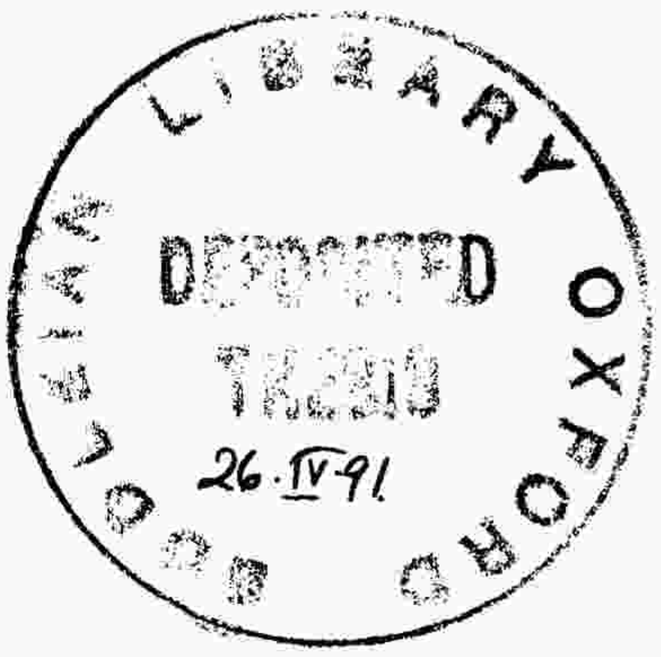
SIXTEENTH-CENTURY INTABULATION PROCESSES AND THEIR RELATIONSHIP TO THE FORMATION AND UNDERSTANDING OF SWEELINCK'S KEYBOARD STYLE

VOLUME I

A thesis submitted for the degree of
Doctor of Philosophy
University of Oxford



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Hilary Term 1990

ABSTRACT

Sixteenth-Century Intabulation Processes
and Their Relationship to the Formation and Understanding of
Sweelinck's Keyboard Style

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This study assesses the nature of sixteenth-century intabulation processes. Rather than being merely techniques of arrangement they are part of the *imitatio* tradition which is central to the musical language of sixteenth-century Continental polyphonic composition. M. A. Cavazzoni's music shows an understanding of the modal procedures and cadential structures of Renaissance vocal polyphony. Ornamentation and figuration are subject to a more fundamental underlying structure of periodic imitation, as they are in intabulation. In the music of Girolamo Cavazzoni the structures of a plainchant melody - its cadences and modal characteristics - are reworked by the keyboard composer into a polyphonic imitative piece. Intabulation processes from Spanish and Italian sources of the late sixteenth century show that an overall periodic imitative structure and the elaboration of cadence is more important to the Continental keyboard composer than "idiomatic" figuration itself.

Chapters 4 and 5 confirm the Continental background to Sweelinck's music which can be seen in his vocal music. John Bull's "late" style responds to Continental concerns

for *imitatio*. This suggests the reverse of the widely held view that English keyboard music influenced that of the Continent in the early decades of the seventeenth century. Figuration patterns are an unreliable guide to underlying compositional processes. Sweelinck's keyboard music is influenced by intabulation processes. Even the toccata, the texture of which grows from a polyphonic reworking of the psalm tone, can be seen as part of the same tradition as the intabulation. The English fantasia style is based on the development of small-scale patterns whereas periodic imitation dominates Sweelinck's musical thought. Figuration patterns are of secondary importance. The study concludes that Sweelinck's music is part of the Continental *imitatio* tradition and that the influence of the English virginalists on his style is negligible.

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ABBREVIATIONS

AcM	Acta Musicologica
AMf	Archiv für Musikwissenschaft
AnM	Anuario Musical
AnMc	Analecta Musicologica
AnnM	Annales Musicologique
BAMS	Bulletin of the American Musicological Society
CEKM	Corpus of Early Keyboard Music
CMM	Corpus Mensurabilis Musicae
EECM	Early English Church Music
HAM	Historical Anthology of Music
IMSCR	International Musicological Society Congress Report
JAMS	Journal of the American Musicological Society
JoM	*Josquin des Prez: Werken* ed Smijers A., Missen
JoWW	*Josquin des Prez: Werken* ed Smijers A., Wereldlijke Werken
JRMA	Journal of the Royal Musical Association
KJb	Kirchenmusikalisches Jahrbuch
MA	Music Analysis
MB	Musica Britannica
Mf	Die Musikforschung
ML	Music and Letters
MD	Musica Disciplina
MME	Monumentos de la Música Española
MMg	Monatshefte für Musikgeschichte
MQ	Musical Quarterly
MR	The Music Review

MSD	Musicological Studies and Documents
MT	Musical Times
NG	New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians (London 1980)
PRMA	Proceedings of the Royal Musical Association
RBM	Revue Belge de Musicologie
RISM	Répertoire International des Sources Musicales
TVNM	Tijdschrift van der Vereniging voor Nederlandse Muziekgeschiedenis
SwOO	Sweelinck J.P. *Opera Omnia* (Amsterdam 1957-)

PREFACE

Certain terms within this thesis are not used in the usual way. Intabulation, as will become clear, means more than simply an arrangement of a vocal piece for the keyboard: the term encompasses any polyphonic reworking of a pre-existent model or musical framework. Figuration has nothing to do with the eighteenth-century definition of *Figuren*, which applies only to standardised melodic patterns, but rather refers to small-scale patterns within a larger texture; any pattern which is either repetitive or which fills in a larger interval. Modes are referred to by number rather than name, except where a modal group based on the same final is discussed; in this case the names Lydian and Mixolydian etc are used for the sake of greater clarity. The pitch of "middle C" is expressed as c', the octave below as C and the octave above as c''.

The thesis relies heavily on music examples. The transcriptions aim above all at clarity and at a faithful reproduction of the individual sources. Each work under discussion therefore has its own editorial method and there are inconsistencies between notation within examples; occasionally, for example, the complexity of the point under discussion has necessitated the addition of numbers to every bar, while in other cases they are omitted for the sake of

greater pictorial clarity. The transcription of the idiosyncracies of each source has been kept as close to the original as possible. In the transcriptions of Italian printed keyboard sources only the clefs have been modernised. All other details - stems, beaming and the method of noting accidentals have been retained. Therefore a dot above a note in the Antico and Cavazzoni examples indicates an "alteration" of the note. It is not a staccato marking. A cross above or below a note in music from Spanish sources has the same intention. Andrea Gabrieli's later *canzone francese* print and the manuscript sources discussed in chapters 4 and 5 indicate sharps and flats in the normal modern way. The rests are marked in the keyboard examples exactly as they appear in the Italian and manuscript sources. The Spanish examples are more complex, because they are written originally in tablature, a system of lines with numbers superimposed upon them in which generally only the beginnings of notes can be precisely indicated. Generally when a part rests an oblique stroke of indeterminate value appears in the sources. Ties across bar lines are indicated by a cedilla-like figure. Both these features are retained in the examples, giving a truer picture of the source which is actually easier to read than a fully worked-out texture which would be correct in terms of nineteenth and twentieth-century theoretical conterpoint.

All the transcriptions of vocal music are presented in short score, in order to facilitate the reader's grasp of the overall shape of the piece, which is often more important to the intabulations than the intricacies of the part-writing. Text in the composite examples is only added where the analysis in the written text requires it and, again for the sake of clarity, all rests except those which are occasionally essential to comprehension of the part-writing have been omitted. Readers will find it helpful to have copies of the Fitzwilliam Virginal Book, SwOO I and MB 14 and 19 to hand when reading chapters 4 and 5.

There are many people and organisations to whom my gratitude is due. The British Academy generously funded the first three years study. I am grateful to John Harper who supervised my work in its early stages and to John Caldwell who supervised in its later ones. The staff of the Music Reading Room of the Bodleian Library have responded to my frequent demands for instant attention with unfailing courtesy and kindness. Sarah Cobbold's help with the presentation of the music examples has been invaluable: I am of course responsible for all errors and any examples which are less than elegant.

Writing a thesis is one of the most lonely activities I can think of and special mention must go to the "unofficial music postgraduate support group of Southfield Road" - Sally

Roper, Simon Heighes and Jonathan Wainwright - for providing lunch and companionship, especially towards the end. The person who I must thank the most, however, is my wife Frances, without whom I would never have done it (or anything else). I dedicate this thesis to her, even though I doubt if she ever wants to see it again.

INTRODUCTION

> The clavier music of the 16th century includes innumerable intabulations, which occupy a much larger space than they deserve relative to their historical and artistic significance. (1)
>
> The intabulation of vocal music presents itself not as the débris of performance practice but as one of the keys to sixteenth-century instrumental music. (2)

These two quotations represent opposing views on the importance and significance of the intabulation repertoire of the sixteenth century. Apel sees instrumental music - and specifically keyboard music - as a phenomenon distinct from vocal music, and views intabulation as a peripheral or ephemeral technique, with no real purpose or place in the development of keyboard music, even from the earliest times. For him the main forces in keyboard music in the sixteenth century are to be found on the one hand in the imitative techniques pursued through the ricercar and related forms and on the other in the freer type of piece characterised firstly by the prelude and later in the century by the toccata. Ward, on the other hand, is ready not only to acknowledge that intabulation is worthy of analysis, but that it actually played a fundamental part in the development of the two basic genres identified by Apel. Ward admits that "part of the accumulation is the hack work of the industrious uncreative"(3) but he points out that the

technique of intabulation also occupied the minds, and publications, of some illustrious players and composers.

The evidence of the earliest keyboard sources suggests that the link between vocal and keyboard music was established at a very early stage. Even the Robertsbridge Codex, one of the very earliest of decisively instrumental sources is heavily reliant upon vocal pieces as the basis of half its contents,(4) while the stylistic unity evident between early keyboard music and vocal music leads to considerable doubt as to whether a piece preserved in another early English source (GB-Ob Douce MS 381) was intended for instrumental performance or not.(5) Several other early German sources reveal that keyboard players were continually involved with the intabulation of vocal music.(6) Throughout the early German literature these early intabulations have often been described as the work of "colourists" whose linear ornamentation was at first bound fast to the polyphonic structures of vocal music. Their apparent aim was to free themselves of the yoke of vocal music and produce a genuine keyboard idiom:

"die Schreibart Paumanns und seiner Nachfolger für die Orgel schloß sich dem Wesen der kirchlich vokalen Polyphonie aufs Engste an. Von dieser Gebundenheit sich zu befreien war das Ziel der Koloristen. Sie begraffen, daß Gesetze der Melodiebildung, die für der Treffsicherheit beim Gesang notwendig waren, für die instrumentalen Übertragung nicht mehr Geltung zu behalten brauchten.(7)

(The organ style of Paumann and his followers adhered closely to the methods of the vocal polyphony of the church. The aim of the colourists was to free themselves from this stricture. They understood that the rules of melodic

construction in vocal music, essential to the accuracy and co-ordination of the singers, need be valid no longer in the development of instrumental music.)

The development of an instrumental idiom has been

continually seen in this light: an attempt to free itself from the techniques and procedures of vocal music. The evidence presented by intabulation procedures suggests that this is not the case and that in fact vocal music and keyboard music developed along parallel lines. Both genres represent aspects of the same tradition; the gradual development during the Renaissance of imitative periodic structures based around the motive rather than around a cantus firmus.

The testimony of many sixteenth-century musical theorists leads us to believe that vocal music and its composition was of primary importance in the lives of musicians of the period. This view has been absorbed by most musicologists, who have studied vocal music to a very high level and tended to regard instrumental music of the sixteenth century as very much the poor relation of that for voices. For early writers on the performance of keyboard music the imitation of vocal music was clearly of primary importance. The examination rules for organists at St. Mark's Venice state that "a choir book is to be opened and the beginning of a Kyrie or motet picked out at random. This [incipit] is written down and given to the competing organist, who must improvise on this theme a fantasia

conforming to rule ... without disarranging the voices and as if four singers sang". (8) Sancta Maria takes a whole chapter to detail the need for the improvisor to study carefully the works of the great masters and to memorise particularly fine examples of compositional style in order to reproduce them at the keyboard as the basis for improvisation of their own. (9) Bermudo states that the inexperienced vihuela player should "take the advice not to play fantasia [i.e. to improvise in vocal style] until he has set much and good music on the vihuela. Since, having set this music and played it liberally, he can draw out an excellent fantasia from it. The fantasia drawn out in this manner will be very good, as it will be made out of music he has already set on the vihuela. The beginners err not a little who, in commencing to play, wish to sally forth with their fantasia". (10) Here we have the evidence, then, that for an instrumentalist the most important achievement was to play music in the style of vocal music. In the sixteenth century there was a close relationship between performance and composition in both instrumental and vocal music. The relationship between the keyboard composer and performer of the time has been examined recently by Robert Judd. (11) His source study of primarily theoretical works of the sixteenth century shows that there was a shift towards a separation of these two aspects of the keyboard musician's art as the century progressed: "the secret and largely improvised art of the player-composer became more public by means of

treatises and published keyboard music". (12) Nevertheless, the relationship between performance or improvisation and composition was still a strong one for the sixteenth-century musician: as Brown writes, "performers actively collaborated in the process of composition [and] were expected to invent new melodic material extempore."(13) Brown goes on to show how the technique of improvised diminution was an art shared between instrumentalists and singers. He quotes the 1535 treatise of the viol and recorder player Ganassi(14) which shows that "an aspiring recorder player should copy the expressiveness and the melodic flexibility of a good singer; as well as the technique and style of vocal ornamentation". (15) Later Brown shows how "whether ornaments were improvised by musicians playing in small or large ensembles, or by soloists, all authors agree that exactly the same technique was used...the same kinds of ornaments were added by singers as by players of whatever instruments". (16)

Contrapuntal improvisation was a highly developed art in the sixteenth century, intimately related to instrumental composition. (17) Intabulations in prints may well "preserve personal, idiosyncratic versions of well-known compositions as they were performed by leading sixteenth-century virtuosi", (18) but they also are examples of composers following Bermudo's exhortation to "draw out an excellent fantasia". Once this is realised then it is clear that

intabulation becomes not a mere exercise in appropriating the work of other people but a genuine compositional style. If we accept that vocal music is often based upon other vocal pieces, so it should be equally acceptable for keyboard composers to use the same technique in writing intabulations. The player-composer creates under his fingers a new structure derived from the shapes and contours of the model. Such a technique need not necessarily be restricted to a polyphonic model alone. The player-composer can absorb the essential shapes and contours of a monophonic line and reproduce its essence - melodic shapes and cadences - as a polyphonic piece. This study looks in detail at the technique of intabulation in this broad sense in the sixteenth century, beginning with some of the simplest examples of the form and moving on to the most complex. This will show that not only "by writing parodies and imitations of the borrowed music [composers] transformed instrumental style"(19) or that "the autonomous instrumental idiom of the first two decades [of the sixteenth century] was gradually transformed"(20) and that this development was "due, above all, to the intabulation and its progeny the glosa and parody", (21) but also that keyboard music adapted the techniques of vocal music and transformed them into its own style.

The quotation from Apel which opens this study reveals a modern, twentieth-century musical and artistic perspective:

creativity and successful composition are assessed according to different criteria from those of a sixteenth-century outlook. In our modern world, art - even art from previous ages - is evaluated on the strength of its individuality. A composer or artist and their work must be able to say something new, and if not, then better that nothing should be said at all. For the sixteenth-century artist, writer or composer, however, this was not important. The way in which something could be said - the skill in using a particular technique - was often more important than the actual content of the work, and to base one's work directly or indirectly on the work of another was an accepted way of demonstrating prowess. Thus, as Kirkendale writes, there was "no concept more central to Renaissance artistic production than that of imitation". (22) Kirkendale notes that Petrarch, a writer and scholar of major significance to any educated Renaissance man, was given to writing self-imitations, in which he would take elements of a previously composed poem or letter and use those elements to produce a new work.

A clear manifestation of the Petrarchian technique of *imitatio* is of course to be found in parody technique.(23) The artistic value of this technique has never been questioned by musicologists and there is a large range of literature dealing with the subject. Over the years our understanding of parody technique has changed. At first it was assumed that only the borrowing of motives from the

model was involved in the technique. This theory probably has its origins in the contemporary writings of Cerone(24). More recently many writers have contributed to a study of motivic relationships between mass movements and their models(25) but gradually our perceptions have been broadened in such a way that Lockwood could write that "the skill and art of parody lay in the manifold transformation that composers could wrest from previously formed motivic constructions". (26) For Lockwood, then, parody was more than the borrowing of a monophonic "theme" which was used as the basic material of a new piece. Instead composers were able to take the polyphonic textures and imitative patterns of a model and use both vertical and horizontal aspects of the original piece for their parody. (27)

Quereau further rationalised Lockwood's findings as a part of the process of developing an analytical method for sixteenth-century parody, (28) and identified four procedures used in parody technique. First, single motives are taken from the mould of the original. Second, motive entry relationships are used. Third, long or short complexes of relationships are used. Fourth, aspects of the large structure of the model point of imitation reappear in the new piece. All these elements can be seen in keyboard intabulations throughout the sixteenth century, and, as this study will show, a fifth procedure, easily identified in intabulation, can be added to Quereau's list, in which not

only are "aspects of the large structure of the model point of imitation" (Quereau's fourth point) to be found, but also elements of the total overall framework of the model as well.

Quereau's four types of transformations of borrowing are also as typical of intabulation as they are of vocal parody technique. First, the juxtaposition of relationships or interweaving of complexes of relationships which were separate in the model. Second, the use of relationships derived from the model through contrapuntal inversion, or tonal answer etc. Third, new relationships between entries of the model's motives, and fourth, the addition of new motives. Intabulation, then, can make claims to be treated as a serious compositional procedure, an instrumental companion to the wide range of imitative techniques practised in vocal composition.

The forms of borrowing outlined by Quereau appear within two basic forms in intabulation procedures which I will for convenience label as "linear" and "polyphonic". The "linear" type uses the model framework as precisely as possible. It preserves the number of parts and decorates the melodic outline of one or more parts - particularly at cadences - in the way that is recommended by the authors of various treatises on the art of diminution. Its reworking of the model is essentially a linear process, although of

course, the overall outline of the model is necessarily preserved as well, altered perhaps only by changes to the shapes of the individual lines brought about by the addition of diminution patterns. This is the type we see in the very early manuscript intabulations; the type which Seiffert and his disciples had in mind. (29) Despite its apparent simplicity of concept it is an important type, however. In its developed form it moves beyond mere ornament. The composer "takes a given melodic idea, reshapes it, and then treats the resulting line as though it were his own". (30) We will see later how Girolamo Cavazzoni uses the technique of decorating individual lines of plainchant to create new motives which he uses in a new polyphonic structure.

The second type of intabulation, the "polyphonic" intabulation, shows in a different way how vital intabulation technique was to the development of keyboard music during the sixteenth century. Just as, according to Rivera, "the same composer may have written a fugal mass in one way and a homophonic madrigal in another", (31) so did composers write various types of intabulation. Cabezón, for example, wrote both a tiento and a glosa on *Cum sancto spiritu* and on *Qui la dira*, which his son was to publish in separate sections of the *Obras de musica* of 1578. This second type of intabulation shows in perhaps a more fundamental way how vocal music and instrumental music were linked, because it reveals links in compositional

techniques which reach beyond simple ornamentation and cover the whole gamut of the techniques of *imitatio*. It provides us with several of Ward's "keys to sixteenth-century instrumental music". (32) It is in this type of intabulation that the procedures enumerated by Quereau are perhaps most clearly to be seen at work, and at their best the "polyphonic" intabulations equal the sophistication of parody technique found in the best vocal examples. In their most straightforward form, they overlap with the "linear" type because they retain the overall framework and voice structure of the original, which they "fill-out" with figuration. The figuration, however, is not just decorative, but plays a contrapuntal role, either exclusively within itself or by becoming enmeshed with the original counterpoint. The figures form their own imitative patterns within the larger and necessarily slower-moving framework. This type of technique - the simpler aspect of this type of intabulation - is consistent with Quereau's second and fourth types of transformation of borrowing; the use of relationships derived from the model and the addition of new motives.

In considering "parodia based on polyphonic composition" Lenearts writes of the "harmonic nature of the material" and how it "presupposes an auditory perception based on consonances rather than on the independent lines of the voices". (33) This technique is familiar in many

intabulations, and relates to several issues connected with keyboard composition. Lenearts realised that parody technique often involved the assumption by the new piece of aspects of the overall framework - the outlines of the outer parts and the harmonic direction - of the model. Horsley, too, was aware of this when she identified two related types of variation found in Dalza's *Intabolatura di lauto* of 1508. (34) She showed that Dalza's *alla venetiana* and *alla feronese* pavan types were both basically involved with the manipulation of harmonic patterns which formed an overall structure within which Dalza created two new and different textures. The *alla venetia* texture consisted basically of diminution of the original material in which the precise harmonic pattern and even the bass line were retained. In the *alla feronese* pieces the melodic and harmonic outlines of the model were retained while the internal ordering of the imitation and structure within the general outline were altered.

This is the principle behind the most sophisticated keyboard intabulations and once again can be related to improvisatory procedures. For Bermudo, the greatest achievement of the keyboard player was to improvise in the style of vocal music, to improvise counterpoint of the type to be found in a motet or mass movement. Failing this, the keyboard players next greatest achievement was to play from separate part books. (35) Bermudo does not explain exactly

how this extraordinary skill should be attained, but it seems that we have a clear link to intabulation techniques here; the player absorbs the framework of the piece in part books and then plays it from memory, maybe adding his own interpretation of this memorised framework as he goes along. One may speculate that in the process the framework becomes altered and that some motives and constructions of the model become more important in the player's mind than others. This would produce something similar to many of the written-out intabulations that were printed in Spain during the latter half of the sixteenth century, in which the model framework is followed, but the working of the part-writing of the intabulation differs from the original in one or more respects. Composers could take more precise guidelines than this for their intabulations; in the case of Antico, for example, the intabulations of Petrarchian vocal settings adopt the "two-voice framework" discussed by Rivera in his analysis of Arcadelt madrigals.(36) This framework in many frottole and early madrigals was to be found in the soprano and bass, not the soprano and tenor, a perfect basis for a right and left hand to get to work and fill out in the middle with two or more parts working with new patterns based on the original but not present in it. Einstein notes that many frottole have inner-parts which are not really essential to the structure of the piece,(37) and this texture is picked up and developed by the intabulator in his versions of the pieces.

It is but a short step from this "polyphonic" type of intabulation to the instrumental toccata. This genre can be seen as a version of intabulation technique, in which an overall framework - in the case of intabulation, a contrapuntal framework, and in the case of the toccata a basically harmonic design derived from the contours and cadences of plainchant - is filled out with figuration patterns. Bradshaw's proposal(38) that the toccata comes from an essentially monophonic basis in the form of psalm tones seems to miss the point that keyboard music is an essentially polyphonic phenomenon, requiring the two hands of a single performer for its execution in even its earliest notated form. Instead of using a repetitive cantus firmus technique, the toccata composer reworks the melodic and cadential form of the psalm tone into a framework which proceeds from cadence to cadence filled out with figuration which may or may not be derived from the chant itself. Bradshaw shows how Cabezón's *falsobordone* pieces are based on the outlines of the psalm tones,(39) but sees this procedure too as one of cantus firmus treatment. This study analyses the structure of similar Italian pieces: Girolamo Cavazzoni's mass and Magnificat settings. Here the composer takes the outline of the chant and reworks it into a polyphonic, imitative structure. The cantus firmus is not treated in a linear way, but as the basis of an overall, polyphonic framework. If we see the toccata in a similar way then the awkward rhythmic problems which Bradshaw's

cantus firmi develop - savagely criticised by Noske(40) - become irrelevant. The toccata is based upon the psalm tone, but only in so far as the tone reflects - indeed is the very essence of - the basic underlying cadences and typical melodic directions of its mode.

The toccata, then, is an expansion of the fundamental modal elements of the psalm tone into a complex polyphonic structure: the process used is that of intabulation. Modal considerations are crucial to all Renaissance composers and chapter 1 of this study shows how M. A. Cavazzoni responds to the modal demands and procedures of the first two intabulated motets found in his *Libro Primo* of 1523. The modal relationship between the pairs of ricercars and motets is shown to be of crucial significance to the overall relationship between each pair of pieces and within the four-piece complex as a whole. The ricercars are seen as a series of cadences based on varying degrees of the modal scale which are linked by a series of imitative paragraphs overlaid with ornamentation. Again we see the fundamental process of intabulation at work: the lines of an underlying framework of periodic imitation are reworked into a new structure which appears chordal and ornamental. This structure has appeared to several analyists to be ephemeral and uncoordinated. (41) This study shows that this is not the case and that the audible unity of the piece depends more upon the underlying structure. The periodic, imitative

framework provides the forward movement and the ornamentation is peripheral to the essential nature of the piece. This is why Slim's analysis and identification of two small motives in M. A Cavazzoni's *Recercare Primo* fails to convince: he looks at surface elements - diminution patterns imposed on the imitative framework - and attempts to give them a significance which they cannot as mere "fillers" possess.

Bradshaw relates the English prelude to the same tradition of cantus firmus development as the intonation and toccata. (42) The genre does not seem to have been of major importance to the English in the sixteenth century and there is no development of the prelude into larger-scale pieces comparable to the development of the intonation into toccata which is outlined by Bradshaw(43) such as we might expect if the general Continental pattern was followed there. The history of vocal music in England suggests that the compositional style of the English went its own way from the closing decades of the fifteenth century onwards. A study of the general keyboard repertoire of the English in the first part of the century reveals a preoccupation different from that of the Italians and Spanish and even the Northern Europeans. The early keyboard repertoires of all these European countries centre around intabulation and other imitative forms, while the early English keyboard repertoire centres around the development of cantus firmus technique.

The organ antiphons in a major English source from the early part of century, Add MS 29996, rely heavily on a horizontal compositional approach.(44) The musical texture is linear, and the main musical activity lies in the figuration patterns woven around the cantus firmus. The plainchant plays no structural role beyond providing a horizontal framework for the figuration. The figuration may use elements of the chant but rarely is any attempt made to create the large, periodic imitative structures which characterise European keyboard music of the same period. Even the *In Nomine* tradition, which began with simple intabulations of a section of the Taverner *Missa Gloria tibi trinitas*(45) such as we find in The Mulliner Book(46) repertoire, developed into the practice of writing figuration and imitation over the long and amorphous cantus firmus itself rather than reworking the contrapuntal structure of the entire model: the figuration is important, not the reworking, and the compositional process remains essentially linear. Chapters 4 and 5 discuss this issue in more detail and in particular show how the English fantasia style of the latter half of the century remained insular, even in the face of a massive influx of European imitative counterpoint in such publications as Nicolas Yonge's *Musica Transalpina*. Even in a mature Byrd fantasia the figuration leads the musical development in a process of continual linear variation of a type not practised in Europe during the sixteenth century.

The elusive nature of the keyboard style of the Renaissance has caused difficulties for writers over many years. (47) The main reason for this has been their constant wish to separate instrumental music from vocal music by treating it as fundamentally different and by attempting to formulate analytical procedures which are separate from those used in discussions of vocal music. If we accept the importance of intabulation to the keyboard music of the sixteenth century and accept that it is another aspect of the principle of *imitatio* then many of the analytical problems fade away. This study looks in depth at the procedures used in intabulation during the sixteenth century. The remainder of this introduction consists of short studies of some of the simpler forms and procedures that we find in use during the period: first the *Frottole Intabolate* of Antico, then a simple Spanish intabulation from later in the century and finally an organ mass published by Attaignant in 1531. These studies should serve the reader as an introduction to the more complex examples which follow in later chapters and show how the analytical procedures work.

II

The first printed Italian keyboard volume - in fact, one of the earliest of all known Italian keyboard sources - is Andrea Antico's volume of *Frottole Intabolate Da Sonare*

Organi, which was first published in Venice in 1517. (48) It consists entirely of intabulations of secular vocal music from the first two decades of the century and it is the first example of many similar publications of secular music in keyboard arrangements which were to appear throughout Europe later in the century, most notably from the Parisian press of Pierre Attaignant in the 1530s. (49) It is significant for the development of this publishing genre that the collection contains no sacred music. Most published collections of music, whether for lute or keyboard, contain at least a few pieces of sacred music, but several of the Attaignant prints seem to take their cue from Antico by devoting themselves often to a large selection of the secular works of one, two or at the most three composers. Two composers "B. T." and "M. C." dominate the *Frottole Intabolate*: Bartolomeo Tromboncino and Marchetto Cara. It is not known, however, whether the anonymous composer of the intabulations was the publisher Andrea Antico himself, or indeed whether it was either of the two composers that are represented in the collection. (50) The only major description and analysis of Antico's *Frottole Intabolate* written to date is to be found in Jeppesen. (51) There are 26 *frottole intabolate* in the collection all exhibiting the same stylistic details to a greater or lesser degree. This is due in large part to the uniform nature of their vocal models, which are faithfully followed in outline, at least. The original pieces are all in four-

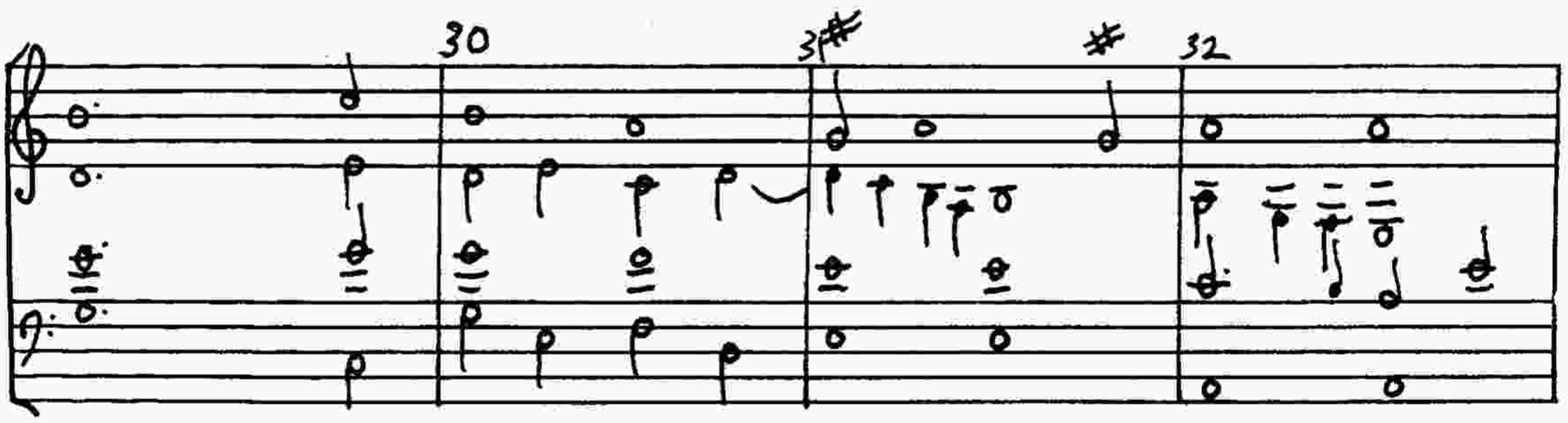
parts, and are generally homophonic in style, with occasional imitative interjections. (52)

Number 17 in the collection, *Per dolor mi bagno el viso*, is typical in many ways of the collection. The original frottole is by Marchetto Cara. The composer of the intabulation adds small amounts of figuration and counterpoint to the basic framework of the vocal model. He retains the four-part texture of the original, and indeed, retains almost the exact outline of the outer two parts. The two inner parts of the vocal *frottole* are, however, followed with much less rigour, and it is here, in conjunction with occasional interjections in the upper part - and, less frequently, in the bass part - that most imitative activity takes part. What we find in *Per dolor mi bagno el viso* is the creation of a new texture, partly imitative, partly ornamental, within not only a pre-existent harmonic framework, but also within a pre-existent texture. Even in this simple form of intabulation we find the composer reworking several aspects of the original material, from single melodic lines to the structural and textural relationships of those lines within the overall framework of the model.

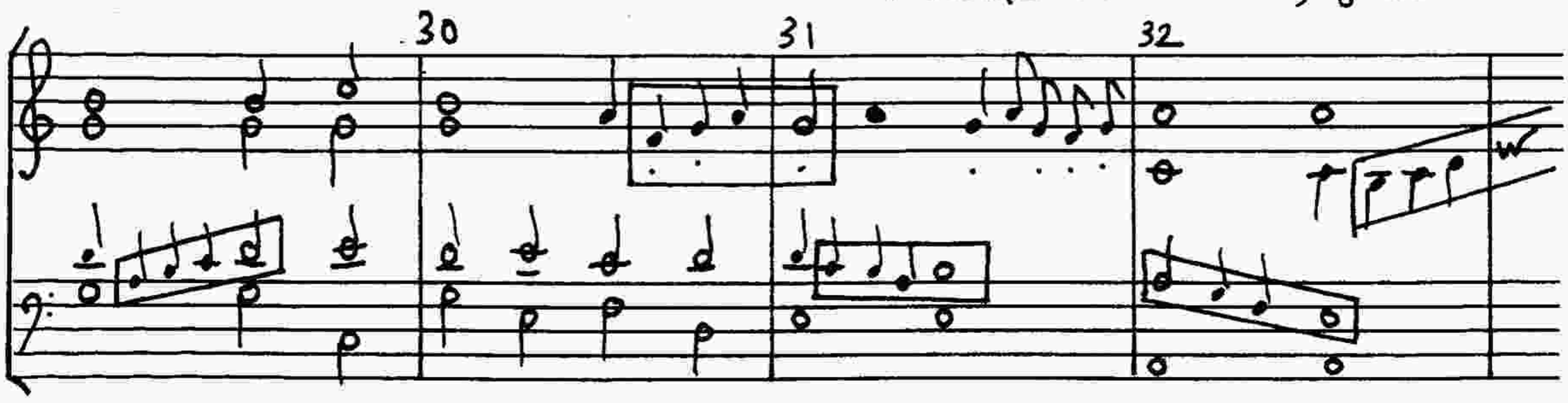
The overall structural framework of the vocal original is strictly adhered to. The intabulation works through the original material section by section and within sections

will even repeat the new music exactly if Cara repeats a phrase. This type of almost literal intabulation occurs frequently in Attaignant's prints. What saves the *Frottole Intabolate* from becoming mere literal transcriptions is the inventiveness and ingenuity of the diminution patterns. Attaignant normally provides only a few standard cadential figures and ornaments: the *Frottole Intabolate* abound with imitation and rich harmonies. The following example details one of the repetitions of material in both pieces. Note how the intabulated material is much more interesting than the original writing. It builds its own imitative framework within the larger structure. The ornamentation which "fills in" the chord at the beginning of bar 29 is developed into a series of small imitative motives disguised as ornamental cadential figuration. The imitation is marked by boxes in the example:

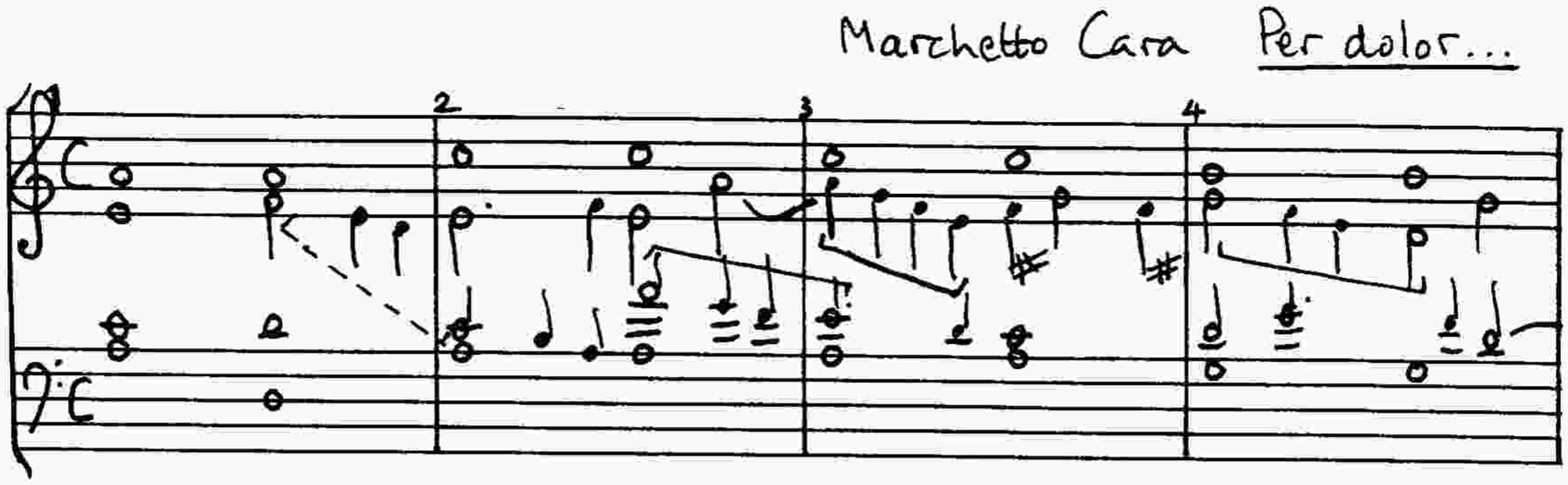
Marchetto Cara Per dolor...

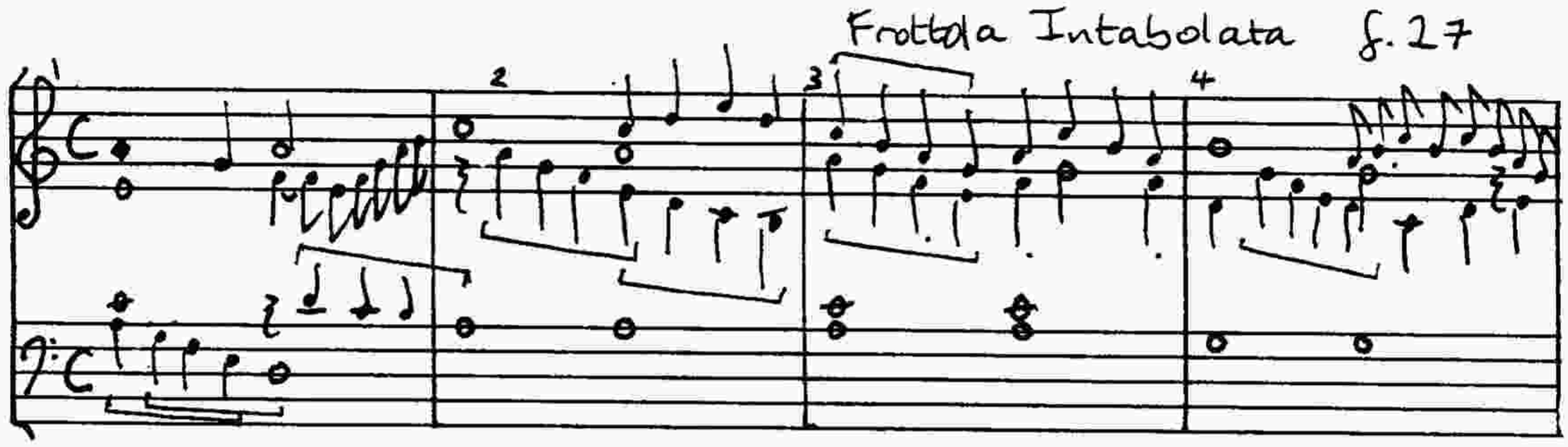


Frottola intabolata, f.28

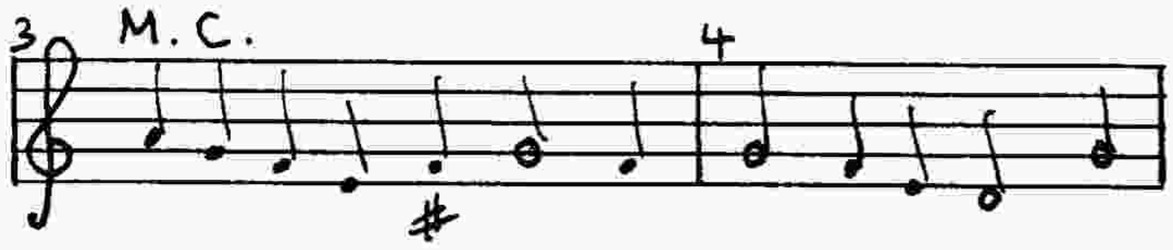


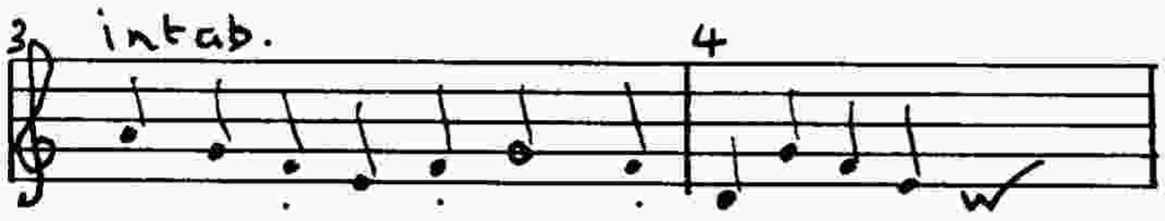
The intabulation opens with one of the few moments when the bass plays a full role in the unfolding imitation. The spacing and pitch of the first chord of the vocal original are duplicated exactly before the bass descends with a scale, filling out the interval of the fifth A-D which we find in the bass part of the original. This descending scale is imitated immediately in the second half of the bar. The predominantly descending motion thus generated is nicely balanced by an ascending scale through the interval of a sixth and across two voices before further imitation of the original figure at the beginning of the next bar. This new imitation which the intabulation explores picks up on the presence of descending lines present in the original, but by taking up this idea and developing it into consequent imitation a more interesting texture is formed. Note how the overall outline of the outer parts is carefully preserved - once again we can see a new framework of imitation being imposed upon the original. The new figuration has its own internal logic but it is still totally controlled by the larger-scale framework:



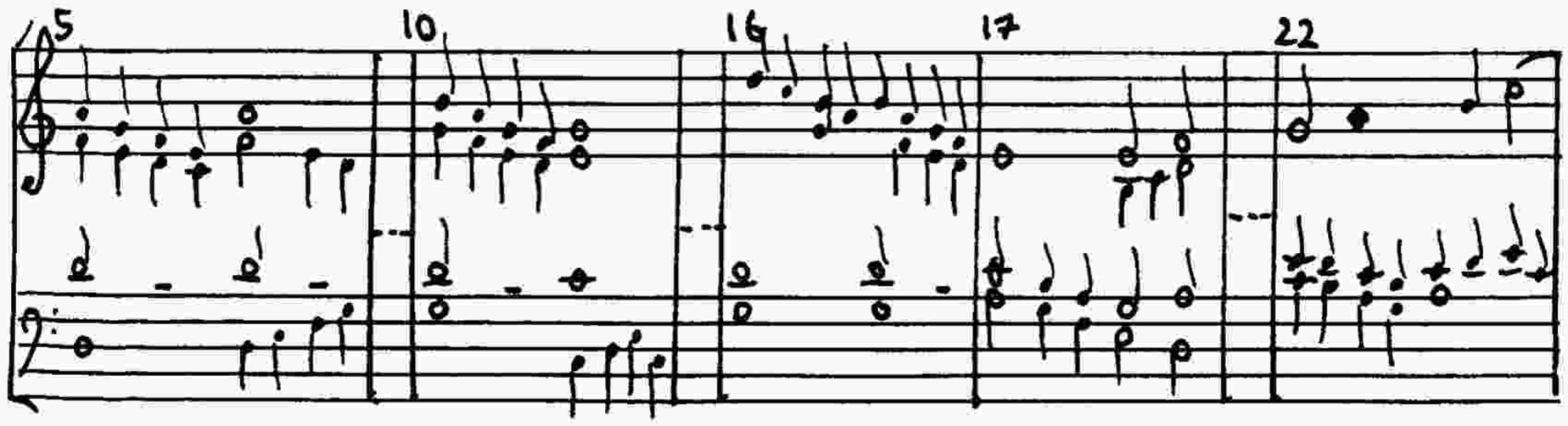


Close scrutiny of the third and fourth bars of each piece shows the similarity of the line followed by the altus of the vocal original and of the intabulation, and it can be seen that it is in this line that the descending tetrachord is most clearly heard; this is the source for the imitative figure of the opening of the intabulation. The occurrences of this are marked in the examples. It is as if the composer of the intabulation has taken up the potential present already in the vocal piece but which has lain unrecognised and unexplored by its original author. It must be said, however, that Marchetto Cara may have been uninterested in creating the kind of music and texture developed by the composer of the *Frottole Intabolate*: bearing in mind the tradition of embellishment and ornamentation in performance practices of the time; he may have been merely aiming to provide the framework necessary to enable vocal or instrumental performers to elaborate and ornament as they saw fit.



