frac{3}{4}$ time, this appears to a certain extent to be a keyboard preference of notation to the lute gigue's C or C time signature. The imitative type of keyboard gigue may therefore be seen in most cases as a compound-time notation of the normal duple-time lute gigue and so is comparable to lute gigue of the imitative type both in structure and in treatment of material. The main difference lies in the keyboard's

64. One gigue of Chambonnières (No.76) and one of Richard (BONFILS 18 No.IX) change to C time at the end. Two of D'Anglebert's gigue (GILBERT pl6 and p36) are in $\frac{1}{8}$ ² time, which may be taken as a more sophisticated than usual notation of the duple-time gigue.

65. It is called Allemande in Bauyn III fl04' but Gigue on f43 of the same source.

more consistent use of imitative figures and motifs.

In lute giges it is rare for the opening figure to appear again in the first strain, and very rare for it or its inversion to appear in the second strain (Ch.II pl20). Most usually in keyboard giges the strain continues, after an imitative opening, with a free development of melodic line (Chambonnières Nos.16 and 17; D'Anglebert in GILBERT p58). Some, however, make much use of the opening figure in the continuation (Chambonnières No.76), and may have a quasi-inversion of the figure to open the second strain (Chambonnières Nos.76 and 99; Lebègue in DUFOURCO-L p7, p36, etc.). Also, in keyboard giges, extension of figures and motifs is a common means of section building (Chambonnières No.76 second strain, No.98, etc.; Louis Couperin No.61, etc.) - a feature not found in lute repertoire.

After their imitative opening keyboard giges, particularly those of Louis Couperin, may continue in a very brisé manner. In this the division of characteristic rhythms over two or more parts is a feature common to both lute and keyboard (Louis Couperin No.76, cf. Ch.III pl81 for a canarie equivalent) - the division of these rhythms into brisé clusters may be seen in Ex.176a and 176b, where a cluster of pedalisations conceals a motif. As in other genres, Louis Couperin likes to contrast this type of sensitive brisure with more vigorous movement (Ex.177). Very lute-like is the disintegration of imitative texture into quaver brisure spread over several parts (Lebègue in DUFOURCO-L p26). Indeed the "Gigue d'Angleterre" of Lebègue (DUFOURCO-L pl8), though untypical in its rondeau form and "fort viste" indication, depends entirely in its refrain on the division of quaver impetus over four parts in a way which looks forward to the "luthé" style of François Couperin.

In addition to the imitative type of keyboard gigue there is a melodic type, allied to the volte, which corresponds to the principal type of triple-time lute gigue. Some keyboard giges use both types, such as Chambonnières No.29 in which the first strain is melodic and cast in the standard format, while the second strain opens with a characteristic one-bar figure to which much rhythmic reference is made throughout the strain. The majority of lute

triple-time gigue are very light in texture - many use the canarie rhythm, and few are imitative (Ch.II pl22). These have their keyboard counterpart in such pieces as Chambonnières's "La Verdinguette" (No.35) which, in common with this type generally, is in the standard keyboard format. The lightness of this type is evident in the two D'Anglebert examples (GILBERT pl8 and p81) with their many détaché indications and the direction "gaiement". They may be notated in $\frac{3}{2}$, as "La Verdinguette", but more generally in $\frac{3}{4}$, and tend towards the volte rather than the canarie (see Louis Couperin No.62)⁶⁶. Chambonnières's use of canon in this type (BRUNOLD-TESSIER No.53), an indication of its melodic continuity, is unique. However, some melodic gigue abandon a melodic line in favour of chordal patterns similar to those of the lute, as in Ex.179a and b.

TOMBEAUX AND PAVANES

Of the remaining genres only pavaues, tombeaux, and chaconnes are of interest to this study⁶⁷. Features of the lute pavane have been outlined in Chapter II, pl23.

The pavaues of Chambonnières and Dumont, while sharing the general outline of the lute pavaues, are worked in a largely four-part imitative texture. Keyboard works of Dumont have already been noted (above, p237) as having a demonstrable relationship with viol consort repertoire. The pavaues of Chambonnières contrast very grave and stately minim chordal movement with moments of more lively imitations in a manner not paralleled in the lute sources. Chambonnières also tends to

66. The single gigue by Hardel (Bauyn III No.49) is also of this volte type in standard format, although with the unusual time signature of $\frac{3}{8}$; see also Ex.178 from Jacquet's "lute" suite.

67. The smaller genres (minuets, branles, gavottes, and various character pieces) add little to this discussion. Lute examples are normally in two-part texture with occasional added chords, while keyboard ones are in the corresponding keyboard format. The minuet from Elizabeth Jacquet's "lute" suite is given as Ex.180. Gaillardes are so rare in the later lute repertoire that there is no basis for comparison with keyboard ones.

unify phrases by means of discreet and flexible use of contrapuntal devices. For example, the final strain of BRUNOLD-TESSIER No.50 consists of two phrases, each of which reaches its climax with an entry of the same superius figure. Such a device belongs more to polyphonic writing for voices or viols than to the lute, in spite of being cast in the keyboard form with free voicing and occasional brisure. These features clearly distinguish the pavanes of Chambonnières from genuinely lute-influenced pavanes for keyboard such as Anon.Pavane 1, discussed in Chapter III pp180-181.

More akin to the lute pavane, in its general aesthetic if not in detail, is Louis Couperin's remarkable f sharp minor pavane (No.100). It is in a key peculiar to the lute (using tuning No.18), and which is the key of the lute version of Anon.Pavane 1 (Ch.III, pl47 n23). In its free association of rising and falling phrases Couperin's pavane resembles the non-imitative lute pavane. The playing on upper-part suspended dissonances over a pedal (Ex.181b) may also be found in Ennemond Gautier's lute pavane "Circé" (V.GAUTIER No.48), as may the melodic type of second strain. The opening figure of Couperin's pavane is of a type also used by Denis Gautier (Ex.181a), yet the comparison shows how much fuller and richer is Couperin's keyboard texture with more melodic decoration and a greater use of imitative figures.

Since Blancrocher was a noted lutenist, one might expect Couperin's tombeau for him (CURTIS-CO No.84) to reflect aspects of lute practice. From its variety of textures and movements it appears to have some programmatic significance, but although attempts have been made to deduce this the programme, if there is one, must remain a matter for speculation. There is nothing here as directly symbolic as the descending scale which concludes Froberger's tombeau⁶⁸, nor does Couperin employ the baigné scales favoured by Froberger. Comparable lute tombeaux are not in this very free form on occasion more akin to the prelude, being generally allemandes or pavanes. Only one

68. ADLER III, pp114-115.

piece is attributed to Blancrocher in lute sources⁶⁹, but there is nothing in it which specifically relates to this tombeau. In Couperin's tombeau passages of four-part quaver brisure show a Pinel-like sensitivity to dissonances arising in this texture. The nearest approach in a lute tombeau to this texture is in Denis Gautier's tombeau for his wife (lute versions in Reynaud fl10(a), etc.)