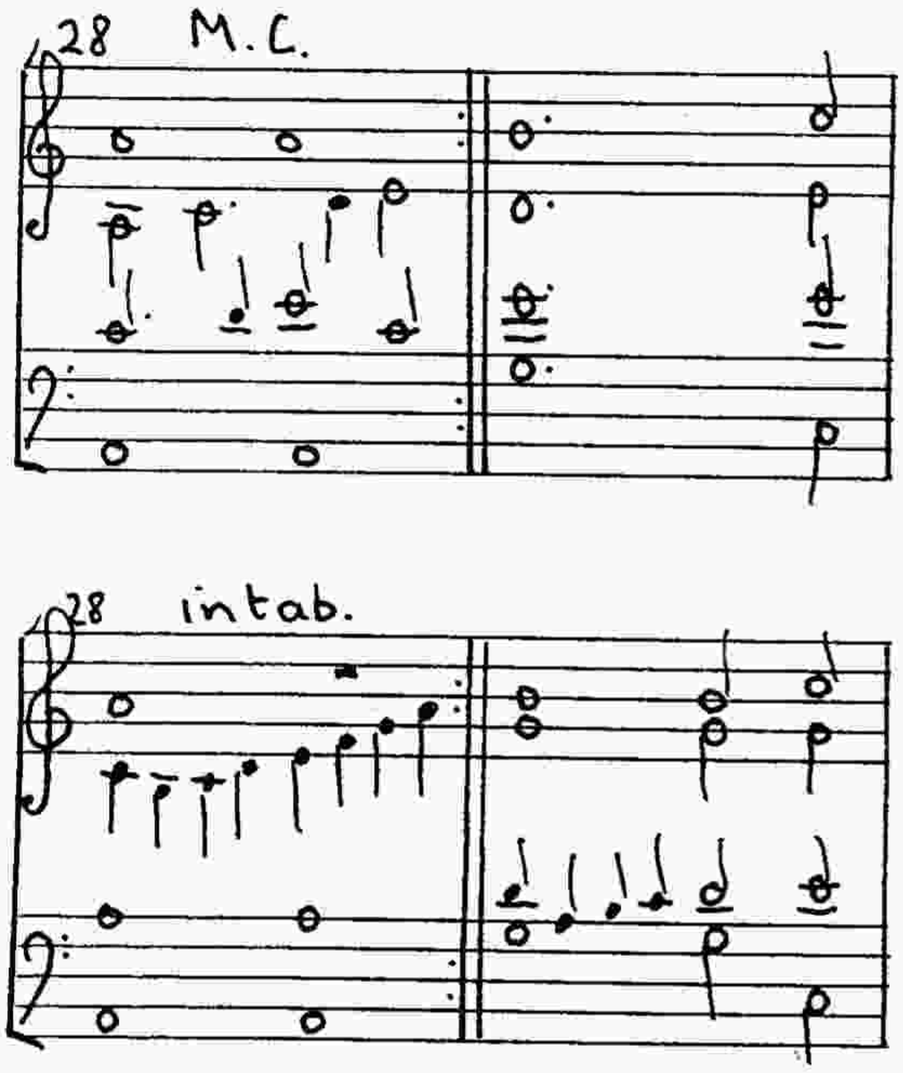


The descending thirds in bar 3 - created by diminution of the treble part - add a warmth and sense of colour to the blandness of the original. These descending thirds appear again in bar 5 and later in bar 10. The intermittent repeats of these short patterns - they can also be heard at bars 16, 17, and 22 - provide an internal unity and sense of continuity to the diminution patterns: they represent an ordering of the "micro" world which exists within the "macro" of the original piece and give the intabulation an internal logic of its own which allows it to stand as an independent, separate entity:



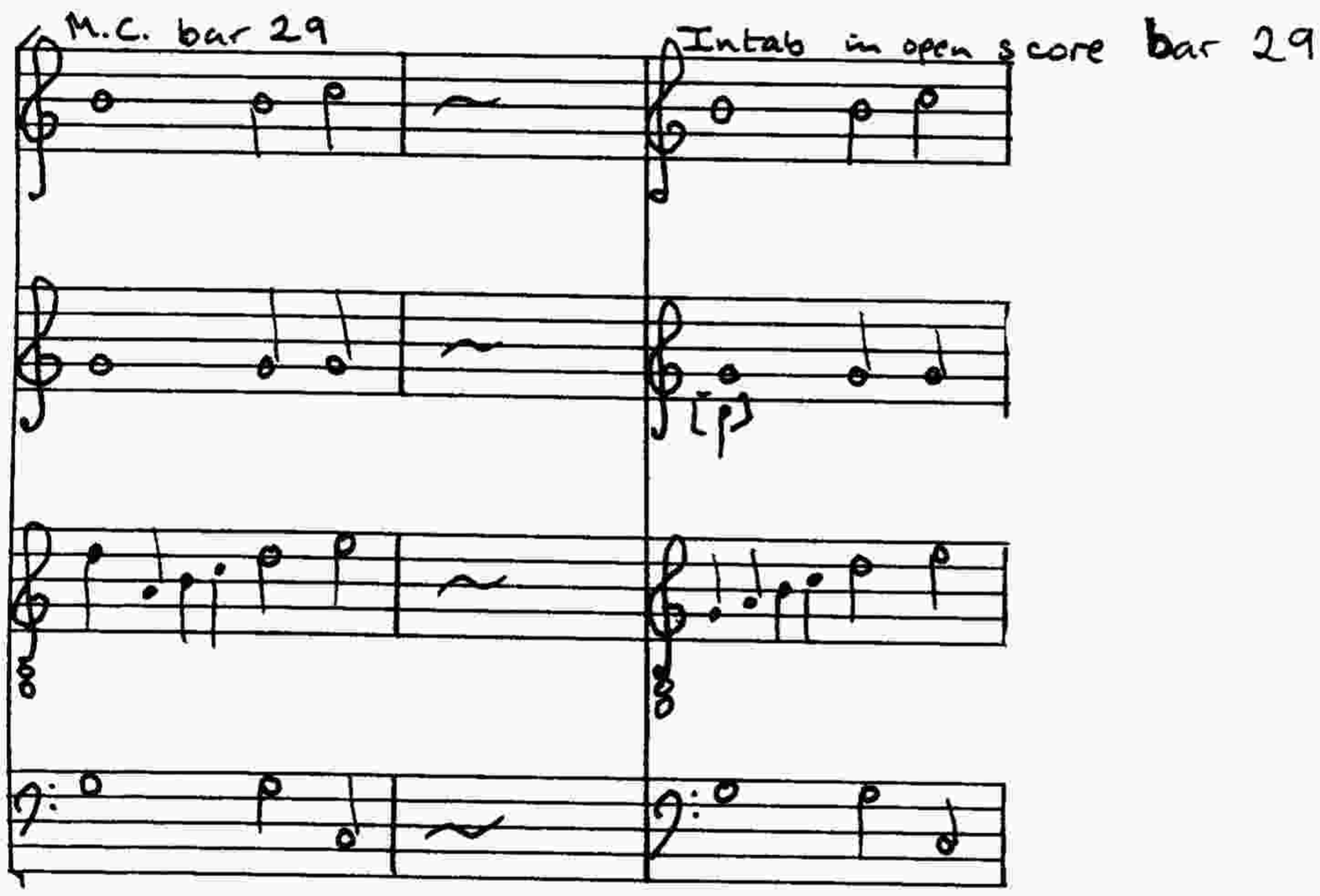
Often diminution is used to smooth over a cadence or sectional join such as that between bars 28-29. Here the crotchet movement established by the rising scale in bar 28 is continued over into the tenor part in the first half of

bar 29, thus providing an elegant transition between sections of the piece. Once again we can see the growth of cadential ornamentation into something more structural: imitation occurs within the figuration despite its apparently decorative nature: (53)



In addition to generating imitation the diminution serves a secondary purpose of providing richer harmonic variety than that possessed by the original. We have seen this already in the recurrent descending thirds noted above. The unprepared dissonances commented on by Jeppesen make more sense in this context. They too provide hints of harmonic colour and spice in a similar way to these small patterns, and their repetition becomes, like a thematic element, an elaboration recognised by the ear which leads it on through the piece. We can see in the

Frottole Intabolate hints of the type of ambiguous part writing and treatment of dissonance which is a feature of the style of both Cavazzonis. The unprepared dissonance in bar 29, for example, becomes less dramatic if one sees the line beginning on the low G on the first beat rather than dropping down a fourth from the D to the A. In open score this passage could be represented in either of the following ways:



It can be seen that a notational problem has arisen here. The music cannot be easily expressed in open score: the part-writing is too ambiguous. There are many examples of this type of writing throughout the collection. A flexible approach to part-writing is a feature of much Italian keyboard music of the sixteenth century. Certainly

analysis of the style of the two Cavazzonis is beset with problems of voice leading and apparently inappropriate and misleading dissonances. The *Frottole Intabolate* appear on two staves, as do the Cavazzoni prints and thus have ambiguities built in from the start. The flexibility of approach reflects the practical, improvisatory origins of the keyboard style. The overall effect of the model is reshaped under the hands, and the original melodic lines cna migrate easily from part to part. We will see this particularly in the music of Girolamo Cavazzoni in chapter 2.

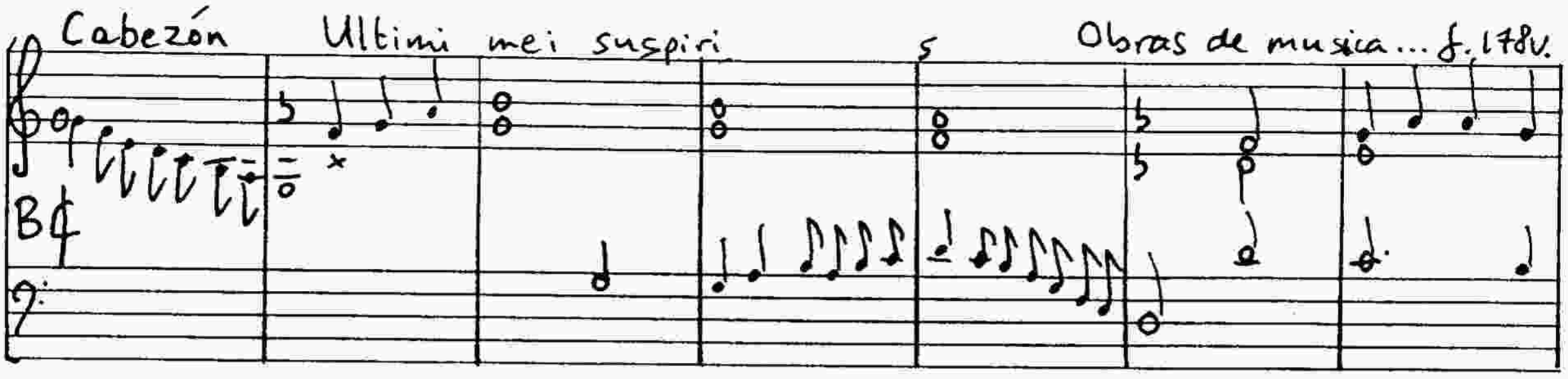
For the moment however it is enough to summarise the basic features of the *Frottola Intabolata, Per dolor mi bagno el viso.* The dominating feature of the intabulation is its adherence to the structural outline of the original and its general tendency to maintain the number of parts of the model, even if the melodic lines of those parts are treated more freely. Particularly noticeable is the adherence of the intabulation to the outer parts of the original and the reworking of the texture of the inner parts. From the figuration used to ornament important cadential moments the intabulator devises a network of imitation and motivic repetition which is still reliant, however, on the larger-scale movement and direction of the original structure and part-writing.

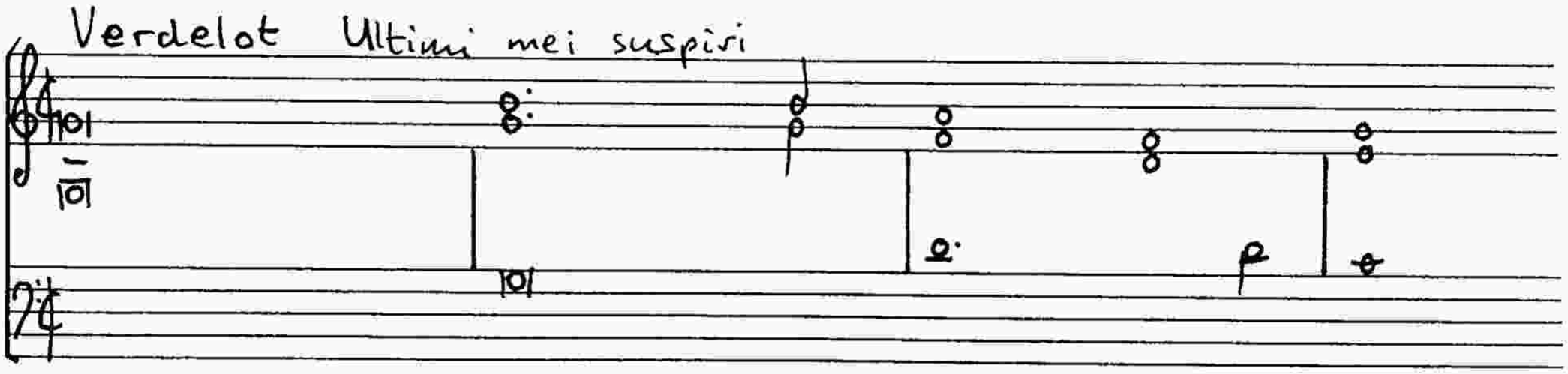
Antico's *Frottole Intabolate* represent one of the simplest forms of intabulation, but as we have seen, even at this level a certain amount of sophistication marks the way in which the composer reworks the model. The following piece is a development of the techniques outlined above. The increased complexity of the model is reflected in the intabulation, even though the precise harmonies and number of bars of the original are retained unaltered. Cabezón's *Ultimi mei suspiri*(54) is based on Verdelot's six-part madrigal of the same title.(55) The Spanish master takes the framework of the vocal original intact - that is to say, he retains the outline of the outer parts and the harmonies consequent to them, but he reduces the number of inner parts from four to two at any one time, thus following a similar procedure to that of the composer of the *Frottole Intabolate*: the outer framework remains constant but the internal material is reworked.

The opening of the piece shows in a way intabulation at its best. It reworks the model while retaining its essential characteristics. Instead of Verdelot's static opening (appropriate to the text of course), Cabezón creates a descending scale beginning on the upper G, filling out the bare octave of the original as if he is delaying the altus entry on the low G in order to create a little extra counterpoint. The entry of the tenor is likewise delayed to that same end. This voice echoes the opening scale but on

the dominant pitch before jumping back to its appropriate pitch level. Cabezón thus avoids the long notes which would not be expressive on the organ. Instead he expresses the text (O my last sighs) by use of idiomatic keyboard texture in the form of descending scales. And by filling out the tenor fifth he leads us on to the next harmony in an upward melodic surge as a replacement for the expressive crescendo that a singer might make at this point. In bar 5 we see a descending scale imitating that of the opening.

Cabezón thus achieves several things in this opening. He sees an expressive vocal idiom and transforms it into an expressive keyboard idiom. He creates new counterpoint and new imitation from the decoration and "in-filling" of the original framework. He responds to the needs of the keyboard instrument and turns ornamentation and diminution into an expressive tool. This passage is illustrated in the example below. Cabezón's keyboard piece is presented here - as is all the music from Spanish sources presented throughout the remainder of this thesis - in a basic form which remains as close as possible to the original tabulature notation while expressing pitch on modern five-line staves rather than as a series of numbers on a single line. A cross either above or below a note is the equivalent of the modern sharp sign.

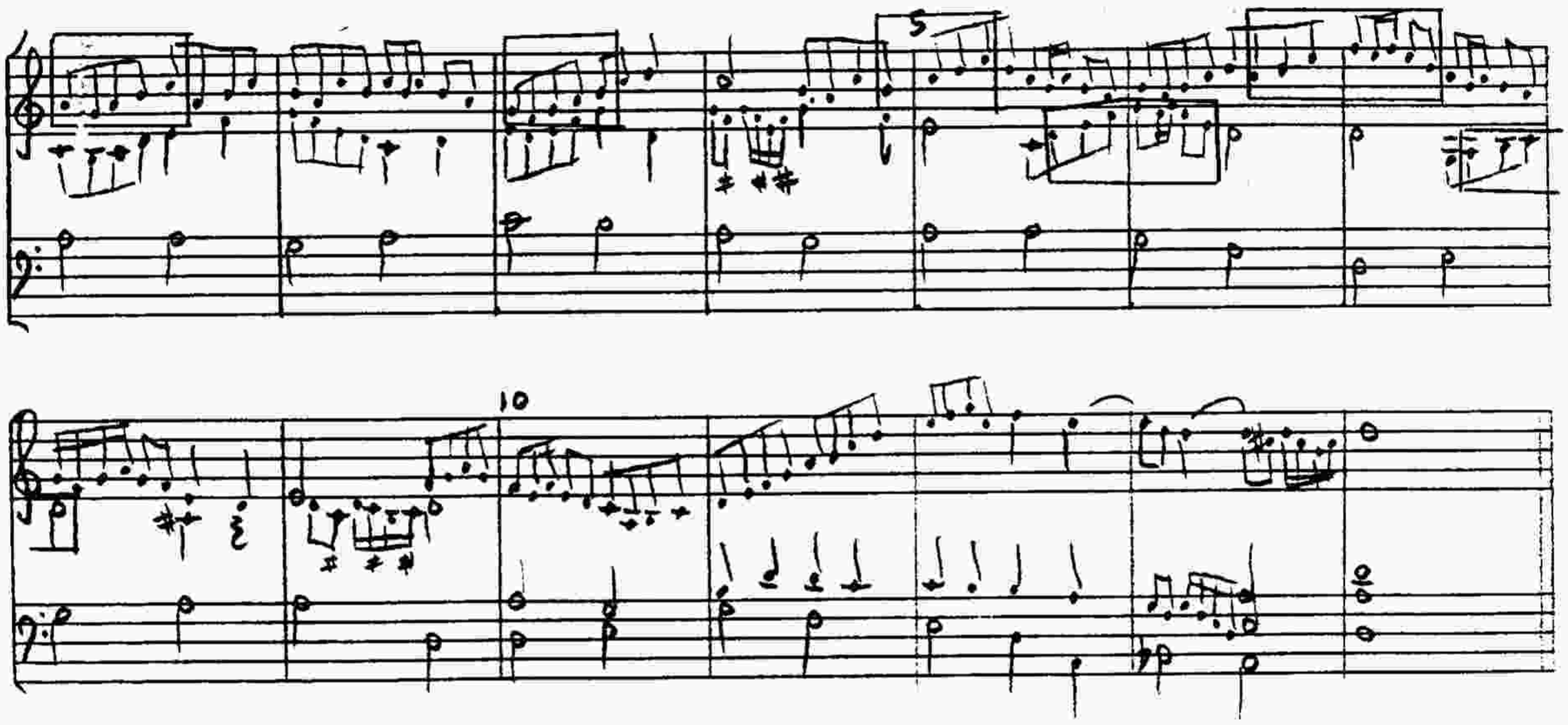




After considering these two simple intabulations of polyphonic pieces it is now time to consider some simple keyboard music based on a monophonic model. Attaignant's organ mass based on the *Cunctipotens genitor deus* chant was published in 1531. (56) It is a good example of the simpler type of cantus firmus treatment common in Europe in the early part of the century. In the first Kyrie of the mass the plainchant is found in the lowest voice. The music placed above it consists of figuration which is woven into a regular harmonic and periodic structure. The texture is generated by filling in the movement from cadence to cadence. The cantus firmus is inessential to this structure; the cadences do not always correspond with the usual points of articulation of the chant, even though they are part of a harmonic pattern derived from it. The figuration appears ornamental and non-imitative, consisting

of a series of turns or written-out trills. Closer inspection reveals an underlying imitative structure enmeshed within the figuration. Sometimes the small-scale figures recur within the same part, as if filling out an invisible imitative framework. They are marked with boxes in the example:

Kyrie, Messe Cunctipotens (B15315) ff. G2



We can see in this short movement that despite the apparently clear use of a simple cantus firmus technique, the music consists of several other structures which are equally important. The periodic, quasi-imitative structure grows from the filling-out of a harmonic structure derived from the plain chant but not dependent upon it. Once again we see several of the processes of intabulation at work in which the model provides not only motivic material for the original (the opening figure in the upper part is derived from the outline of the chant) but also a framework which is filled with figural and imitative writing. From the shape

of a monophonic model a polyphonic contrapuntal piece is developed.

These three basic examples show the intabulation procedures of the sixteenth-century at work in their simplest form. The first three chapters of this thesis look at the techniques outlined here in more detail, and examine in particular the expansion of those techniques into larger, more complex structures. They examine the nature and extent of the principle of *imitatio* in keyboard music and show how the main keyboard and instrumental forms are dependent upon it. The final two chapters will show how Sweelinck's music is part of that same imitative tradition as the Southern European composers. They will look briefly at the origins of that tradition and show also how the English keyboard composers - in the way already briefly mentioned earlier - remained apart from it. The central issue is that of periodic imitation and its pervasive force throughout Continental music in general. It infuses all the forms to be discussed here and is part of the fundamental structure of Sweelinck's music.

CHAPTER 1

Relationships and Reworkings in M. A. Cavazzoni's *Libro Primo*

The analysis of Renaissance keyboard music is fraught with difficulties caused mainly by the absence of a text as a basic analytical aid. Without regular part-writing or the clear sectional delineation which a text can give to a motet or mass movement, a keyboard piece of the type found in the repertoire of the early sixteenth century can present to the analyist a highly irregular series of textures and divisions. As we have seen, most writers on early keyboard music have attempted to isolate those features of the music which point to independence from vocal music, as if the main aim of the Renaissance keyboard composer was to break out of the mould of traditional compositional styles and establish something completely new. Jeppesen writes in connection with M. A. Cavazzoni's ricercars:

Die Frage, mit der man schon seit Ende des Mittelalters zähe bemühte, hiess: In welcher Weise lässt es sich ermöglichen, ohne die verbindende und formerzeugende Wirkung der Worte (und ohne die aus dem vokalen Bereich herstammende cantus firmus-Technik), eine Form zu erzielen, die organisch zusammenhängend und in ihrer Fortschreitung logisch begründet war. (1)

(The question which had been stubbornly pursued since the end of the Middle Ages was this: how was it possible to achieve an organic and logical form without the binding and formative impact of a text (and without the vocally-inspired cantus firmus technique).)

For Jeppesen M. A. Cavazzoni's ricercars are the first "artistically successful solutions"(2) to this problem. He sees them as some of the first steps along the road to instrumental emancipation. His analysis deals with the ricercars primarily in terms of their ornamentation. The figuration patterns - because for him they indicate an instrumental idiom - take on great importance and form the central concern of his argument. His view has remained in principle in the minds of most musicologists and Cavazzoni's ricercars have always been regarded as isolated pieces; as independent examples of the development of an instrumental idiom and - again on the strength of their figuration - as precursors of the toccata. (3)

H. C. Slim mentions the ricercars as part of his general study of the Italian ricercar. (4) He too attempts to analyse them as individual pieces with no links to the vocally-inspired pieces which follow them in the source and which are based on tonal centres corresponding with each ricercar. Slim's identification of two motives in the *Recercare Primo*, for example, is difficult to follow through the piece. (5) His two "themes" differ only in their rhythmic qualities and not in their melodic contours, as both are based on a minor second. Slim seems to have picked out standard cadential or ornamental patterns rather than genuine thematic material in his analysis. Once again the mistake has been made of seeing ornamentation in Continental

keyboard music as structurally important. Slim has confused keyboard figuration with thematic material and ignored the possibility of there being larger-scale elements at work.

Slim fails to see the significance of the position of the ricercars within the Cavazzoni volume. One of the most striking features of Marco Antonio Cavazzoni's *Libro Primo*(6) is the unprecedented layout of the pieces within the collection. Earlier printed collections of instrumental music are laid out differently: if they contain a mixture of compositional types, then the types are presented in consecutive groups, as we find, for example, in one of the earliest of the unambiguously instrumental prints of the sixteenth century, Spinacino's *Intabulatura de Lauto* of 1507. (7) In this important collection of lute music, twenty one intabulations are first presented, followed at the end by a series of seventeen ricercars. Even the first two of the ricercar group, despite their relation by title to at least two of the intabulations, find their place at the end of the collection rather than slotted into the midst of the intabulation group. This is the pattern followed by every mixed-genre instrumental print until Cavazzoni's 1523 collection, where for the first time ricercars and intabulations are mixed together. Both ricercars are followed by motets with the same final before a series of four chansons follows at the end. The importance of this cannot be overestimated. (8) The possible links between the

"free-composed" ricercars and the intabulations which follow have never been identified beyond the common finals of each pair of pieces.

If the first Italian keyboard print (the *Frottole Intabolate*) is so preoccupied with intabulation techniques then it seems likely that the style of the second print will also be indebted to those same techniques. (9) The principle of "emulation, competition and homage" would be a good one for a young composer to adopt in his first keyboard publication. (10) The links between the pairs of pieces lie in their underlying, hidden structures. The important structural issues of mode, cadence and imitation are obscured in Cavazzoni's music by the figuration. It is overlaid onto a larger-scale structure in the same way that an intabulation uses figuration. The greatest figural activity occurs in M. A. Cavazzoni's ricercars at cadential moments. This is a typical feature noted in the intabulations discussed earlier. The ricercars move from cadence to cadence, filling out the moments between with figural activity. As in an intabulation this figuration can have an internal logic of its own, but it is still dependent upon the larger-scale structural issues imposed by the underlying framework of the music. We need to look beyond the figuration and ornamentation and look at the deeper compositional procedures which are involved. Only by looking at the music in this way can we come to terms with

its nature. It should be considered as a complementary development of the same compositional principles underlying Renaissance polyphonic vocal music.

Using elements of an analytical approach to Renaissance vocal music outlined by Collins Judd, (11) the following study will show how the young Cavazzoni uses the four pieces to demonstrate his knowledge and understanding of modal structures, hexachordal formations and proportions and how he combines this with elements of intabulation and parody technique. The analysis shows the extensive amounts of borrowing and reworking which take place within each modally-related pair of ricercar and motet.

The first analytical area dealt with by Collins Judd is that of mode. This is particularly important here, for even though each pair of pieces has the same final, each ricercar is not neccesarily in the same mode as its motet. Without a cantus firmus or melodic lines and phrases clearly defined by a text it can be hard to establish the mode of keyboard music such as this, as one must apply an essentially monophonic theoretical base to a sometimes irregular polyphonic piece. (12) The following modal analysis therefore relies upon the incidence of polyphonic cadences formed on various pitches as a guide to establishing modal characteristics. This seems more appropriate to music which is predominantly made up of cadential movement and its

decoration. Table 1/1(13) shows the percentages of cadences on various notes in both pairs of pieces of the "formal" type discussed by Collins Judd.(14) In this type of cadence two voices at least are involved in the creation of tension which is resolved either by both voices moving out to an octave or by moving together to a unison. These cadential moments are noted in the tables without regard to the movement of the lowest voice, unless it is one of the two voices involved, because in a basically simple harmonic texture these suspensions stand out very clearly. These points are almost invariably accompanied by decoration in one other part, forming classic cadential decorative figures. It is thus clear that these points of tension and resolution do represent cadential moments. All other dissonance in the pieces occurs as passing notes such as those created by fast moving ascending or descending scales.(15) The textures of these pieces do not allow easy identification of the "simple" cadence,(16) because too many of the simple chordal progressions which make up most of the texture of the pieces could be seen as this type of cadence. I have thus defined cadences as points of harmonic tension followed by resolution.

Table 1/1 shows the percentage of cadences which occur on various notes within each pair of pieces and reveals the underlying modal structure of each piece. Thus the high percentage of cadences on C in *Salve Virgo* suggests the

plagal version of the Hypolydian mode VI, which divides the octave C-C with F, while in *O Stella Maris* the large percentage of C cadences suggests mode VIII, the Hypomixolydian mode, which divides the same octave with a G. The *Recercare Secondo* has a high percentage of cadences on D, and thus can be placed in mode VII which divides the octave G-G with a D. The *Recercare Primo* has a similar high percentage of cadences on D and G together with C and this suggests mode V with its oscillation of Bb and B natural.

Cadences on D and G are of major importance to the Mixolydian modal group as well as to the Lydian group and Cavazzoni is thus demonstrating in these four pieces the close links between these two modal groups. This provides a context for the sharpened fourth at the opening of *O Stella Maris*: it could suggest a transposed version of mode VI while at the same time the "altered" F emphasises the C-G-C octave division of mode VIII by performing the function of a leading note. Each pair of pieces thus provides contrasting areas of a modal group in which each ricercar provides the authentic mode as a balance to the plagal version of each motet. The almost exact balance of cadences on D in the *Recercare Secondo* and on C in *O Stella Maris* highlight this point particularly clearly. This is the first sign of a large-scale relationship existing between the ricercar and motet pairs. The next point to discuss is the hexachordal structures of the pieces

and how they too can shed light on the links between the pairs and between each group.

The hexachordal structure underlying the Lydian modal group can be illustrated as follows: (17)

```
F  G  A  BbC  D
         C  D  E  F  G  A
   G  A  B  C  D  E
```

This shows how the three hexachords molle, naturalis and durum interlock within the mode and illustrates how the contrasting area of Bb and B natural which is such a strong characteristic of the mode is created by contrast between the molle hexachord - with its Bb as the fourth note - and the durum hexachord with B natural as its third note. The diagram shows the important position of D within the system. It is the highest note of the molle hexachord and can be used as a pivotal note to move down into the durum hexachord, where it acts as a dominant for G and thus allows access to the B natural side of the modal group. This explains why there are so many cadences in the *Recercare Primo* on D. It could be said that the *Recercare Primo* exploits the "sharp" side of the mode. The three hexachords are presented in order in the bassus at the beginning of the piece. First we have the characteristic F-Bb of the molle hexachord. This leads via the naturalis hexachord - theorists stress that direct interchange between molle and durum is not possible - into the durum hexachord with its very firm G in the bass. As a contrast *Salve Virgo* exploits

the "flat" side of the modal group: cadences are predominantly on either C - the basis of the naturalis hexachord - or on F, the basis of the molle hexachord. As if to stress this "flatward" emphasis *Salve Virgo* moves at its opening into a hexachord which is not part of the Lydian modal group, but which moves into more flats and can only be reached via the Bb of the molle hexachord: (18)

```
          G A B C D E
C D E F G A
        F G A BbC D
              BbC D EbF G
```

The openings of these two pieces, then, present immediately the two contrasting and complementary areas of the modal group within which they will be operating. If we assume that *Salve Virgo* is an intabulation, and thus that its harmonic direction or modal emphasis was fixed in advance of the Cavazzoni piece, then the *Recercare Primo* can be seen as a deliberate attempt to present an alternative interpretation of the modal possibilities of the Lydian group.

Table 1/1 shows that the *Recercare Secondo* and *O Stella Maris* have the same modal relationship as the *Recercare Primo* and *Salve Virgo*, this time involving the authentic and plagal versions of the Mixolydian modal group. The hexachordal structure of the Mixolydian modal group can be expressed as follows:

```
        D  E  F#G  A  B
G  A  B  C  D  E
      C  D  E  F  G  A
            F  G  A  BbC  D
```

This diagram makes clear once again the importance of D within the structure as a pivotal note for mutating from one hexachord to another. We find the same pattern repeated as for the earlier pair of pieces. The *Recercare Secondo* exploits the sharp side of the modal group by cadencing primarily on G, the basis of the durum hexachord, and on D which gains access to the hexachord on D providing the F# as a sharpened leading note to the final of the mode. Cadences on A show also this sharpward tendency. *O Stella Maris*, which from its predominance of cadences on C can be assigned to mode VIII exploits the flatter side of the mode which can be illustrated in the diagram below:

```
        G  A  B  C  D  E
C  D  E  F  G  A
      F  G  A  BbC  D
```

Cadences occur most frequently on C, G, D and F. C is the basis of the naturalis hexachord, F is the basis of the molle hexachord and D is the upper note of the molle and a way of returning to G by ascending by a fourth or descending by a fifth.

The above diagram is very similar to that given for mode VI and illustrates the connection between the two modal groups which is shown in the cadence patterns of the four pieces. The diagram suggests that the two groups of pieces

might have a melodic link in addition to their tonal links through the closeness of their modal groups. To find the basic material for these melodic links I have turned to the final section of the fourth piece - *O Stella Maris* - where the clearest statement of hexachordally based melodies is to be found. The section can be found as line 5 of Example 1A. Here the naturalis hexachord pattern C-G-A-F-G can be clearly seen in the bass part of the first two bars. The same basic melodic pattern in retrograde and based on a durum hexachord follows in the next bar: C-E-D-G. This pattern and melodic outline and set of pitches is crucial to the structural and melodic material of all four pieces. The pattern in normal form and on the durum hexachord appears frequently throughout both the *Recercare Primo* and *Recercare Secondo* and is almost invariably preceded in both pieces by either a low A with an F# above or by a D with the same F#. Often this is followed by a statement of the naturalis based version. (19) The clearest hexachordal patterns are often in the lowest voice. Although the *Recercare Primo* is in mode in mode V, its bass line only descends to G and rarely rises above a, thus constantly
alluding to the compass of the interlocked durum and naturalis hexachords. The bass line of the *Recercare Secondo*, on the other hand, descends to F, and thus outlines the typical range of the Lydian mode based on the molle hexachord. Hexachordal outlines dominate the melodic material of all four pieces. In *O Stella Maris* the outline

C-G-D-A-G provides the harmonic structure of the entire piece in the form of a rondeau pattern. The piece presents this refrain material six times within the opening and closing sections, while presenting three "verse" sections. The six varied refrains are illustrated in Example 1A, i-vi. We thus see several types of reworking in progress within the modal structure of these pieces. (20) Authentic and plagal versions of each modal group are explored by each piece in the pair and the hexachordal relationships between the two modal groups are reworked between the pieces.

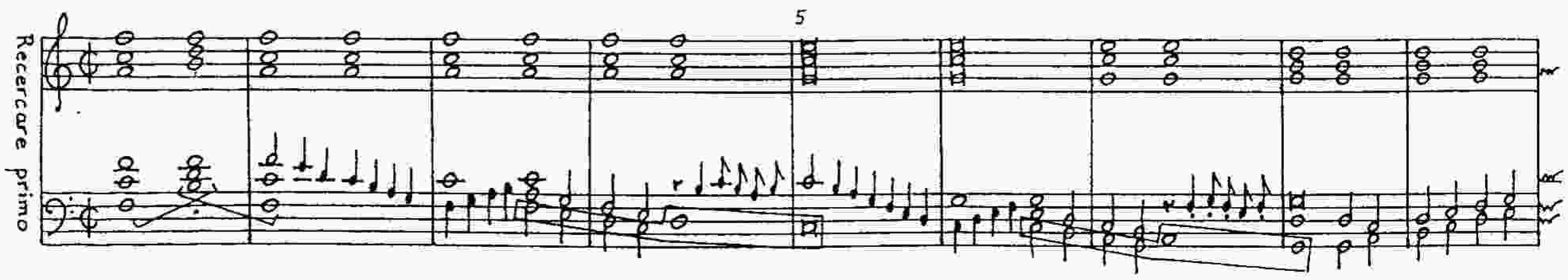
The question of duration is important to the relationships of these pieces. The *Recercare Primo* is 127 bars long and *Salve Virgo* is 73. This gives a ratio of 27.8:16(21) which is an approximation of a tempered version of the Pythagorean ratio for the interval of a perfect sixth (27/16), the interval encompassed by a hexachord. The ratio of the lengths of the *Recercare Secondo* and *O Stella Maris* is 150/118. This equals 81.35/64, (22) and is equivalent to a tempered version of the Pythagorean perfect third 81:64. (23) We thus have in the proportional lengths of the two pieces the approximate ratios of two "tempered" intervals, which in the tempered tuning of a keyboard instrument must be slightly larger than pure if more than one tonal centre is to be available to the player, as it would need to be if one were to play all four pieces at one instrument without retuning. The interval of the third

represented by the second ratio is of course the difference between the melodically-used tetrachords (see below) of the *Recercare Primo* and *Salve Virgo* and the melodically-used hexachords of the *Recercare Secondo* and *O Stella Maris*. If one assumes that the two titled pieces are intabulations and thus had predetermined lengths then certainly for the *Recercare Secondo* and *O Stella Maris* the number of bars in the ricercar is the nearest whole number needed to arrive at the Pythagorean ratio. The case of the *Recercare Primo* and *Salve Virgo* is not so clear, because 123 bars would have been the requisite number to create a ratio of 26.95/16, which is as close as one can get to 27/16 using whole numbers related to 73. However, the following calculation is perhaps significant: 127-2=125: 73+2=75: 125/75=5/3, which is the ratio of the sixth in the justly intoned scale described by Ptolemy.(24) Note that 2+2=4, the tetrachordal number.

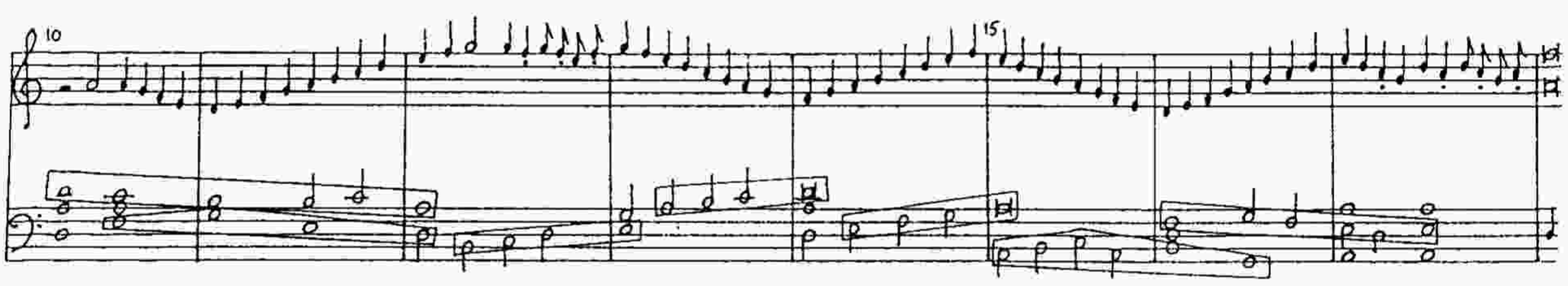
The modal and durational relationships outlined here provide the outer framework - the first layer - of musical material for all four pieces. Within this framework two more layers can be traced. The first is a much more obvious musical principle, that of motivic imitation. This will be looked at next. (The second, that of ornament and figuration has already been mentioned.) If we look at the musical material worked into the relationships of the first layer we can find evidence of imitative material based on

aspects of that very outer framework. Thus in the *Recercare Primo* and *Salve Virgo* we can see the predominance of the interval of the fourth - the modal tetrachord - and consequently we can trace more direct constructional links than those of complex modal inter-relationships. The following analysis details how the interval can be seen to pervade the modal and hexachordal structure of the two pieces. Not all of these motivic relationships are immediately audible, especially when the motive jumps to a higher or lower octave, but it should be remembered that for the Renaissance composer or theorist it was the hexachordal relationships between notes which were important rather than the actual pitches involved.