D'Anglebert's "Tombeau de Chambonnières" (GILBERT pp86-87) is closer in form and môvement to the allemande type of lute tombeau. It is cast in D'Anglebert's characteristically rich keyboard texture with those aspects of keyboard brisure already noted in connexion with other genres.

CHACONNES

The chaconne, with the related forms of passacaille and rondeau, is a genre in which one may expect to find clear evidence of direct keyboard imitation of the lute. Like the sarabande its lute manifestation displays a number of highly characteristic features of form and texture. Prominent among these are the prevalence of sans chanterelle tessitura and of types of movement shared with the sarabande. Harpsichordists, in this genre, use some particularly close approximations to the lute's brisure, and also some remarkable and ingenious keyboard equivalents to the lute techniques of campanella and tirer et rabattre.

The variety of forms of the lute chaconne has been noted in Chapter II. This variety is by no means reflected in the keyboard repertoire in which the great majority are in straightforward rondeau form

69. The allemande "L'Offrande" in Oxford 618 pp24-25. It is unattributed in three other lute sources (Rave, "Some Manuscripts", p303) so this attribution is unproven. It appears as a gigue in Saizenay 1 p9.

with couplets generally unrelated to, and often contrasting with, the refrain.

Only Chambonnières uses formal structures akin to those of the lute. In No.81 the refrain provides the basic material for the couplets, as is the case in some lute chaconnes. The first couplet here begins like the refrain, but extends it, returning to the cadence pattern of the refrain only at the end of the couplet. This is similar to lute procedures where the refrain may be adapted to a different continuation, or may be merely alluded to in the cadence of the couplet (Ch.II pl25). As with the lute, a new refrain-type formula may be introduced in the course of the piece (Ch.II pl26) - this occurs in the second last couplet of No.123, while the final couplet adapts the new formula to cadence on a different key. Lute chaconnes do not transpose the refrain as do several of Couperin's (No.54 and 91).

As with lute chaconnes, refrains tend to be of four bars and conclude with a hemiola (Ch.II pl25). Again the form of the refrain frequently has, in common with the lute, a chordal refrain and a brisé cadence (Ex.182a and b), and a brisé repeat of the refrain is common in both repertoires (Ex.182a; Ch.III p202). In Couperin's refrains this brisure is generally slight, as in No.38, but in those of other clavecinistes it may amount to a brisé variation (Ex.182c-d).

Very few lute chaconnes are constructed on a repeated bass (Ch.II pl25), but this is not uncommon among keyboard ones (Couperin Nos. 26 and 98). It may serve as a general principle in a piece but frequently there is a flexible approach to the bass, which may change in the course of the piece (Lebègue in DUFOURCO-L p58, and the passacaille attributed to "Louigy" (sc. Rossi, Bauyn III No.91 etc.)), perhaps reflecting the Lully type of chaconne which may change bass formula several times in the course of a piece (see D'Anglebert in GILBERT p40). This type tends therefore to have least in common with lute examples from the formal point of view. Couperin No.98 recalls Frescobaldi rather than the lutenists, with a strong resemblance

in some of its figurations to the Passacagli⁷⁰. One (Lebègue in DUFOURCO-L p90) is based on a repeated harmonic pattern rather than a ground bass.

It has been noted that lute chaconnes employ some contrast of register and texture (Ch.II pl26). Keyboard ones, however, have a much greater variety of contrast in these respects, and also of movement - often with a cumulative effect in succeeding couplets rare with the lute. While lute chaconnes are generally of a chordal-rhythmic type in which the movement of the genre takes precedence over melodic or motivic elements, many keyboard chaconnes have melodic couplets in standard format. In the keyboard rondeau-chaconne the refrain is generally low in pitch, reflecting the sans chanterelle writing of many lute refrains, particularly of the chordal type. After this, keyboard chaconnes tend to broaden the pitch range. Here variety of texture is very much more marked than in lute chaconnes, although the principles of contrast are frequently similar to those of the lute. Thus Lebègue in DUFOURCO-L pl0 uses a more brisé texture in the fourth couplet to contrast with the other, more straightforward ones, and Couperin No.26 uses a full chordal texture to contrast with lighter episodes in the manner of lute chaconnes such as that in Robarts fA3'.

The greater variety of keyboard chaconnes derives largely from the variety of movement types, many of which have no lute counterpart. This is perhaps most developed in the two chaconnes of Jacquet 1 (Exx.183 and 184 - there is no chaconne in the "lute" suite).

70. Balletto Terzo from the 1637 additions to the first book of toccatas (1615). Further Italian influences on the French keyboard chaconne are pointed out by A.Silbiger, "The Roman Frescobaldi Tradition", pp84-86. Silbiger suggests that the chaconne/passacaille may have been imported from Italy, perhaps by Luigi Rossi who visited Paris in 1646-47, and who was possibly the "Louigy" of Bauyn III. He is, however, incorrect in stating (nl33) that there are no French lute settings of chaconnes and passacailles datable with certainty to the first half of the century (see Ch.II pl24). In addition to the earlier lute chaconnes described in Chapter II a number of lute sarabandes of the 1630s are notably similar to later chaconnes in form and allure. Nor are the formal peculiarities of the French lute chaconne reflected in Italian keyboard examples, which are generally of the ground bass type.

Ex.183 has four imitative couplets with a progressive increase in movement, leading to a final one in the vigorous anapaest rhythm common in Lully's chaconnes. Ex.184 has a melodic couplet followed by one with activity in the left hand, then another vigorous ballet-type movement, and a final couplet of semiquavers. A similar cumulative structure is in Couperin No.44, while Nos.63 and 83 also use semiquaver movement in the final couplet. Such cumulative movement and vigorous, motivic semiquavers are quite foreign to the lute chaconne. Further devices not used by lutenists are the consistent imitation found in many keyboard couplets, and the passages of récit in an upper or lower part as in the third and fourth couplets of Couperin No.54.

Despite these differences there are many features of style, both in general and in detail, which relate to lute chaconnes. Some of these are stylistic aspects common to both repertoires, but some are demonstrably derived by clavecinistes from the lute.

Common to both repertoires is the brisure frequent at couplet endings, a feature which has been noted in other genres whether for lute or keyboard. The resulting increase of quaver activity enhances the sense of climax in the couplet. While this is a generalised feature of style, other types of brisure may be seen as more specifically related to lute practice. This is particularly so in keyboard couplets which feature brisure as a texture, most noticeably in chaconnes of Louis Couperin who, as usual, handles it with an acute sensitivity to textural density and the placing of dissonance. The first couplet of Couperin's d minor chaconne No.54 (Ex.185) has a close-spaced texture in which two notes are rarely sounded together, in the lute manner of a series of pitches from different registers with a quaver stem at the beginning of the bar. This contrasts with the chordal refrain - a textural alternation which is very common in lute chaconnes and one of several decidedly lute-derived features of this piece.

A further striking resemblance to lute formulations in this Couperin chaconne is the cadence formula of the refrain. It is as common in keyboard as in lute chaconnes - Ex.186 gives keyboard versions of it by Louis Couperin and Lebègue as well as lute ones by Denis Gautier and Mouton. Although the keyboard texture is fuller than that of the lute, the identity of the formula is clear from the syncopated

repeated notes in the superius and the characteristic tenor part movement. The dependency of the keyboard version on the lute is highlighted by Couperin's keyboard equivalent to Gautier's tirer et rabattre chords (b3), an equivalency confirmed by the keyboard version of Ex.76. Other keyboard equivalents to the tirer et rabattre effect are discussed below.

Among keyboard effects derived directly from lute practice one of the most prominent is the low tessitura of many refrains, reflecting the sans chanterelle pitch range common in lute refrains. An extreme keyboard example is the Jacquet chaconne Ex.184 which is the only piece in Jacquet 1 to use the C3 clef for the upper stave. The grandest example is Couperin's C major chaconne (No.26). Yet a comparison with a similarly full lute refrain such as that of V.GAUTIER No.50 shows how much the lute principle has been extended for keyboard purposes.

Further direct imitation of lute effects may be seen in equivalents to campanella and to the first two types of sarabande movement. As one might expect, these are most clearly evident in the chaconnes of D'Anglebert. The campanella effect of Ex.187a is very lute-like over, as it were, a diapason pedal. In Ex.187b the "campanella" right-hand parts in quavers are accompanied by the two left-hand parts of the standard keyboard format in crotchets. Ex.187b is from a chaconne with many lute features, including type 1 sarabande movement. This is so rare in keyboard repertoire, apart from arrangements of lute pieces, that one may take it as always intended to recall a typical lute sonority (Ex.187c; see also the various renderings of it in Ex.173a-d).

An even rarer subject for direct keyboard imitation are the quintessentially lute tirer et rabattre chords. Strummed chords are of course an inimitable technical device of plucked stringed instruments, and an attempt to reproduce them literally on the keyboard would yield an effect too crude for these most fastidious of harpsichord composers. But there can be no doubt that Louis Couperin was attempting to reproduce this effect in the G major chaconne Ex.188b. This refrain is modelled on a typical lute refrain

formula given in Ex.188a from a chaconne by Dubut. Usually the chords are represented by a figure such as the first two bars of D'Anglebert's arrangement of the Gautier sarabande Ex.76, in which the effect of a reiterated chord is given by a subtly rhythmicised single melodic note (Ex.189a). (Type 5 sarabande movement is also commonly used to represent this effect on the keyboard.) Louis Couperin refers to it less obliquely in Ex.189b (see also Ex.186). In comparison with these, Couperin's imitation of it in Ex.188b is strikingly direct, particularly in the full-voiced version in the tenth couplet (Ex.188c). Couperin evidently considered the figure less effective on the keyboard than his normal, highly characterful, refrain formulae since he has transposed it at each appearance, the chaconne being through-composed. He builds it to a climax in the tenth couplet after which it does not reappear, and the chaconne ends with unrelated material, as do many lute chaconnes. Couperin's resourceful use of this unpromising (in keyboard terms) figure may very favourably be compared to Dubut's.

SUMMARY

It used to be the received opinion that the seventeenth-century French harpsichordists simply adopted a series of features from the style of the lute – the view expressed, for example, by Henri Quittard in his article on the clavecinistes in Lavignac's Encyclopédie (1913–1922)⁷¹. Quittard considered the style to be essentially provisional, the integration of these elements into an effective keyboard idiom being left to a later generation of players. This view has been repeatedly expressed in general histories, most recently by Claude Palisca: "The lutanists cast such a spell that harpsichordists enthusiastically copied their mannerisms, willingly cramping their style with the kinds of compromises and deceptions exacted by the recalcitrant lute but unnecessary on their instrument"⁷². Some other recent writers, such as Jean Jacquot⁷³, have taken a fairer view, seeing the two styles as twin manifestations of a common aesthetic. A detailed study of the relevant sources, however, reveals the inadequacy of both of these approaches for defining a keyboard style of some complexity, which drew on a number of strands to nourish its development.

Firstly, there are several purely keyboard traditions which form the background to the style. The allemandes and pavaues of Chambonnières, for example, have a polyphonic framework quite distinct from equivalent lute genres. In as far as they have links with another instrumental repertoire it is with that of the viol consort. Consort music was regularly published with a keyboard performance option in the seventeenth century. A further keyboard influence was Froberger's toccata style. Although this is a free style, at times reminiscent of the lute prelude, the details of figuration and gesture are in a keyboard rather than a lute form. Froberger was demonstrably the principal influence on the preludes of Louis Couperin in that the

71. See Preface, p.viii.

72. Baroque Music (second edition, 1981), pl85.

73. See Chapter I, p41 n204.

toccatas not only share many similar figures with them, but also on occasion Couperin has borrowed from the toccatas, albeit transcribing his borrowings into unmeasured notation. But the most important general feature of the keyboard style, in that it is the ever-present framework for seventeenth-century dance music for keyboard, is the standard three-part format described in Chapter III. This constituted the traditional material with which the clavecinistes worked, each one handling it with a certain individuality: Chambonnières's treatment tending towards polyphony; Louis Couperin's being more straightforward, but with a predilection for motivic imitation; D'Anglebert using it as the basis for a richly detailed and full-voiced texture.

This keyboard format is the point at which keyboard style runs parallel with that of the lute. Shared characteristics need not initially imply imitation - plucked stringed instruments with an identical type of repertoire have necessarily many aspects of style in common. In this category we may include the routine syncopation of accompanying parts and expressive "suspension" of melody notes in the keyboard style, as well as the formal aspects common to both repertoires. These are aspects of a common language, shared by both instrument types. Where the keyboard does begin to approach an imitation of the lute is in figures which aim to produce something of a lute sonority, although they are not in themselves typical figures of the lute repertoire, or natural procedures for that instrument. Such are the various manners of spreading chords, the dissonant additions to chords designed to set off the sonority of the ultimate concord, and keyboard analogies for specific lute effects such as tirer et rabattre. These are features which rely for their effect on instrumental sonority in itself, whose exploitation was the main contribution of the French lutenists in the first half of the seventeenth century.

In so far as clavecinistes adopted lute effects directly, their aim was to incorporate into the technical resources of their instrument expressive possibilities which originated with the lute. Thus the campanella effect, much used in unmeasured preludes, was a means of enriching the effect of the underlying harmonies, providing both a means of accentuating certain chords, and also the effect of light and shade on an instrument with very limited possibilities

of dynamic nuance. As Mersenne says⁷⁴, and it is manifest in the repertoire, both lutenists and harpsichordists were fascinated by the continuing resonant sound of their instruments, and the effect on this of varying its surroundings. This may largely explain the unique French manner of notating keyboard preludes. Paradoxically, the seemingly free unmeasured notation is in fact a more exact indication to the performer than a more conventional notation since, in common with the unmeasured prelude for lute, it shows precisely the number of members in a chord and dissonant additions thereto, whether acciaccaturas, ports de voix, passing notes, and so on. A comparison of the toccatas of Froberger in conventional notation with similar figures in the unmeasured preludes of Louis Couperin shows that the unmeasured notation in important respects provides the player with an exact performance instruction, rather than a basis for improvisation, in the same way as does lute tablature. It was on account of their familiarity with lute style that the idea of appropriating some of the conveniences of tablature notation to the keyboard presented itself so readily to the clavecinistes. In the case of D'Anglebert, whose keyboard style most thoroughly absorbed that of the lute, this naturalisation of lute tablature extended to the notation of ornaments and even the characteristic séparé and ensemble signs. Similarly the notation is a natural consequence of a similarity of technical means and expressive aims.