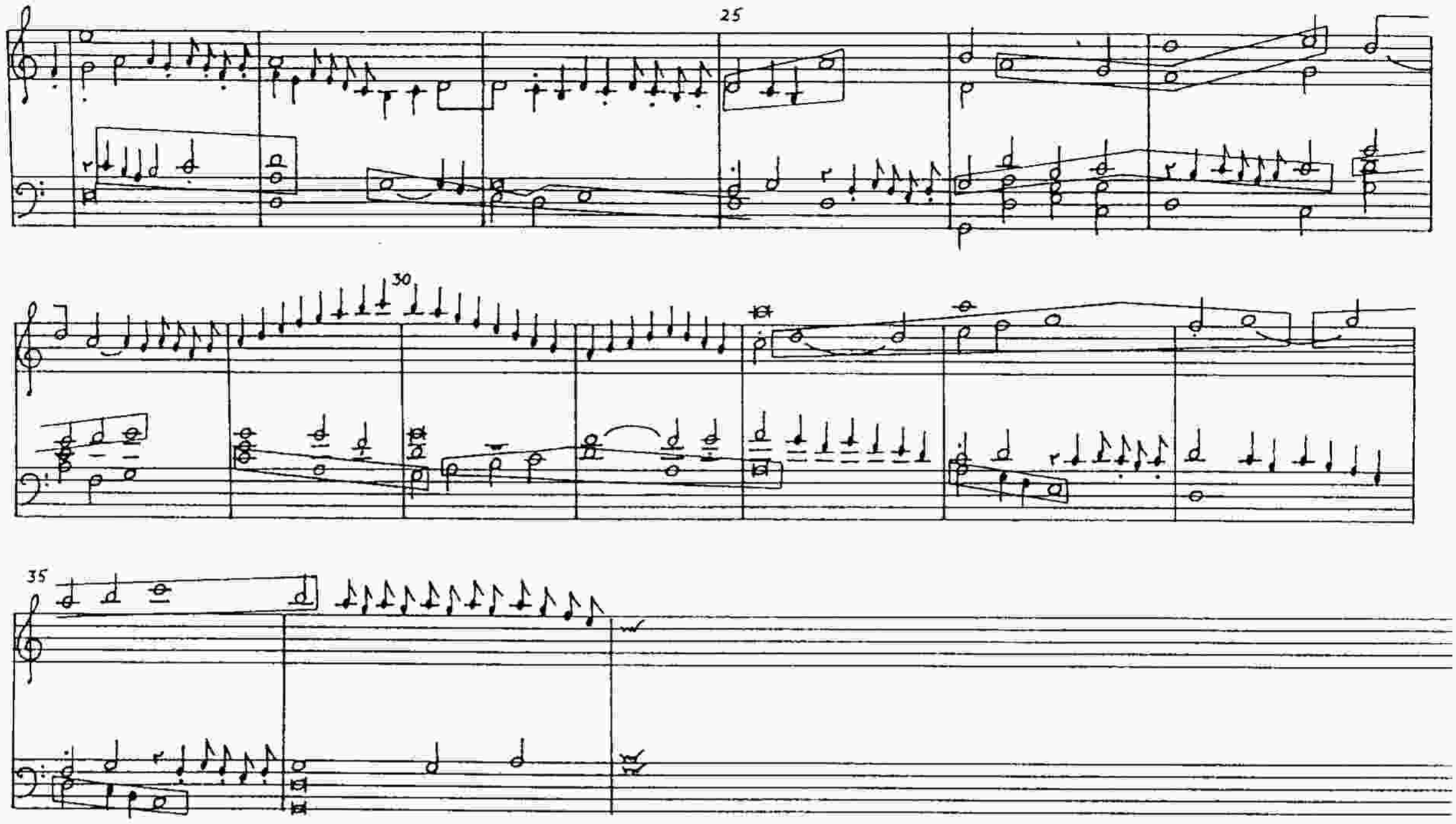
The opening rising and falling fourths in the lowest voice herald the overriding motivic basis of the work (bracketed at the beginning of the following example). They form the outline of most melodic patterns and most of the figuration. A descending version of this fourth is filled out with something more obviously motivic in the bass/tenor lines in bars 3 and 4 (marked with a box):



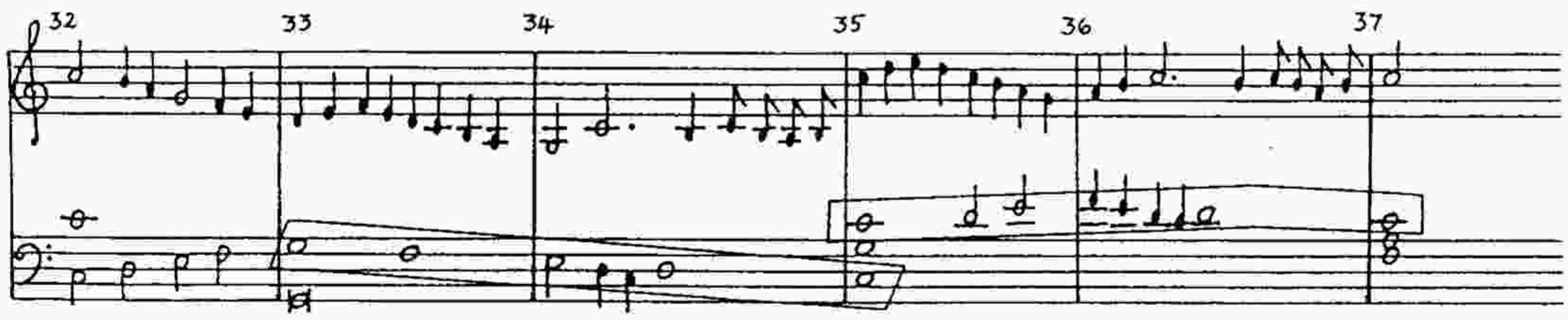
Variations of this single theme are then developed and interwoven into the gently flowing cadences, often migrating between voices and using octave transpositions. The fundamental interval of the fourth can always be traced. The following example illustrates how the interval pervades virtually everything that happens between bars 10 and 16. The imitative activity takes place in the lower voices under scale passages in the right hand. Note particularly the migration from "upper left hand" part to "middle left hand" part between bars 16 and 17 (the themes are marked and separated by using boxes):



After some cadential material the motivic development continues from the end of bar 22, often extending the theme to encompass the interval of a fifth - the inversion of the basic fourth on which the piece is based. Note the octave transpositions of individual notes of the statement of the theme which begins in bar 25 and also that the entries are less densely organised:

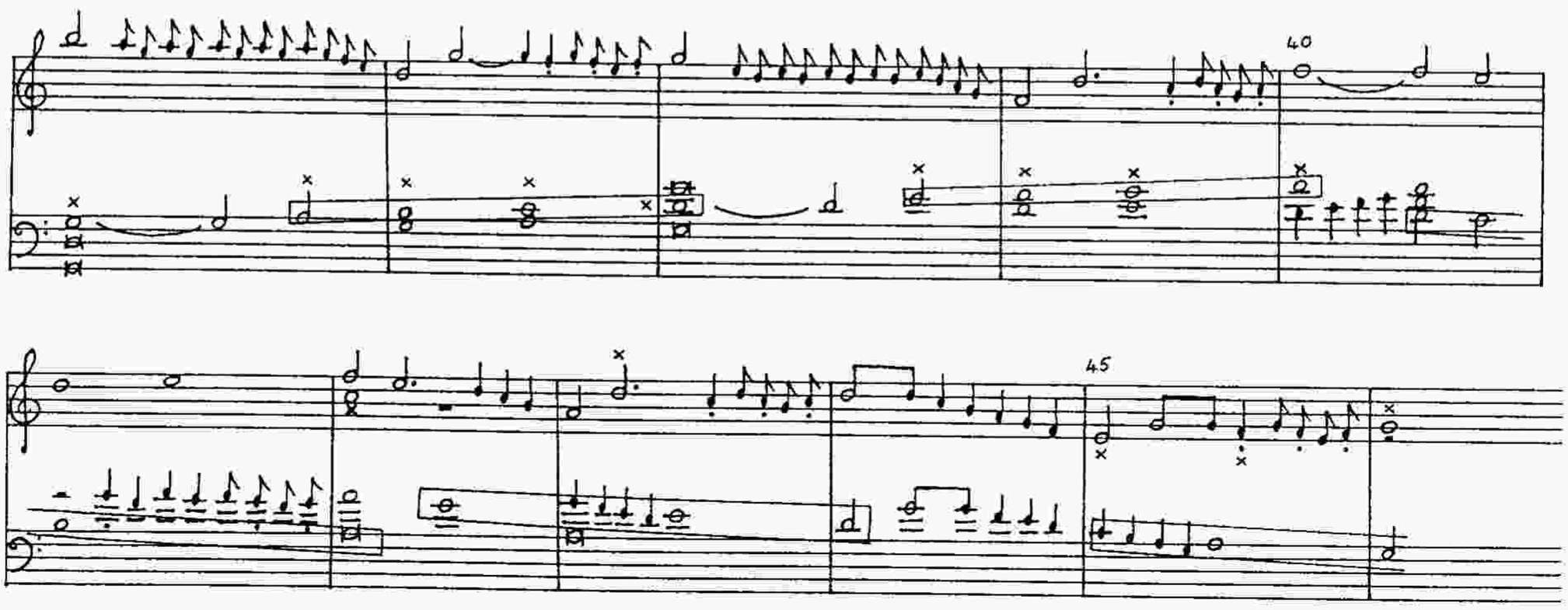


Cadential passagework then follows, in a similar style to the material found in the figurations around bar 20. This time the scale passages are contained entirely in the right hand. From bar 32 until bar 36 a variant of the motive is presented in contrary motion twice over:

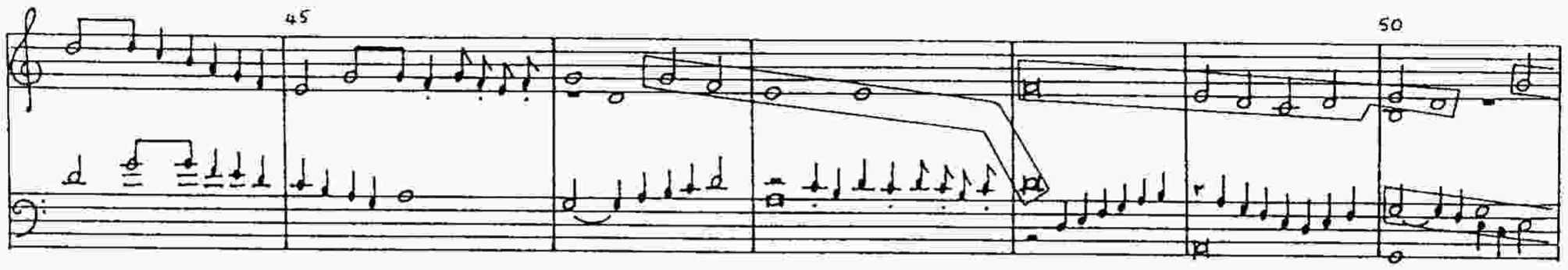


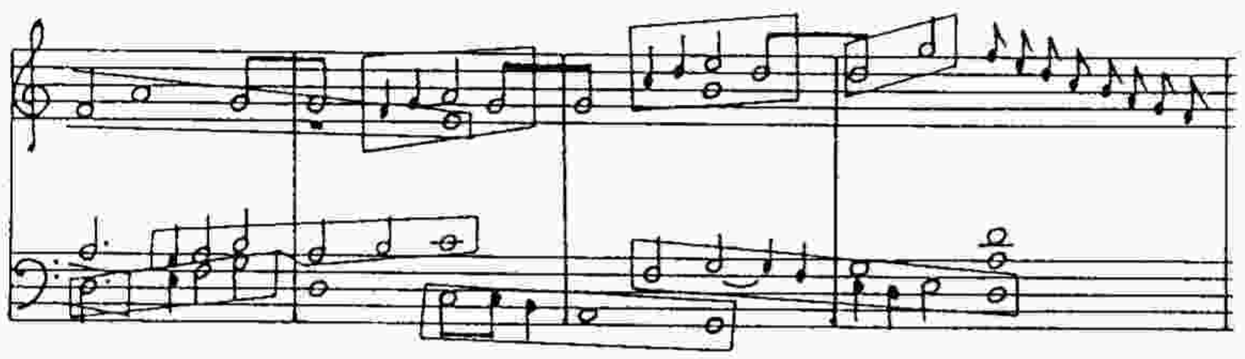
In the following few bars the main imitative material appears several times (its appearances are marked in the same way as in the earlier examples), but in addition an underlying direction is provided by the "scale" which, by courtesy of a few octave transpositions towards the end of its run, passes through two octaves between bars 36 and 46.

It is marked in the following example by '×' above the note. The scale forms a kind of cantus firmus around which the other imitative and figural elements are woven. Yet another type of framework can thus be seen:

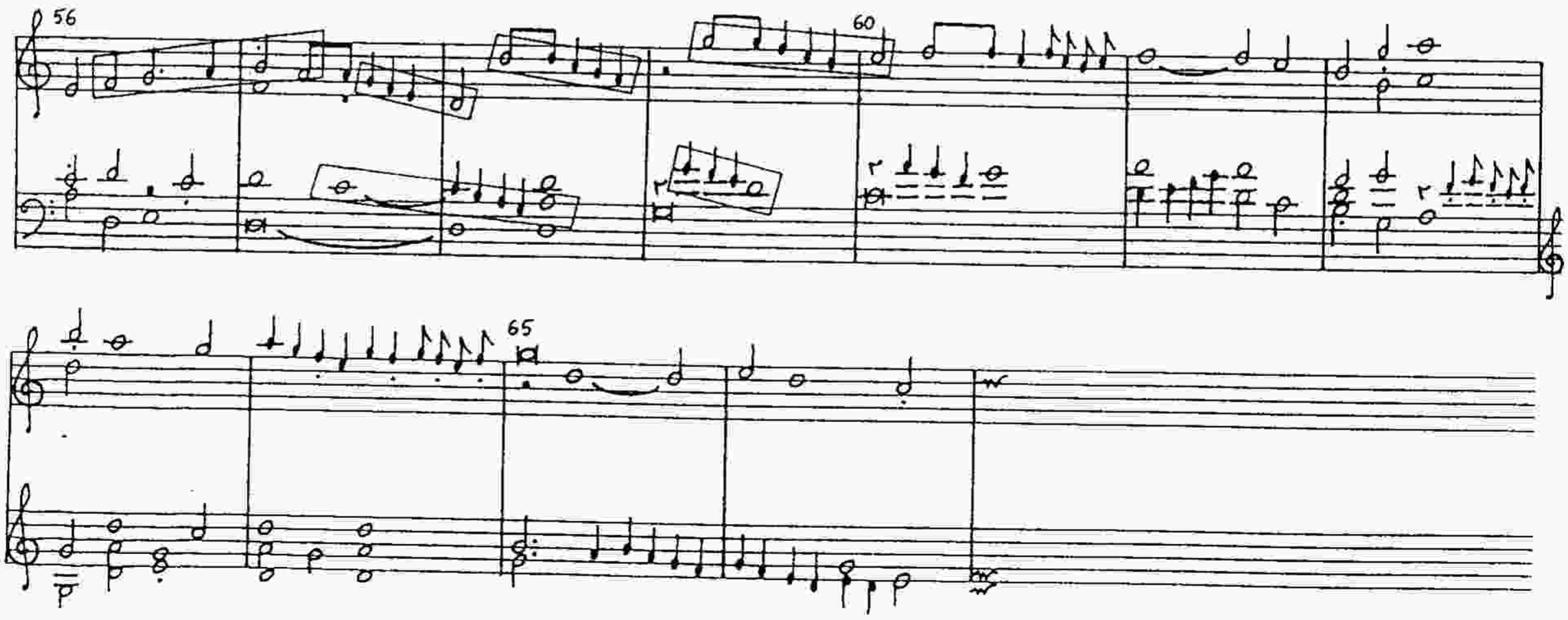


More intense imitation follows until bar 54, involving several variants of the theme which all retain the basic outline of a fourth. It is here in bars 51-52 that the syncopation element which Slim identifies and separates out to form a major part of his theme 'y' first becomes prominent. The analysis below shows, however, that the syncopation pattern is simply a development of the main, single imitative motive of the piece:

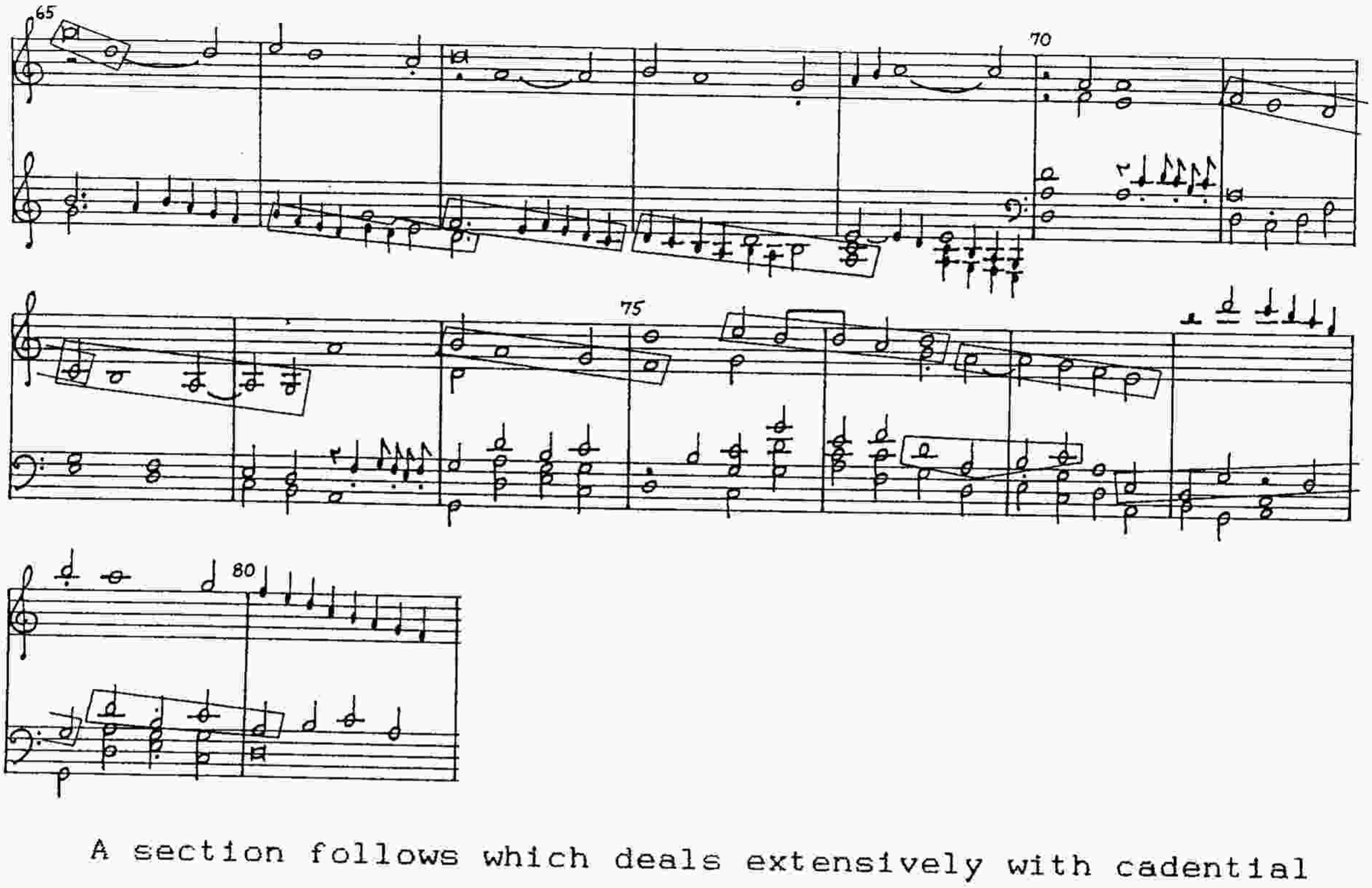




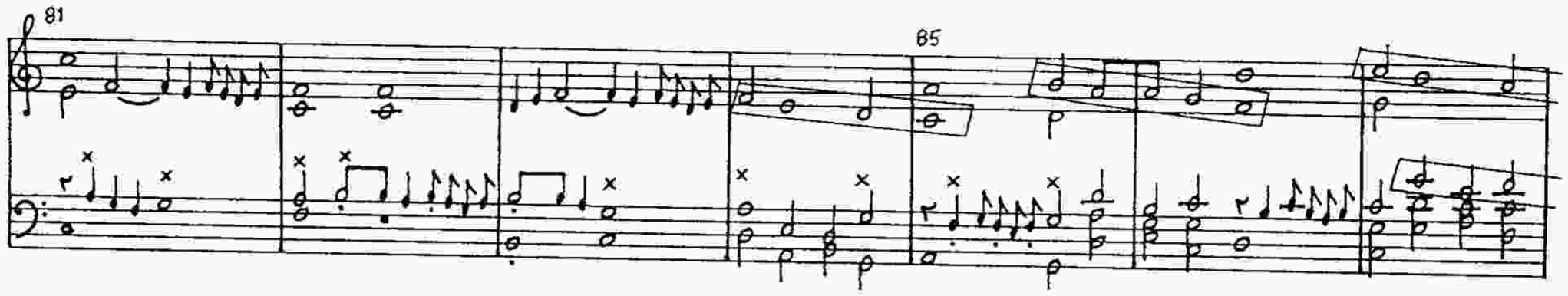
At this point more cadential material follows and again the same pattern is present: fast scales in the upper part with a slower accompaniment in the left hand. This is the last appearance of material of this type in the *Recercare Primo* and it is from this point on that, after a brief passage of frenzied activity illustrated below that the whole pace of the work begins to relax and entries of the motive become more disparate. Note here the small-scale imitation of descending crotchet scales:

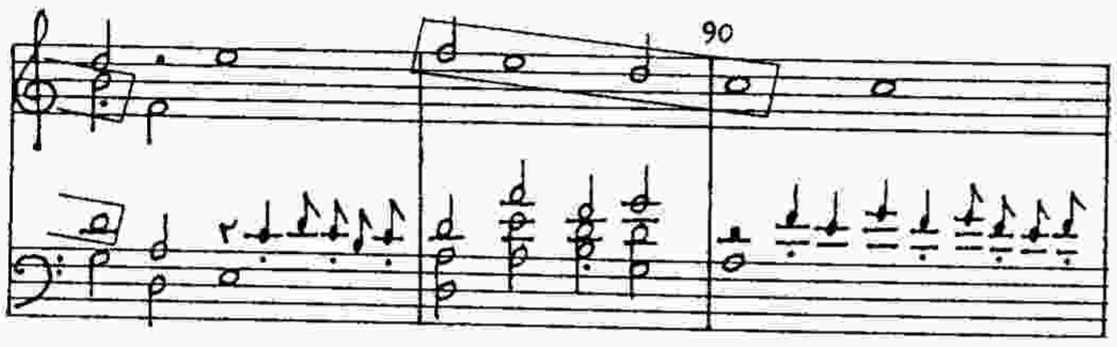


This detailed analysis should not distract the reader from the flowing continuity of the ricercar. The small sections here dissected hang together well: it can be seen that some of the examples actually overlap. It is important to realise that only one main motivic element is under discussion, not several different ones. The motives are formed into imititative periods working between cadences: the normal compositional procedure of Renaissance vocal music. From bar 65 onwards the syncopated version of the motive (Slim's theme y) becomes the major element controlling the direction of the piece. The interval of the fourth is still important, however, even though it has dropped out of the current overall shape of the syncopated theme. It returns later as an integral part of this syncopated version, but it is interesting to note how it is a fundamental element of the background material between bars 65 and 80. These less obvious background fourths are marked with boxes in the following example. Note also the strongly hexachordal patterns in the bass at this point:

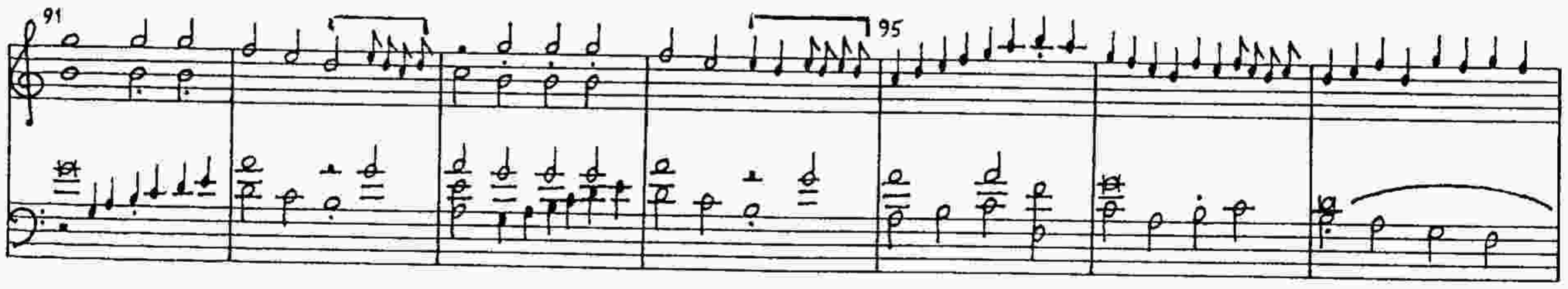


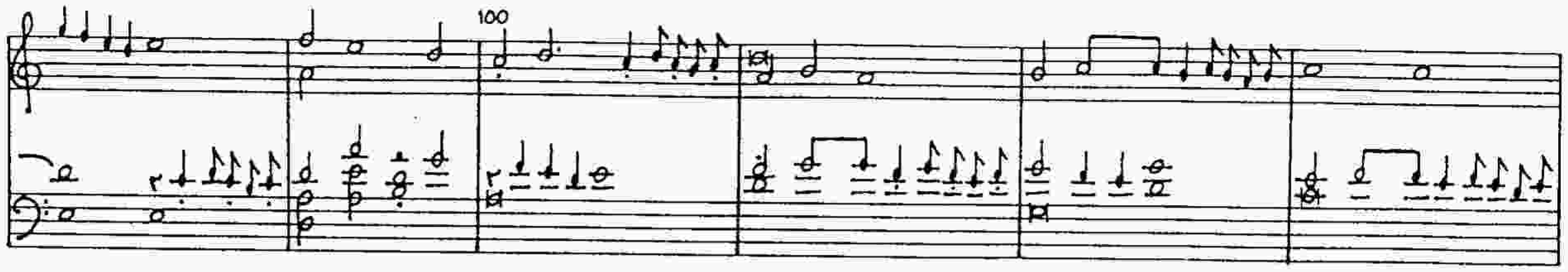
A section follows which deals extensively with cadential material. Closer inspection reveals, however, that the motive is present even here in various surprising guises: "broken" in the inner part (indicated in the first example overleaf by '×' above the notes) and later - sometimes also "broken" - as part of a stretto-like development. It is features such as these that give the piece its overall coherence and unity and make it more than the simple series of ornamented cadences which it first appears to be on the surface:

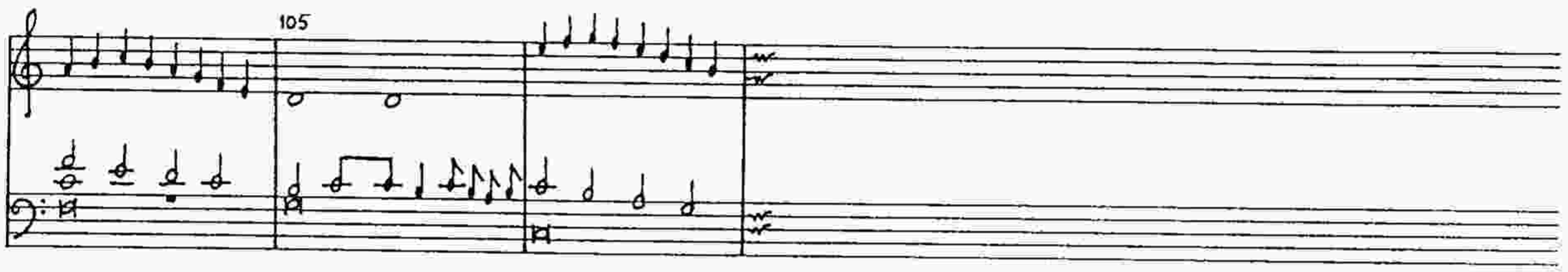




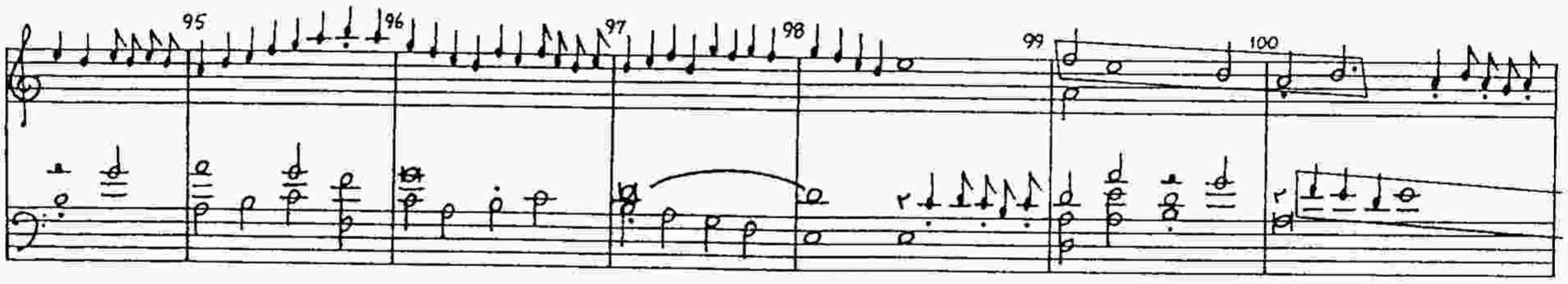
Bars 90-91 are repeated with small variations at bars 92-93. The turn in bar 92 (marked with the square bracket) is changed subtly to a trill in bar 94 (also marked with a bracket). This technique of repetition recurs frequently during the piece, with the repeats either at the same pitch or, often, a fifth apart, creating sequential patterns. This happens at bars 105-106, where the sequence based on bars 103-104 is disguised not by altering the ornaments but by transposing the upper part in bar 106 up an octave:

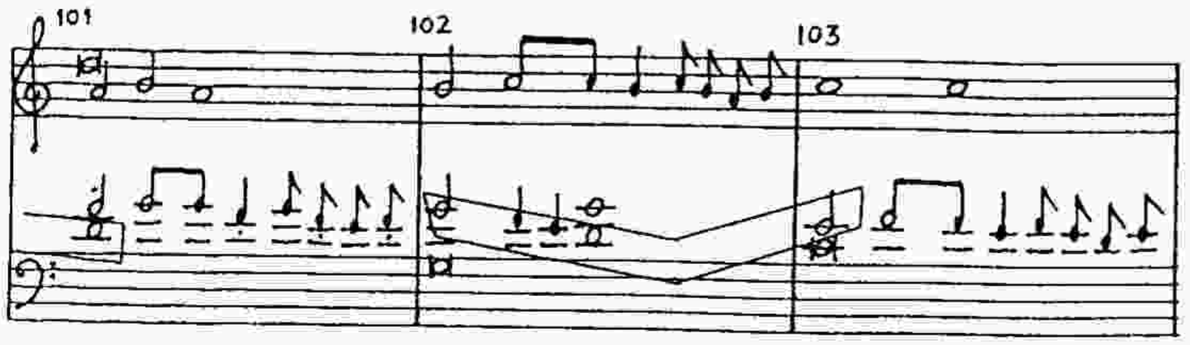




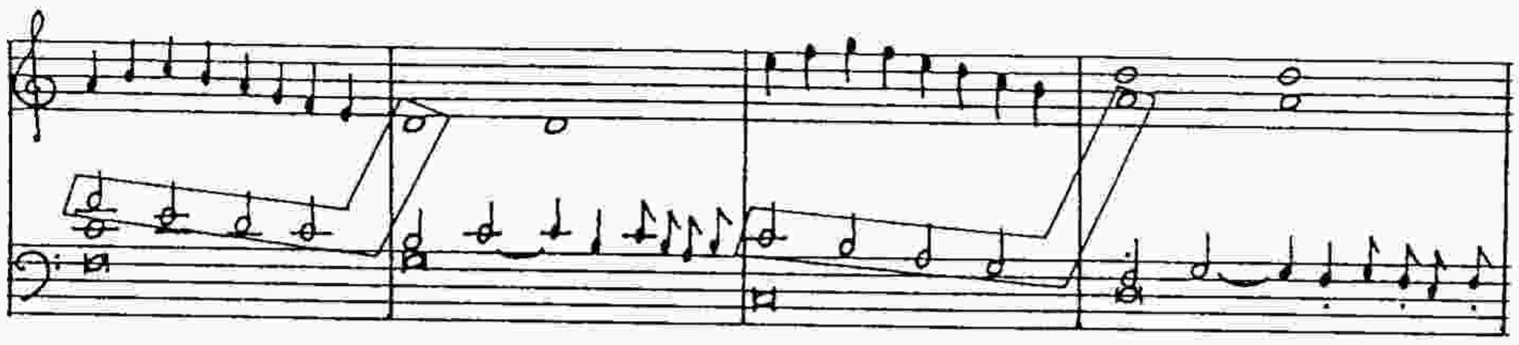


In between the two passages illustrated above various forms of the theme can be traced, most of them contained within the interval of a fourth. Note the reappearance in the tenor part at bar 99 (marked with boxes in the example) of a version of the motive which is very close in shape to that of the bass in bars 3-5 - as the piece draws to a close this shape becomes more prominent:

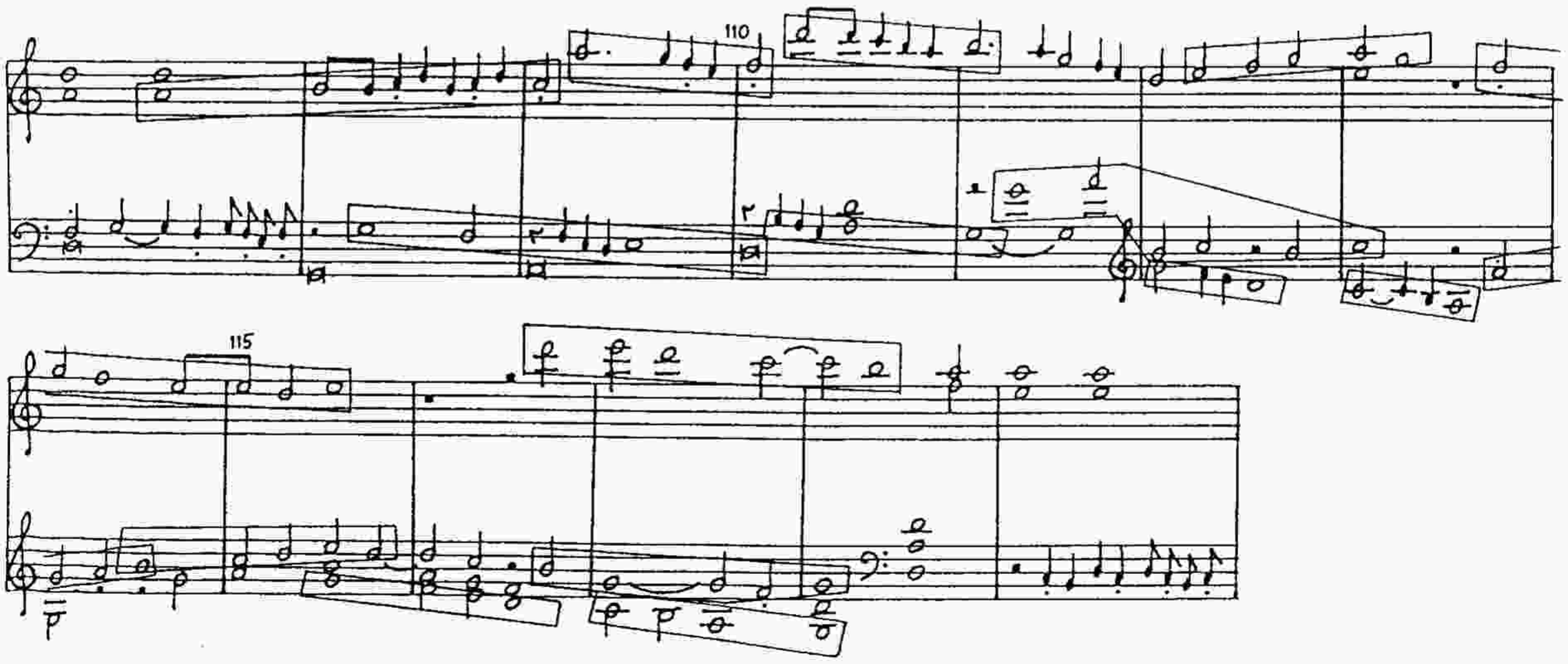




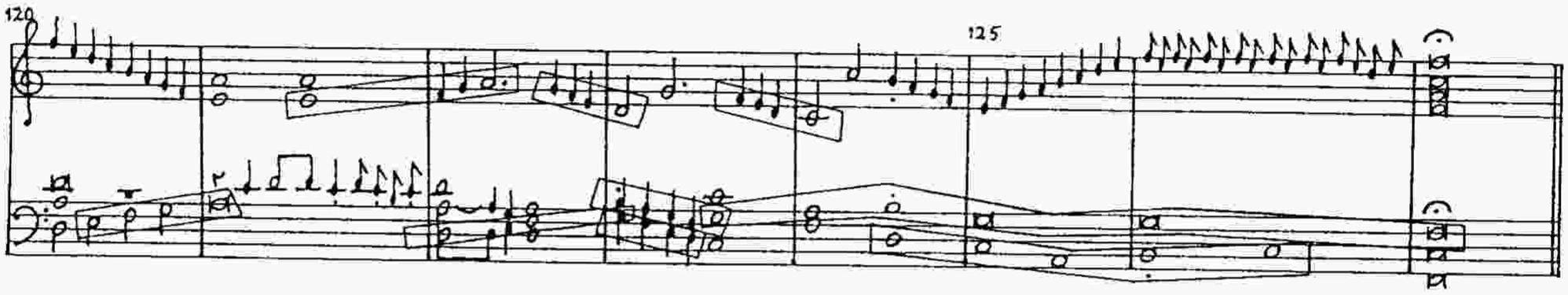
Bars 104-107 feature the fourth as the basic framework of the tenor part:



More intense imitation begins at 108. This is the last such moment in the piece. Various versions of the basic theme appear, incorporating aspects first heard early in the work as well as the syncopated elements developed later. The theme is present in diminution, stretto, inversion and contrary motion. Note the "original pattern" again in the tenor at bar 108 and the general upward shift of the music as it reaches the last climax before the end. The most important fourths are boxed:



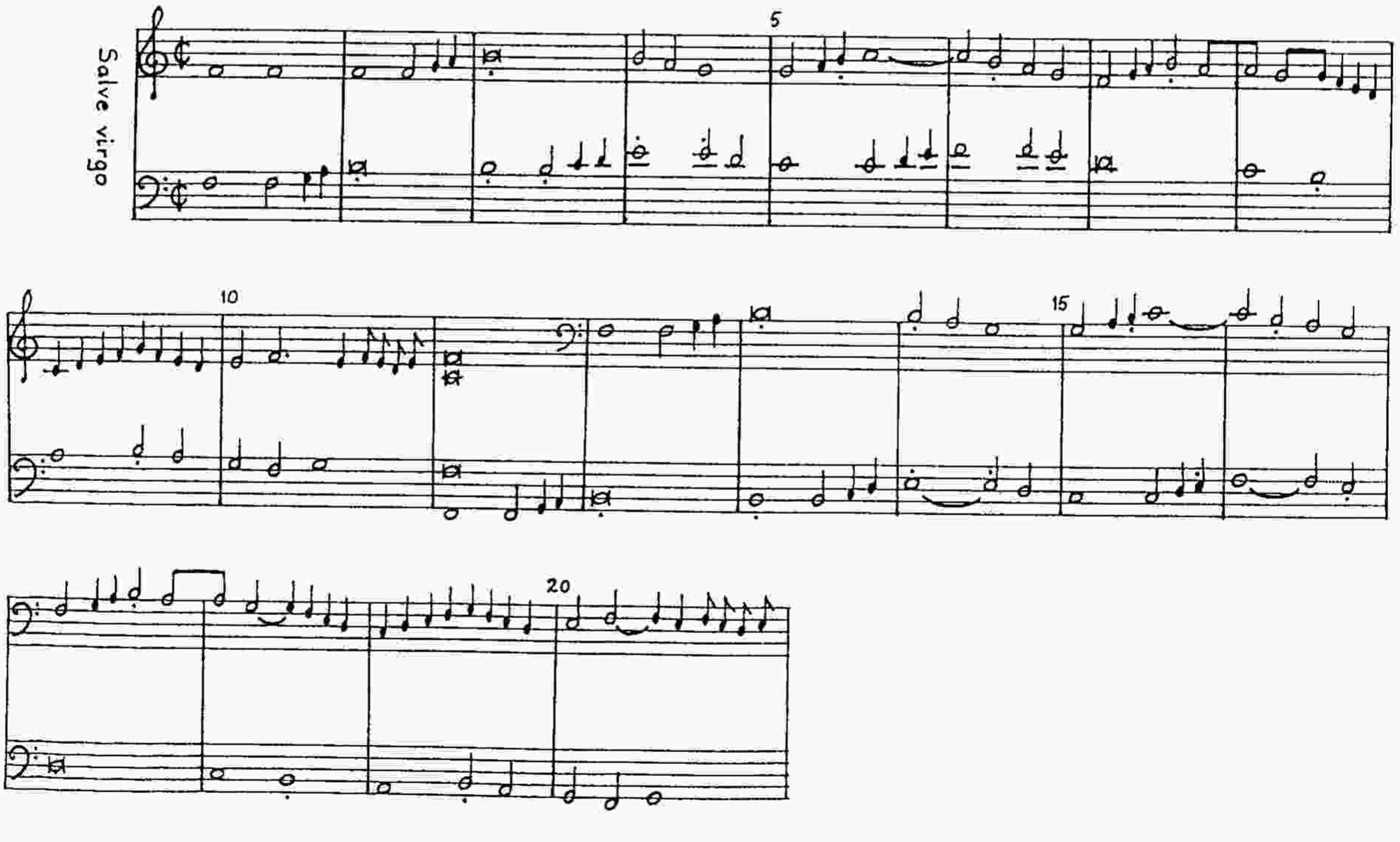
This climactic point is followed by predominantly descending patterns, apart from the final right hand flourish in the last three bars. The descending patterns are marked with square brackets in the example:



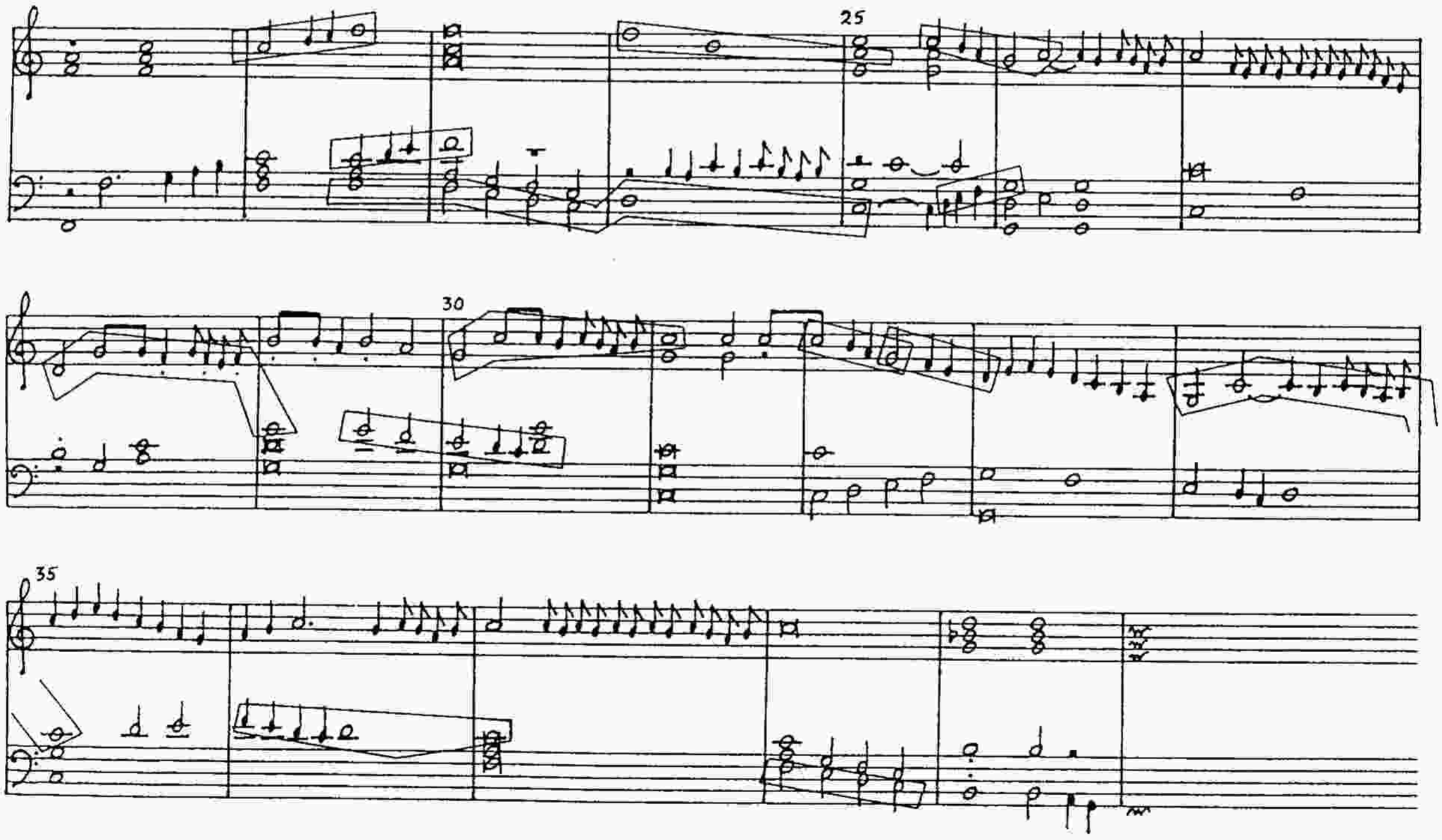
It would seem clear from this analysis that a single melodic interval is the main imitative and motivic basis of the *Recercare Primo*. This theme is based on the interval of a fourth and undergoes many permutations, including inversion, as if the interval is a basic cell providing material for development. The analysis above has been necessarily somewhat sectional, in order to show clearly how this cell is present in almost every moment of the piece. It is partly this over-riding monothematicism, however, which belies any sectional feel to the piece, which comes across in performance as one great sweeping pattern as it surges restlessly along through its various cadential points and kaleidescopic textural patterns. The overall pattern - of movement through a series of imitative paragraphs between intense cadential decoration - is that of an intabulation. The introduction showed how an Antico intabulation followed exactly the same processes: figural material grew from the decorated cadences which marked each paragraph of the vocal

model. The figuration and ornamentation becomes a part of the imitative framework, being continually reworked and reformed.