The principal finding to emerge from a detailed comparison of the lute and keyboard repertoires is that the assimilation of effects of lute origin did not in any way involve a denaturing of keyboard style. Rather it extended and enriched it. An obvious example is provided by those pieces which exploit what one might call the lute range of the harpsichord. This is related not only to the natural tessitura of the lute, but to the specific lute effect of sans chanterelle writing. It was particularly favoured in sarabandes and chaconnes – the genres in which the clavecinistes also favoured a low tessitura. Yet if this derived ultimately from the lute, it

74. See Chapter I, p42.

also enabled keyboard players to exploit the rich tenor and bass registers of the harpsichord, precisely where the French gift for harmonic colour was at its most telling. If the chaconnes of Louis Couperin and D'Anglebert are now regarded by harpsichordists as among the principal treasures of their repertoire, it is not because they are in cramped and "unnecessary" imitation of the lute. It is because this manner of writing, although deriving ultimately from the practice of lutenists, is peculiarly suited to the genius of the harpsichord.

The same goes for the kind of obviously brisé keyboard writing which has been noted by virtually every commentator on the style. Here it is rare to find two notes sounded simultaneously in spite of the texture's being in three or more parts. This is the type of effect which most readily comes to mind in connexion with the term "style brisé". Lute tablature can represent it very naturally, with a scatter of individual notes of different registers governed by a single quaver stem, avoiding the necessarily complicated rendering of tenuti and syncopations in staff notation. The texture is found throughout the century in lute sources. In as much as it is used by the best of the clavecinistes it is not as a mere quirk of style, but with a conscious artistic purpose. In particular Louis Couperin handles it with a febrile sensitivity to harmonic effect, where it forms a contrast with more robust surrounding movement. If it is used with equal sensitivity by lutenists of the calibre of Denis Gautier and Pinel, it does, when transferred to the keyboard, fulfil a new if analogous function. The mysterious, baigné sonority, to which individual notes contribute while remaining subservient to the total effect, provides a texture which can be moulded to achieve the effect of nuance by means of spacing and density of movement. Within the stream of notes of equal value, successive pitches continually form new harmonic conjunctions with those that are sustained. The player's rubato can rely on this rhythmic continuum to give value to significant harmonic effects. Far from being a slavish imitation of lute practice, the technique in fact constitutes one of the principal expressive resources of the harpsichord, and as such passed from the seventeenth-century clavecinistes into the mainstream of European keyboard music. If they had learnt it initially from the lutenists, it was for its expressive value that they adopted

it rather than as a technique for its own sake.

The reality of the keyboard style may now be seen as more complex and paradoxical than either of the views cited at the beginning of this summary allows, although each contributes an important strand to it. While there was a common stylistic ground shared by the two repertoires, whose features are not easily attributable to one side or the other, there was undoubtedly an independent keyboard tradition with its own characteristics and techniques. But into this keyboard tradition the clavecinistes also incorporated procedures which demonstrably derive from the technique of the lute, extending and developing them to expressive ends in finally keyboard terms.

A B B R E V I A T I O N S

The following is not intended as a complete list of all the keyboard and lute sources and modern editions, but only as an explanation of abbreviations used in the text, examples, and concordance lists. For further information see Gustafson's catalogue of the keyboard sources; and Rave's dissertation and Boetticher's catalogue for lute sources. Datings of keyboard sources are from Gustafson unless otherwise specified, similarly those for lute sources are from Rave or Boetticher.

RISM abbreviations for libraries are used. Original sources are given in lower case letters, modern editions in upper case. The single exception to this is the lute source CNRS, since this is its normal siglum in the literature. The nature of each source or edition is indicated as follows: (K) - keyboard; (L) - lute; (O) - other.

For manuscript sources the location and class number are given. Printed sources are given with title and place and date of publication. In the case of a few music sources it has not been necessary to devise sigla. These are entered in the list in brackets following the alphabetical sequence.

- Aberdeen
Add.16889
ADLER II
- ADLER III
- Adriaensen 1584
- Amsterdam 205.B.32
- Augsburg
- Babell
- Bal.II
Bal.III
- Balcarres
- BANGERT
- Barbe
- Basle 53
- Bataille 2
- Bataille 6
- Bauyn
- Bensbergh
- Berlin 40068
- Berlin 40147
- Berlin 40264
- Berlin 40593
- Berlin 40601
- Berlin 40623
- (K) GB-A ms.π.7841. Arc. (after 1613; Cooper)
- (L) GB-Lbl ms.Add.16889 (c1615-1618)
- (K) Johann Jakob Froberger: Suiten für Klavier II. (ed. G.Adler). (Denkmäler der Tonkunst in Österreich, Vol.13). Graz: Akademische Druck- u. Verlagsanstalt, 1959.
- (K) Johann Jakob Froberger: Orgel- und Klavierwerke III. (ed. G.Adler). (Denkmäler der Tonkunst in Österreich, Vol.21). Graz: Akademische Druck- u. Verlagsanstalt, 1959.
- (L) Adriaensen, Emanuel. Pratum Musicum. Antwerp: Phalèse, 1584.
- (L) NL-At Lute tablature 205.B.32 (after 1660; van Reijen)
- (L) D-brd-As Ms.Tonkunst 2° fasc.III, Nr.1-56 (c1745-1770)
- (K) GB-Lbl ms.Add.39569 (1702)
- (L) F-Pn (given by Tessier (D.GAUTIER) as Rés.Vm7 277-278: R. Ballard, Airs de cour de différents auteurs (Paris: 1615-1628))
- (L) GB Manchester. John Rylands Library, Deansgate (on loan from the Earl of Crawford and Balcarres)(c1700-1710; Spring).
- (K) Dietrich Buxtehude. Klaver Vaerker. (ed. E.Bangert. 2nd ed.:) Copenhagen: Hansen, 1944.
- (L) F-Pn Rés.Vmb.ms.7 (c1685-1695)
- (L) CH-Bu ms.F.IX.53 (c1640-1650)
- (O) Bataille, Gabriel. Airs de différents auteurs mes en tablature de luth... Second Livre. Paris: Ballard, 1609.
- (O) Bataille, Gabriel. Airs de différents auteurs, mis en tablature de luth... Sixiesme livre. Paris: Ballard, 1615.
- (K) F-Pn ms.Rés.Vm7.674, 675 (after 1658)
- (L) A Location unknown (1676; Rollin-DUBUT, PINEL, BOCQUET)
- (L) D-brd-B ms.40068 (c1655-1665)
- (K) Unlocated ms. (c1660-1680)
- (L) D-ddr-Bds ms.40264 (Gehema; 1670, in part 1650 or earlier)
- (L) D-ddr formerly Preußische Staatsbibliothek Mus.MS.40593, missing since 1945. (c1700)
- (L) D-brd-B ms.40601 (Stockmans; c1700)
- (K) Unlocated ms. Formerly Deutsche Staatsbibliothek Mus.MS.40623 (1678)

- Berlin 40633 (L) D. unlocated; formerly Preußische Staatsbibliothek Mu..ms.40623 (1753)
- BESARD (L) Oeuvres pour luth seul de Jean-Baptiste Besard. (ed. A.Souris and M.Rollin). Paris: CNRS, 1969.
- Besard 1603 (L) Besard, Jean-Baptiste. Thesaurus Harmonicus. Cologne: (author), 1603.
- Besard 1617 (L) Besard, Jean-Baptiste. Novus Partus sive Concertationes Musicae. Augsburg: David Franck, 1617.
- Board (L) GB. Woodford Green, Essex. MS in the collection of Robert Spencer (c1620-1630; Spencer)(facs. Boethius Press)
- BOCQUET (L) Oeuvres des Bocquet. (ed. A.Souris and M.Rollin). Paris: CNRS, 1972.
- Bod.410 (O) GB-0b Ms.Mus.Sch.E.410-4 (c1659?; Crawford)
- Bod.426 (K) GB-0b Ms.Mus.Sch.E.436 (after 1708)
- BONFILS 13 (K) Henri Dumont. L'Oeuvre pour clavier. (ed. J.Bonfils)(L'Organiste liturgique, No.13). Paris: Schola Cantorum, 1956.
- BONFILS 18 (K) Les Pré-classiques français. Thomelin-Monnard-Richard-La Barre-anonyme. (ed. J.Bonfils)(L'Organiste liturgique, No.18). Paris: Schola Cantorum, 1957.
- BONFILS 29/30 (K) Clém. de Bourges et N. de la Grotte, Oeuvres complètes: Denis Gautier, Tombeau. (ed. J.Bonfils)(L'Organiste liturgique, Nos.29/30). Paris: Schola Cantorum, (n.d.).
- BONFILS 31 (K) Les Pré-classiques français (supplément): La Barre - anonymes. (ed. J.Bonfils)(L'Organiste liturgique, No.31). Paris: Schola Cantorum, (n.d.).
- BONFILS 58/59 (K) Les Pré-classiques français. La Barre-Gautier-Ballard-et anonymes: Huit courantes extraites du Ms.Lynard Al de Lübbenau. (ed. J.Bonfils)(L'Organiste liturgique, Nos.58/59). Paris: Schola Cantorum, (n.d.).
- BORREN (K) Borren, Charles van den. "Einige Bemerkungen über das handschriftliche Klavierbuch (Nr.376) der Königlichen Bibliothek zu Kopenhagen", Zeitschrift für Musikwissenschaft XIII(1930-31)556-558.
- Brossard (L) F-Pn ms.Rés.Vm7 370 (c1672-1682)
- BRUNOLD-TESSIER (K) Jacques Champion de Chambonnières, Oeuvres complètes. (ed. P.Brunold and A.Tessier). Paris: Senart, 1925.
- Brussels II 276 (L) B-Br Ms.II.276 (c1670-1680)
- Brussels 10 (L) B-Bc ms.FA.VI.10 (c1660)
- Burwell (L) GB. Norwich, collection of Captain Anthony Hamond (c1660-1672)(facs. Boethius Press)

- C.57
Campbell
Cassel
Celle
(Cellier)
Chamb.I
CHANCY
Chancy 1629
Ch.Ch.437
Ch.Ch.1177
Ch.Ch.1236
Chigi
CNRS
Copenhagen 376
Cromwell
CURTIS-CO
CURTIS-MMN
Dalhousie 4
Dalhousie 5
Dalhousie 8
DANCKERT
Darmstadt 17
Darmstadt 18
Darmstadt 1655
- (L) GB-Ob MS.Don.C.57 (c1630; Spencer)
(K) GB-En Panmure mss.acq.2763 No.8 (c1640-1650)(Lady Jean Campbell's Virginal Book; keyboard section of the lute MS Dalhousie 8 q.v.)
(O) D-brd-Kl ms.mus.fol.61 (c1650-1670) (see also ECORCHEVILLE)
(K) D-brd-CEbm MS 730 (1662)
(K) 1) F-Pn ms.fonds français 9152 (1685)
2) F-RS ms.971 (1594)
(K) Chambonnières, Jacques Champion de. Les Pieces de Clavecin de Monsieur de Chambonnieres: Liure Premier. Paris: Jollain, 1670.
(L) Oeuvres de Chancy, Bouvier, Belleville, Dubuisson, Chevalier. (ed. A.Souris and M.Rollin). Paris: CNRS, 1967.
(O) Tablature de mandore de la composition du Sieur Chancy. Paris: P.Ballard, 1629.
(K) GB-0ch Mus.MS 437
(K) GB-0ch Mus.MS 1177 (after c1680)
(K) GB-0ch Mus.MS 1236 (c1650-1674)
(K) I-Rvat Ms.Chigi.Q.IV.24 (c1650?)
(L) F MS belonging to CNRS, Paris (c1632)
(K) Dk-Kk ms.Gl.kgl.Saml.376 fol (1626-c1650)
(K) GB The Museum of London MS 46.78/748 (1638; Ferguson)(see also FERGUSON)
(K) Louis Couperin, Pièces de clavecin. (ed. A.Curtis)(Le Pupitre No.18). Paris: Heugel, 1970.
(K) Dutch Keyboard Music of the 16th and 17th Centuries. (ed. A.Curtis)(Monumenta Musica Nederlandica, III). Amsterdam: Vereniging voor Nederlandse Muziek-geschiedenis, 1961.
(L) GB-En Panmure mss.acq.2763 No.4 (c1650-1660)
(L) GB-En Panmure mss.acq.2763 No.5 (c1632-1638)
(L) GB-En Panmure mss.acq.2763 No.8 (c1640-1650) (see also Campbell)
(L) Danckert, Werner. Geschichte der Gigue. Leipzig: Kistner u. Siegel, 1924.
(K) D-brd-DS mus.ms.17 (1672)
(K) D-brd-DS mus.ms.18 (1674)
(L) D-brd-DS mus.ms.1655 (reported destroyed 1944; microfilm kept as mus.ms.3225) (c1655-1665)