It is always assumed - mainly on the basis of the title - that *Salve Virgo* is an intabulation of a vocal piece, although the original has never been found. Certainly the piece has a structure which could be derived from a vocal piece. The work opens with two-part writing forming a short duet which is then repeated an octave lower. Many motets open in a similar way - indeed, the phenomenon of paired imitation which we find in *Salve Virgo* is a much discussed feature of Josquin's style:

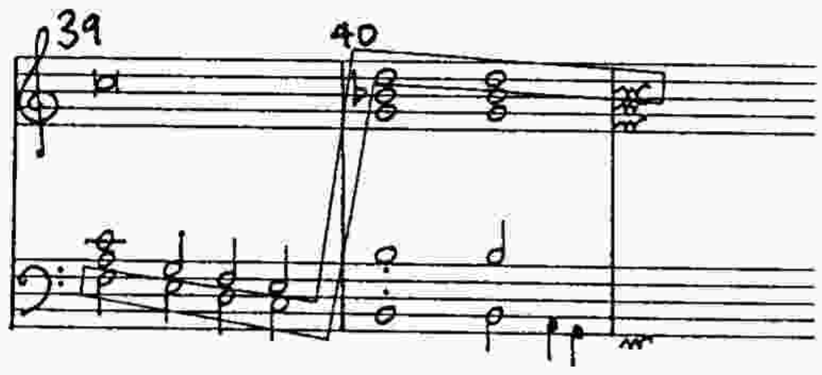


After the opening sections the general texture of the piece is fuller, as if more voices have entered, and there is corresponding increase in the imitative writing. The following example traces the theme with the aid of boxes between bars 22 and 38. The rising fourth motive at the beginning of bar 22 is taken from the very opening of the piece. It is inverted almost immediately in the bass part with the turn-like shape which is such a distinctive feature of the *Recercare Primo*. It then proceeds to shape the progress of the music until the cadence at bar 38 when the distinctive descending thirds of bar 23 are recalled:

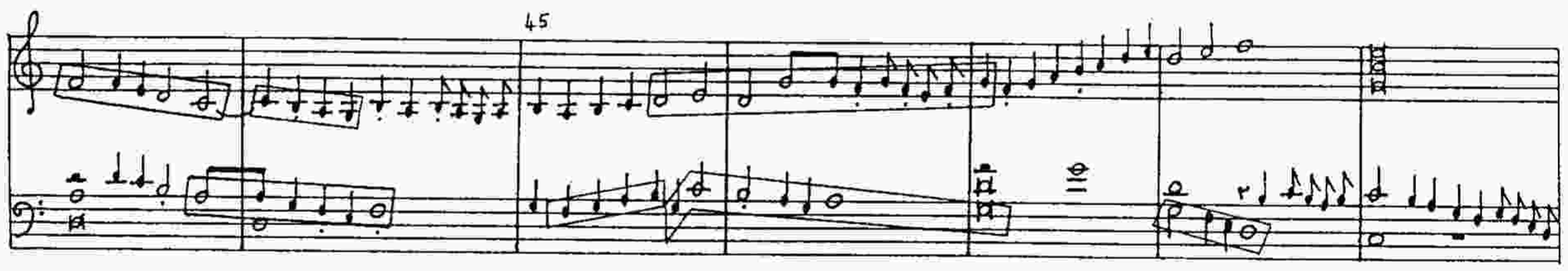


The parallel thirds lead us this time in a different harmonic direction - onto a Bb chord, but if one accepts the principal of octave transpositions which is a feature of the

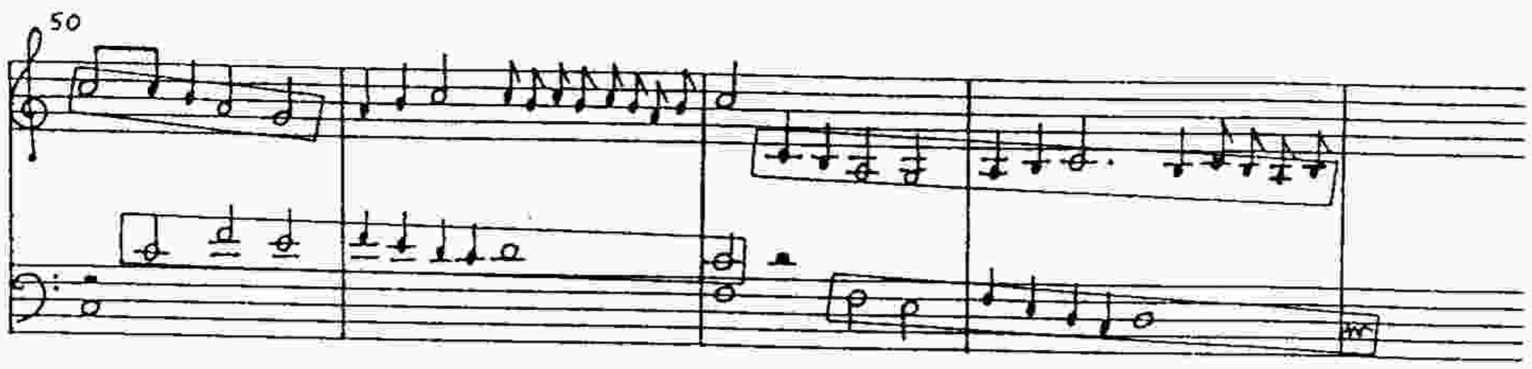
analysis of the *Recercare Primo* above, then the underlying pattern of the imitative motive can still be clearly seen, as the theme switches from bassus to cantus, jumping two octaves in the process. Note also the descending fourth motive in the bassus in bars 39-40:



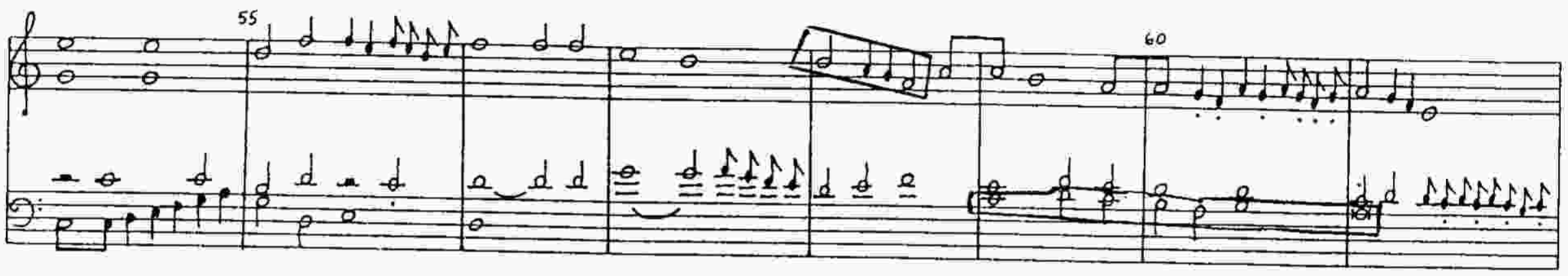
Elements of the motive appear during the following section, but not always in their most easily recognisable form. The interval of the fourth is always important, however. The motivic entries are marked in the following example with boxes:



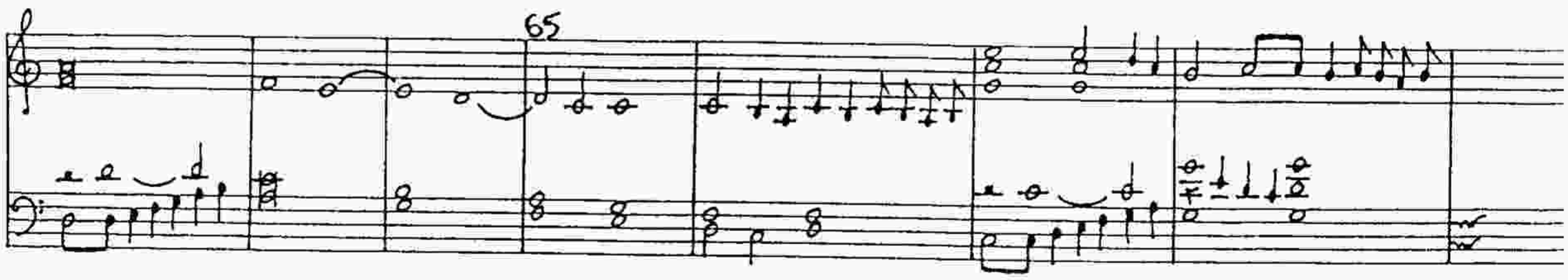
After this section, we see a fairly typical device of Cavazzoni's: the repeat of a section or phrase an octave lower. This is what happens at the opening of *Salve Virgo*, and the technique was noticed in the *Recercare Primo*. Bars 52-53 thus form a slightly varied repeat of bars 50-51. This is disguised as imitation by the use of the motive in a clear form, with its turn shape intact:

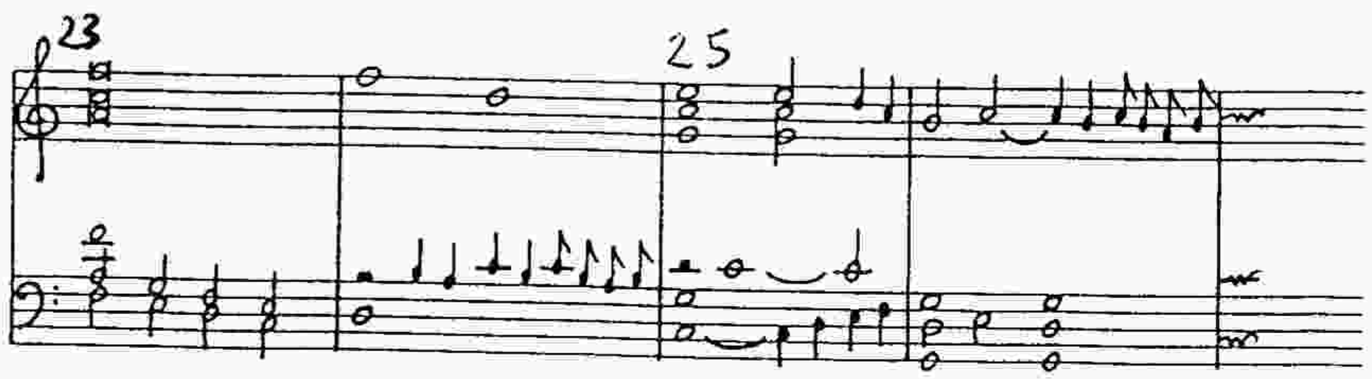


Several bars lead us through a series of suspensions and syncopations. Note the presence of the imitative elements throughout:

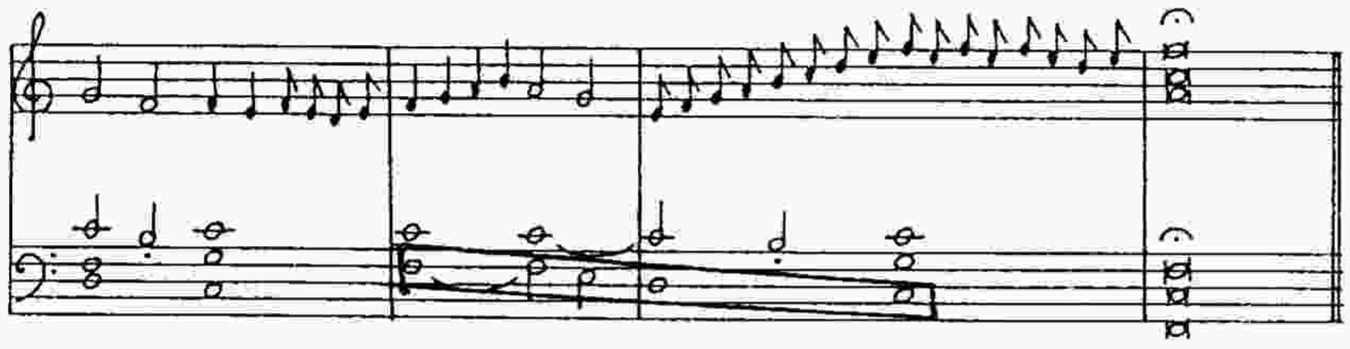


At bar 63 we hear material transformed from the opening - this particular material is probably some of the most important in the piece. Note how it is altered to lead towards a close on F rather than moving to a close on G:

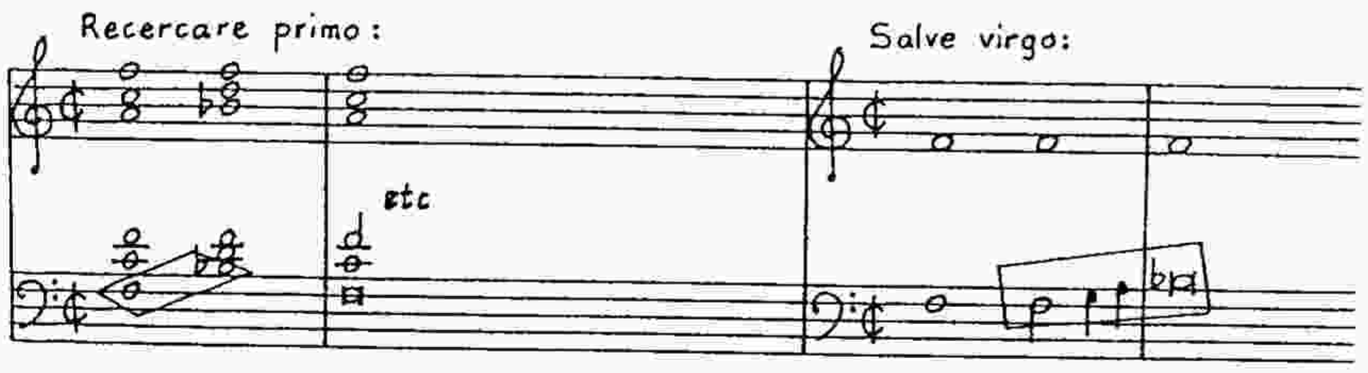




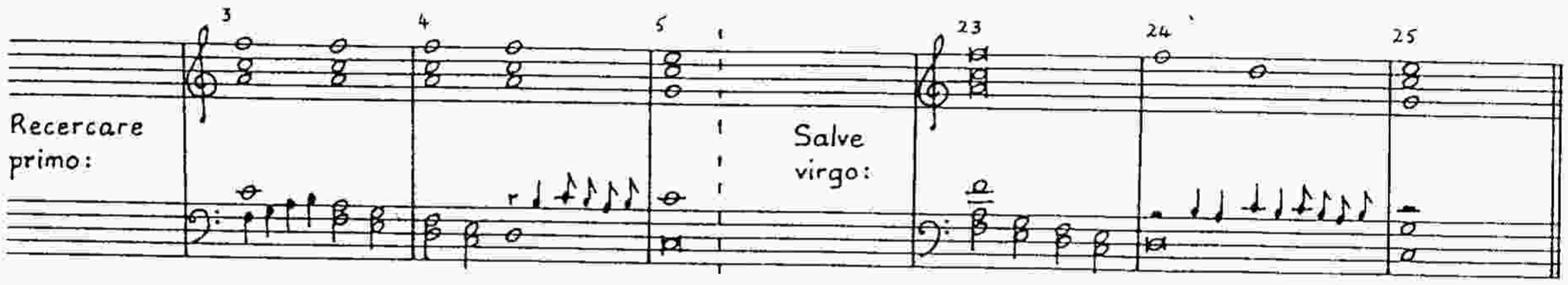
A varied repetition of the cadence on F closes the work in a similar way to the ending of the *Recercare Primo.* Note, however that the interval of the fourth is still important, right up to the last moment:



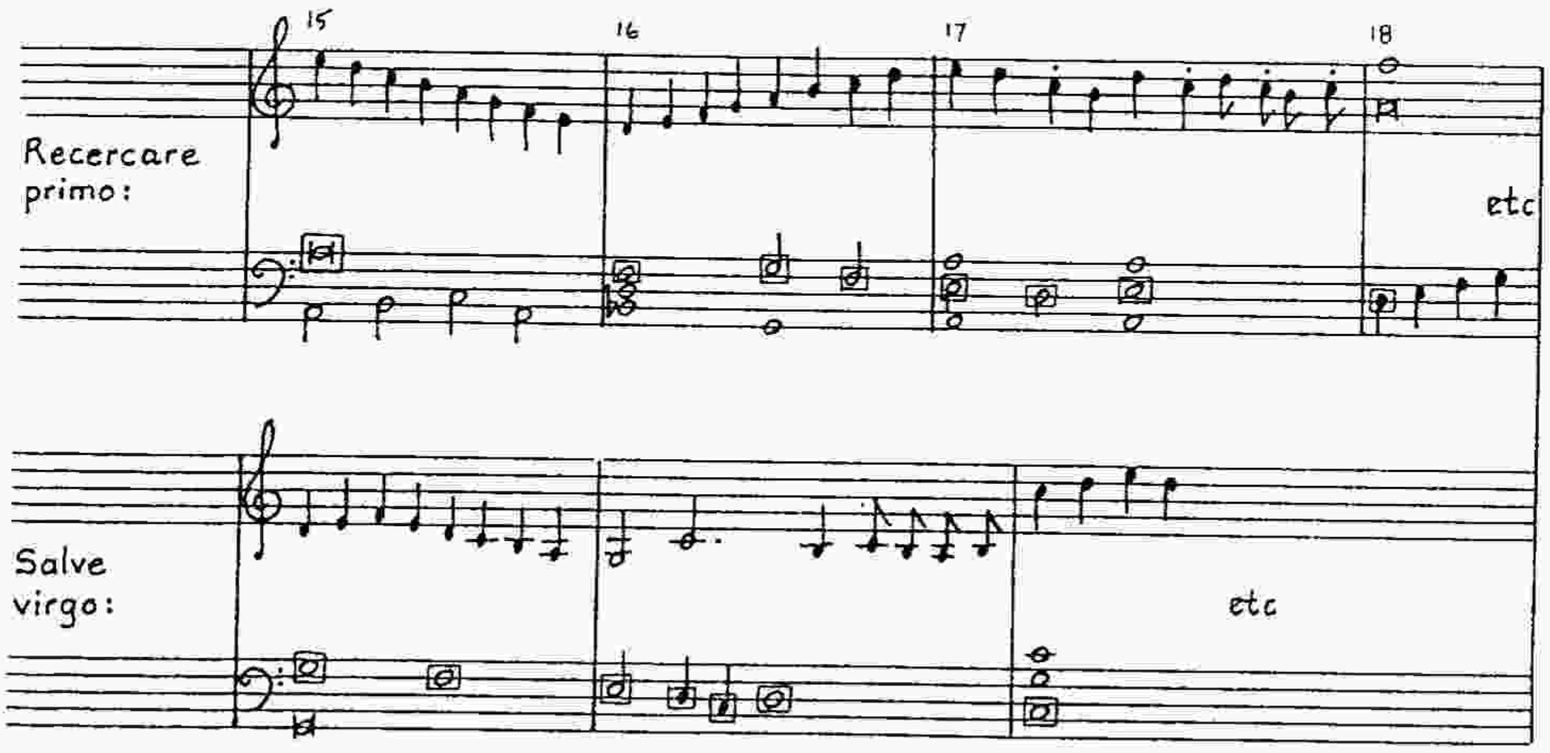
The foregoing section shows that the melodic construction of each piece centres around the interval of the fourth. The motivic material of both pieces is dominated by this interval, which functions as a basic imitative "cell" around which figural melodies - basically involving a turn motive, a typical ornamental figure - are drawn. The opening fourths of the two pieces are illustrated below:



The figural melodies which are drawn from these fourths are similar in several ways and follow a similar pattern of development throughout the pieces. The melodic shape in bars 3-5 in the *Recercare*, which is probably the most important shape to emerge from the interval, is found in *Salve Virgo* in bars 22-25:



Related material can be found elsewhere in the two pieces. In the following example the related material from the two pieces is indicated with small boxes. Note also that the accompanying textures are also related: scale passages leading to a cadence. The textural links between the pieces is an important point.

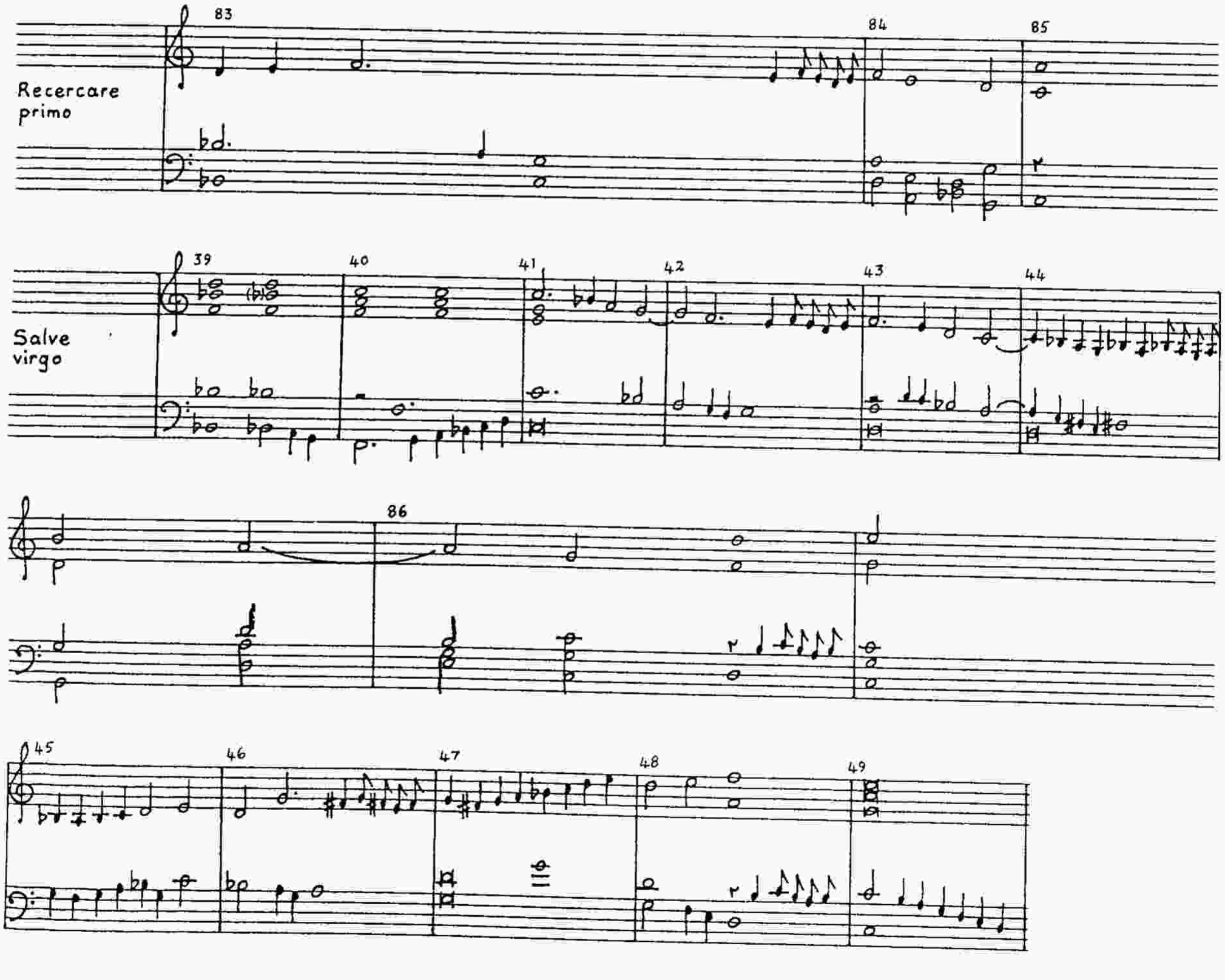


As well as motivic links there are also larger scale structural links between the pieces which are not at first obvious. These show that the pieces are in fact closely linked in their larger structures as well as in their melodic construction. The two part opening sections of *Salve Virgo* are compressed in the *Recercare Primo* into the opening chords, which lead straight into the bars which are almost identical to bars from *Salve Virgo* and which were quoted above for their motivic content:

Recercare
primo

Salve
virgo

Distinctive and similar cadences about two-thirds through each piece leads one to expect another link of the kind in the example above. Here the *Recercare* takes the pattern of the expansive cadence on F which begins at bar 39 of *Salve Virgo* and works too with the further cadences which follow in the motet. In this example it is the *Recercare* which, as at the opening of the pieces, takes merely the basic outline of a section of the motet and reworks it in a contracted form before breaking away again into its own motivic development:



Structural links between the *Recercare Secondo* and *O Stella Maris* are less clear than between the first pair of pieces. Although the original work on which M. A. Cavazzoni based *O Stella Maris* remains unknown and thus the piece's value as an early example of intabulation procedures is difficult to assess, nevertheless certain aspects of the style and construction of the piece are worthy of consideration as indicators of the general stylistic principles at work in sixteenth-century Italian keyboard music. The formal structure of the keyboard version of the piece can be clearly discerned. Example 1D contains the entire piece: it shows that, like *Salve Virgo*, *O Stella Maris* begins with an introductory duet. The duet is repeated an octave lower at bar 14 leading, again like *Salve Virgo*, to a decisive cadence at bar 22. The fuller texture and harmonies at this moment are suggestive of the entry of more voices - a possible hint of the structure of the vocal original on which the piece is based. A close study of the middle section of the piece has revealed a rondeau framework with the following form: (25)

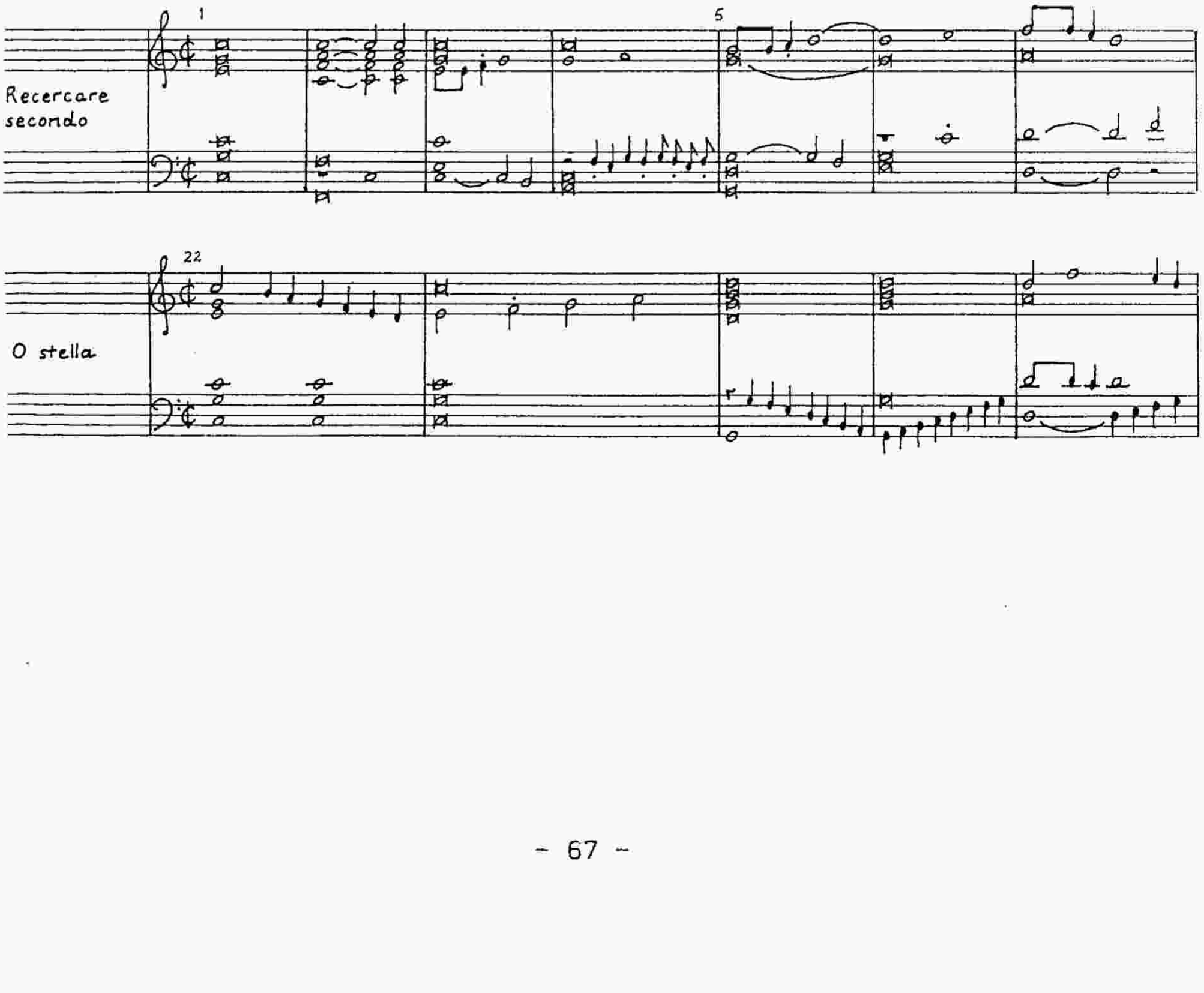
[AA] AA BB C DD A EE A F AA [G]

The bracketed letters [AA] and [G] indicate the two opening duets and the final "amen". This structure may indicate that the vocal original may well not have been a motet, because very few motets from the early sixteenth century were in rondeau form. Alternative potential sources may be found in the realms of secular song, and may not even

necessarily be polyphonic. Example 1A shows the structure of the rondeau sections which follow not only the basic harmonic outline of C-G-d-a-G-C, but also have several melodic patterns in common. All except the second section end with the same four notes in the same position. Three sections begin with Cs in the outer parts while the other three begin with a C in the bass and a high E in the treble. They use ornamentation in similar places. All except one use some form of ascending motion when moving from D to G towards the end, and even the exception (bars 76-80) uses in effect consecutive octaves between tenor and treble to emphasise ascending motion. The example begins with the first statement of the rondeau "theme" which occurs at bar 22 after the two duets. Line *vi* of Example 1A reveals how even the duet is derived from the rondeau. What we see here is a fusion of parody technique with variation form, in which the six sections relate to each other in their overall harmonic structure but their internal structures rework the part-writing within that structure. It is unfortunate that the absence of the original piece prevents us from determining whether such sophisticated manipulation of material is in itself developed from a pre-existent model.

The melodic material of the second pair of pieces relies heavily on hexachordal formations as well as on the interval of the minor sixth. Chromatic alteration of the standard hexachord intervals is frequent. Examples 1C and 1D

illustrate with boxes how the underlying intervallic structure of the imitation proceeds throughout the pieces, and how they are not just horizontal patterns but vertical ones as well. This shows yet again a periodic, imitative structure which controls the overall direction of the music; once again the figuration is simply a vehicle for the large-scale patterns imposed by the tonal and imitative architecture of the style of pervasive imitation. Apart from these melodic links the contours of the refrain of the motet are reflected in the *Recercare Secondo* in the following way:



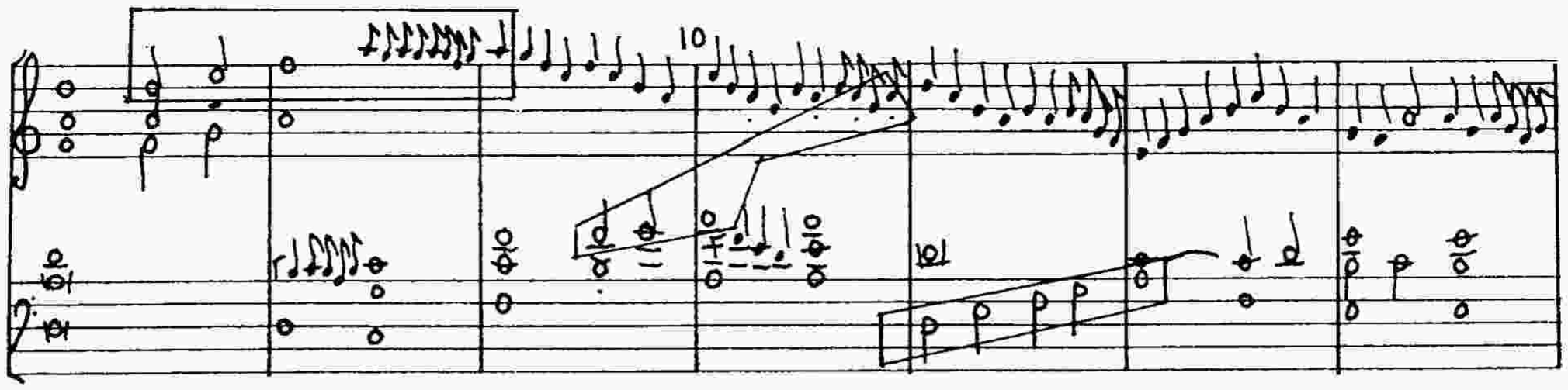
This analysis has so far looked at aspects of mode, cadence, duration and imitative patterns in M. A. Cavazzoni's ricercars and the two motets with which they are associated within the source, the *Libro Primo* of 1523. The analysis shows that relationships can be found between all the pieces which extend further than the simple case of the matching finals of each pair of pieces and it sheds new light on their nature, particularly upon their use of imitative structures both in the narrower sense of imitative points proceeding from cadence to cadence and in the larger sense of the borrowing, reworking and interdependence of large-scale constructional elements. These larger elements can take the form of modal or durational relationships or the reworking of large imitative paragraphs. It is now time to turn to a further piece from M. A. Cavazzoni's *Libro Primo*, one of the remaining four chansons which follow the two pairs of pieces. *Plus. ne regres*(26) is the only piece of the four for which the model is known, and which therefore can be studied as a definite example of intabulation technique.

Martin Picker(27) was the first to point to the relationship between Cavazzoni's *Plus. ne regres* and Josquin's chanson *Plusiers regretz*.(28) The following analysis shows in greater detail than Picker the extent of the relationship between the two works, which is greater than that of a simple borrowing of motives. Josquin's five-

part chanson divides into three repeated sections - AA' BB' CC'. This form follows the structure of the chanson which itself divides into three basic sections marked by clear cadences. The cadential structure is respected by Josquin, and cadential structure is a major feature of Cavazzoni's piece. Using the cadences of Josquin's section A as reference points, Cavazzoni constructs a new section which he then repeats. He then adds an extra repeat of the final cadential material of the section before going on to his final, third section. Cavazzoni's piece, then, follows Josquin's design in its overall tripartite structure, although the musical effect he creates is rather different. The repeated sections and large-scale elements are disguised by variation and by the continual use and repeat of smaller cadential units. Like the ricercars this piece on one level can seem to be simply a series of ornamented cadences. In fact the underlying structure of the piece is much more subtle than that.