- Dart (K) GB-Lkc ms. No.2 of unpublished "Handlist of Manuscripts, Books and Printed Music from the Dart Collection in Room 303 152/3 Strand, W.C.1" (after 1687)
- Dd.9.33 (L) GB-Cu MS.Dd.9.33 (c1600)
- De Bellis (L) US-SFsc Ms. (no class no.)(c1615-1625)
- De Moy (L) De Moy, Louis. Le petit bouquet de Frise orientale. (n.p.): (author), 1631.
- D.GAUTIER (L) Tessier, André. La Rhétorique des dieux et autres pièces de luth de Denis Gaultier. (Publications de la Société française de musicologie. Première série; Vol.VI: commentary and facsimiles; Vol.VII: concordances and transcriptions). Paris: Droz, 1932.
- DICKINSON (K) Dickinson, Alis. "Keyboard Tablatures of the mid-seventeenth Century in the Royal Library, Copenhagen". Doctoral dissertation, North Texas State University, 1973. Part 2: Transcriptions.
- Drallius (K) D-brd-Lr Mus.Ant.Pract.KN 176 (1650)
- DUBUT (L) Oeuvres des Dubut. (ed. M.Rollin and J.-M.Vaccaro). Paris: CNRS, 1979.
- Du Caurroy (O) Du Caurroy, Eustache. Fantaisies à III.IIII. V.et.VI. parties. Paris: Ballard, 1610.
- DUFAUT (L) Oeuvres de Dufaut. (ed. A.Souris and M. Rollin). Paris: CNRS, 1965.
- DUFOURCO-L (K) Nicolas Lebègue. Oeuvres de Clavecin. (ed. N.Dufourcq). Monaco: Éditions de l'Oiseau Lyre, 1956.
- Du Fresneau (L) D-ādr-Bds Mus.Ms.40626 (1658)
- Dumont 1652 (K) Du Mont, Henri. Cantica Sacra II.III.IV. cum Vocibus tum et Instrumentis modulata... cum basso continuo...Liber Primus. Paris: Ballard, 1652.
- ECORCHEVILLE (O) Vingt suites d'orchestre du XVIIe siècle français. (ed. J.Ecorcheville). 2 vols. Paris: Fortin, 1906. (see also Cassel)
- EPSTEIN (K) Epstein, Ernesto. Der Französische Einfluß auf die deutsche Klaviersuite im 17. Jahrhundert. Würzburg-Aumühle: Konrad Triltsch, 1940.
- Eyck II (O) Eyck, Jacob van. Der Fluyten Lust-Hof, Vol Psalmen, Paduanen, Allemanden, Couranten, Balletten, Airs, etc. Vol.2. Amsterdam: Paulus Matthysz, 1654.
- Eysbock (K) S-Skma Tabl.1 (c1600)(ms)
- Faille (K) B-Bc (no class number)(c1625)

- FERGUSON (K) Ann Cromwell's Virginal Book 1638.
(ed. H.Ferguson). London: Oxford University Press, 1974.
- Francisque (L) Francisque, Antoine. Le Tresor d'Orphée.
Paris: Ballard, 1600.
- Fuhrmann (L) Fuhrmann, Georg Leopold. Testudo Gallo-Germanica. Nuremberg: Fuhrmann, 1615.
- Gallot (L) Gallot, Jacques de. Pieces de luth.
Paris: Bonneuil, (1673).
- Gautier Livre (L) Gautier, Denis. Liure de Tablature des Pieces de Luth. Paris: veufve de M^e Gaultier, (cl672-1680).
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- Gen.2350/57 (K) F-Psg MS.2350 and ff5-12 of MS.2357 (cl630-1670)
- (Gigault) (K) Gigault, Nicolas. Livre de musique.
Paris: (author), 1682.
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- Gresse (K) NL-Uim MS q-1 (after 1669; cl680-1690)
- (Guillet) (O) Guillet, Charles. Vingt-quatre Fantasies à quatre parties disposées selon l'ordre des douze modes. Paris: Ballard, 1610.
- GUSTAFSON (K) Gustafson, Bruce. French Harpsichord Music.
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- Haslemere (L) GB-HAdolmetsch MS.II.B.1 (cl594-cl621; Poulton)
- Herbert (L) GB-Cfm Mus.MS.689 (cl626-1640)
- Hintze (K) US-NH John Herrick Jackson Music Library,
Ma 21 H 59 (cl650-1674?)
- Ihre (K) S-Uu ms.Ihre 284 (cl679)
- Ihre 286 (K) S-Uu ms.Ihre 286 (cl700)
- Innsbruck (K) A Innsbruck. Landesregierungsarchiv
MS.Nr.533 (1648)

- Jacquet 1 (K) Jacquet de la Guerre, Elizabeth. Les Pièces de Clavecin...Premier Livre. Paris: Baussen, 1687. (I-Vc Stampe Antiche 137)
- JOHANSSON (K) Johansson, Bengt. "Romersk tasteinstrument-musik i det 17. århundrede." (see bibliography)
- Kalmar 4a (K) S- Kalmar, Stagneliuskolan, Musikhandskrift 4a (1721; Rudén)
- Kalmar 4b (K) S-K ms.Mus. 4b (1709)
- Kalmar 8 (K) S-Kalmar, Stagneliuskolan, Musikhandskrift 8 (1715; Rudén)
- Kalmar 21068 (L) S-Klm Ms. 21068 (c1715; Rudén)
- Kalywoda (L) Buenos Aires, Biblioteca Nacional. Ms.236.R (1720)
- Keller (L) F-Pn Rés.Vmf.ms.48 (dated 1663)
- KITCHEN (K) Kitchen, John Philip. "Harpsichord Music of seventeenth-Century France". (see bibliography)
- Kremsmünster L77 (L) A-KR ms.L77 (c1700-1710)
- Kremsmünster L78 (L) A-KR ms.L78 (c1700-1710)
- Kremsmünster L79 (L) A-KR ms.L79 (c1690)
- Kremsmünster L81 (L) A-KR ms.L81 (c1650)
- La Barre 6 (K) US-BE MS 770 (after 1697)
- La Barre 11 (K) US-BE MS 775 (after 1724, with additions after 1753)
- La Cauchie (O) La Cauchie, Père Antoine. La Pievse Alovette avec son tirelire. Valenciennes: 1619.
- La Pierre (K) F-Pn Mus.Rés.Vmd.ms.18 (after 1687)
- L.de Geer (L) S-N Finspång Samlingen S.9074 (c1639)
- Leipzig 24 (L) D-ddr-Lem ms.II.6.24 (c1700-1710)
- Leningrad L5 (K) USSR-Lan MS.XX.L.5 (The Baltic Song-Book; dated 1632)
- Leningrad 204 (K) USSR-Lan MS QN 204 (1650)
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- (LORENCINI)
- Lund A3
- Lund G28
- Lund G34
- Lund G37
- LUNDGREN
- Lüneburg 1198
- Lynar
- Lyons
- MAAS
- Madrid 1360
- MERCURE
- Mersenne
- MESANGEAU
- Michel 1645
- Milleran
- M.L.
- Monin
- Montbuysson
(Moulinié)
- Mouton 1
- Munich 1503f
- Munich 1511e
- Munich 1511f
- Nettl
- Newberry 70.5
- Nn.6.36
- (L) Thirty Pieces for Lute by Laurencini.
(ed. T.Crawford). London: The Lute Society, 1979.
- (K) S-L Wenster Å 3 (1690s; Rudén)
- (O) S-L Wenster G 28 (c1696-1704; Rollin-DUBUT)
(viol)
- (L) S-L Wenster G 34 (c1700)
- (L) S-L Wenster G 37 (c1700)
- (K) Johann Lorentz. Klavierwerke. (ed. B.Lundgren).
Lund: (n.p.), 1960.
- (K) D-brd-Lr Mus.Ant.Pract. KN 1198 (1687)
- (K) D-ddr-Bds Lübbenau Tabulaturen Lynar A-1
(c1615-1650)
- (L) F. Lyons, MS in a private collection
(Rollin-DUBUT)
- (K) English Pastime Music, 1630-1660. (ed.
M.Maas)(Collegium Musicum II/IV).
Madison: A-R Editions, 1974.
- (K) E-Mn M 1360 (1709)
- (L) Oeuvres des Mercure. (ed. M.Rollin and J.-M.
Vaccaro). Paris: CNRS, 1977.
- (L) Mersenne, Marin. Harmonie Universelle.
Paris: Cramoisy, 1631.
- (L) Oeuvres de René Mesangeau. (ed. A.Souris
and M.Rollin). Paris: CNRS, 1971.
- (K) Michel, Christian. Tabulatura...auf das
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(Rollin-PINEL)
- (L) F-Pn Rés.823 (c1682-1687)
- (L) GB-Lbl Add.MS.38539 (formerly called the
Sturt Lute Book)(c1615-1640; Spencer)
- (L) F-Pn Vm7 6212 (c1664-1680)
- (L) D-brd-Kl 40.Ms.108(1) (c1610-1620)
- (O) Moulinié, Estienne. Cinquiesme livre d'airs
de cour à quatre et cinq parties.
Paris: Ballard, 1639.
- (L) Mouton, Charles. Pieces de Luth sur differ^{ts}
modes. Paris: (author), (c1690-1695).
- (K) D-brd-Mbs Mus.Ms.1503e (c1660?)
- (K) D-brd-Mbs Mus.Ms.1511e (c1660?)
- (K) D-brd-Mbs Mus.Ms.1511f (c1660?)
- (L) CS. Prague, collection of Dr. P.Nettl
(second half of 17th Century; Rollin-PINEL)
- (L) US-Cn MS.70.5 (c1630?)
- (L) GB-Cu MS.Nn.6.36 (c1610-1615; Spencer)