Example 1E shows how Cavazzoni derives the material of the first section of the intabulation from the first section of Josquin's chanson. We can see several processes at work. The first is Cavazzoni's use of individual motives from the chanson. He takes the characteristic rising fifth of the chanson melody and uses it to create a new imitative point considerably longer than the original. The second technique Cavazzoni uses is to adapt the overall structure of

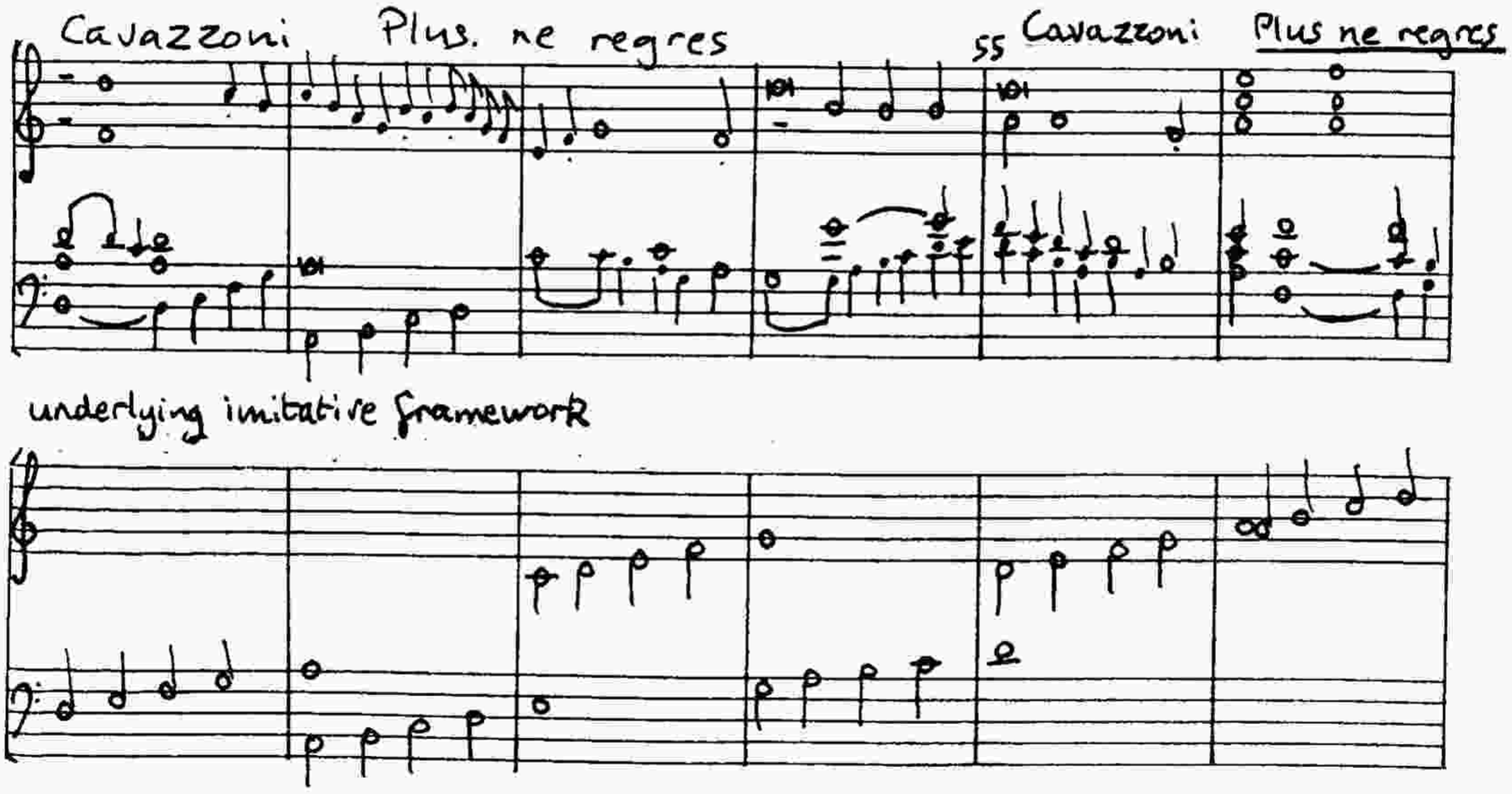
Josquin's imitative point for his own purposes. This is the same process by which he created the ricercars from their motets. Thus Cavazzoni's first five bars closely follow the contours of the chanson. The inner parts are reworked, but the overall framework is preserved. From bars 6 to 13 Cavazzoni expands Josquin's cadence in bars 5 to 7, reworking earlier material and exploiting the higher ranges of the keyboard for expressive effect. A contrapuntal framework based on the rising fifth supports the structure, in which the highest voice in bars 7-8 is imitated by the inner voice combined with the upper in bars 9-10 and by the bassus in bars 11-12:



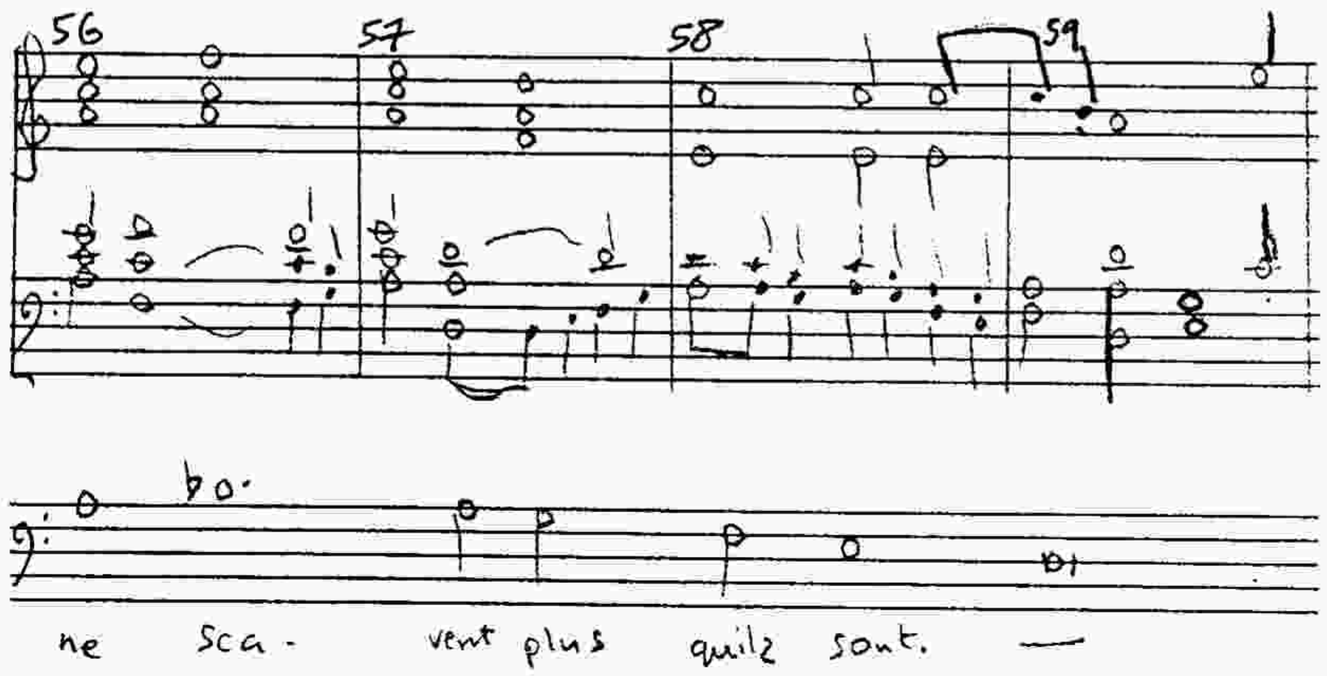
At bar 14 Cavazzoni embarks upon a reworking of the next cadence of Josquin's chanson, using the next phrase of the chanson melody. This appears in the tenor in Josquin's piece in bar 7. Cavazzoni places a simpler version of the melody in a prominent position in the right hand, emphasising the return to the final by a long rising scale in the bassus. In bar 16 the right hand melody apparently jumps an octave. This gives the impression of the entry of another imitative voice which as the example shows is based on the contours of Josquin's contratenor transposed up an

octave. The high ambitus gives prominence to the cadence on A before Cavazzoni appends an extra cadence which returns to the final to complete the section. Thus whereas Josquin ends his first section on the dominant, Cavazzoni - despite having adhered to Josquin's cadential sequence throughout the section - ends his first section on the final, using in his lowest part a fragment of Josquin's tenor from bars 9-10. (See Example 1E.)

A good example of the underlying imitative structure of *Plus. ne regres* can be seen in bars 51-55. This is the opening of the final section of the piece. The example below shows how there is an underlying contrapuntal framework beneath the apparently free and unrelated ornamental melodic figures of the work. The framework provides an explanation of how the piece is musically satisfying. The ornamental writing disguises a perfectly straightforward imitative point based on the rising fifth:(29)



At bar 56 we hear in the upper part a motive derived from the last phrase of the tenor of the chanson transposed onto the dominant, thus showing that Cavazzoni is still aware of the overall chanson structure, although this motive never occurs at the correct pitch:



In *Plus. ne regres* we find Cavazzoni using several types of borrowing, from the use of single motives to the reworking of large imitative points. This reworking is formed mainly around an extension of cadential points of the original. We have seen how in simpler intabulations the cadences are one of the main points of departure for new material in the form of short extensions or of more elaborate ornamentation. We have seen also how small imitative motives are fitted into the overall structure to create a new texture which on first glance can seem merely decorative, but is in fact contrapuntal and imitative within itself. In each of these cases a framework of imitative counterpoint is elaborated. In this Cavazzoni piece we see a series of cadences with elaborations disguising an

underlying imitative structure, which although it may not be complex is still essential to the progress of the piece from cadence to cadence. In other words we see the development in an instrumental idiom of periodic imitation. In *Plus. ne regres* it is this underlying, periodic structure derived from the vocal original which provides the organic unity and the musical direction of the piece rather than the figuration which fills out that structure.

The compositional techniques described in this chapter have been those of the vocal music of the late fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries. Jeppesen describes the only surviving vocal music of M. A. Cavazzoni:

> Alles ist mit überlegener Sicherheit gestaltet und sehr fein und plastisch disponiert. Der Stil lässt sich im Grossen und Ganzen mit demjenigen vergleichen, der z. B. in den späten Messen Josquin de Prez's herrscht, doch aber etwas ungerecht nach ihm allein benannt wird. Denn obwohl Josquin allerdings als sein weitaus bedeutendster Vetreter dasteht, bildet dieser Stil in Wirklichkeit die normale Schreibweise der italienisierenden Niederländer, wie auch die der bodenständigen Komponisten dieser Epoche in Italien. (30)
>
> (Everything is well thought out, securely fashioned, the disposition [of the voices] very fine and plastic. The style can very well be compared with that of Josquin's late masses, although it would not be correct to ascribe the entire style to him. For although Josquin is the most important influence on the style, in fact it presents to us the normal way of writing of the Italianised Netherlanders as much as of the native Italian composers of the epoch.)

The style of pervasive imitation, then, is one that M. A. Cavazzoni practised in his vocal music. Although we have only a small example of his work for voices, it is enough to

enable us to assume that Cavazzoni was familiar with the style and techniques of the Netherlandish composers of the turn of the sixteenth century, and with the imitative, periodic style of vocal composition. In each of the pieces we have investigated here we have seen how this style is incorporated into his keyboard music as well. The melodic plasticity which Jeppesen observes in the *Missa Dominici Marco Antonio* can be seen in the variety of ornamentation and melodic figures of the ricercars and motets of the *Libro Primo*, while each piece is held together by an underlying structure based on the imitative and modal characteristics of Renaissance vocal polyphony. The ricercars may indeed be the first substantial examples of independent instrumental composition, but their real importance lies not so much in an absolute and quasi-revolutionary independence but in the way in which they develop the techniques of the vocal repertoire and begin to solve the problems of textless composition by applying those techniques to lengthy instrumental structures, overlaying them with ornamentation and with a new type of texture consisting of chordal writing and figuration which seems at first glance to be freely composed and irregular.

The difficulties encountered in describing this type of writing have proved difficult in the past and have rarely got below the virtuosity or surface colour. By concentrating primarily on the development of instrumental

textures and colours to be found in the *Libro Primo*, previous writers have never been able adequately to explain the fundamental strength of purpose and direction which M. A. Cavazzoni's music appears to possess. Seeing the music as part of a central, imitative style and seeing its underlying structure in terms of the vocal music of its era provides the answer to this problem.

CHAPTER 2

Girolamo Cavazzoni: a Study of the Imitative Processes of his Keyboard Music.

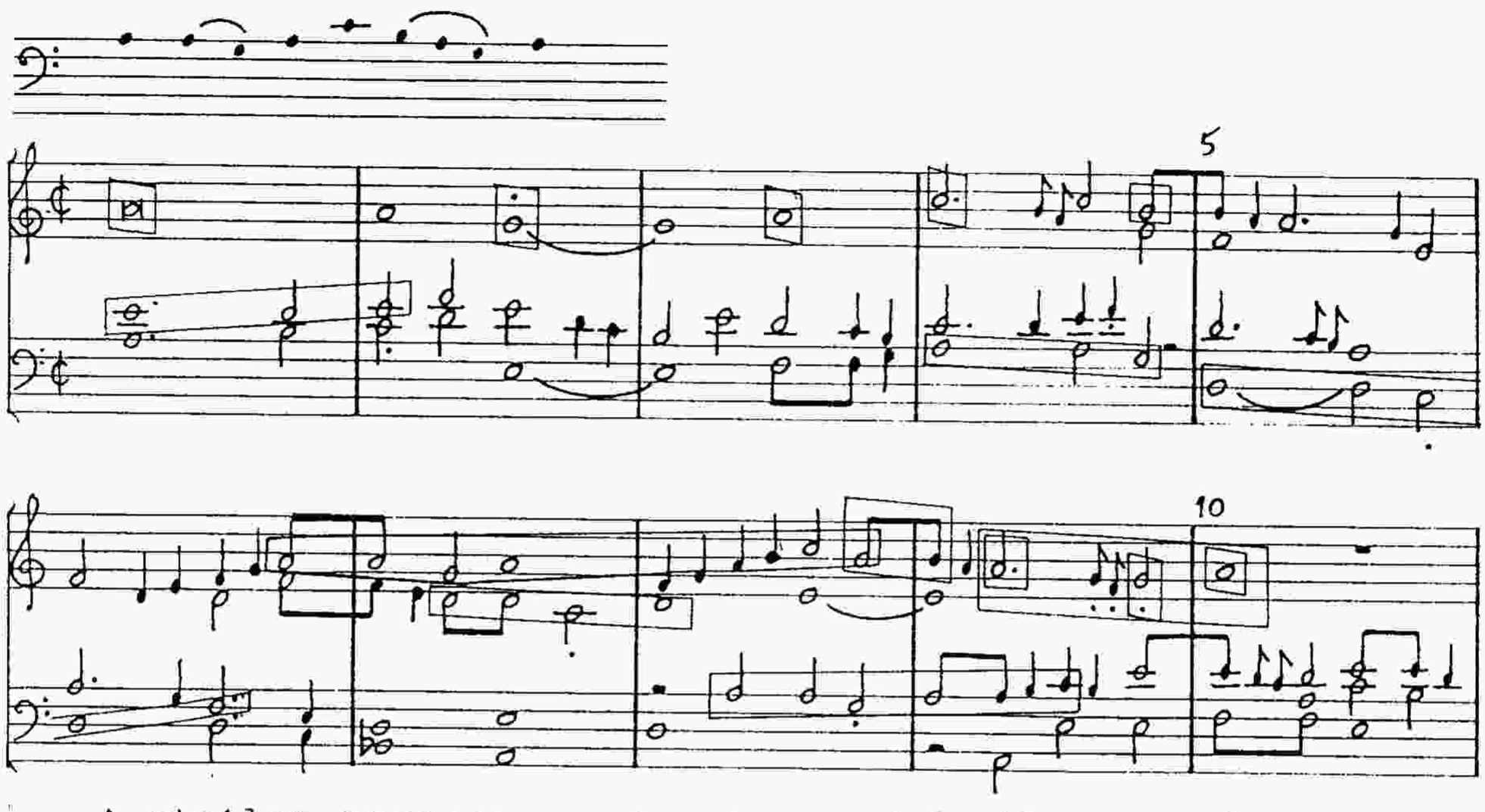
Girolamo Cavazzoni's two keyboard prints date from the 1540s(1) and contain a selection of the main genres of keyboard composition of the earlier part of the sixteenth century. In the first volume four ricercars represent the main modal groups on D, E, F and G,(2) and two intabulations use models typical of the keyboard music of the sixteenth century - a chanson by Josquin (*Faulte d'argent*) and another (*Il est bel et bon* by Passereau) from the enormous French chanson repertoire. The second volume opens with three alternatim mass settings based on several of the most popular chants, while both volumes contain alternatim **Magnificat** settings and several hymns. This study will concentrate on a selection of those pieces based on pre-existent vocal music - monophonic and polyphonic - and show how Cavazzoni reworks his borrowed material to produce new music in a distinctive keyboard idiom.

II

The *Missa Apostolorum* opens Cavazzoni's *Secondo Libro*, and consists of alternatim settings of the Kyrie and Gloria

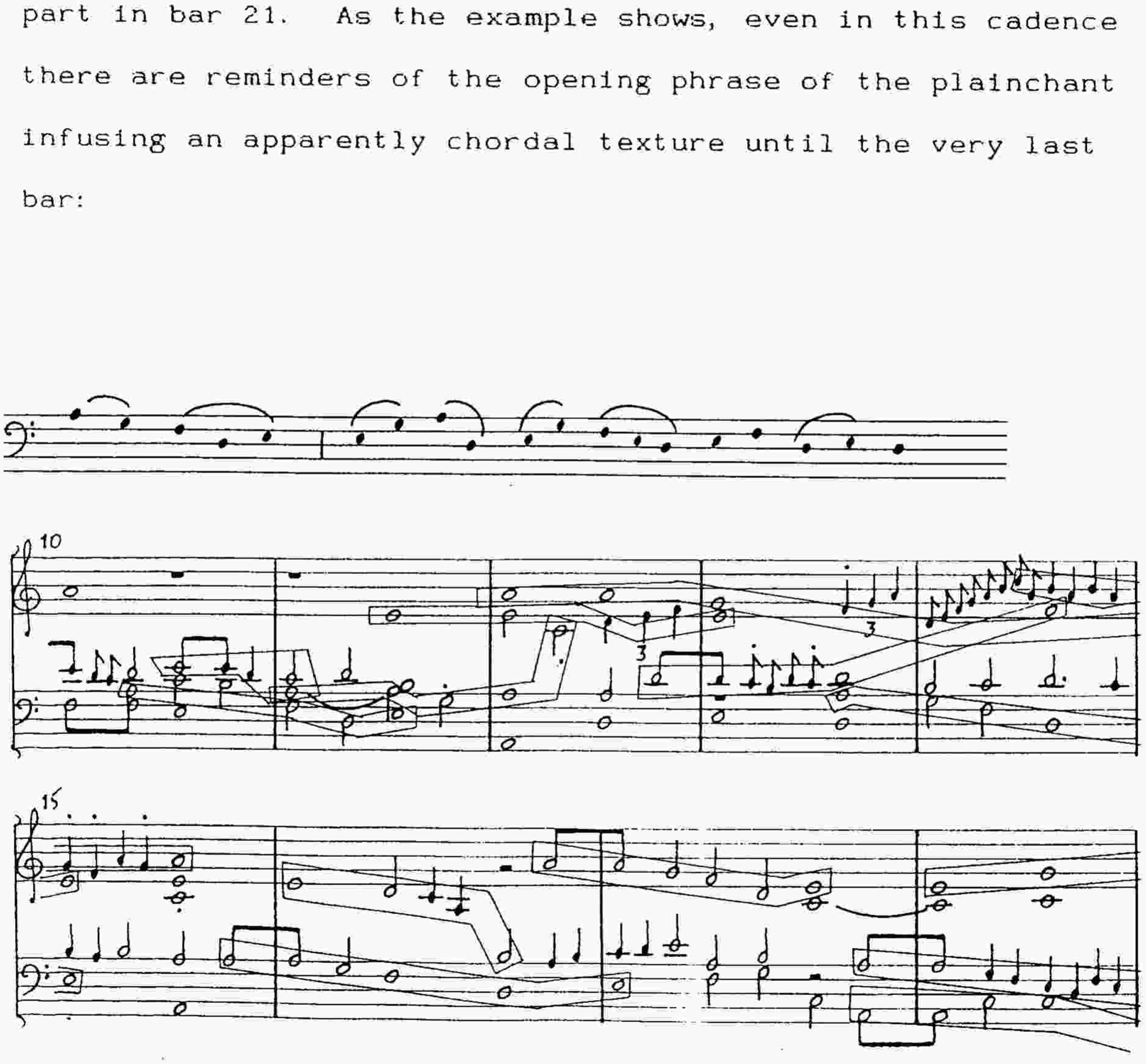
of the *Missa Cunctipotens genitor deus*, the same chant as that used by Attaignant in the 1531 organ mass discussed earlier. (3) The opening *Chirie primus* is of particular importance as the longest section of the mass and one of the most highly developed. In this movement we see several compositional techniques combined. The driving force behind the music is that of periodic imitation, despite the firm presence of a cantus firmus. The imitation arises from a development of the techniques observed in the Attaignant mass. There we saw how the cantus firmus was provided with a harmonically conceived, periodic accompaniment made up of mainly non-thematic ornamental figuration which moved from cadence to cadence around the plainchant. In the Cavazzoni mass we find a development of this procedure, in which the cadential framework around the cantus firmus - easily identified in the *Chirie primus* by the regular phrase structure of the lowest voice - is filled out by thematic material itself derived from the cantus firmus. As the following analysis will show, the apparently chordal texture resulting from the strong vertical and harmonic framework is itself made up of thematic elements arranged horizontally in a periodic, imitative style, in which the part-writing retains great flexibility, allowing the motives to migrate from voice to voice. A flexible, multi-voiced contrapuntal structure of great textural variety is created from the complete absorption of the plainchant into the music.

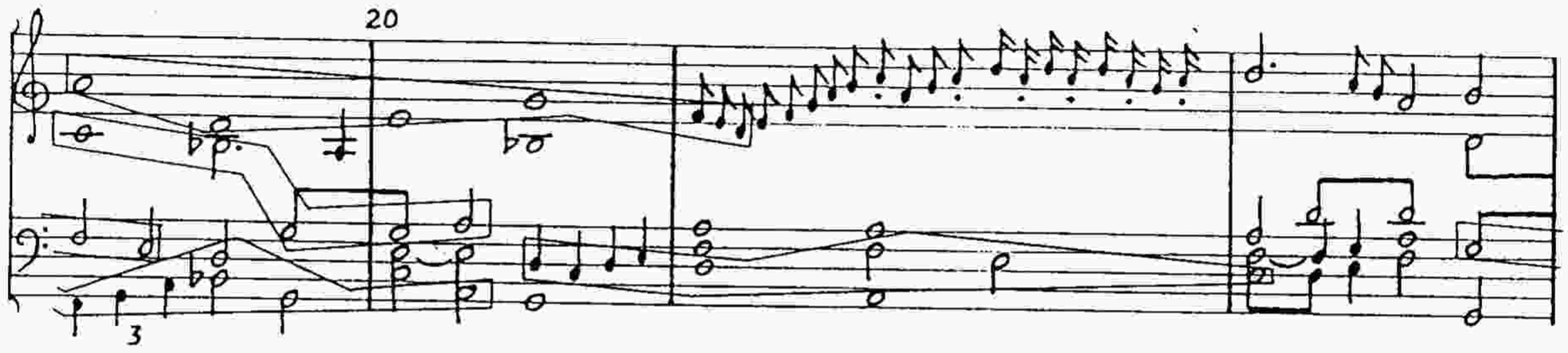
In the opening few bars of the *Chirie primus* the first plainchant phrase appears in the upper voice as a cantus firmus. By the fourth bar, however, the melody is broken with ornamentation and in the fifth bar is interrupted by an improvisatory flourish before being continued and completed over the end of bar 9 and the beginning of bar 10. This is marked in the following example by a series of small boxes drawn around individual notes in the upper voice. The improvisatory interpolation is initiated by the beginning of an imitative point in bar 4 in the lowest voice, using the first characteristic interval of the plainchant. This motive was first heard in the middle voice of the first bar. The motive at bar 4 is imitated in bar 5 within the same voice, again in bar 6 (extended to incorporate the rising third) in the cantus in bar 6, the altus in bar 7 and finally by the tenor in bar 8. A final decorated entry can be heard in bar 10, where it also forms part of the cantus firmus. It is the imitative point, then, rather than the cantus firmus which controls the structure of the movement. The imitative entries are marked with long boxes in the following example which is headed by the first plainchant phrase:

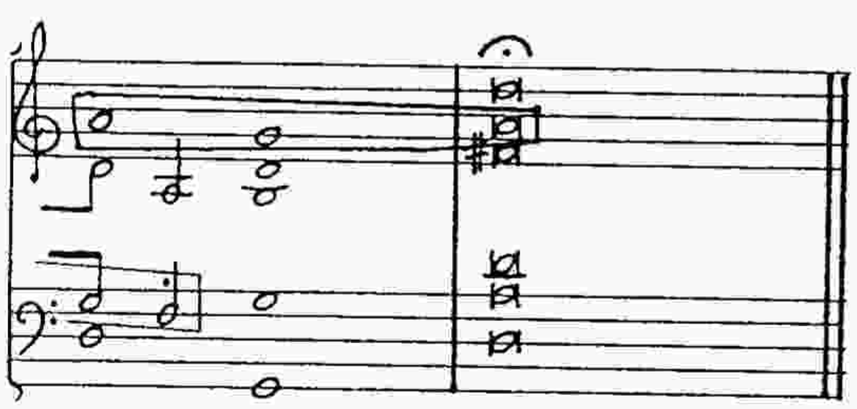


A similar process can be observed in the second main paragraph which leds up to the cadence at bar 15. The extent to which the texture is infused with the plainchant can be seen in the example: even the apparently unimportant cadential material of the lower voices in bars 10 to 11 is tightly constructed of motivic elements. The contrapuntal texture grows from the plainchant melody, which continues to cross from part to part. Thus three consecutive sections of the plainchant can be heard simultaneously in the lower voices of this small cadence which leads to a return of the cantus firmus in the upper part. As in the first paragraph, however, it is still the imitation which controls the structure rather than the cantus firmus itself. The example shows how tightly constructed this point is and how virtually every movement of the texture is dictated by the use of interlocking motivic elements derived from the

plainchant. The imitative point continues across the cadence reached by the cantus firmus, continuing to direct the melodic elements of the piece despite the appearance in bar 18 of the final phrase of the plainchant in the upper voice. The main imitative entries are marked with boxes in the following example. The final few notes of the plainchant are lost in the cadential figuration of the upper part in bar 21. As the example shows, even in this cadence there are reminders of the opening phrase of the plainchant infusing an apparently chordal texture until the very last bar:



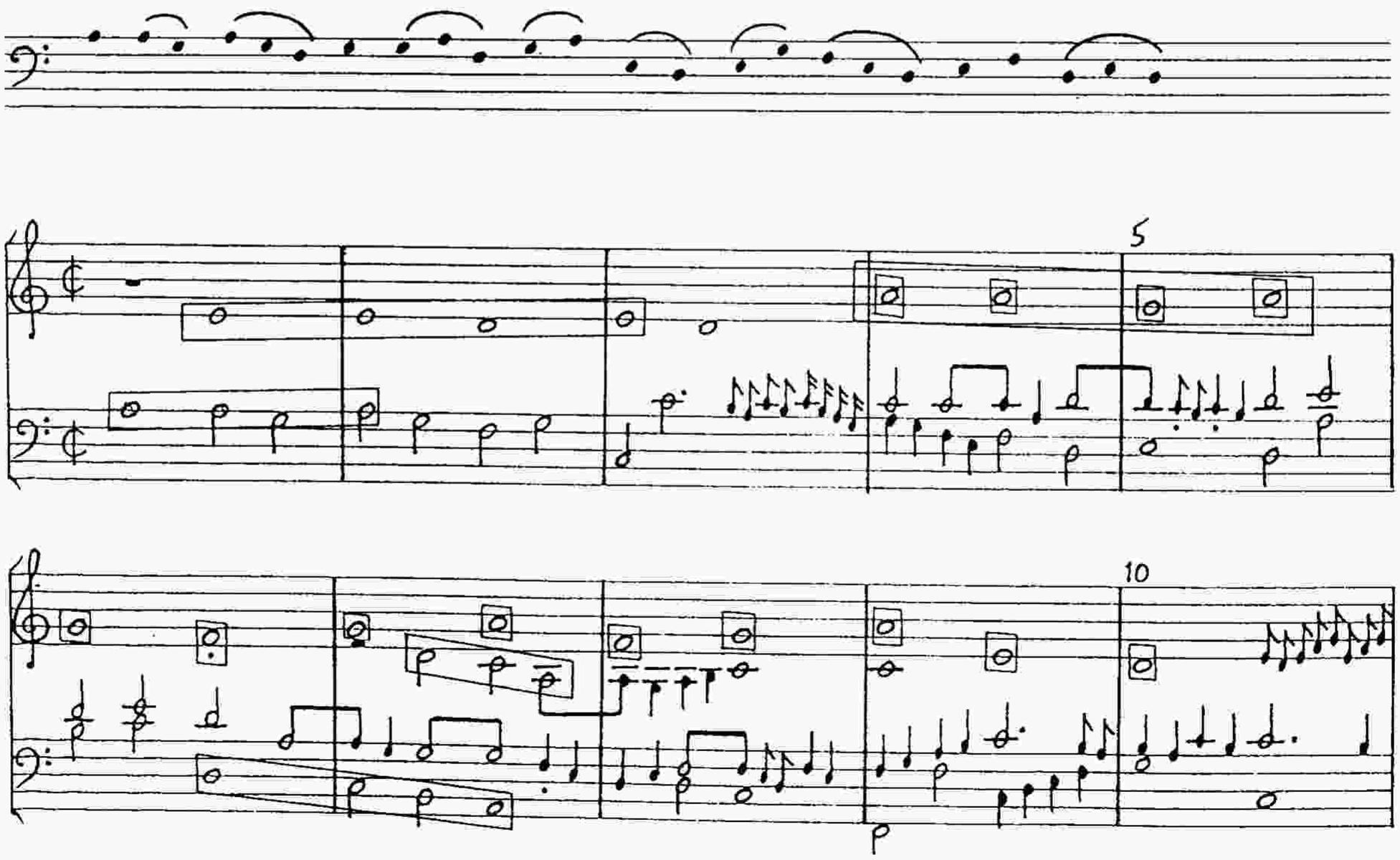


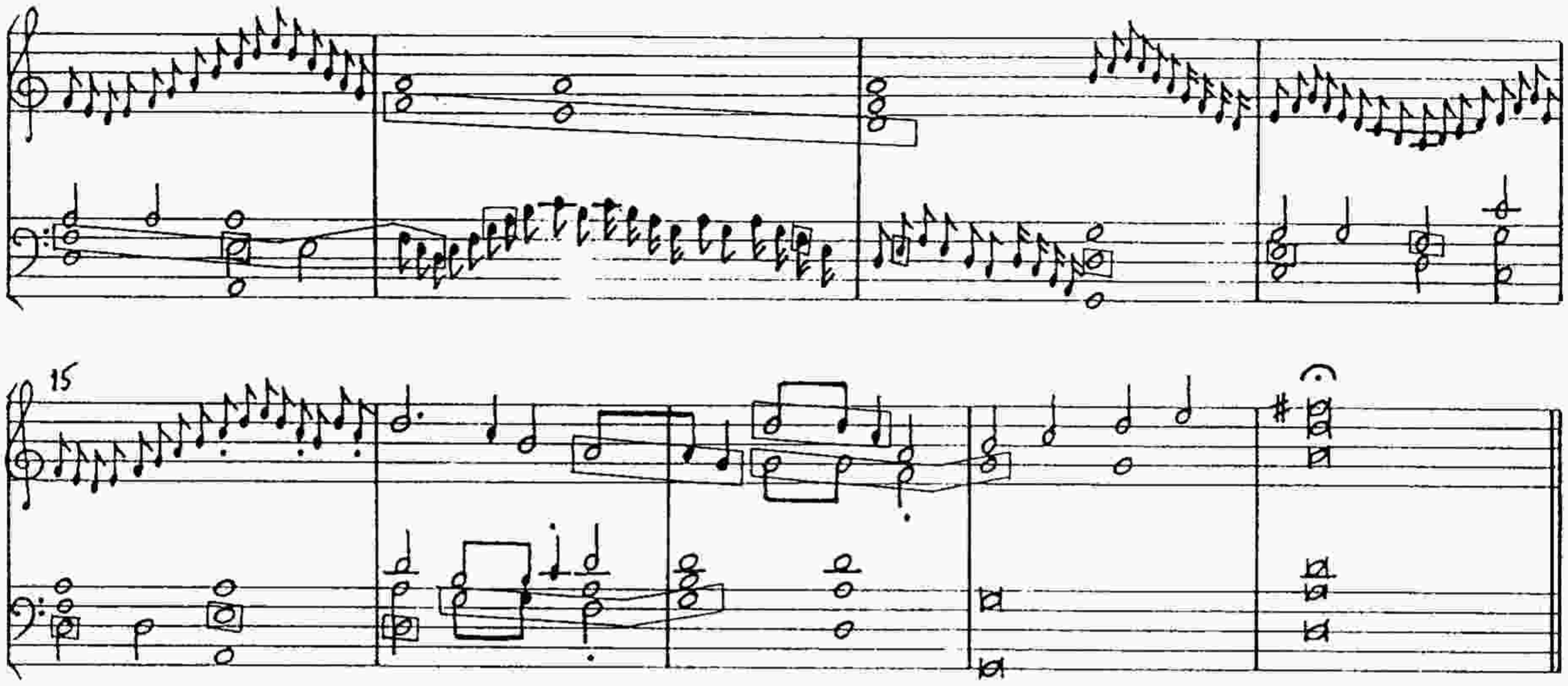


This analysis shows that using similar procedures to those of M. A. Cavazzoni, Girolamo Cavazzoni creates in this movement a free texture of chords and ornamentation which is firmly based upon the procedures of imitative, periodic counterpoint. The imitative procedures provide an organic unity to the movement and to the compositional style which places it on a different level to the Attaignant mass discussed earlier. The compositional techniques are those of the highest quality vocal music, clothed in a free texture which is suited to the keyboard.

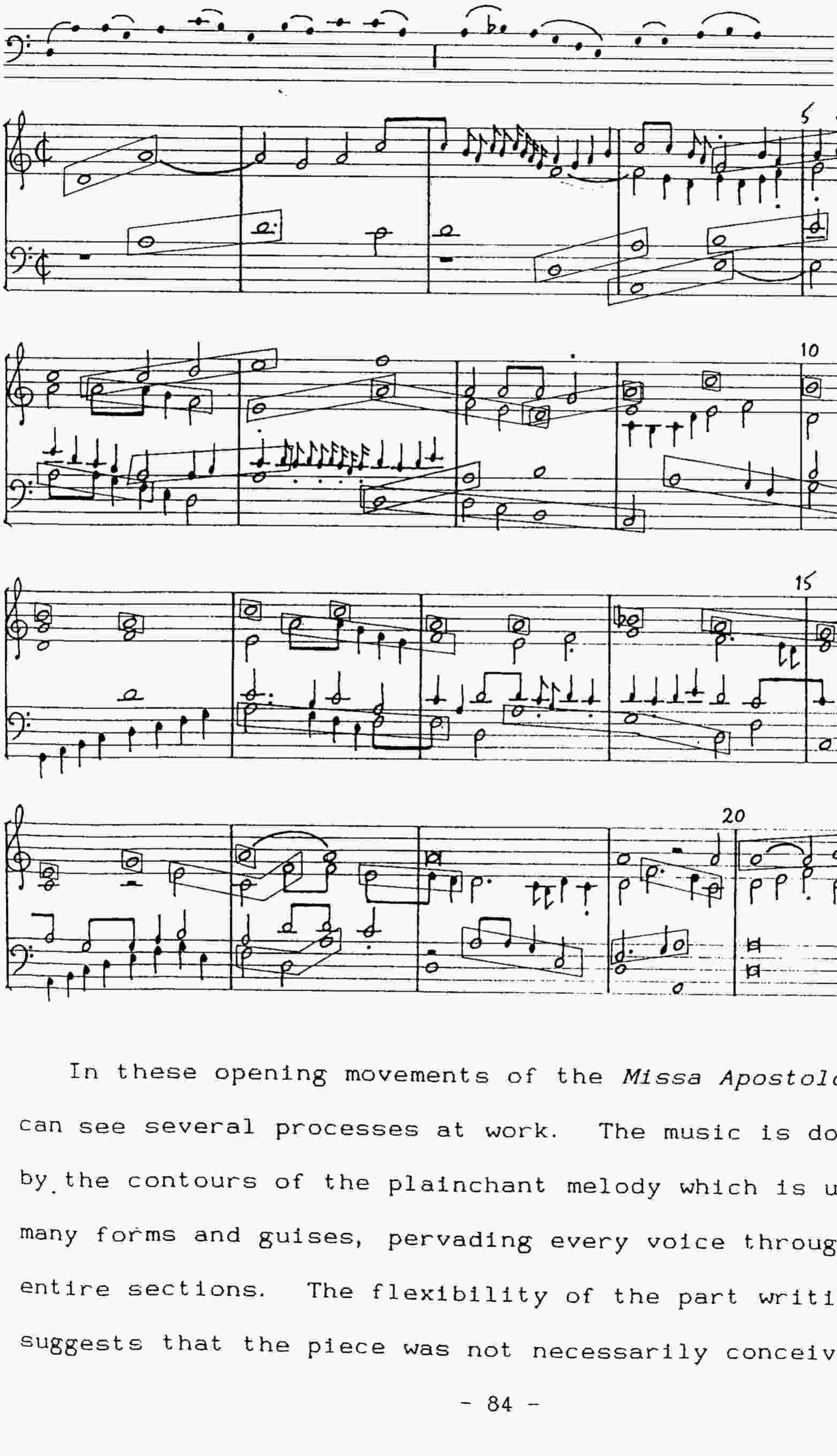
The other movements of the mass are considerably less complex than this first one, although they still work in fundamentally the same way: flexible part writing and textures interlock with a periodic, imitative framework. The *Christe* opens with imitation based on the plainchant. The first entry is decorated and soon departs from the model, but the second and third entries are continued for several

notes more. Indeed the third entry rapidly turns into a cantus firmus in the upper voice until bar 10. It is marked by boxes in the example. At bar 10 the upper voice appears to continue with a decorated version of the plainchant, but in fact this is only *Vorimitation* of the cantus firmus which reappears (marked by small boxes) in the next bar, threading through the lower voices and considerable decoration. As in the *Chirie Primus*, there is a continuous underlying imitative structure to this movement, in which all the motives are developed from the plainchant. They are marked with boxes in the example. Once again the apparently chordal writing can be seen to be infused with material drawn from the plainchant. The figuration from bar 11-15 has its own imitative structure, moving through the texture with its own logic and order.





The periodic structure of the *Chirie tertius* is clearer than in the two earlier movements of Cavazzoni's *Missa Apostalorum*. The head of the motive is imitated in all four voices which enter on the final and dominant of the mode in regular order. Later entries of the motive are hidden in the texture and spread between the parts. Even the entry of a regular cantus firmus (marked by small boxes) is obscured by the part-writing and by its entry in an inner voice halfway through the cadence in bar 8; another indication that it is the periodic imitative structure which controls the shape of the movement, not the cantus firmus. The main imitative entries are marked in the example in the usual way.



In these opening movements of the *Missa Apostolorum* we can see several processes at work. The music is dominated by the contours of the plainchant melody which is used in many forms and guises, pervading every voice throughout entire sections. The flexibility of the part writing suggests that the piece was not necessarily conceived simply

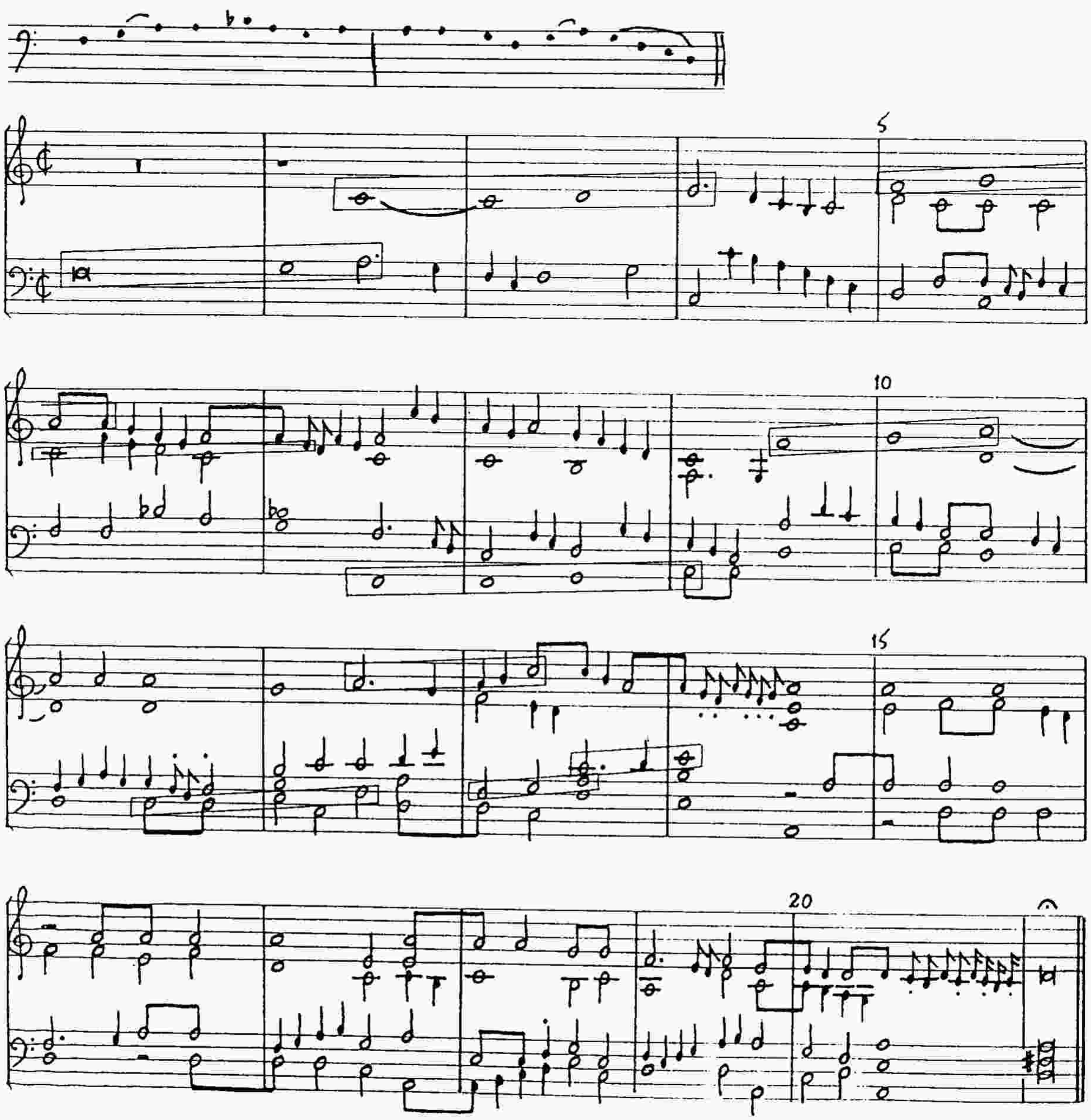
as regular, even counterpoint. Instead a keyboard idiom consisting of chordal textures with ornamentation is imposed upon an underlying periodic, imitative structure of considerable complexity. It is this structure which provides the strong harmonic direction of the music as it proceeds from cadence to cadence independently of the cantus firmus. In the next group of pieces to be discussed, the Magnificats, we can see yet another approach to keyboard composition. The Magnificats use many of the techniques of periodic imitation, but the Magnificat tone itself plays a more important overall structural role in each short movement. Here we see the distillation of the Magnificat tone - itself the essence of its mode - into an essential structural element.