- NOSKE (K) Klavierboek Anna Maria van Eijl. (ed. F.Noske) (Monumenta Musica Nederlandica, No.2). Amsterdam: Vereniging voor Nederlandse Muziekgeschiedenis, 1959.
- Nuremberg (K) D-brd-Ngm Hs.31781 (1669-1721)
- Oestersund 174 (K) S-ös MS.174 (1693; Rollin-DUBUT, PINEL)
- Oldham (K) GB. London, private collection of Guy Oldham. (c1650-1661)
- Ottobeuren (K) D-brd. Ottobeuren: Benediktiner-Abtei, Musikarchiv und Bibliothek, M0 1037 (1695)
- Oxford 576 (L) GB-Ob Ms.Mus.Sch.f.576 (c1685ff)
- Oxford 616 (L) GB-Ob Ms.Mus.Sch.G.616 (c1690-1700)
- Oxford 617 (L) GB-Ob Ms.Mus.Sch.G.617 (c1690-1700)
- Oxford 618 (L) GB-Ob Ms.Mus.Sch.G.618 (c1690-1700)
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- P.Ballard 1623 (L) Ballard, Pierre. Tablature de luth de différents auteurs sur l'accord ordinaire et extraordinaire. Paris: P.Ballard, 1623. (Unlocated; the title-page only was formerly in the collection of Marc Pincherle: see F.Lesure, "Recherches sur les luthistes", p216 and Rollin-CHANCY pXIII)(According to M. Lesure the title-page is now lost).
- P.Ballard 1631 (L) Ballard, Pierre. Tablature de luth de différents auteurs. Paris: P.Ballard, 1631.
- P.Ballard 1638 (L) Ballard, Pierre. Tablature de luth de différents auteurs. Paris: P.Ballard, 1638.
- Per Brahe (L) S-B PB fil 172 (1618-1621; Rudén)
- Perrine 1 (L) Perrine. Livre de Musique pour le Lut. Paris: (author), 1679.
- Perrine 2 (L) Perrine. Pieces de Luth en Musique. Paris: (author), 1680.
- P.Gautier (L) Gautier, Pierre. Les Oeuvres de Pierre Gaultier orleanois. Rome: (n.p.), 1638.
- Pickering (L) GB-Lbl Ms.Egerton 2046 (1616-1625, c1670-1685)
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- Prague 18 (L) CS-Pnm Ms.IV.G.18 (1623-1627)
- Prague 36 (L) CS-Pnm Ms.IV.E.36 (c1715-1730)

- Prague 80 (L) CS-Pu ms.II.Kk.80 (c1700)
- Prague 84 (L) CS-Pu ms.II.Kk.84 (c1676-1680)
- R.BALLARD 1 (L) Robert Ballard. Premier Livre (1611).
(ed. A.Souris, S.Spycket, and M.Rollin).
Paris: CNRS, 1963.
- R.BALLARD 2 (L) Robert Ballard. Deuxième Livre (1614) et
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J.Veyrier, and M.Rollin). Paris: CNRS, 1964.
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le luth. Paris: Ballard, 1611.
- R.Ballard 1614 (L) Ballard, Robert. Diverses pièces mises sur
le luth. Paris: Ballard, 1614.
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départementales du Puy-de-Dome.
2.E.976⁵⁷ (1661)
- Rés.89ter (K) F-Pn cons.Rés.89ter (after 1677)
- Rés.1106 (O) F-Pn cons.Rés.1106 (c1675-1690)(theorbo)
- Rés.1185 (K) F-Pn cons.Rés.1185 (c1613-1652)(Cosyn in
Gustafson)
- Rés.F.933 (K) F-Pn cons.Rés.F.933 (after c1715)
- Reynaud (L) F-AIXm ms.147(203)-R312 (c1650-1660)
- RhD (L) D-brd-Bk Kupferstichkabinett, Hamilton
collection, No.142, Signatur 78 C 12
(La Rhétorique des Dieux)(c1652)
- RIPPE (L) Oeuvres d'Albert de Rippe. Vol.1,
Fantaisies. (ed. J.-M. Vaccaro).
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- Robarts (L) GB. Lanhydrock House, Cornwall. Property
of The National Trust. (c1660-1668; Spencer)
(facs. Boethius Press)
- Roper (K) US-Cn Case MS.VM.2.3.E58r (c1691)
- Rostock 54 (L) D-ddr-R0u Mus.saec.ms.XVIII 18,54 (c1670)
- Ruthven (L) F-Pn cons.Rés.1110 (c1660, in part later)
- Ryge (K) DK-Kk Mu 6806.1399 (C II 49) (c1700?)
- Saizenay 1 (L) F-B MS.279.152 (c1670-1720)
- Saizenay 2 (L) F-B MS.279.153 (c1700-1710)
- Schele (L) D-bdr-Hs Ms.^B₂₇₆₈ (c1613-1620)
- SCHOTT (K) J.-J. Froberger. Oeuvres complètes pour
clavecin. Vol.1. livres de 1649, 1656,
et 1658. (ed. H.Schott)(Le Pupitre No.57).
Paris: Heugel, 1977.
- Schwanberg (L) A-Wgm ms.7763/92 (c1700-1710)
- Schwerin 641 (L) D-ddr-SW1 Mus.ms.641 (c1650)
- Seitenstetten (L) Seittenstetten, Stiftsbibliothek. (mid-17th
century ms; Rollin-PINEL)