Mischiati writes in his preface to Volume One of his Cavazzoni edition(4) that the Magnificats use elements of melodies from the modes I and VIII on which they are based, setting only the *initium* and the *finalis*. Using a similar investigative approach to that used already in this study it can be shown that Cavazzoni uses all the elements of the chants, and also that he relates the cadence structures of the movements to both the musical and textual cadences of the chant. Each movement becomes a reworking of the previous one, and at the same time a variation in polyphony of the original monophonic outline of the plainchant; as if

the plainchant were acting like an "ideal" cantus firmus. (5) Each movement features two main imitative sections, the first of which cadences on A, the second -approximately equal in length - on D. We thus find the two important cadence pitches of the two halves of the plainchant intonation reflected by the main cadences of the keyboard setting. Between the framework of the cadences - the essence of the psalm tone - Cavazzoni constructs an imitative framework interlocked with ornamentation.

The first verse of Cavazzoni's *Magnificat primi toni* opens with an imitative framework which is derived motivically from the first phrase of the plainchant. At first only the first three notes of the chant are developed but later the music expands the range of the original slightly, by rising to a high C rather than to a Bb, making the cadence on A all the stronger. The characteristic semitone between Bb and A is not neglected, however: the Bb can still be heard in the inner parts in bars 6 and 7. The example shows the main imitative points leading up to the important cadence on A at bar 14. Towards the end of the point the melody becomes harder to trace, dissolving into shorter note values. Note the imitation within the figuration in bars 6-8. The patterns have their own structure within the overall framework. As in the *Missa Apostolorum* elements of the chant become enmeshed in the keyboard texture, switching between parts and octaves. The

second part of the movement (bars 15-21) consists of motives which descend through a fifth - the overall interval of the second part of the plainchant. The general movement of the upper voice in this second half is a continual descent from A to D, while the general tendency of the bassus is to descend from D to A until the final cadence is reached. the example is headed by the magnificat tone I.

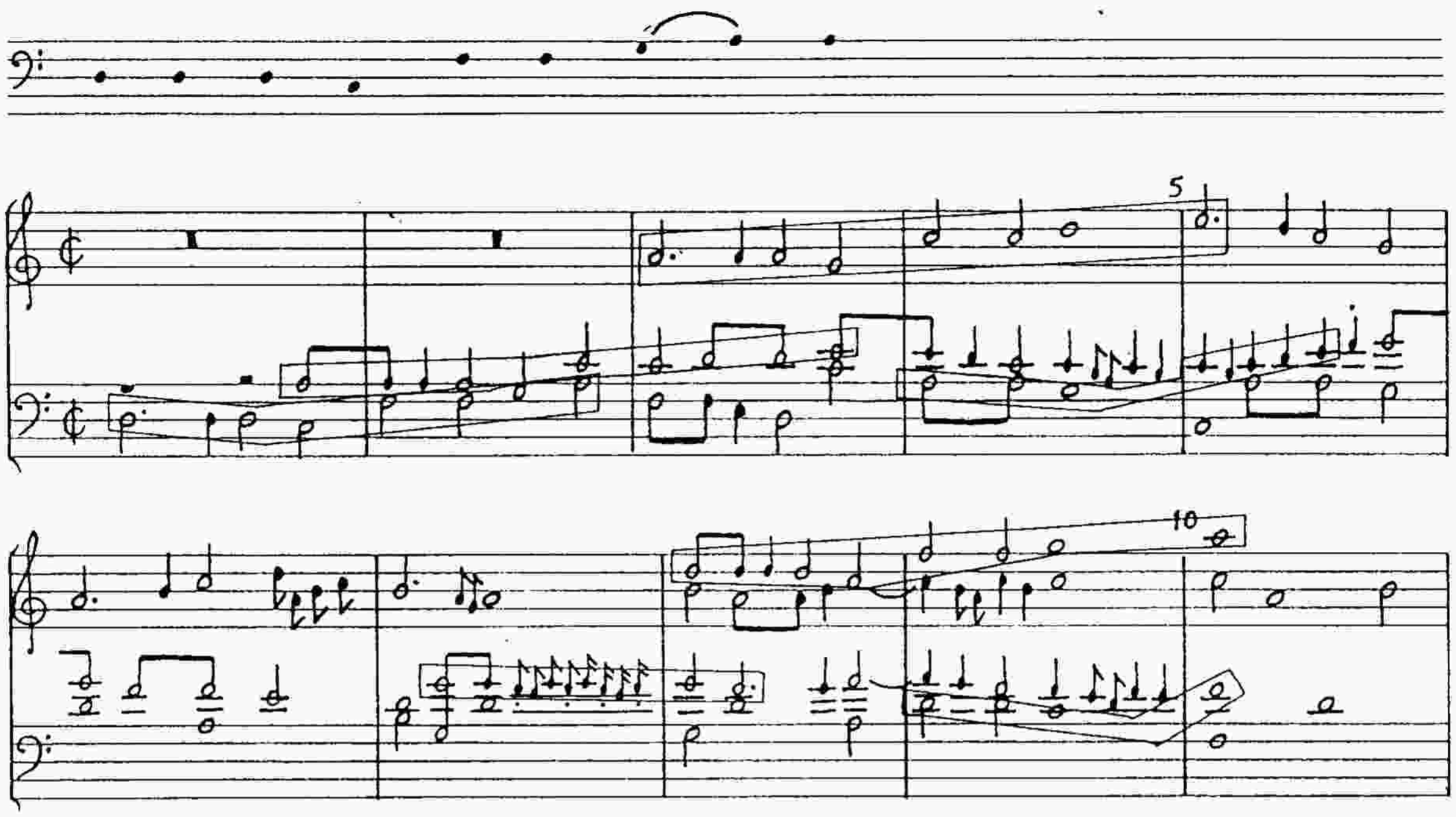


The following movements rework this basic stucture as well as the individual imitative periods. Example 2A shows how Cavazzoni reworks the first imitative point of each piece. His technique of reworking the overall structure varies from movement to movement. In *Quia respexit* the opening period is repeated. The first cadence on A is therefore presented in a simple way: the second time round it occurs with much more florid decoration. In *Deposuit* the cadence occurs exactly halfway through the movement, thus corresponding closely with the almost identical lengths of the two halves of text of the verse. In *Suscepit* both the opening and concluding points of *Magnificat* are reworked briefly, producing a very strong cadence on D early in the movement. Cavazzoni then concentrates on an extensive reworking of the second point, with several different forms of a motive based on the descending fifth outline of the second half of the plainchant.

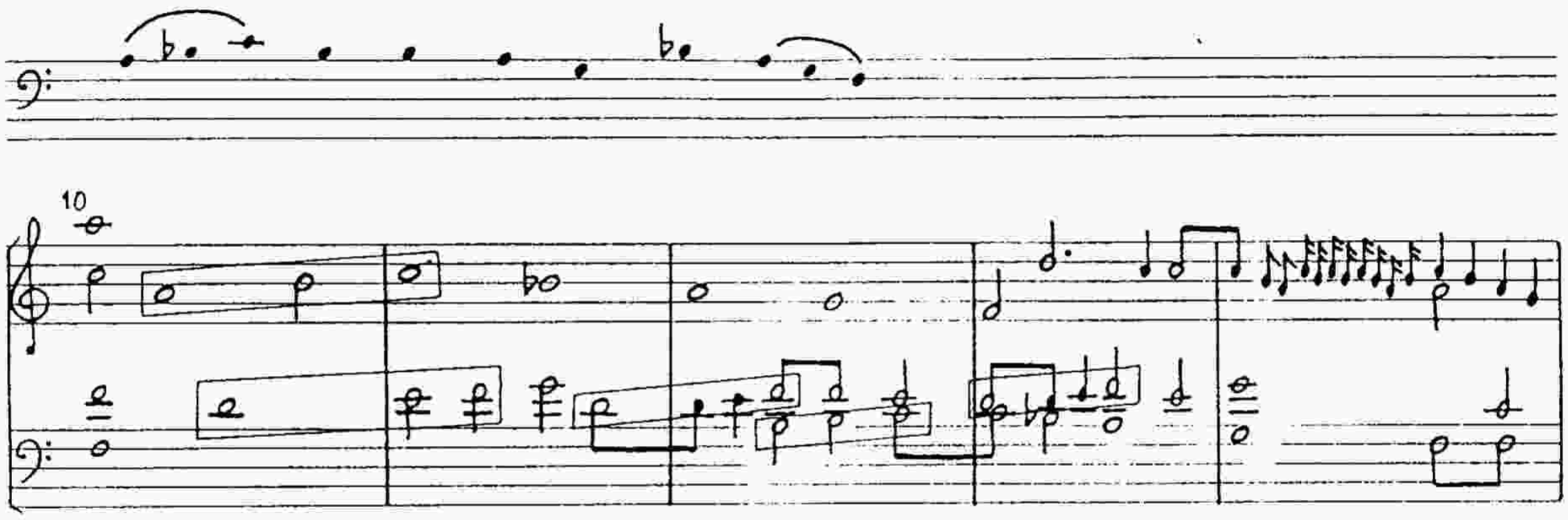
We can thus see several processes of borrowing at work in Cavazzoni's *Magnificat Primi Toni.* The first is the use of individual motives derived from the plainchant to create imitative, polyphonic structures, while the second is the use of the overall structure of the plainchant and its text to determine the overall form and cohesion of those structures. The third consists of the reworking of pre-existent polyphonic structures in the form of Cavazzoni's

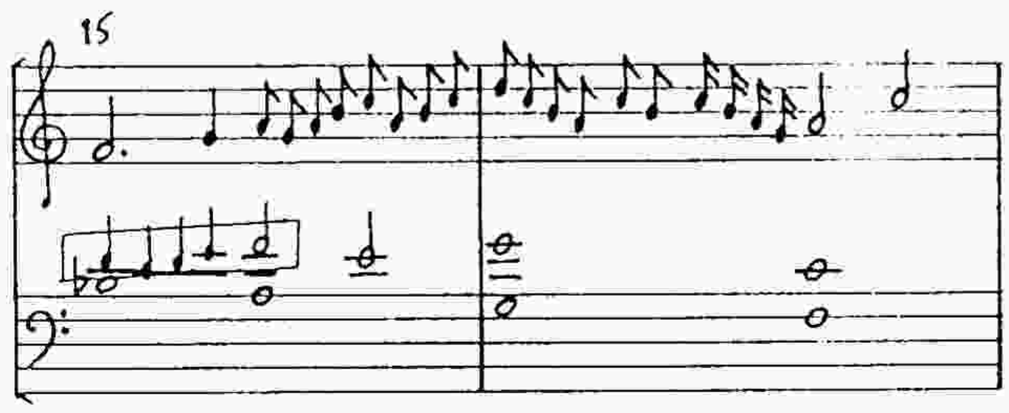
continual redevelopment of the imitative structures of each movement.

Even Cavazzoni's hymn settings are infused with the techniques of borrowing and reworking. *Pange lingua*(6) reworks each phrase of the hymn in a series of imitative periods. The overall structure of the model is thus preserved in the hymn setting. In addition to this structural borrowing, Cavazzoni infuses most aspects of the texture with motives drawn from the model, even if in highly decorated form, producing hidden imitation on both a large and small scale. Thus the opening treats the first phrase of the melody in a familiar style; regular, evenly-spaced imitative entries on either the final or the dominant. In bar 4 we find increased rhythmic activity in the inner voice. Closer inspection reveals that this apparently simple decorative material in fact conceals another imitative entry beginning on A. This moves through the parts and is highly decorated in bar 5, but the outline of a descending second followed by a rising fifth - the essential elements of the plainchant phrase form a framework (marked in the example) around which the figuration is built - is quite clear. At bar 7 the ornamental cadential figuration conceals another entry of the head of the same motive, a fifth below the very obvious entry in the upper voice in the next bar. A further variant begins in bar 9 on D:



The next point proceeds in a similar manner and presents two elements of the second plainchant phrase simultaneously. The descending fourth of the phrase ending is treated imitatively in long note values throughout the period, again appearing sometimes disguised by an overlay of figuration. The figuration woven around this framework consists of a rising minor third motive derived from the beginning of the plainchant phrase:





The final three periods of the piece are identified by either a strong cadence or a change of metre. The small motives of these sections interlock and are continuously varied: once again the underlying imitative structure is diguised by the apparently free texture and by the ornamentation. The single line of plainchant is turned into a keyboard texture of considerable complexity and fluidity. The underlying contrapuntal framework is overlaid with new material which constantly adapts to the underlying direction of the motives. This is the technique of intabulation. It is as if there already exists an imitative structure which Cavazzoni decorates; his diminution figures become so intertwined with the motives that they can no longer be distinguished as a separate element. (See Example 2B.)

These examples from each of the main genres found in Cavazzoni's keyboard repertoire which are based on plainchant show how a single, monophonic model could be used by a keyboard composer and reworked into a polyphonic texture of considerable ingenuity and freedom. The overall shape of the chant governs the main cadence structures of all of these pieces. In the magnificat movements the main cadence occurs frequently halfway through the relevant imitative paragraph, just as it occurs halfway through the Magnificat tone. In the mass movements and in the hymn setting we saw how the overall shape and phrase lengths of the plainchant affects the number of imitative points and their length and balance. The new piece becomes an amplification of the essential elements - particularly the cadences and melodic shapes - of the chant. We saw in the previous chapter how M. A. Cavazzoni responded to these essential modal elements in his ricercar-motet pairs by constructing hidden motivic or intervallic relationships which allowed the apparently free, ornamental texture to progress from cadence to cadence. Each half of the pair of pieces expressed a particular aspect of the modal group through its cadence structures. Girolamo Cavazzoni works from cadence to cadence of his plainchant models by filling out the space with figuration based around imitative counterpoint itself derived from the chant. The chant melody can be passed from voice to voice, up and down the keyboard, jumping octaves or being enclosed in complex

figuration, but it always remains a strong background element of the flexible, ornamented structure. It is partly an audible cantus firmus, partly simply a presence shaping the music round it. The essence of the monophonic model becomes reworked into a polyphonic structure. The procedures used throughout these pieces - the reworking of cadences, imitative points, textures and structures - are as sophisticated as any to be found in the vocal music of the period. As Apel writes, "the general style of Cavazzoni's liturgical pieces is based on the contrapuntal-imitative vocal style of the period, but his work stands out for its flowing lines and clear polyphonic web, which excels the work of many a famous vocal composer (eg Willaert)."(7) We can see in these pieces something of the "secret art" of the organist, working a texture and the overall shape of a pre-existent piece under his hands and producing new material in a distinctive keyboard idiom which is nevertheless totally dependent upon the model and upon the compositional procedures which may have originally formed it. Two further pieces by Girolamo Cavazzoni remain to be discussed; the two intabulations from the *Libro primo*. One is based, like M. A. Cavazzoni's *Plus. de. regres* on a model by Josquin, the five-part chanson *Faulte d'argent*. (8) The other is based on another typical French chanson, Passereau's *Il est bel et bon*. (9)

III

Josquin's *Faulte d'argent* combines a three-part chanson with a two-part canon to produce an elegant five-part piece. The canon becomes integrated into the periodic, imitative texture of the piece so that its entries are hard to distinguish as a separate structure. Apel writes that Cavazzoni's *Faulte d'argent*, like its companion piece, *Il e bel e bon*, uses motives from the vocal original to create a new piece, and is thus a type of parody on the original. (10) This statement has been accepted by all recent writers on the subject including the author of the New Grove article. The following analysis shows, however, that Cavazzoni's borrowings and reworkings in his keyboard piece go far beyond the use merely of motives from the original model; this is just one of several ways in which Cavazzoni works out his new piece. He disregards the canonic structure, preferring instead to concentrate upon a reworking of the imitative periods and the overall structure which they form.

Firstly the overall A: B: A form of the chanson is preserved, albeit with different proportions:

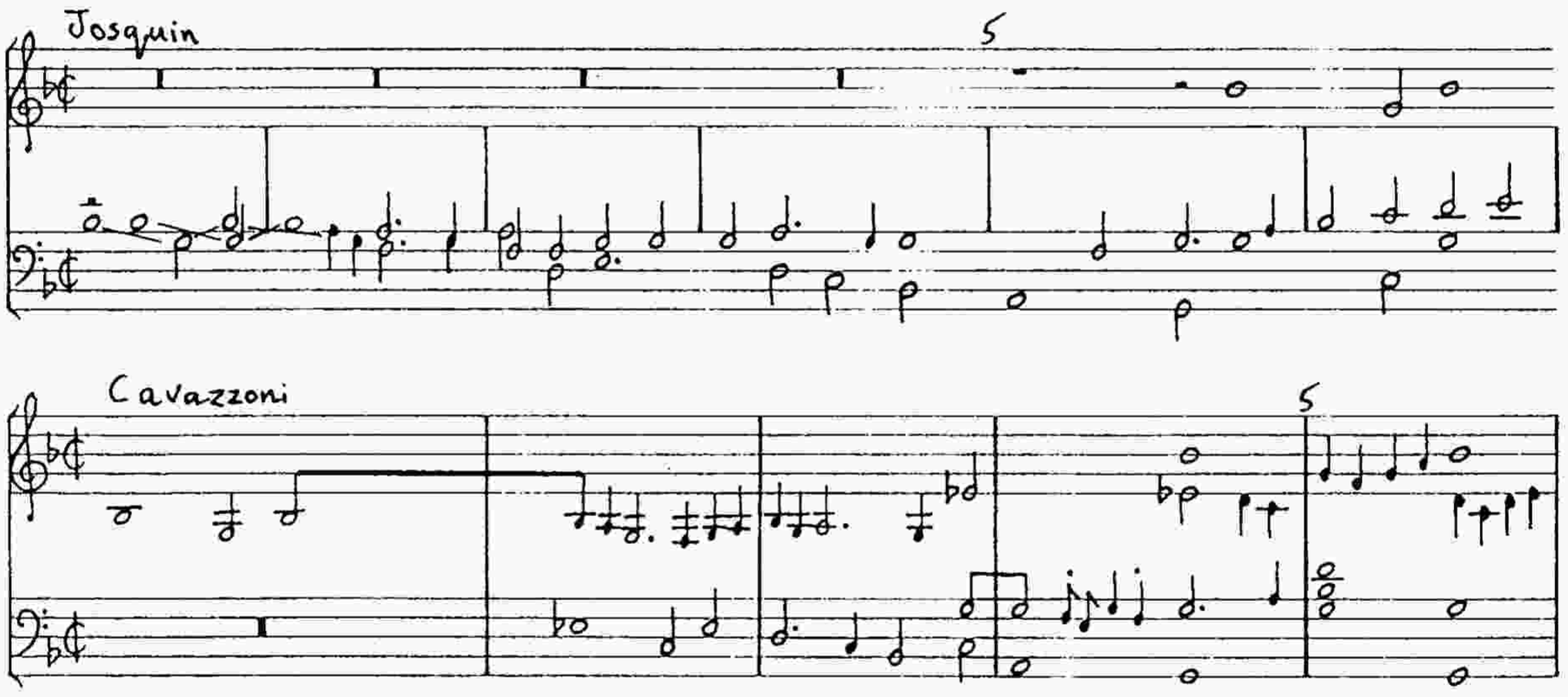
	Length of section (breves)						
	A	B	[A+B]	A'	<C>	[A+<C>]	[Total length]
Josquin	21	22	[43]	21	9	[30]	73
Cavazzoni	25	6	[31]	25	2	[27]	58

Cavazzoni's compression of material is particularly noticeable. Each A section and A' section are identical in length in both pieces. It is in the middle section that the differences are most noticeable. Cavazzoni shortens his B section, and correspondingly his C section so much that the piece develops a bipartite feel, of simply A/A'.

Cavazzoni's B section beginning at bar 26 uses material that appears related only tenuously to the original chanson. The main function of this section is to lead from the cadence on D at bar 25 back to a cadence on G at 31 in order to begin the A' section. The prominence of the Ebs in this short section and the overall descent of the bass suggest a possible link with the bass phrase which opens Josquin's B section, which performs the very same function of leading from D to G via a prominent Eb, although the whole section lasts much longer and finally ends on Bb. We can therefore see that Cavazzoni has taken the structural and tonal implications of the outer shell of the chanson and reworked it to produce the overall shape of the keyboard piece.

Cavazzoni's A and B sections can also be seen as a reworkings of smaller paragraphs of Josquin's first two sections. Cavazzoni compresses the imitative points, reworking them into a shorter structure. The following example shows how the first three imitative entries are reworked by Cavazzoni. The imitative relationships of the

original are altered; the second entry is on Eb rather than on Bb, although the the third entry corresponds to the entry of Josquin's superius on a high Bb in bar 5. In addition to this reworking, Cavazzoni preserves the overall framework and direction of the imitative point. The entry in the intabulation on Eb enables Cavazzoni to stress the prominent E in Josquin's bassus in bar 3 and to provide the point with the essence of the melodic direction of the lower part from the Bb of the opening note to the low G of bar 5:

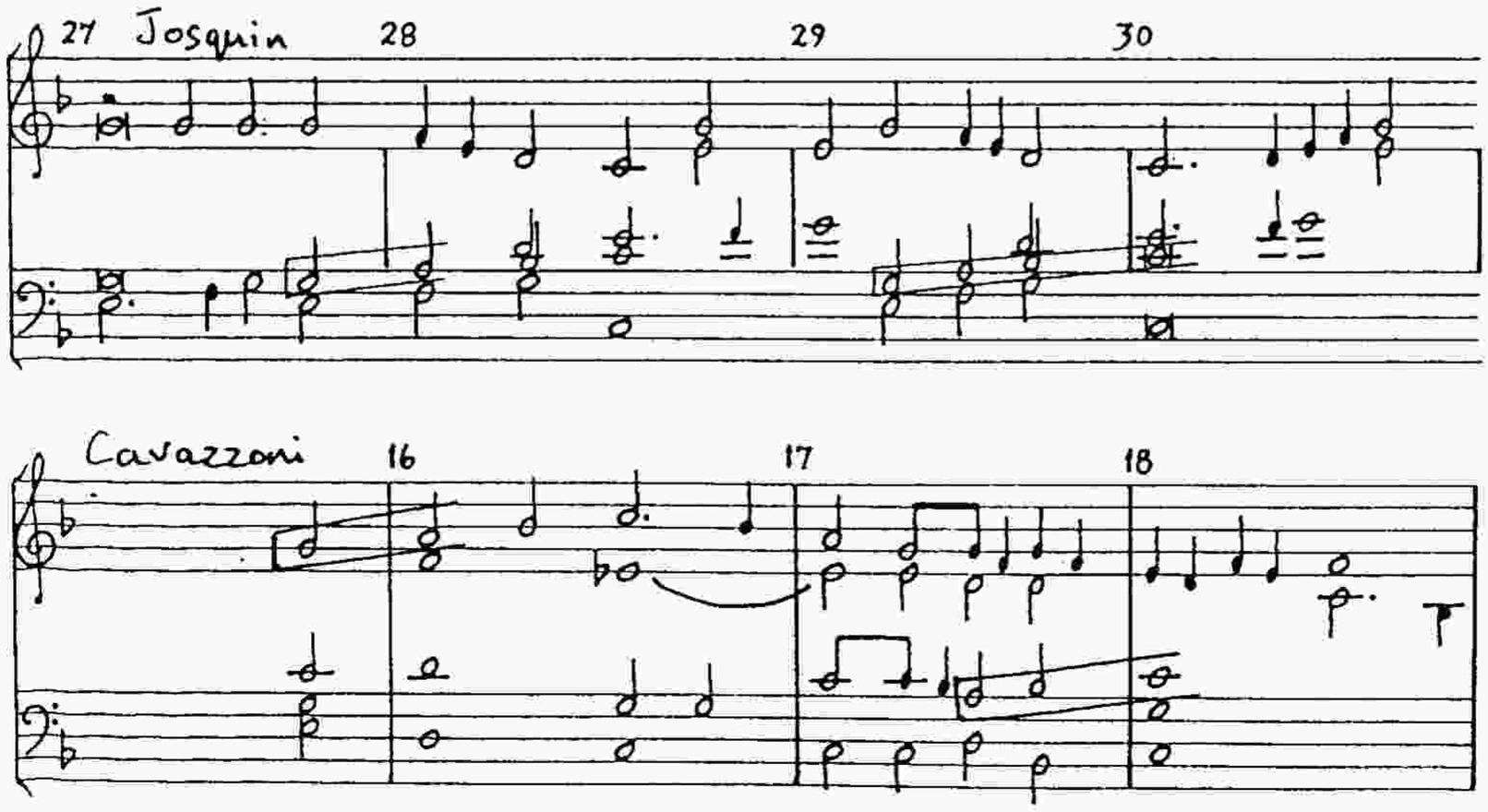


Cavazzoni then continues to rework the overall shape of each of Josquin's imitative points as they move from cadence to cadence, sometimes retaining precise details of the chanson and sometimes retaining simply the overall outline or ambitus of the voice parts. In the next point, for example, Cavazzoni concentrates on the movement of the chanson towards its cadence on D in bar 12, and the keyboard piece gradually aquires more and more of the texture and

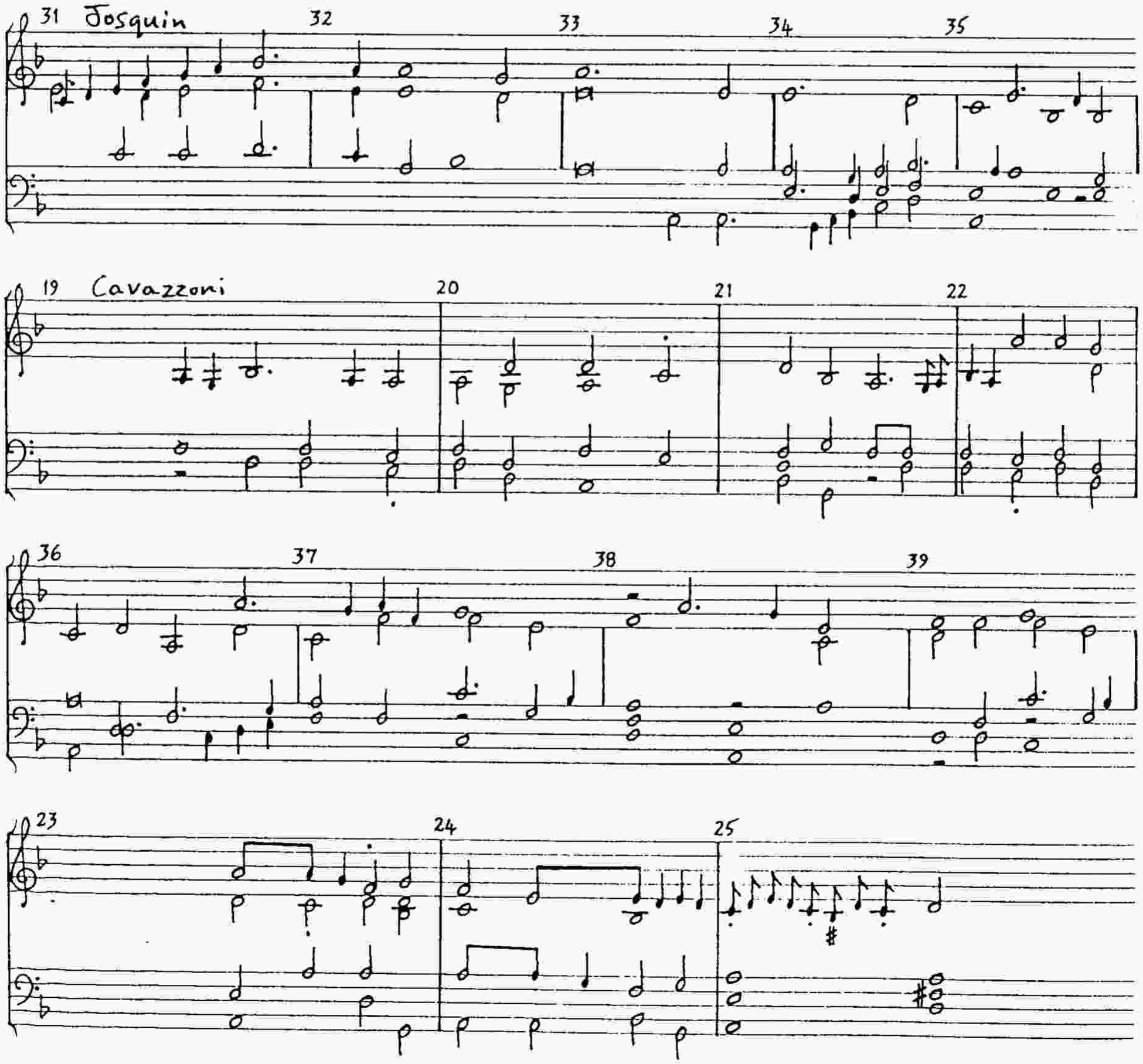
range of the model. Thus as Example 2C shows, by the end of bar 7 Cavazzoni has picked up the actual pitches of the cadence after treating very freely the general direction of the previous few bars of the chanson. He then goes on to maintain the low ambitus of the chanson, placing a version of the bassus entry of the chanson in bar 12 (marked in the example with a square bracket) in the highest part. The contratenor entry of bar 14 (again marked with a bracket) is transposed down an octave, appearing in the inner parts of bar 10 of the intabulation. It is followed closely by a variation of the superius entry of the same bar. Once again, then, both the overall shape of the model and its internal motivic constructions are reworked into what appears to be an organically conceived keyboard piece. Cavazzoni then ignores several bars of the chanson, returning to it significantly enough at the next important cadence in bar 21. This marks the end of part A of the chanson and the overlapping imitative point re-uses material from the opening few bars: a long Eb followed by a descent to G. The low ambitus as the upper two voices rest is reflected in the intabulation in bars 13 and 14. The superius entry in bar 23 of the chanson is anticipated by a new entry in the upper part of the intabulation in bar 13, while the actual imitative relationship of the chanson is reworked later: the superius entry appears in an inner part at the end of bar 13 transposed down an octave and the contratenor entry of the chanson in bar 24 on D appears in

the lowest voice of the intabulation at the end of bar 14. Again we see Cavazzoni reworking his borrowed material in several ways: the overall shape of the piece is reworked, as are individual motives and their original relationships.

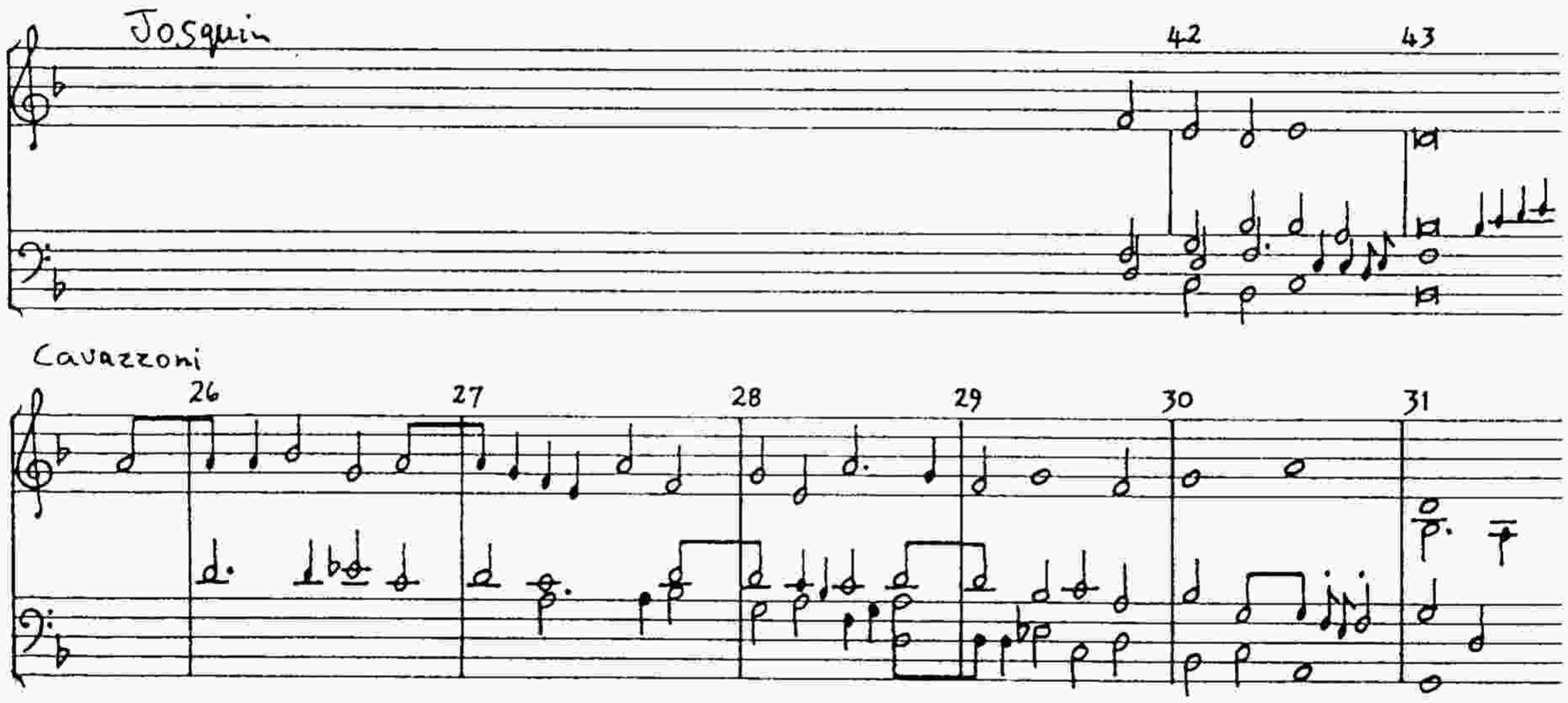
Cavazzoni then concentrates on reworking only the essential cadences of the next few bars of the chanson. He first tranposes the entry of the quinta pars of bar 27 (marked with a bracket) into the upper voice of the intabulation at the end of bar 15 arriving on C shortly afterwards. The following cadence on C (bar 30 of the chanson) is extensively reworked in the intabulation. The upper voice in bar 17 of the keyboard piece is a variation of the superius of the chanson in bar 29 while the last two notes of the quinta pars in the same bar (marked with a bracket) reappear in the keyboard piece in the last two notes of an inner part in bar 29 as Cavazzoni picks up the imitation from the second note of the motive.



Cavazzoni then briefly interpolates a cadence on F before reworking the shape and content of the cadence in bar 32 of the chanson. Again the superius is transposed down an octave, and the overall shape is retained as both pieces settle briefly on a low A. Cavazzoni overlays the cadence with motivic material derived from the motives of the lower three voices in bars 33 and 34 of the chanson. The following cadence is also then extensively reworked:



Bar 26 of the intabulation sees the beginning of its own B section. Cavazzoni uses a new motive with no obvious derivation from the original and works it around the cadential descent in the lowest voice from Eb to G which marked the beginning of the chanson's A and B sections. Cavazzoni reworks the inner parts of the chanson at bar 42 to create a new cadence on G. The quinta pars is inverted to descend from Bb to G and the tenor ornamentation appears in altered form:



'We can thus see several different types of borrowing in Cavazzoni's intabulation. All four of the procedures identified by Quereau are involved in the creation of the new piece: individual motives are borrowed, motive entry relationships are reworked, long and short complexes of relationships and aspects of the large structure are developed. (11)

The second intabulation in Cavazzoni's *Libro primo* is based on Passereau's chanson *Il est bel et bon*. The links between the intabulation and its model have never been fully explored. It has been assumed that the keyboard piece uses only the opening motive of the chanson and that Cavazzoni disregards the remainder of the vocal piece. The following analysis shows that links between the two are much deeper than has been previously assumed and that Cavazzoni uses the same techniques of borrowing and reworking as he applies in his other keyboard pieces. Cavazzoni transposes the chanson up a fourth and reworks the rondeau refrain into an extended imitative paragraph of 15 bars. This section is repeated later, follow by a coda derived from the same material. In the middle of the piece there are two short imitative points based on reworkings of themes from the second section of the chanson. The intabulation, then, is based on a variety of material from the first 13 bars of the chanson.

In the first imitative period the entries of the motive are reversed. Instead of entering first on the dominant Cavazzoni begins his point on the final of the mode, which in transposed position is of course the same note, D, as the opening motive of the chanson. He then proceeds to compose a more expansive point around this rearrangement in which the four voices enter in the normal pattern of alternating between dominant and final: the altus in bar 3, the tenor (after a "false" entry from the altus) in the second half of

bar 7. The bassus entry is delayed until bar 10. Within this large-scale framework the figuration takes on the shape of the motivic material producing many more imitative entries based on the head of the motive. These move through the texture from part to part. Example 2D shows how the opening of the chanson is reworked. The four main imitative entries of the intabulation marked with square boxes while the figural entries are marked with rounded boxes.

The next section of the intabulation uses motives derive from elements of the second section of the chanson. The motives are worked into a series of imitative points, just as their models are in the original. The first motive uses material first heard in the cantus in bar 9 of the chanson (marked with a box in both pieces in Example 2E) in addition to a motive based on a rising and falling semitone. We thus see another aspect of the procedures of *imitatio* at work here. In addition to the reworking of motives and their relationships we have the addition of new motives to a form of the original framework. A similar procedure is followed with the next point, which is based on a motive derived in outline - although rhythmically altered - from the tenor of the chanson in bar 13 (this is again marked with boxes in the example). This motive is treated at some length by Cavazzoni before he repeats the opening period (the first 15 bars) of the intabulation. Cavazzoni then ignores the rest of the chanson and writes a short, repeated

codetta which forms an extension of the opening period before bringing the work to a close.

IV

This study of Girolamo Cavazzoni shows how the main compositional processes at work in his keyboard music are directly derived from that of vocal music. In the plainchant settings we see how Cavazzoni responds to the essential modal principles behind the chant by creating from the single line an imitative structure which follows the essential cadences and contours of the model. We see too how in his alternatim movements Cavazzoni then proceeds to rework these imitative periods in the manner of a parody of the most sophisticated order. This technique is applied too in his intabulations, in which many different processes of borrowing and reworking are applied to the models to produce structures which are totally dependent upon not only the monophonic elements of the model - the motives - but also upon various larger frameworks of periodic imitative counterpoint. In addition to reworking those points, Cavazzoni also uses aspects of the total structure of the model point - its general contours and harmonic direction. He then overlays on his new framework a distinctive keyboard style which seems chordal and ornamental and in which the number of parts and the

displacement of the borrowed elements move around with a degree of freedom which would be impossible in vocal music. The keyboard texture itself, then, has grown directly from the style and contours of vocal music. The hands fill in the spaces within the imitative framework or from cadence to cadence of the plainchant with a variety of figures and patterns which are all ultimately vocal in origin and derived from the model. The large-scale periodic imitative framework - however it is derived - controls all aspects of the final keyboard texture and the smaller figural patterns are fitted in around it.

CHAPTER 3

Two Intabulation Studies: Josquin's *Cum sancto spiritu* and Willaert's *Qui la dira*

The first two chapters have looked in detail primarily at works of individual composers in the context of single prints from the earlier part of the sixteenth century. In this third chapter several composers will be dealt with simultaneously in the context of two complexes of pieces taken from various printed sources from the later part of the century. Each complex deals with various techniques of reworking a vocal piece: the first uses the final section of the Gloria from Josquin's *Missa de Beate Virgine* (*Cum sancto spiritu*), while the second is based on Willaert's chanson *Qui la dira*. Each vocal piece is briefly analysed to clarify its structural features, then each keyboard piece in the complex is analysed both in its own right and in its relationship to its vocal original. It is assumed that the reader will now be familiar enough with the type of analysis employed for it no longer to be necessary to provide music examples within the text and that use of the large-scale numbered examples will suffice.

II

Josquin's *Missa de Beata Virgine* was a popular model for composers of intabulations during the sixteenth century. There are at least six examples of settings of the *Cum sancto spiritu* section which ends the Gloria of the mass, and several examples also exist of settings of both Agnus Dei movements and of the Kyrie. *Cum sancto spiritu*(1) shows many devices typical of Josquin's style, not least the use of paired imitation as a major structural tool. (See Example 3A) The first imitative pair is lead by the altus. It is joined by the cantus using the head of the motif only (the first four notes) and the two voices proceed to a cadence on D. The second pair of bassus and tenor copy the relative pitches of the opening pair beginning at bar 4 and overlap with this cadence, thus retaining a tonal centre on G. This time, however, the pair is different: the lower voice is curtailed and the ending of the upper is altered to end the pair as it began, on G at bar 7. At this point the two upper voices enter in imitation using new material moving once again towards D. The lower voices beginning in bar 11 imitate this pair exactly this time, and turn also towards D. For the most part then, the texture of the piece so far has been that of two voices, except at the cadences where the pairs overlap. A new paragraph begins at bar 15 in which pairs of voices repeat four times. These are not paired imitation as in the earlier sections, but rather

pairs of voices which act antiphonally as if they were one theme, rather than containing imitation within themselves. In bar 19 a fifth pair using this material leads directly into the final section of the piece when for the first time all four voices are heard together for an extended time, rather than just at overlapping cadences. The material used in this final section is based on that of the preceeding section; the melodic outlines are subjected to varying rhythmic alterations and a series of sequences are built up which contribute towards the "drive to the cadence" marking the end not only of the *Cum Sancto Spiritu* section but of the entire Gloria movement.