- Sibley (L) US-R Vault M.140.V.186.S (c1625-1635)
- Skara (K) S-SK 493.b.(Nr.31) (1659-after1661)
- Sloane 1021 (L) GB-Lbl Ms.Sloane 1021 (c1635-1640)
- Sloane 2923 (L) GB-Lbl Ms.Sloane 2923 (c1675-c1700)
- St.Georges (K) F-Pn ms.Vm8 1139 (after 1724?)
- Stockholm 2 (K) S-Skma Tabl.2 (c1680?)
- Stockholm 176 (K) S-Sk S.176 (after 1681)
- Stockholm 228 (K) S-Sk S.228 (after 1685)
- Stockholm S.253 (L) S-Sk MS.S.253 (1614-1620)
- Suittes faciles (O) Suittes faciles pour l Flute ou un violon et une Basse continue de la composition de Messieurs Du Fau, L'Enclos, Pipel. Amsterdam: E.Roger, 1703.
- Terburg (K) Unlocated ms (17c)
- Terpsichore (O) Praetorius, Michael. Terpsichore. Wolfenbüttel: Fürstliche Drückerei, 1612.
- Tessier (L) Given as "MS Tessier" in D.GAUTIER.
- Thysius (L) NL-Lu Ms.Thysius 1666 (c1595-1620, with additions possible to 1645)
- Torn (K) S-SK Katedralskolans musiksamling 493a (1692-1698; Rudén)
- 'T Uitnemenent Kabinet (O) 'T Uitnemenent Kabinet vol Pavanen, Almanden, Sarabanden, Couranten, Balletten, Intraden, Airs, etc.. Amsterdam: Paulus Mattysz, 1646, 1649.
- Valerius (O) Valerius, Adriaen. Nederlantsche Gedenck-Clanck. Haarlem: Valerius, 1626.
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- VALLET (L) Oeuvres de Nicolas Vallet pour le luth seul: Le Secret des Muses. (ed. A.Souris and M. Rollin). Paris: CNRS, 1970.
- Vallet 1615 (L) Vallet, Nicolas. Secretum Musarum. Amsterdam: (author), 1615.
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- Van Eijl (K) NL-At 208 A 4 (1671)
- Vat.mus.569 (K) I-Rvat Ms.Vat.mus.569 (c1660-1665)
- VAUMESNIL (L) Oeuvres de Vaumesnil, Edinthon, Perrichon, Raël, Montbuysson, La Grotte, Saman, La Barre. (ed. A.Souris, M.Rollin, and J.-M. Vaccaro). Paris: CNRS, 1974.
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- V.GAUTIER (L) Oeuvres du vieux Gautier. (ed. A.Souris and M.Rollin). Paris: CNRS, 1966.

- Viée (L) F-Pn Rés.Vmf.ms.51 (1653; Massip)
- Vienna 17706 (L) A-Wn Ms.17706 (c1690-1700)
- Vm7 675 (O) F-Pn Vm7 675 (end of 17th century; Rollin-V.GAUTIER)(lute and guitar)
- Vm7 6211 (L) F-Pn Vm7 6211 (c1640-1450, in part after 1670)
- Vm7 6213 (L) F-Pn Vm7 6213 (c1670)
- Vm7 6214 (L) F-Pn Vm7 6214 (c1680)
- Vm7 6216 (L) F-Pn Vm7 6212 (c1680-1690)
- Vm7 6265 (L) F-Pn Vm7 6265 (c1700-1725)(mainly for theorbo)
- Vm7 6307-1 (K) F-Pn Vm7 6307(1) (after 1678)
- Wasbohm (K) S-L Handskr.Ekon.Höök (1693-1694; Rudén)
- Werl (L) GB. Woodford Green, Essex. Collection of Robert Spencer. (c1620-1650?; Spencer)
- Witzendorff (K) D-brd-Lr KN 148 (1655-1659)
- Wodzicki (L) PL. Lublin, Biblioteka Publiczna. Im.H.Lopacinskiego, MS.1985 (1694; Rollin-PINEL)

B I B L I O G R A P H Y

A. Archival Sources

- B. 1: Literature before 1800
- 2: Literature after 1800

A. ARCHIVAL SOURCES

1. Archives Nationales, Paris

Série KK.123	Pensionnaires de Cathérine de Médicis, 1560-1569.
KK.129	Officiers de la maison du roi, 1559.
KK.160, 170, 180	Maison de M. de Valois.
KK.202	Maison du roi, 1623.
KK.203	Maison d'Anne d'Autriche, 1642.
KK.238	Maison de Monsieur, 1580.
KK.187-192	Maison de Marie de Médicis, 1620-1632.
Série O ¹ .1-749	Secrétariat d'État de la maison du roi.
O ¹ .820-854	Papiers du grand chambellan.
O ¹ .2806-3276	Direction intitulée d'argenterie, Menus plaisirs et affaires de chambre, communément appelée les menus.
Série Z ^{1a} .472	Maison du Roi: États généraux des officiers, 1535-1642.
Z ^{1a} .473	Maison du Roi: États généraux des officiers, 1643-1657.

2. F-Pm

ms 2737

3. F-Pn département des manuscrits

Collection des cinq cents de Colbert 93

fonds Dupuy 127
489

fonds français 7007	
7854	ff271-299 Maison du roi, 1610 etc.
7856	ff1529-1587 "
10411,	
10412-10414	Maison d'Anne d'Autriche 1634-1663.

Département des imprimés

(anon.)

Estat general des officiers domestiques et
commençaux de la maison du Roy.
Paris: Marin Le Che, 1657.

(Recolet, P.)

Extrait des Officiers commensaux de la Maison
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le Duc d'Orléans, de Mademoiselle, et de
Monseigneur le Prince de Condé. 2 vols.
Paris: Pierre Recolet, 1644.

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Musique de Cour. Chapelle, Chambre, Écurie,
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1965.
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Châtelet de Paris (1539-1650).
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1651-1681", Recherches I(1960)153-203.
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de sa mère, Marie de Médicis, de ses soeurs,
Chrestienne, Elizabeth et Henriette de France,
de son frère, Gaston d'Orléans, de sa femme,
Anne d'Autriche, de ses fils, le Dauphin
(Louis XIV) et Philippe d'Orléans, comprenant
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Paris: P. Catin, 1912.
Supplément à la Maison du roi Louis XIII,
comprenant le règlement général fait par le
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l'état général de paiement fait en 1624.
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Gaston d'Orléans, son père.
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5. Manuscript collections

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11407-11425.
Copies et extraits de documents et d'ouvrages
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Ière série (11407-11416); IIème série (11417-
11435).

B. 1: Literature before 1800

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