Cabezón's *Tiento sobre Cum sancto spiritu* is found on f.68 of the *Obras de musica* of 1578. The collection also contains a glosa on the same piece (f.103). The tiento relies on the technique of paired imitation which is so prominent a feature of Josquin's original.(2) (See Example 3B). Cabezón's piece opens with an extensive section of imitative counterpoint, based directly on the paired imitation of Josquin's opening. The cantus begins, using the motive of the original altus transposed up a fifth. The relationship of the original pair is altered in two ways; the voices are inverted - the upper voice rather than the lower begins the imitation - and the second entry is delayed by the length of a semibreve, following the line of the first entry exactly, rather than using a variant of the

original motive, as Josquin does. We therefore see several factors at work in the tiento: Cabezón uses the structural pattern of the vocal original by developing his new piece on the principle of paired imitation. Within that paired imitation, however, Cabezón alters the temporal and melodic relationships between the voices by delaying the second imitative entry and by using only the first of the two slightly different motives which Josquin employs. He therefore is employing two of Quereau's types of borrowing simultaneously; the use of individual motives and the use of imitative relationships in altered form. (3)

In fact the entire tiento can be analysed as simply a reworking of each of Josquin's motives in turn and their development along new lines, using techniques basic to sixteenth-century counterpoint such as paired imitation and clear periodic devices. The opening, for example, presents a single motive in orderly fashion in each voice in descending order. At bar 24 the entire process is repeated, with the same order of voice entries, although Cabezón clothes the entries in new counterpoints. At bar 40 Cabezón takes up the "in gloria" motive and works that consistently through each part, concluding the section with imitation of the tail-end of the original motive. "Dei patris" begins at bar 67 and, again, is worked out in a logical and orderly way, taking up material later, exactly as Josquin does, to

use in the sequential section leading up to the final cadence.

This, however, is only part of the story, because as Example 3B shows, the tiento gradually acquires more and more of the shape of Josquin's original and eventually at the end of the piece even takes on the actual texture, pitches and imitation of Josquin's "Amen". In addition to the extended imitation of the opening of the tiento, which is a development of the opening of *Cum sancto spiritu*, the formal outline of Josquin's piece is a constant background reference point for the structure of the tiento. In bar 16 of the tiento Josquin's structure begins to assert itself with the entry of the opening motive on G in the bassus. The next entry of the motive in the tiento occurs in the altus at bar 23. The combination of these two entries presents, along with the cantus entry in bar 24, the original pairing and intervallic relationships of the opening of the vocal piece and leads into the cadence at bar 32. From bar 29 onwards Cabezón picks up more and more of the exact detail of the fourth bar of Josquin's piece. The cantus follows the contour of Josquin's cantus line, and its essential rhythm: the mimim D at the end of bar 30 of the tiento suggests that it will be a suspension resolving onto the C#, even though Cabezón fills in over the the bar-line with a B. Cabezón's altus part at bar 29 follows the exact form of Josquin's from the last minim of the third bar,

although the rhythms are changed. Shortening the semibreve of the original theme to a mimim unifies the theme with Cabezón's earlier theme by giving it the same rhythmic pace and thus adds to the illusion that the tiento is using a self-generating, almost monothematic compositional method.

All further entries of this theme are in the "wrong" octave and cleverly integrated within the basic tiento texture of the opening of the piece. The second half of Josquin's theme is ignored for the moment but later developed into a complete imitative point of its own, again as if it were an entirely organic development of the general tiento itself, rather than an element of the original vocal piece. The bassus of the tiento, too, begins an entry of the opening motive of the piece in bar 29 and thus creates a cadence identical to that of Josquin. Cabezón has even copied the texture of Josquin at this point, in following an extended section for the two upper voices by this bassus entry, and leaving the tenor to enter later. We can note also how Cabezón subtly elongates this first imitative complex of *Cum sancto spiritu* by inserting new imitation between the tenor and altus in bars 19 to 20 and by hinting at the cantus melody of the cadence from bar 29 onwards. This entry is effectively a transposition of the first cantus entry of the original. We can therefore already see several ways in which Cabezón adapts the original material

to his own needs, and how he develops more than single motives to create his longer structure.

This first large section of the tiento (from the opening until bar 43) is a self-contained section which gradually evolves into the outline and texture of Josquin's original by bar 30 before going its own way again to complete its own cadential aims and to avoid the obvious change of direction of Josquin's original at the new point for the words "in gloria dei patris". Cabezón does in fact use this new theme as cadential material for his long first section which he overlaps with the new section to create continuity and a more fantasia-like texture. (Later Cabezón gradually picks up more and more elements of the original piece, but by retaining a uniformity of texture he preserves the sense of organic thematic generation. Thus while in the vocal version we have an impression of something different happening at this point - a dramatic device introduced by Josquin to raise excitement at the final cadence - the tiento appears to carry on with its normal organic evolution.)

Cabezón follows this opening section with two more equally remarkable reworkings of Josquin's piece. The first of these takes us up to bar 67 of the tiento. In this section Cabezón reworks in some way all the material leading up to the "Amen" of Josquin's "Cum sancto spiritu". Firstly

the tenor entry from bar 5 of Josquin's piece is delayed as part of Cabezón's reworking of the paired imitation of the opening, but leads eventually to the entry of Josquin's new material at bar 40 and its subsequent imitation at bar 43. These entries - although an octave lower - follow Josquin's in pitch and temporal relationship even though the first note of the point is shortened. Cabezón disguises the link between the two pieces by creating new counterpoint in the other voices which shifts attention away from the new point and towards a delayed cadence at bar 43. In the vocal piece, the new section at bar 40 is clearly distinguished by the entry of new material not only in a previously silent part, but also with a new text. For Cabezón, such clear and obvious changes of direction would not be a part of his tiento style, and so he avoids pointing them out by writing new textures and counterpoints to cover them, even though he still uses them and relies upon them for the underlying structure of the piece. This is a reminder of the simpler techniques used by Antico, in which the figuration covers over the clear sectional delineation of the frottole model. The structure of Josquin's point is still present, however, in the tiento as Cabezón uses Josquin's altus part for the bassus of the tiento in bars 44 to 46. Cabezón also reaches the same high E in the cantus in bar 47 as Josquin on the third minim of bar 9. The two composers diverge at this point, coming together at the next clear cadence (bar 50 in the tiento). This cadence is marked in both pieces by the

altus parts moving to a low D, preceeded by a low C somewhere in the texture of the previous bar. It is also the beginning in both pieces of the second group of paired imitation. Once again Cabezón transposes Josquin's entries by an octave and disguises his use of Josquin's structure by holding over his main cadence until three bars later at bar 53. This time Cabezón is prepared to be more open about his use of Josquin's material and follows the outlines of Josquin's tenor and bassus for several bars, forming the same cadence as Josquin at bar 62. He even allows the other parts to rest and thus reproduces the same number of parts at this point as we hear in the vocal version. This two-part section is then taken by Cabezón as the basis of a new series of paired imitation, as he extends the point by another five bars with an entry of the pair on G in bars 61 and 62 in the altus and bassus, followed very closely by a further pair in the tenor and cantus at bars 64 and 65 in which the intervallic (but not the temporal) relationship of the pair is changed from an octave to a fifth.

Bar 67 marks the beginning of the final section of Cabezón's tiento, as he takes up the "dei patris Amen" material of Josquin's original. It is in this final section that Cabezón comes closest to Josquin's structural layout, and from bar 75 onwards the outlines of Josquin's part writing are adhered to very closely. At bar 67, however, Cabezón seems to ignore completely the lower two voices of

the original, and develops his texture simply from the upper two voices, again transposed down one octave. He omits the imitation in bar 16 of the original altogether and goes straight on to bar 17 and the further entries of the altus and cantus, providing a new and eloquent descending tenor line. The tenor and bassus entries of the original in bar 18 are again ignored - although perhaps the bassus G at the beginning of bar 73 of the tiento should, in the light of Josquin's version at the beginning of bar 18, perhaps be an A - and Cabezón adds his own new imitation instead, based on interlocking descending thirds along with the descending crotchets of the tenor in bar 70. This miniature point overlaps with the reappearance of the original imitation at bar 75, at the original pitch, a moment which marks the very last section of the piece, and Cabezón's literal quotation of the cantus part of the vocal piece from bar 19 to the end. Once again, though, Cabezón uses overlapping entries to disguise this major structural moment by continuing the line of the imitation begun in bar 73 down to a cadence on D four bars later in bar 78. He disguises it further by creating a new imitative point based on the material of the cantus line, bringing the voices in in descending order - altus, tenor and bassus - gradually moulding them into the shape of their equivalent parts in the vocal original, while still retaining individual elements such as the step-wise crotchet movement first heard in the altus at bar 79. At bar 81 the altus picks up Josquin's tenor part, while the

tenor takes Josquin's bassus in bar 82. From the end of bar 89 Cabezón's bassus joins that of Josquin until the end. Before then, and afterwards, the inner parts sometimes follow precisely the original part-writing, but often, as at bars 86 and 87, they re-write it slightly; in this case by transposing the two entries of the dotted minim-crotchet figure.

The sense of organic evolution created by these three extensive periods of regular, predominantly four-part imitation makes the tiento a successful piece in its own right. Although it is based closely on the overall framework of the original vocal piece, and uses aspects of the structure of Josquin's piece to determine its own articulation, Cabezón's successful integration of Josquin's motives within the regular four-part texture of the tiento gives the piece an existence independent of the model. A clear case for this is the middle of the piece which uses material from Josquin's "In gloria dei patris" section. Whereas Josquin writes antiphonally for the voice pairs, Cabezón is careful to preserve the overall ambitus of the keyboard piece in a fairly uniform way. The only two-part writing we find, for example, involves the upper two voices; the lower two never appear on their own. This preserves the aural continuity of texture by creating a continuous "melody line", which is what the ear hears most clearly when listening to a piece. It is less damaging for continuity if

the pitch of the bassus is effectively raised as long as the cantus continues much as before. If the cantus were to drop out and thus lower the pitch of the highest voice, then the ear would more readily detect the change and would more readily hear how the two versions of *Cum sancto spiritu* are alike.

The *Tiento sobre Cum sancto spiritu* illustrates several aspects of parody technique and intabulation technique, and how closely related the two can appear. The *Glosa sobre Cum sancto spiritu* also illustrates these techniques, but in a slightly different way. Example 3C shows the glosa within the context of the other *Cum sancto spiritu* pieces. It follows the original very precisely, duplicating the original part-writing and preserving the overall framework of the vocal piece in its entirety, adding nothing to the piece in terms of large-scale structure or in length. The glosa, however, is more than just a decorated transcription of *Cum sancto spiritu*: the diminution patterns have their own internal logic and relationship to the larger structure and are used to transform the vocal texture of the piece into something perhaps better suited to the keyboard. Cabezón adds motives and new imitative points to the piece and the glosa thus corresponds, like the tiento, to several of Quereau's definitions of parody technique. Cabezón adds diminution patterns to the original part-writing; sometimes they create their own imitation, but at other times, as in

the opening bars of the glosa, they reinforce Josquin's imitation. Bars 8 and 9 illustrate a typical feature of intabulation which is to ornament the cadence. Cabezón continues the diminution in the same voice, pushing the music on to the next cadence on D at bar 13. Thus, as in the tiento, Cabezón uses the particular technique and style of the type of piece - in the case of the tiento, he used extra imitation to avoid the cadences of the original - to disguise the underlying structure of his model.

At bar 19 we find the "in gloria" motive and paired imitation of the model appearing in the intabulation. Cabezón's figuration begins in the tenor and migrates upwards through the altus to the cantus, as if it were one sweeping line. Certainly this is the effect which it creates, and again, it has the effect of disguising the background imitation upon which it is constructed. It thus becomes more than a mere filling-out of the texture and assumes a genuine compositional role. The altus of the glosa from bar 25 to bar 31 performs a similar compositional, not just decorative, function by providing imitation within its own part in bars 26 and 28. Similar small-scale imitation can be found in bar 38 - between the tenor and bassus parts - and in bar 41 within the tenor part. Cabezón's intabulation of the first imitative pair of the model at the words "in dei patris" preserves a slightly separate identity from the imitation which follows. Perhaps

Cabezón is recognising that this first version is slightly different, as all the others invert the parts. At bar 46 a pattern of diminution is established - including small scale imitation between the tenor and bassus parts in bar 47 - which is used to reflect the large-scale imitation of the vocal piece's paired, antiphonal writing. Each pair is treated in the same way. Two imitative strands are thus created; the larger one created by the orginal imitation, and a smaller-scale one, created by the imitation within the diminution patterns. This shows once again that the process of intabulation is more than mere decoration: it becomes a technique of polyphonic reworking.

At bar 55 the "Amen" commences and Cabezón introduces more and more small-scale imitation within the larger framework. Thus, as the original begins to move faster, and as the number of its parts sounding at once increases and the imitation increases in density, a similar process takes place within the glosa. The rising-fourth quaver motive is taken up in the cantus at bar 60 and inverted in the tenor. It appears in the next bar in the altus and later again in the cantus. In bar 60 the bassus begins an extensive melody, rising from C to Bb. This is inverted in bar 62 in the altus but re-appears in the bassus again - down a tone - in bar 64. Meanwhile, the rising fourth motive appears in the other parts in close imitation. This entry pattern is repeated a semitone lower. Cabezón thus reflects the

sequential nature of Josquin's closing measures, but provides his own imitative framework as well. The pattern descends sequentially to F before the final cadence. Thus once again we can see the addition of motives and the use and adaption of pre-existent motivic constructions at work in the glosa, suggesting a sophistication that might easily be dismissed at first glance as mere decorative in-filling.

In this glosa Cabezón develops an independent keyboard texture in two basic ways. The first is through rhythmic development of the motives of the vocal original and the second by means of increasing the ambitus of the original through the figuration patterns. Thus at the opening of the piece Cabezón interpolates a rhythmic figure which is imitated - as is the original line - by the upper voice a few bars later. At the cadence suspension at bars 8-9 Cabezón expands the range of intervals present from a third in the original to a seventh by adding the figuration to the upper part. This avoids the rather bare effect which the original would have if played on the keyboard as Josquin wrote it. More importantly it also provides greater unity of texture and ambitus with the cadence which follows at bar 13, when the glosa does indeed follow the outline and pitch of the vocal version. There are many other examples of this type to be found during the course of the piece. At bar 19 the point "in gloria dei patris" begins and the figuration sweeps through the voices to cover the two octave range of

Josquin's original and provide greater impetus than would have been possible to suggest through a straight forward transcription of the original. It is as if Cabezón is compensating for the lack of text by providing his own drama.

At other times he anticipates the harmonies of the original to give a richer effect. This happens, for example, at bar 49 where the quavers fill out the bare fifth of the original and anticipate the E which follows in the next bar in the vocal version. A similar process occurs in bar 52, where the F of bar 53 is anticipated in the decorative filigree of Cabezón's bassus. In contrast to the tiento, it is towards the end of the piece when Cabezón takes the most liberties with the original; in the tiento it is towards the end that the piece comes closest in style and texture to Josquin's piece. At bar 58 the tenor has its own small descending fourth motif which becomes characteristic of the rest of the section and at bar 60 Cabezón introduces his own bassus motive which rises from low C. His small motives then carry out their own imitative procedures within the framework of Josquin's dense four-part writing. A bar such as bar 76 is typical of what happens; here Cabezón's ascending bassus motive first heard in bar 60 has its own important role to play in strengthening the cadence which follows soon after. We see then the typical technique of intabulation at work in which motives and their original

relationships within the model are reworked in the new piece. The keyboard texture grows - as it does in the music of the Cavazzonis - from a network of new relationships imposed upon the large-scale background framework derived from the imitative, periodic structure of the model. This structure remains the guiding force behind the music, controlling the movement from cadence to cadence.

Palero's *Sobre Cum sancto spiritu* is found in Venegas de Henestrosa's *Libro di cifra Nueva*. (6) This piece is a strange mixture of styles and it is difficult to distinguish the version of *Cum sancto spiritu* on which it is based. There is obviously a close relationship between the opening of Palero's piece and Cabezón's tiento, but as Example 3C shows, Palero seems to have had Josquin's vocal piece in mind as well. The tiento opens with paired imitation in exactly the same way as Cabezón's *Tiento Sobre Cum sancto spiritu*. It follows exactly the same melodic outline, except for bar 6, where the suspension at the cadence is curiously avoided. At bar 9, too, Palero goes his own way, shortening the end of the pair, but still rising to the high G and drifting back into line by bar 12, when Cabezón's texture and imitation is followed precisely. This opening, then, has the feel of a tiento in its imitation and smooth lines, but Palero adds smaller-scale figures in several places which contribute to a glosa-like effect. Palero's piece continues to correspond with Cabezón's for some time.

Like Cabezón he shortens the end of the imitative pair at around bar 19. Indeed, at bar 18 he even introduces the "in gloria" motive in the cantus several bars earlier than Cabezón, although he soon returns to the opening motive. The way he follows either Cabezón or Josquin until bar 41 is clearly illustrated in Example 3C. Again the cadence at bar 25 is a shortened version of Cabezón's, and Palero introduces a change of texture in bar 26, thus suggesting once again the influences of glosa technique in this tiento. A similar texture is found in Cabezón's glosa at this point. At bar 34 the altus and cantus begin a paired imitation sequence which follows through in the tenor and bassus at bar 37. At bar 40 the altus part combines this theme with the "in gloria" motive; note its presence in the tiento at bar 43 onwards.

At this point Palero's tiento begins to diverge from the other pieces in the *Cum sancto spiritu* complex. It develops for some time the "in gloria" rising fourth motive, but from bar 45 to bar 53 it bears no relation to either the tiento or the vocal original. At bar 54, however, the bassus part takes up the bassus of the original and proceeds to develop its own cadence from the material of Josquin's piece while following the contours - the rise to high G at bar 59 and slipping a D-C#-D motive into the inner parts - of Cabezón's tiento. Palero then continues to follow the general direction of Cabezón, proceeding first to a cadence on D in

bar 62. The overall outline of Cabezón's piece can be traced until bar 66 but by bar 67, however, Palero is once again off on his own tack, using a motive derived from that of the opening involving a rising third figure, which appears as a pair in the tenor and bassus and later in disguised form in the cantus. This excursion is marked by large square brackets in Example 3C.

At bar 77 Palero picks up the outline of Cabezón's tiento once again, arriving at the cadence on D at bar 80 which marks the beginning of the "Amen" section. He then takes only the cantus line for a while and begins to build up his own imitative point which merges with other material developed from the "Amen" of the original vocal model. This material is presented at twice the speed of the other borrowings and repeated at the same pace. Note how the cadence at bars 88 to 92 develops several aspects of both Cabezón's and Josquin's version. The bassus, tenor and altus follow the contours of the equivalent parts in both models, while following only Cabezón's tiento for the drop down to the low G marking the final cadence.

Palero's *Sobre Cum sancto spiritu* is a hybrid piece, relying on at least two other versions - Cabezón's tiento and Josquin's original - for much of its structural development. The structural and melodic elements it has in common with Cabezón's tiento are too strong for them to be

dismissed as simple coincidence, although it is of course possible that yet another version of the piece exists to which Palero had access when composing this tiento. All that is important here, however, is that some form of borrowing has taken place within this complex of pieces, and that the borrowing and musical developments that have taken place go further than the use of single motives from the model: large-scale, polyphonic structures have been reworked, new motives have been added and new relationships have been created.

III

The second complex of pieces to be discussed in this study centres around Willaert's *Qui la dira*. This chanson first appeared in print in 1536,(4) but no trace of this volume has been found. This was probably the source which Cabezón used for his tiento and glosa. We must rely on the version of the piece published in Le Roy & Ballard's *Melange de Chansons* in Paris in 1572.(5) Andrea Gabrieli may have used this source or he may have had access to manuscript sources in Venice. This later five-part chanson (see Example 3D) is a piece of considerable ingenuity created out of two interlocking frameworks of two and three voices each. The two-voice framework consists of a canon at the fifth between the tenor and the altus which occurs in an irregular way throughout the piece. The canon plays no real

structural role in the development of the piece which is effectively controlled by an almost completely independent three-part complex of cantus, tenor and bassus. This complex is not particularly reliant on the melody of the canon for its own melodic lines or imitation, but the two structures are integrated in an ingenious way.

The opening of the chanson is a masterpiece of deception, in which the canonic voices are disguised. The contratenor and bassus suggest paired imitation, an impression reinforced by the cantus and tenor entries at bar 6 and 7, and by the two further entries of the theme in the altus and again in the cantus. However, the cantus entry is really bogus, and the main imitative developments occur between the contratenor/bassus pair and the tenor/altus pair. The canonic structure - in tenor and altus - is hidden under the cover of paired imitation and of the close entries initiated by the cantus. Thus the two frameworks combine in a very subtle way. The end of this first imitative point is reached at the cadence on F in bar 15. The canon also ends at this point and the three-part framework continues alone with its own material. The cantus uses the *et la douleur* material, altering the second half of it slightly, while the bassus and contratenor take no thematic role but produce instead their own self-sufficient duet.

The cadence at bar 31 is marked by the return of the canon in the tenor around which the bassus and cantus develop their own imitation based on a rising fourth while the contratenor presents its version of *et la douleur* and makes the cadence on D at bar 45 seem inevitable. This strong cadence overrides the phrase structure of the canon which ends only later after the three-part framework has picked up the canon's second phrase to develop its own new imitative point. After some new but brief imitation between bassus and cantus from bars 51 to 54 the three-part framework once more overlaps its concluding cadence with the reappearance of the canon with new material. At bar 68 the three-part framework and the canon coincide as the opening melodic material is recalled, moving this time not towards F but towards D. The contratenor anticipates the second phrase of the canon and creates imitation within its own part between bars 69 and 71. The cantus joins in the imitation at bar 72, followed then in order by the tenor and altus as part of the canon. The contratenor and cantus then once more anticipate the canon by presenting the theme themselves between bars 76 and 79 and thus completely integrate the two frameworks for the closing bars of the chanson. Since its brief dialogue with the cantus from bar 31 to bar 45 the bassus has taken no further part in the imitative structure of the piece and has carried out instead a predominantly harmonic function. We thus find in Willaert's *Qui la dira* two contrapuntal structures of

considerable complexity placed within a third harmonically-oriented framework. This shows how suitable a model *Qui la dira* is for a keyboard composer. The multiple layers of the piece lend themselves well to further development: as we have already seen in *Cum sancto spiritu* the typical process of an intabulation consists of adding new layers to existing structures and reworking them. The *Qui la dira* complex shows how Cabezón and Andrea Gabrieli respond to the various layers of the model and how various reworkings of the original three layers can be created. Example 3F shows the relationships between all the pieces in the complex.

Like Cabezón's tiento *sobre Cum sancto spiritu*, his tiento on *Qui la dira* can be seen as an individual piece based on a series of motives taken from the chanson. (See Example 3E which sets out the intabulation together with the model.) The keyboard piece opens with a type of paired imitation using the opening motive of the chanson to which a new counterpoint is added. The altus and cantus begin, followed at bars 9 and 10 by the bassus and tenor. The altus does not drop out, however, as it might be expected to do in a more normal form of paired imitation. Instead it continues with material derived from the descending fifth outline from the new countersubject to the motive which is heard at bars 4 to 6 and leads naturally on to a further entry of the *Qui la dira* motive in the cantus in bar 17. From this point onwards the bassus of the tiento assumes a

similar role to the bassus of the vocal original. It takes little further part in the contrapuntal development of the piece and provides instead a harmonic foundation, incorporating only occasional elements of the themes. At bar 25 the tenor repeats the *Qui la dira* motive as does the altus in altered form beginning on E at bar 27. We thus find the development of a normal type of imitative point from bars 1-25 of the tiento in which the motive appears at least once in every voice. Cadential extension from bars 25-35 provides a further entry of the *qui la dira* motive in altered form in the altus in bar 27.

At bar 36 the motive of the model at the words *et la douleur* is taken up. The first half of Willaert's motive is presented in the tiento in close imitation in the upper three voices. At bar 47 a new point begins which relies increasingly on the second half of Willaert's motive at the words *que pour mon amy porte*. This imitative point is developed extensively in the tiento and the motive is reworked by changing its rhythm and altering its contours slightly in the same way that Girolamo Cavazzoni reshapes plainchant melodies in his liturgical pieces. Eventually Cabezón adds new counterpoint to the motive in the altus at bar 74 which is imitated briefly by the bassus at bar 76. This new motive is based on the last few notes of *que mon amy porte* combined with the ascending fifth of the counterpoint to the motive first heard in bar 9 of the

tiento. Ascending and descending fifths involving crotchet movement become more frequent at this moment. Cabezón uses this reworked material to replace the distinctive motive of "je ne soutiens" with its repeated notes and instead includes only a brief allusion to the conclusion of that motive - "que tristesse e langeur" - in the tenor part beginning at bar 92. Almost immediately afterwards at bar 96 we hear the adapted return of the opening motive - "j'aymeroie mieux, certes en estre morte". The latter part of this material - "certes en estre morte" - is treated to extensive imitation to bring the piece to a close.

The foregoing analysis shows the compositional processes involved in the *Tiento sobre Qui la dira* when viewed as an independent piece based primarily on motivic material from Willaert's chanson. The relationship between the tiento and the chanson, however, can also be perceived in more than this one, relatively straightforward way. Cabezón uses not only melodic material, but also thematic complexes and even the entire structure of Willaert's piece in the tiento, in greater or lesser degrees as the tiento proceeds. There are substantial sections which coincide in proportion and final cadences, a similar harmonic direction within the sections, and even precise quotation of the texture and counterpoint of Willaert's original work. Thus the opening paired imitation of the tiento is an adaptation of the opening counterpoint of the chanson and it acts as extended

Vorimitation of the imitative complex of the chanson's opening which is picked up by the tiento with the cantus entry of bar 17. Example 3E shows how the two pieces are related. From this moment onwards the tiento and the chanson proceed in a parallel direction until they reach their cadences on F at bar 35 and 16 respectively. The cantus of the tiento continues in the manner of its opening imitation to add an extra bar between the two halves of the "Qui la dira" phrase. This extra bar is lost however when the tenor enters at bar 25 although it is compensated for by an extra bar at the final cadence of the point and a smooth equilibrium and balance is thus maintained. It is significant that Cabezón ignores the "false" cantus entry of Willaert's chanson, but picks up on the canon between the tenor and altus. Cabezón has taken the essential elements of this first imitative point and disregarded its less important structural features. He shows an awareness of the canonic structure and decides to draw it out into his new piece in a more prominent way than Willaert originally intended. Note how after bar 25 the tiento takes on more and more of the actual pitches and part distribution of the chanson, by transposing a reworked version of the tenor of the chanson up an octave into the cantus of the tiento in bars 25-27, by arriving at the same pitches in bar 30 as those of the chanson, by following the outline of the tenor part of the chanson in bars 30 to 33 and by arriving again at the same pitches for the cadence at 34 to 35.

At this moment the two pieces separate harmonically for 3 bars. The tiento uses the new imitative point of the chanson in a transposed version, though notably still in the highest part, rather than repeating the motive at the same pitch, as is the case in the chanson. Bar 39 of the tiento coincides harmonically with bar 20 of the chanson, despite the ficta accidentals. The tiento also uses several of the notes of the chanson as a lead into precise duplication of the cantus motive during bar 40. The tiento at this point begins to diverge once again from the chanson, but still follows the outline of the contrary motion of the outer parts to low A and high C and the move towards a cadence on A at the end of the point. The tiento reaches this point at bar 51, the chanson at 32. Note how the tiento's altus part follows the bassus of the chanson in bar 45, and how the tenor picks up the chanson's tenor halfway through bar 46, retaining its outline right through to the cadence. The two pieces diverge once more, but the tiento still follows the basic outline of the chanson in expanded form, coming together again at the next major cadence point of the chanson which occurs at bar 45 (bar 71 in the tiento). It is worth noting, however, how the ryhthmic interest of the crotchets of the chanson in bars 31 to 32 are used also in the tiento in bars 51 to 53, and how in bars 54 to 56 the cadence structure of the chanson is retained along with some imitation. The texture of the chanson is reworked without disturbing the regular, even flow of the tiento.

At bar 64 the tiento takes up the canon between the tenor and altus of the chanson and inserts an extra (altered) entry in the bassus part in bar 66, thus extending this point by a few bars before proceeding to pick up most aspects of the rest of the chanson's point leading up to its cadence on F at bar 53. Again it is an extra entry - a delayed version in bar 76 of the chanson's cantus entry of bar 53, perhaps, but still following the outline of the lead into the original cadence - which gives the tiento a few extra bars.

The following point is perhaps the one during which the tiento moves furthest away from the chanson, with only cadence points and their associated textures in common. The tiento at bar 81 begins with a hint of the rising line C-D of the cantus of the chanson, crossing from tenor to altus in doing so. This is one of the few points in the *Qui la dira* complex in which the model is longer than the equivalent passage in the derived piece. Normally the new piece expands rather than contracts the original. The repeated Fs in bar 84 may suggest the upper voice at bar 57 in the chanson, and indeed the line in the tiento falls to D by bar 86 in similar fashion to that of the chanson at bar 60. Similarly the repeated Bb in bar 86 of the tiento suggests the repeated Bs of bar 60 in the chanson and eventually the two pieces cadence on D at bar 88 and bar 62 respectively. It is at this point that the counterpoint and

direction of the chanson begins to reappear more clearly in the tiento. Both bassus parts fall to F and eventually provide a clear falling fifth C-F at the cadence. The upper parts, too, have the same outer range limit. The tenor of the tiento in bars 90 to 91 picks up the tenor of the chanson at bar 64 onwards and the tiento's altus at bars 93 to 94 relates to the altus of the chanson at bars 66 to 67. At bar 95 the tiento continues to follow the chanson closely and uses the chanson's outerparts although ignoring the first entry of the chanson's imitative point which occurs in the altus part in bars 69 and 70. The tenor part, however, follows the contratenor of the chanson with a slight elongation in bar 99, and the two pieces come together again on the low A in bar 100 and bar 72 of the chanson, where the tiento takes up the entry of the altus in its own altus. Cabezón transposes the chanson's tenor part up an octave and into the cantus halfway through bar 101 while still retaining the tenor's original outline and pitch in bars 102 to 103. Apart from three extra bars (108 to 110) the tiento now follows the model closely until the end. Its four parts take the essential elements of the chanson's five-part counterpoint so that all the entries heard in the chanson are heard also in the tiento, the extra three bars being once again produced by an extra entry of the motive in the tenor part.

The *Tiento sobre Qui la dira* thus shows once more how intabulation can work on several levels; the use of motives as building blocks, the use of "previously formed motivic constructions", the addition of new motives and the use of substantial elements of the overall structure of the model. The *Glosa sobre Qui la dira* also shows many of these processes at work in a different way. Example 3F sets the glosa in the context of both the model and the tiento, along with Gabrieli's *Canzon francese* on the same model which is discussed later.

The first and most obvious of the intabulation processes involved is the use of the entire structure of the model. The glosa has the same number of bars as the model and ostensibly the same number of parts, if the notation of the source is taken into account; Cabezón - or his scribe - provides five lines in his tablature, one for each line of the original. As the piece proceeds, however, it becomes clear that the matter is not so simple. Cabezón is not intabulating each line individually, but is instead taking the "composite" approach mentioned in my introduction, taking certain structural points of the original, but rejecting others while always working within the general ambitus and harmonic direction of the original. At times, as in the tiento, the duplication of the part-writing and textures of the chanson becomes very precise, only to be interrupted again by a new texture developed from the old.

The overall groupings of the figuration patterns correspond generally with the important cadence points of the chanson at bars 16, 31, 45, 53 and 68. Each time one of these moments is reached there is a change of texture or rhythmic pace in the intabulation, perhaps a return to precise duplication, even though there may not be an equivalent change of texture or contrapuntal style in the original. Already then, we can see that the glosa consists of more than simple decoration of the original. The process of reworking is polyphonic, not linear decoration.

A close look at the part-writing of the glosa reveals that all five parts are rarely heard together - much less frequently than in the original, although at corresponding important cadential moments. Bar 9, for example, includes all five parts, but only four notes are involved as the upper two parts share the top note of the chord at the beginning of the bar. Bar 11 has a five-part chord on the first beat, but the upper note has to be released by the player in order to play the F to which the altus ascends later in the bar. The bar is thus effectively in four-parts with a chord at the beginning, and due to the imprecision of the notation we cannot tell how long the F should be anyway; tablature of the kind used in the *Obras de musica* can often only indicate the beginning of a note, not its end. Five-part writing, then, most often occurs in the glosa in chordal form rather than contrapuntally. The most

frequently found texture in the piece is of three- or four-part chords derived from the outline of the original part-writing, accompanying a faster moving melody based directly on the remaining original part. Thus the texture of five-part vocal counterpoint is changed through its adaptation to the keyboard into something quite different. In the tiento the texture of the chanson was also changed, but still proceeded along the same basic constructional principles, those of imitative counterpoint moving through the piece in large paragraphs marked by clear cadence points. The glosa, too, moves through the piece in those same large paragraphs, but within them a different process is involved. Cabezón takes the voice he considers to be the most important and changes the voice by diminution, thus assigning it a prominence it could never have had in the original. He then forms an apparently chordal accompaniment derived from the remaining voices of the model. Once again there are parallels here with the techniques of Girolamo Cavazzoni. Chapter 2 showed that the apparently chordal and ornamental textures of his liturgical music were in fact dependent upon the outline of the model for their direction and shaping. Cabezón's technique in the glosa is the same: intabulation processes of reworking and the overlay of new textures onto a large-scale framework.

In the glosa Cabezón pays more attention to the canonic voices of the two-part framework of the chanson than in the

tiento, and these are the voices which he most frequently decorates. Thus at the opening of the glosa the diminution of the tenor is imitated by the bassus, and the sense of paired imitation which Willaert disguised by his "false" cantus entry is made clear by the application of similar diminution patterns to both voices of the canon. The importance of these two pairs is thus made clear, and the cantus entry in bar 6 is presented in unaltered form, and does not seem to be part of the imitative plan, assuming perhaps (because of its lack of decoration) for the listener the role of a cantus firmus. After the two imitative pairs have been worked out, Cabezón chooses the bassus for decoration and provides an accompaniment based on the upper parts. In bar 14 the altus D is not repeated on the second beat, making for a texture easier to play and contributing to the chordal feeling of the upper parts. Since bar 4 the music has had a continuous flow of quavers running through it, almost always in one part at a time, creating another layer of imitation.

At bar 16 the texture changes. While using the basic material of the chanson, which is in three parts and not strongly imitative at this moment, Cabezón introduces imitation of his own, which moves quickly and occurs at every half bar. Thus while on the one hand the quaver movement seems to appear to continue as before, in fact the whole pace of the piece has been slowed down. The musical

interest now lies in these small scale interchanges and not upon the broad sweeping plan of the first section through which the quavers had coursed unceasingly. This has the effect of giving even greater prominence to the cantus part, which once more carries the *Qui la dira* melody and because of its long note values seems to have a still stronger cantus firmus-like effect. When the cantus entry of bar 17 is repeated Cabezón decorates it and through the G#s and the typical cadential ornaments gives greater prominence to the interrupted cadence in bar 24 than we find in the original. From this point unil the next important cadence at bar 31 Cabezón changes several aspects of the model while remaining firmly within its range and harmonic direction. He finds a new imitative point by developing the same figures and outline in the recent cantus entry from the tenor part of the original from bar 24 to bar 27. Here we see a good example of the process of adding new imitation to the original model. Cabezón goes further by creating another set of diminutions from the rest of the tenor from bar 27 to the cadence at 31, which has the effect of a third imitative motive in his new complex. It is given increased prominence by Cabezón's excision of the original bassus line from bar 28 onwards. Detail such as this is important because it helps to explain why the glosa works so well as an independent piece, and how it has its own separate identity. It shows that for Cabezón at least the intabulation was not simply an exercise in arrangement, but was the springboard

for several of the technical processes which were an integral part of basic sixteenth-century compositional style.

Bar 31 marks the re-entry of the canon in both glosa and chanson. Cabezón again points to its appearance by diminution of the two relevant voices and follows a similar pattern to the opening imitative point by turning at the end of the point to one of the other parts for the cadential decoration, in this case the cantus. The second canonic entries within this section are presented in unadorned form between bars 40 and 45. A similar texture to that of the opening is also thus presented, in which a single voice moves in quavers, with the other parts forming a quasi-chordal accompaniment. At bar 45 Cabezón begins to follow the original imitation closely. The altus part drops out at bar 51 and thus gives greater prominence to the diminution of the cantus which leads once again into a cadence. Cabezón continues with literal quotation for a short while until bar 58 when figuration again takes over the upper part. The beginning of the canon in bar 59 of the chanson is ignored by Cabezón this time although he does return to it later. Cabezón simply leaves the part out of his texture, which remains in four parts until bar 62. From this point until the cadence at bar 68 Cabezón uses the framework of the original counterpoint for some new, small scale imitation of his own, which is presented within the

diminution of a single part. This "false" imitation - because it does not proceed from part to part - once again has the effect of disguising the underlying slow moving contrapuntal structure and giving it the effect of a chordal accompaniment with an internal imitative development. The return of the canon during bar 69 is marked in the glosa by the return of triplet movement which is assigned to the first canonic voice and imitated in bar 71 by the similar diminution of the second voice, the altus. Diminution of each canonic voice - producing imitation - follows through until bar 79, changing from triplets to normal quavers in bar 74. Later, however, the imitation moves to other parts and the original canon is ignored. Once again the effect is of new, small-scale imitation within a chordal framework created from the original texture.

In his versions of *Qui la dira*, then, Cabezón takes more than melodic material from the original. In the tiento he uses complete imitative points as a departure point for his version, and takes aspects of the entire structure, including cadence points and the actual pitches of the original part writing and creates a new texture and a new piece which stands as an independent piece. In the glosa even more of the original structure is used, but even here Cabezón does not simply copy exactly what Willaert composed. Instead he adapts the overall shape of the chanson by changing the number of parts, adding new imitation at

various points, developing new textures within the original framework and thereby creating a coherent piece of music with its own identity.

One final piece remains to be discussed in this *Qui la dira* complex. Andrea Gabrieli's *Canzon francese sopra qui la dira* works in a similar way to the Cabezón glosa. The overall framework of the original is preserved in length and general harmonic framework. As in the glosa the effect is created of a chordal framework with figuration woven through it in one voice at a time, and again this has the effect of disguising the underlying contrapuntal structure of the music which remains in relatively unaltered form. The diminution is perhaps more ornamental in effect than in Cabezón's piece, but it still creates its own independent counterpoint. Thus in the opening few bars the written-out trill in the tenor in bar 3 is imitated by the bass in bar 4. There is a tendency for Gabrieli to vary his textures more than Cabezón by returning more frequently in the *canzon francese* to the rhythmic pace of the model. Diminution and figuration tend to flourish as cadential decoration, rather than as a continuous imitative structure. Thus in bar 8 of the canzon the figuration stops to mark the cadence on F, beginning again in the next bar to lead on to the next important cadence on A in bar 16. In the glosa Cabezón highlights the important new imitative point by switching to triplet figuration. Gabrieli creates emphasis by returning

briefly to the pitches and textures of the model before creating new the imitative figuration which leads on to the next important cadence.

For Gabrieli, then, the imitative counterpoint of the model is less important than its overall, broad cadential structure. The technique he uses in the canzon is a broad development of the simple techniques observed in the Introduction in the *frottole intabolate*, in which the figuration, the new motivic development, is primarily associated with cadential articulation. This is a significant observation which will be dealt with below.

IV

The intabulation processes discussed above all have one thing in common: they are all polyphonic techniques in which the framework of a polyphonic model is reworked with new textures and new counterpoint. The tientos *Sobre Cum sancto spiritu* and *Sobre Qui la dira* are all written in four-part counterpoint. In the case of the *Cum sancto spiritu* pieces this might be expected, as the model vocal piece is also in four parts, but in the case of *Qui la dira* Cabezón reworks a five-part texture into four. In the *Cum sancto spiritu* tientos, however, neither Cabezón's nor Palero's adaptation of the vocal original is a simple matter of taking over the same number of parts, and therefore, by implication, the

same type of texture. As we have seen, Josquin writes several antiphonal passages between the upper and lower pairs of voices. This has the effect of creating long passages of two-part writing, with four-part textures reserved for cadential moments and the final "Amen". Cabezón and Palero avoid this type of writing entirely and instead create a smooth, flowing texture which keeps within - and fills out - a certain ambitus convenient for the hands at all times. The regular ambitus inclines the composers towards regular part-writing which therefore tends to produce imitation through all four parts in an orderly, regular fashion. As I noted above, if voices drop out in Cabezón's piece, they are always in the lower parts, not the upper, thus preserving a sense of continuity of line. If Josquin's texture contracts, then Cabezón introduces motives which maintain a broad ambitus and a sense of forward movement. For the vocal composer the presence of a sung text gives continuity regardless of ambitus, but for the keyboard player a sense of forward movement and continuity must be created in a different way.

The tientos *Sobre Cum sancto spiritu* create a new four-part texture within the framework of the original four parts, but the *Tiento sobre Qui la dira* reduces the number of parts of the original from five to four. Like *Sobre Cum sancto spiritu*, the *Tiento sobre Qui la dira* uses more imitative material - despite having one part fewer - than

the chanson, which often feels homophonic in style. This is because there are many places in the chanson in which chords and notes are repeated. Even though an illusion of part writing is preserved in the score, because the elements of the chords are distributed in different parts on each appearance, in performance a homophonic effect is created, emphasised by the predominantly harmonic function of the bassus. Cabezón's tiento entirely avoids this effect, relying instead on a series of highly articulate imitative points. These grow from within the framework of the vocal piece, but have a different effect, emphasising the periodic framework of the chanson rather than its harmonic aspect.

The glosas on *Cum sancto spiritu* and on *Qui la dira* also use the framework of the models, but again with different effect. In *Cum sancto spiritu* we saw how the framework of the model was taken over in its entirety, and its contrapuntal nature emphasised by imitation between the diminution patterns. The glosa *Sobre Cum sancto spiritu*, however, does not employ the textural contrasts observed in the glosa on *Qui la dira*; instead the figuration is continuous throughout the piece. Cabezón is using a similar technique to that of the *Tiento sobre Cum sancto spiritu*. Instead of reproducing the sparse textures of the original, with their frequent contrasts between upper and lower voices, Cabezón creates a continuous texture once again. The same basic principle is used to produce two very

different pieces. In the tiento the continuous texture is of a broad, sweeping contrapuntal nature, but in the glosa the effect of melody and accompaniment is prominent, as the audible counterpoint consists of that of the diminution patterns, which almost never occur in more than one voice simultaneously. In the *Glosa sobre Qui la dira* the chordal nature of the original is absorbed and accentuated by this effect and it could therefore be said that the glosa is in some ways closer in texture to the chanson than the tiento.

Both types of piece, then, use the framework of the model as the basis of new textures. The tiento uses the framework in its vertical axis by creating new counterpoint within the harmonic framework, providing new lines and directions, often using in the process the actual notes and pitches of the original. The glosa uses the framework in its horizontal axis by creating diminution patterns which become polyphonic through their interaction and the development of their own internal framework.

In the Gabrieli canzon we saw how the figuration interacted with the original in a slightly different way to the Spanish glosas. It is less regular, it moves more freely from part to part, and the large-scale periodic framework is made clearer by the figuration's concentration at important cadence points. This cadential emphasis was a feature noted in the simplest Italian intabulations in

Antico's print, and it is clear that for the Italians one of the main purposes of figuration is this cadential emphasis.

V

The link between the vocal music and keyboard music of the sixteenth century should now be clear. From the earliest times keyboard music has been indebted to the forms and structures of vocal music. The earliest examples show highly decorated vocal music to be an important part of the keyboard player's repertoire from the fourteenth century onwards. The principle of borrowing and reworking was established in the field of instrumental music from the very beginning. In the sixteenth century we see the emergence of a distinctive keyboard idiom, as figural techniques develop and change. As the periodic, imitative style gains ground in Europe so the nature of intabulation begins to change. It becomes an increasingly polyphonic technique, a reworking of pre-existent polyphonic structures. Even in the glosa, in which the existing polyphony is not extensively reworked, the figuration - itself a product of vocal techniques - creates for itself a new polyphonic web layered onto and interacting with the underlying structure of the model.

The increasing awareness of overall structural patterns - often marked in sixteenth-century polyphonic music by cadences - is appreciated early on by the intabulators. The

music of both Cavazzonis is dominated by an awareness of cadence. We saw how M. A. Cavazzoni's ricercars consist primarily of movement from cadence to cadence "filled out" with ornamental writing imposed upon the underlying structure. His modal exposition in the two pairs of ricercars and motets rest primarily upon an understanding of cadence and its importance to the mode. Girolamo Cavazzoni's liturgical music takes on the essence of a monophonic model - its contours and cadences - and weaves around it a polyphonic structure of great complexity. The concept of cadence is quite crucial to the Italian keyboard composer. From Antico onwards the nature of figural writing becomes far more precisely oriented than before, as it takes over the role, often ascribed to improvised vocal ornamentation, of emphasising important structural moments within a piece. By Gabrieli we see this process developed even further. Whereas in Cabezón's glosas the reworking of imitative points throughout the piece is of greatest importance, in a Gabrieli intabulation it is the emphasis of cadence.

In all the pieces studied here the fundamental principle governing their structure has been that of periodic imitation. The constant struggle of the keyboard composers to break away from the restraints imposed by vocal music(6) is an irrelevance: no such thing was attempted in the sixteenth century. The "secret art" was a high art,

developed by composers for whom vocal music and its procedures was the ideal and for whom *imitatio* was the guiding light of their activities. The importance of this to Sweelinck's keyboard music will be investigated later, but first of all we must look at the music of an English composer and see the importance of *imitatio* to his music. John Bull is regarded as one of the principal influences upon Sweelinck's style, an argument based on Sweelinck's supposed absorption of the elaborate figural style in which Bull's early works were composed. The following chapter assesses the importance of Bull's "English" style within the European context which the first part of this thesis has explored.

CHAPTER 4

The European Context of Sweelinck's Keyboard Music and a Study of Continental Elements in the Late Works of John Bull

The origins of Sweelinck's keyboard style have posed problems for musicologists for many years. The "Orpheus of Amsterdam"(1) and "excellent man of his faculties"(2) seems to have been an isolated figure in several ways. Evidence would suggest that Sweelinck did not venture far from his native Amsterdam(3): the oft-quoted study trip to Venice first mentioned by the eighteenth-century historian Mattheson(4) still lacks documentary validity. Without the evidence, then, that Sweelinck was a well-travelled, cosmopolitan figure who could have learnt his compositional techniques at the feet of older European masters, scholars turned to Sweelinck's background for clues. The problems here are of a slightly different nature; there seems to be little evidence of an indigenous musical culture in the Netherlands from which Sweelinck could have learnt his craft. The only remaining solution for scholars was to search for external influences coming into the Netherlands from other European countries.

Max Seiffert was one of the first to suggest that the English virginal school was a dominant influence on

Sweelinck. (5) He was also the first to suggest the line of development which this influence was to instigate: a broad sweeping pattern encompassing nearly two centuries of development, in which the figural patterns of the virginalists influenced Sweelinck who in his turn through his pupils developed the processes of the English in a sequence of events culminating in the music of J. S. Bach(6). A few years later Charles van den Borren, while searching valiantly for an indigenous musical style from which Sweelinck's music could have grown, (7) echoed Seiffert's hypothesis in his own study of Sweelinck's variation works. (8) He was followed by van den Sigtenhorst Meyer, who in his anxiety to establish Sweelinck's greatness as a composer, over-stressed Sweelinck's influence both in its breadth and in its time-scale. (9) Much later, Alan Curtis assembled much of the documentary evidence required to support the thesis of Seiffert and van den Borren while at the same time making further use of Sweelinck's variation pieces as musical evidence. (10)

In all literature on this subject the name of John Bull is inextricably bound with that of Sweelinck. There are two major reasons for this. First, Bull travelled on the Continent: it is even possible that he met Sweelinck. (11) Second, of the entire repertoire of the English virginal school from Byrd onwards, Bull's contribution is a most fecund source for examples of figuration patterns so beloved

of variation writers throughout the late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries. It is thus a relatively easy matter to find corresponding patterns in the music of virtually any contemporary European composer.

The traditional view, then, has been that the English virginal school, and in particular the music of John Bull was of prime importance during the formation of Sweelinck's keyboard style. However van den Borren himself observed in 1915 that Bull's later works written after he left England in 1613 were markedly different in style from those that he wrote before he left. (12) Of modern writers only Caldwell has noted this. (13) This point is more significant than might first appear, and is worthy of far more attention than it has hitherto received. There thus follows a brief investigation of Bull's keyboard style which establishes a very strong case for questioning the basis of many previous suppositions concerning his influence on European keyboard music in general and Sweelinck in particular.

II

The most recent attempt to tackle the complexities surrounding an assessment of John Bull's keyboard music has been made by Walker Cunningham. (14) He sets the record straight on many aspects of fact and legend which surround Bull's life. In his discussion of the music, however, he is

less convincing: although he provides largely accurate descriptions of the sources and what he considers to be the most important pieces they contain, he evades a number of larger issues. He refers to works as "early" or "late", "English" or "Continental", but does not systematically justify these descriptions in the logical way that, for example, Oliver Neighbour builds up a chronology of Byrd's keyboard works. (15) Thus, although the book provides a useful guide and introduction to Bull's music, there still remains some basic work to be done. (16) A useful step in this direction is the establishment of a chronology of Bull's works. For the purposes of the present study this chronology does not need to be either exhaustive nor complete as long as it allows us to aquire a general picture of how Bull's style developed, particularly in the period after 1613.

There are about thirty surviving sources of Bull's keyboard works, (17) and they present a confusion of dates and ascriptions. Precise datings of manuscripts completed within Bull's lifetime provide terminal dates for the pieces they contain. Manuscripts dated as being completed after Bull's death are of less value for this purpose, and here the questions of provenance and the forms and styles of the entire repertoire of the sources become increasingly important as factors involved in dating works. Apart from the precise dates of composition given to the three pieces,

Het Juweel (MB 19: 142), *Fantasia on a theme of Sweelinck* (MB 14: 4), and *Den lustelijcken meij* (MB 14: 52), in Add. MS 23623, most of the pieces can only be given terminal dates, calculated from their appearance in sources completed within Bull's lifetime and to which precise dates can be ascribed, or calculated from the latest possible date (most often that of death) which can be associated with the person to whom a piece is dedicated. For example, Lord Lumley died in 1609, and thus the Pavan and Galliard dedicated to him (MB19: 129) can be assumed to date at the latest from that time. (18) The Continental sources, however, might be expected to contain late pieces than the English ones, because their scribes would be more likely to have access to material Bull composed while resident abroad than to material which pre-dated 1613. The works themselves can also provide clues as to their date on grounds of genre. It seems likely, for example, that Bull's In Nomines, examples of typical English forms, are early works: it was after all a traditional contrapuntal test on which a number of composer's cut their teeth, especially in ensemble writing. Gibbons and the young Byrd were among these. (19)

Table 4/1 provides a chronological ordering of the works of John Bull based on this simple combination of source study and stylistic analysis. Once we have studied the two major groupings of works from before and after the 1613 line which can be positively dated as early or late on the

evidence of their sources, it is possible by stylistic analogy to assign a pre- or post- 1613 date to virtually the complete corpus of Bull's keyboard music. From these two major groupings a clear pattern emerges of a stylistic change occurring between the works Bull wrote while in England and those that he wrote after he left in 1613. This Continental exile brought Bull's musical style more in line with that of his European contemporaries, particularly with the music of Sweelinck.

The four principal manuscript sources of Bull's keyboard music which concern us particularly in this study are Paris BN Res. Con. 1185 (**Bu**), Cambridge Fitzwilliam MS 32G39 - The Fitzwilliam Virginal Book (**Tr**), Vienna Nationalbibliothek MS 17771 (**Vi**), and British Library Add. MS 23623 (**Ant**)(20). The Paris manuscript belonged to Benjamin Cosyn who made an index of the manuscript in 1652, after adding more than fifty pieces to the original layer. He also set about correcting or changing some of the earlier pieces either by writing directly on the manuscript or by pasting a new piece of paper over the older text and writing the whole piece out again with his changes added. Nothing is known about the history of the manuscript after 1652 or how it eventually arrived in Paris. Its first layer has been dated by Dart as about 1611,(21) a theory sustained by Cunningham.(22) The pieces it contains which can be dated are all from the early part of Bull's life, and as their style is similar to the

rest of the pieces in the first layer, an early date for all the works in this part of the manuscript seems likely. The Fitzwilliam Virginal Book was compiled by Francis Tregian during the time in which he was a prisoner in the Fleet prison. He probably copied the pieces between 1612 and 1619. Thus the collection could contain music from both before and after Bull's flight. Evidence exists that Philips sent music to Tregian from Europe, but there is no evidence to suggest that Bull's music filtered back to England after 1613 and it therefore seems likely that Tregian was copying from music already in his possession at the time of his imprisonment. A large proportion of the Bull pieces found in this source have concordances in Bu which suggests that these two manuscripts seem almost conclusively to contain early works dating from before 1613.

The other two manuscripts specifically mentioned above are both Continental in provenance. No precise date has been given to the Viennese manuscript, although it is assumed to be early seventeenth century. It belonged to the library of the Emperor Leopold (reigned 1658-1705) and is written in German tablature. A southern German origin seems likely. The manuscript is very small and trimming by the binder has excised some parts of the musical text it originally contained. It contains 11 pieces, all ascribed to Bull, and over 120 canons, many of which are also ascribed to Bull. (23) Of the eleven pieces, the first turns

out to be the *Fantasia Chromatica* of Sweelinck. This piece is ascribed to Sweelinck in two other sources (24) and is thus included in the complete edition of Sweelinck's works. (25) The compiler of the manuscript assigns the date 1621 to the *Fantasia Chromatica*, the year of Sweelinck's death, thus suggesting that the collection was compiled either in or after that year. Table 4/2 lists the pieces and their concordances. The concordances with **Bu** and **Tr**, both almost certainly sources of pre-1613 music, reveal that the manuscript contains a few early works of Bull, but the works without concordances seem close enough in style to the dated late works on stylistic grounds to be considered late themselves, and the manuscript as a whole would appear to be a selection of works from the whole period of Bull's life, featuring various facets of his compositional style.

The fourth manuscript source, Add MS 23623, contains the only pieces by Bull with dates ascribed to them in a contemporary source. They are listed in the chronological table. Other dates and internal evidence found in the manuscript indicate that it was written between 1622 and 1628. Dart believed the scribe to have been Messaus, choirmaster of St Walpurg's church in Antwerp when Bull was organist at the cathedral. Dart, however, had no positive evidence on which to base his assumption, and as Cunningham shows, the true identity of the scribe remains unknown. (26) The contents of these last two sources are of most interest

to this study, because of the large proportion of Bull's late works which they contain.

From a study of the two groups established by the table, the most obvious changes which occur in Bull's works after 1613 are those concerning repertoire and consequently compositional technique. The corpus of early works is dominated by dance music and plainchant settings. Almost half of the works produced after 1613 are, however, fantasias. Of the rest, five are based on pre-existent vocal pieces: *Den lustelijcken Meij*, *Laet uns met herten reijne* and three versions of *Een kindeken is ons geboren*. Two of the fantasias are themselves based on the Palestrina madrigal *Vestiva i colli*. We can thus see a distinct change in the repertoire of pieces that has come down to us. In place of pieces based predominantly on either the rhythmic formulae of dance patterns or on a monophonic melody - whether from the repertoire of plainchant or of popular song - we find a repertoire that is strongly influenced by polyphonic vocal music, whether directly, in the form of pieces based on vocal settings, or indirectly, in the four-part imitative writing of the fantasias. We should note, too, that this repertoire is similar to that of Peter Philips; Philips' known works are predominantly based on vocal pieces in the form of intabulations found in the *Fitzwilliam Virginal Book*, while almost all his remaining repertoire consists of fantasias. (27)

Linked with this change of repertoire is a change in the texture of Bull's music, as he moved away from complex and repetitive figuration patterns around a slower-moving cantus firmus. The new style involves a simpler but no less expressive idiom. In the early works, the figuration, as in the works of many early English keyboard composers, takes on an almost obsessive quality. In the later works, however, the patterns are subdued and their exuberance suppressed. They become longer and more subject to the overall structural skeleton imposed by a predominantly four-part imitative texture. A picture thus begins to emerge of a new style of composition reminiscent of that noted earlier in the works of Cabezon and the Cavazzonis, a style firmly grounded in the European imitative tradition and in which intabulation of vocal music plays an important part.

A detailed study of Bull's pieces which can be confidently designated "late", that is, those with clear contemporary datings, reveals a style easily confused with that of Sweelinck's works; enough to confuse the scribe of at least one of the major Continental sources, that of the Vienna manuscript. By contrast, his "early" works are markedly different in style and point backwards to the music of Blitheman, Redford and the other composers of the Mulliner Book and Add. MS 29996. (28)

Den lustelijcken Meij, dated May 30, 1622 (**Ant** f.28. MB 14:52) is a keyboard intabulation of Bull's own vocal setting of the Dutch carol which is found in a collection of music published in Antwerp in 1629, the year after Bull's death, and in a later collection from 1648.(29) The intabulation consists of two variations on the carol which adhere closely to its structure and harmonic framework, although Bull repeats only the second half of each verse, and not the first. However, the similarities end at this point. The counterpoint of the opening section is strictly in four parts, and is far more supple than that of the vocal version, which has the nature of an embellished harmonisation. Partly as a result of the more complex counterpoint, Bull develops the harmonies of his vocal piece, which are rather bland. The virtuoso passagework associated with Bull's music is absent; instead the figuration is more directionally controlled and melodic. Figuration emphasises cadential moments: in bars 15 and 28 Bull avoids the "full stops" of the carol which hold up the harmonic movement at bars 15 and 28, by adding new motivic figuration to the harmonic direction of the model. The repeat of the second half in the second variation is heavily disguised by overlapping figuration. Thus Bull creates an independent keyboard piece from his vocal model which is more interesting and varied than the original. From a basically homophonic, harmonic framework he develops a network of imitation and motivic figural writing which is

characteristic of the European fantasia tradition. The framework provides the structural orientation, not the figuration itself. Bull reworks the large-scale plan of the carol, creating new textures and new imitative complexes.

Having established the basic characteristics of this first dated composition, we can now turn to similar works from the same source. Two settings of the carol *Een kindeken is ons geboren* survive in **Ant**. A further version survives only by good fortune: the sole manuscript source of MB 14:53 was lost during the first half of this century and we have only van den Borren's transcription to rely upon.(30) Its similarity to MB:54 which survives in **Ant** is however close enough for it to warrant an examination here. Again in this piece we notice the lack of ostentatious display and how the figuration is subject to the overall periodic framework of the carol. It has interest of its own as a flexible solo line consisting of sequential, small-scale motives. The opening flourish and the analagous rising scale of bar 7 are reminiscent of the style of Pieter Cornet and the other composers represented in the *Liber fratrum cruciforum*.(31) A *bicinium* passage at bar 24 indicates particularly well the melodic nature of the figuration, developed around a framework of parallel tenths and the texture of bars 27 and 28 is that of a typical European intabulation, in which the figuration moves freely through the parts, filling out a predominantly harmonic

background framework. The first *Een kindeken* in **Ant** (f.21 MB 14:54) begins with an identical flourish to that of the first setting, although this is not developed imitatively as it is there. The figuration in this setting is similar to that of MB 14:53. It responds to the overriding harmonic framework imposed by the periodic construction of the carol; the framework controls the direction of the figuration which once again sweeps through the entire texture in bars 31-36. The second setting in **Ant** (f.63 MB 14:55) is different in that it is in a different mode and in only two parts almost throughout. The important role played by the harmonic framework in this bicinium setting of the carol is as clear as in any of his other carol settings. We can see the typical intabulation technique of concentrating decoration at cadences. In bar 13 at the end of the first phrase of the carol Bull adds an extra voice to the texture long enough to make the cadence particularly clear and to provide a framework for the sweeping scale which climbs through the texture. (32)

Laet uns met herten reijne (**Ant** f.65 MB 14:56) also opens with a section in strict counterpoint which recalls the Continental idiom. Of particular interest are the organ registration markings found towards the end of the piece which indicate a duet between the *cromhorne* and *cornet* stops and thus clearly indicating an awareness on the part of Bull of contemporary Continental organ building and suggests

further links with the soloistic writing of Cornet. Strict counterpoint is also a feature of the prelude to the fantasia on *Laet uns met herten reijne* (**Ant** f.65 MB 14:56). The idiom here is certainly that of polyphonic Continental vocal music. The fantasia style we see here suggests very strongly the style of Cornet's organ music; works such as the *Fantasia del primo tono*(33) or the *Salve regina* setting(34) spring readily to mind. Further awareness of this style can be clearly seen in the Fantasia from **Vi** which opens the *Musica Britannica* edition (f.18v MB 14:1). The right hand part would appear to be conceived as a solo voice to be played on a separate manual, probably using the *cornet* stop. Its style is generally faster moving than the other voices and more virtuosically inclined, and it is highlighted by frequent rests between its phrases. This Continental technique, again unlike anything found in English sources therefore also indicates a marked shift in Bull's style. The figuration at first concentrates at important cadences and the fantasia is particularly clerly divided into large imitative periods. The "solo" voice is often the last voice to enter during a point, again emphasising the cadential nature of its figuration. The figuration is still used to indicate the larger paragaphs of the music: despite its soloistic tendencies it is still controlled by the periodic, imitative counterpoint.

The second dated piece to be discussed is the *Fantasia on a theme of Sweelinck.* This is assigned the date of December 15 1621 in **Ant** (f. 52 MB 14:4). Again the figuration is restrained and organised into longer melodic ideas, and the counterpoint is strictly maintained at the opening. The second half of the piece is a masterpiece of periodic control. A sequential passage beginning a bar 54 is turned round at bar 57 and extended into a cadence at bar 60. This cadential extension is a feature of the rest of the piece as it reaches its highest note, d'', at bar 72, an effort which it is forced to repeat at bar 75 and again at bar 85. This larger-scale, periodic understanding of the structural possibilities inherent in the imitative technique relates this dated piece closely to other dated pieces and we can begin to see this understanding as typical of Bull's late style. (35)

The third dated work is *Het Juweel* (**Ant** f. 49v MB 19:142) which was written on 12 December 1621. The work opens, like others from Bull's late period with imitation and fairly strict counterpoint. The contrast between this piece and an earlier setting could hardly be more marked. In the version surviving in **Tr** (no. 138) and **Bu** (p110) we find only a melody and basic chordal accompaniment. In the **Ant** version, however, we find a contrapuntal texture filling out the harmonic framework in much the same way as an intabulation. Bull maintains the part writing throughout;

the counterpoint is not in the style of his plainchant settings such as the In Nomines, but it continues to be an obvious "filling out" of a harmonic framework, as if the movement of the parts should really be in crotchets rather than the over-abundant quavers which "crowd out" the melody and make this setting far less satisfactory than the carol settings composed at around the same time. This setting of a secular melody can be compared with another similar setting found in Vi, *Revenant* (f. 160 MB 19: 100) a setting of a melody particularly popular amongst Continental composers. Like *Het Juweel*, this work opens with contrapuntal writing and, as Cunningham writes, (36) "parts do not drop in and out in the accustomed manner of the English variations, and the polyphony retains a linear quality that is uninterrupted by any virginalistic filler figures." Bull pays close attention to the periodic harmonic nature of the melody, and again fills out this background framework with figuration - again it is the overall pattern of the music which controls the structure and not the figuration patterns themselves.

Comparison with Philips is of interest here, too. The few surviving works in the fantasia style of Bull's fellow recusant fall into two distinct categories. The first type follow the tradition of strict ricercar style of the type established by the Netherlands composer Jaques Buus in his famous publication of ricercars in intabulation in 1549. (37) The fantasia with thirty-nine numbered entries of the

subject which appears in the **Tr**(no. 134) shows this trait particularly clearly. The other style of fantasia which we find among **Philips'** output is the less strict type similar to the majority of the late Bull fantasias and which is closely reminiscent of Cornet's works.

Another piece from **Ant** presents a different aspect of European influence. The *Fantasia quinti toni*(38), again preserved uniquely in the late source, has reminders of the Italian toccata style, despite its title.(39) As Cunningham points out, the remarkable resemblance of this fantasia to the Venetian toccata has no parallel in England.(40) Having adopted many stylistic aspects of the European fantasia, particularly its imitative techniques and its use of diminution patterns as figuration within a pre-existent framework, Bull also can be seen to be adopting another of the main keyboard forms of late sixteenth-century Europe, the toccata. The sequential imitation which characterises the *Fantasia quinti toni* is found in several other late works of Bull, including the fantasia from **Vi** discussed above.

The remaining works from **Ant** to be discussed are all intabulations. The evidence of the carol settings has already shown Bull's absorption in the technique of intabulation and his success in using it to create idiomatic keyboard music. The intabulation of polyphonic vocal music

was almost unknown in England in the late sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, although the various versions for keyboard of *Piper's Pavan and Galliard* and of *Lachrymae* by Dowland show that the technique was not completely unknown, if the technique was not so advanced as on the Continent. There are no pieces of this sort in **Bu** and the only examples in **Tr** are by Peter Philips and are thus European importations. The only other intabulation of a vocal piece in **Tr** is by Farnaby. (41) *Den lustelijcken Meij* is an example in which the model used was also Bull's own work. In the *Vestiva i colli* pieces, however, Bull takes the work of other composers as he does in the fantasias *La Guamina* and *A Leona* which are discussed below. In neither of the *Vestiva i colli* pieces does Bull end the work in flourishes of figuration and passagework, but instead he retains the strict counterpoint which is a feature of the *Fantasia on a theme of Sweelinck.* Cunningham's analysis of these pieces shows how Bull elaborates various themes from the Palestrina madrigal. Bull's reliance upon his model goes much deeper than this however. As in so many of the works discussed in this study, the intabulations rely upon the entire structure of the model, and not just upon small thematic elements. They are essentially polyphonic reworkings. Example 4A shows how Bull reworks the entire *prima parte* of the madrigal in each of his fantasias, by responding closely to entire imitative paragraphs. Cunningham misses the point completely when he writes that "in bar 30 the fantasy quotes

the entire theme (madrigal, b. 41-44)". (42) His themes (a) and (c) are bound to resemble each other closely because they are one and the same: Cunningham fails to note that the *prima parte* of the madrigal consists of one section which is repeated in its entirety from bar 41 until bar 81 after which a short coda provides an extended cadence. The supposed "new theme" at bar 41, then, is created by Palestrina's response to the poetical text: he alters the rhythm of the theme slightly in order to suit the words more closely. Example 4A shows how Bull responds to this repeated section with a re-working of the material. Even if some of the proportions are altered slightly, the main cadence points still occur in the correct order - a clear indication of Bull's absorption of the entire original structure into his new piece. The madrigal provides the framework for Bull's own contrapuntal elaboration of the thematic material. In the first fantasia Bull makes use of the first point of the *seconda parte* which he reaches by means of a decorated cadence in bars 55 and 56. It is interesting to note how Bull overlaps the two parts of the madrigal in this way, even though he does not go on to develop the entire *seconda parte*. Instead he develops this first point further than Palestrina, just long enough, in fact, to enable him to bring the work to an effective close on A.

To see in greater detail how Bull uses Palestrina's framework as the basis for his own counterpoint and figuration we need to look closely at several passages from the fantasias. *Fantasia I* opens by following closely the melodic contours of the madrigal, including the pitch and temporal relationships between the entries of the upper three parts. In bar 3, however, Bull introduces the lowest part long before it appears in the madrigal. The other voices continue to follow the original outline. The expansion of bar 6 shown in the example indicates how Bull interpolates new material into the original imitative framework without departing very far from its original contours and direction. By bar 7 the fantasia is back in line with the madrigal, although Bull adds an extra imitative entry in the bassus on E. In bar 8 of the madrigal the tenor enters on A, followed by the bassus on D in the following bar. Bull disguises this last entry by scalar figuration, although by returning in the correct moments to the lower D, the rhythm of the entry is in fact preserved. This technique could have come straight from a sixteenth-century treatise on vocal ornamentation. It is typical of Bull's approach to figuration in all his late works: it shows how figuration in this type of music is in itself a response to a larger framework - this time of a single melodic line rather than of a complete composition. At this point Bull develops his own extensive cadence which follows the contours of the original, picking out various

different voices as anchor points, such as the altus in bar 19-20 of the madrigal, which is found in slightly altered form in the cantus of the fantasia in bar 12. The similarity between the way Bull reworks this whole opening imitative point of the madrigal (bars 1-22) in both fantasias is remarkable. *Fantasia II* alters the pitch of the imitation of the very opening but continues to follow the outline of the cantus for five bars. It responds in a similar way to the madrigal's imitation in bar 8, although it produces a different diminution pattern for the entry of the bassus in bar 9 and then closely follows the contours of the madrigal as far as the cadence on A. Palestrina's first imitative point, then, is developed by Bull in a variety of ways. He uses the motives of the point individually as well as "previously formed motivic constructions". In addition he uses the entire framework of the point, following basic melodic outlines not only of the outer parts, but also occasionally of the inner parts, as a point of departure for his own contrapuntal texture.

After this close relationship between the first sections of the madrigal and the fantasias, Bull moves away from such a direct realtionship. *Fantasia II* ignores entirely the next nine bars of the madrigal, while *Fantasia I* merely follows the outline of the upper voices. It is not until the imitative point which begins in the altus in bar 32 of the madrigal that the three pieces come together again.

Both fantasias rework the point while adhering closely to the harmonies of the original. The cadence on D in bar 41 of the madrigal marks the beginning of the repeat of the section. In *Fantasia I* Bull follows closely the rhythmic changes required by the madrigal's text (producing faster repeated notes than in the opening), while in *Fantasia II* the rhythmic changes are marked only by greater quaver activity rather than precise duplication of the new rhythms. Both fantasias follow the contrapuntal structure closely throughout this repeat of the opening point, diverging once more in the corresponding place with the clear cadence on A in the madrigal at bar 62. Both fantasias also mark the strong cadences on D, the first of which marks the end of the repeat of the first section in bar 81 of the madrigal and leads into the short codetta and the final cadence of the *prima parte*. *Fantasia II* follows ever more closely the bassus of the madrigal and draws to a close at a point equivalent to the end of the *prima parte*. *Fantasia I* also cadences at this point, but by means of a short cadence provides an overlap with the beginning of the *seconda parte*. It then follows the opening point of the second section of the madrigal for some time. At the madrigal's bar 105, however, the two pieces separate. The fantasia continues to develop the same point while the madrigal moves on to new material. Bull continues with the point long enough to enable him to establish a firm cadence on A, the true final of the madrigal. Throughout the two fantasias on *Vestiva i*

colli we can see how Bull uses the entire framework of the vocal original as a starting point for his own textures and counterpoint. His motivic work is often a product of basic diminution techniques; the larger framework supplying the overall direction for the small-scale motivic activity.

The *Fantasia on a theme from "La Guamina"* (**Ant** f. 122v MB 14: 7) appears to be based on an ensemble canzona by Guami. The version of the canzona published in Antwerp in 1612(43) includes a triple metre section which corresponds to the triple metre section of Bull's piece, and would thus seem to be the model which Bull used. The fantasia can thus be assumed to date from after 1612. A study of the piece confirms the continental influence of stricter part-writing with Sweelinck-like imitation and relatively short amounts of passage work which is melodically conceived. The fantasia is reminiscent, too, of the anonymous works of the *Liber Fratrum Cruciforum*, by virtue of its echo effects and simple texture. The *Fantasia on "A Leona"* (**Ant** f. 122v MB 14: 7) opens with the classic device of paired imitation, an important feature of Spanish keyboard music, and paired writing continues to be important to the structure of the piece. It can be clearly seen at work in bars 46-58, occurring first in the lower two voices, followed by the upper two. The model for this piece has not been discovered - it bears no relation to potential models of Italian origin. (44) Perhaps the piece has its origins in Spain and

the title *A Leona* bears some relation to the Spanish town of León. Once again figural writing is kept to a minimum and is always subject to the demands of the lengthy imitative paragraphs of the overall structure.

Taken together these works show a change in Bull's style to correspond closely with the typical European style of the period. It would indeed be possible to agree with Cunningham's statement that the Dutch carols in particular are a "weak indication of the path of the composer's thought in his Antwerp period", (45) if we attempted only to place these simpler variations directly within the context of works such as the *Walsingham* Variations, but the group of works represented by the two late sources show us, particularly in the form of the fantasias, how an English composer's style could adapt to the Continental idiom of the period and how the style of Bull's music changed from one reliant upon the motoric drive of small-scale imitation to one in which the technique of pervasive imitation became the guiding compositional principle. The works show how Bull fell readily into line with general Continental practices in his maturity, particularly in his absorption with Italian contrapuntal techniques and abandoned the insular style of his youth.

It is clear, then, that Bull's music was influenced by the Continental style. This becomes clearer still if we

look now at an early work of Bull which is to be found in both **Bu** and **Tr**. The fantasia on *Ut, re, mi, fa, sol, la* (**Bu** p32, **Tr** no. 215 MB 14:18) invites comparison with a superficially similar work of Sweelinck, the variations on *Da pacem, Domine*. (46). Both pieces set a pre-existent melody of even note values in one voice with figuration underneath or around it. The opening *bicinia* of both pieces are the most interesting, for they show that while one can easily find figuration common to both pieces, the two composers are working in fundamentally different ways. The sequential patterns of the Sweelinck piece provide a strong harmonic background, as do the suspensions from the eleventh bar onwards. Sweelinck's motives are longer and more melodic than those of Bull, but at the same time the Netherlands composer achieves greater variety within a shorter span. From this brief comparison we see that for Sweelinck the harmonic orientation of the music is an important factor in the composition. This contrasts strongly with Bull's pre-occupation with the linear aspect, at the expense of a clearly defined harmonic direction. Sweelinck creates structure more by harmonic means than by the persistent repetition of small, rhythmically-frenetic units that characterises Bull's approach. The figuration is subject to the demands of a harmonic, periodic construction, whereas in Bull's piece the figuration itself is responsible for generating the forward movement. The two pieces which, if viewed simply in terms of figuration, appear to be of

similar outward design, can therefore be shown to have been conceived by their composers in rather different ways.

The musical evidence provided by these major sources of Bull's music suggests that a distinct change took place in Bull's style after 1613. After he arrived in the Netherlands his music becomes caught up in the European imitative style and his music takes on the distinctive aspects of *imitatio* which we have observed in the first three chapters of this thesis. Intabulation procedures - the reworking of pre-existent material into new polyphonic structures - become the dominant compositional techniques of his "late" repertoire. Figuration, instead of being the driving force behind cantus firmus composition becomes subdued to the demands of a periodic, imitative framework and an aid to the articulation of that structure in the form of cadential ornamentation.

This difference, together with the change in Bull's style outlined above, suggests the opposite of the traditional view of the Anglo-Netherlands musical relationship. Instead of the idiosynscratic Englishman transforming European style we find that Bull, whose music represents the extreme of English figural, mechanical writing, changes to fit in with the European fantasia tradition. The strength and integrity of the European keyboard style was enough to alter radically the style of a

very distinctive composer. If we accept this, then we can seriously challenge the whole basis of the Anglo-Netherlands stylistic link as it is viewed by Curtis and we can legitimately look elsewhere for the roots of Sweelinck's style.

III

Having seen how the insular English style could be changed by the European idiom we need to see how strongly that idiom presented itself among native Netherlandish composers of Sweelinck's generation. The publications of instrumental music in the Netherlands in the latter half of the sixteenth century are almost exclusively for lute. Their relevance to the keyboard music of the period is, however, considerable. Many sixteenth-century prints either list in their preface a wide range of instruments on which the music they contain can be played or their title pages include a phrase such as "convenable a tous instruments", an expression particularly favoured by Phalèse of Antwerp. Lute style and that of keyboard are therefore closely related. In the Netherlands lute publications of the 1550s and 1560s we find a variety of compositional types. Apart from dance movements the publications are dominated by intabulations of Flemish imitative compositions. Later, however, as the emphasis shifts in the Netherlands vocal music towards the

Italian *seconda pratica*, the lute prints begin to intabulate increasing numbers of Italian pieces.

A useful and typical example of this type of publication is the *Pratum musicum* of Emanuel Adriaenssen which was published by Phalèse in Antwerp in 1584, (47) at around the point when Italian music was beginning to be published in large amounts in the Netherlands. Adriaenssen was a prominent figure in the cultural life of Antwerp in the 1580s, and he held certain important public posts. (48) He published three volumes of lute music of which the volume under discussion is the first. It opens with five four-part fantasias. These are in imitative style, although not as strict as the ricercar of the period. They are rather preludial in style and were probably intended to precede pieces from later in the volume in the same key. Indeed in later volumes Adriaenssen prints similar pieces to which he gives the title of Praeludium. (49) The fantasias are followed in the *Pratum musicum* by a large number of intabulations of mainly secular pieces by Italian and Flemish composers including de Rore, de Monte, Palestrina and Lassus. After a series of Neapolitan songs for voice and solo lute the volume concludes with a number of dances, of which one third are allemandes, the rest being mainly galliards and passemezzos. Even some of these dances are however based on vocal music, including *Galliarda chi passa*, based on Azzaiuolo's very popular madrigal *Chi passa per*

questa strada, and an *almande nonette*, based on the popular tune known in England as the *Queen's Alman* and set by Byrd. In the *passamezzo and Galliarda de Haubois in f fa ut* we can find many figuration patterns that are common in Sweelinck's works, both for the lute and harpsichord (see Example 4B) and which give the music an improvisatory, fantasia-like feeling. Most of the repertoire represented by this typical volume then, even the dance pieces, consists of polyphonic reworking of pre-existent vocal music.

With this typical lute book in mind it is interesting to turn now to the only sixteenth-century source of keyboard music which survives from the period immediately preceeding that of the majority of Sweelinck sources. The is the *Suzanne van Soldt* Book. (50) It is dated 1599, but its repertoire seems to suggest an earlier date of around the 1570s, (51) the period when Sweelinck was learning his art prior to his appointment as organist to the Oude Kerke in Amsterdam towards the end of the decade. The importance of this volume has perhaps been underestimated in the past, even by Curtis. The volume contains primarily simple pslam settings and some short dance movements, but significantly it also contains two intabulations of vocal works based on the famous Lassus chanson *Susanne ung jour*(52) and on Azzaiuolo's *Chi passa per questa strada*. The latter version is remarkably similar in style and scope to the version found in the Adriaenssen publication. As the psalm settings

are probably intabulations of a very basic kind, we therefore find a similar repertoire for keyboard in the *Suzanne van Soldt* Book to that which we find in the earlier printed lute volumes. In this respect the manuscript seems to be less of an isolated phenomenon than has been thought, but rather it can be seen as representative of a general instrumental style current in the Netherlands in the latter half of the sixteenth century: a style based fundamentally on the procedures of intabulation and of reworking of pre-existent vocal music. (53)

IV

Before we look at direct musical evidence for this in Sweelinck's works we must however look more closely at the Netherlands background during the sixteenth century. If we look at the earlier part of the century the dominant pattern is one of a musical style created in the Netherlands and spreading outwards across the whole of Europe; this was the period when the Netherlands composers were leaving their country and moving South through Germany and France into Italy and Spain. (54) The importance of Charles V's court in this respect cannot be over-emphasised. Here was an itinerant ruler travelling constantly throughout the "triangle" of Hapsburg dominions, from Spain up to the Netherlands and then down through the Holy Roman Empire into Italy. These travels must have encouraged artistic

interchange. The Emperor himself studied music first with the Flemish musician Henri Bredemers and later with another Flemish composer by the name of Van Viven. (55) It is known that Charles owned and played a Flemish harpsichord made by the firm of Ruckers. (56) Charles chose an international selection of musicians for his court including Schlick from Germany and Cabezón from Spain, but there seems to have been a bias in favour of Flemish musicians such as Gombert, who was a member of the court retinue from 1526 until the late 1530s, first as a singer, and from 1529 onwards, as *maitre de chapelle*. Kwee Him Yong has shown how many publications of intrumental music throughout Europe in the sixteenth century feature the music of Josquin. (57) We can see, then, that the influence of the Netherlands imitative composers on European music of the early sixteenth century is considerable. (58)

Later in the century the pattern is curiously reversed. As the Dutch Republic gradually came into being, the economic prosperity of the Netherlands increased dramatically. The density of population and the amount of industry in the area were at least comparable to that of Tuscany and Venice at the same time. The wealth that this industry created was favourable to musical development, although its main result seems to have been to encourage foreign musicians to come to the Netherlands to seek work rather than to create large numbers of local musicians; the Italians and Spanish began

to dominate the vocal scene both directly by their presence and also through the explosion in music publishing which took place in the closing decades of the century. The similarity of the economic and social conditions of the Netherlands to those of Northern Italy are mirrored in the similarity in the number of publications; the presses of Phalèse and Susato in Antwerp vie with those of Gardano in Venice in the number and diversity of volumes which they produced. A survey of the type of music they contain provides interesting results.(59) Throughout the 1550s and 1560s in the Netherlands, the vocal works of Clemens non Papa and Crequillon are best represented in print, with publications devoted roughly equally to secular and sacred collections. As the century progresses a new trend can be observed as the number of volumes devoted to Italian music increases to the point where, by the 1590s, they have all but ousted the Flemish composers altogether. Foreign composers of many nationalities but marked by their "Italianate" leanings dominate the courts and chapels of the two decades either side of the turn of the century.

Sweelinck was well aware of this trend, as his reworkings of madrigals by A. Gabrieli, Ferrabosco and Marenzio in the *Rimes françoises et italiennes* of 1612(60) clearly show. The texts of the works found in this collection are predominantly Petrarchian, including works by Philippe Desportes, a Frenchman whose work was popular

throughout Europe at the turn of the sixteenth century, and Bembo, the arch-Petrarchist and leader of the sixteenth-century revival of *imitatio*. The principle of polyphonic reworking was well established in Sweelinck's vocal music. Further firm evidence of Sweelinck's absorption of the *seconda pratica* comes in the *Cantiones Sacrae*(61) of 1619 and follows hard on the heels of similar collections such as Peter Philips' *Gemmulae Sacrae*. (62) and Dering's *Cantiones Sacrae* and *Cantica Sacra*(63) These pieces include a *basso continuo* part, and like Philips' earlier volume of sacred music of 1612, are all strongly influenced by the Italian style.

The three volumes of psalms which Sweelinck published in 1604, 1613 and 1614 belong to an earlier (and more Netherlandish) stylistic tradition. (64) The main melodic sources of these polyphonic pieces is the Calvinist psalter of Loys Bourgois with French texts by Marot and de Beze which was published piecemeal during the 1540s. The style of the Sweelinck pieces is as archaic as their background. Example 4C is not untypical. The vigorous ornamentation and the strong contrast in thematic material and style between upper and lower voices suggest a *prima ,pratica* style with roots far back in the Flemish style of Ockeghem and Obrecht, although we can see in Sweelinck's settings - presumably printed retrospectively - a developing sense of a periodic, harmonic construction. Even in Example 4C we can see that

the slower imitation of the upper voices controls the direction and freedom of the figural lower voices, forcing the cadence on A at the end of the third bar.

On the evidence of general cultural developments as well as on the more specific evidence of compositional types and repertoire we can begin to see how Sweelinck's music reflects the general musical pre-occupations of Europe at the end of the sixteenth century and at the beginning of the seventeenth century. It was noted above how the earlier Netherlands composers moved South in the first half of the sixteenth century to Spain and Italy. We can see traces of that *prima pratica* Netherlands style remaining in Sweelinck's psalm settings which at the same time indicate the beginnings of his absorption of the *seconda pratica*, a style which appears unequivocally in his prints of the second decade of the seventeenth century. The thread of continuity provided by the evidence of the lute publications and the Suzanne van Soldt book show that *imitatio* and its instrumental manifestation as intabulation was a constant principle behind the instrumental repertoire of the Netherlands in the sixteenth century. A study of Sweelinck's own works for lute(65) shows that they are close in style and scope to those works published in collections such as those of Adriaenssen and that they include various figuration patterns of the type found in his keyboard music. The origin and techniques of most of this music lies in the

contrapuntal imitative procedures of sixteenth-century vocal music.

Previous writers have frequently used patterns of figuration as evidence of stylistic influence and transmission in Sweelinck's keyboard repertoire. The study of and comparison of Bull's *Ut, re, mi, fa, sol, la* and Sweelinck's *Da pacem* showed the dangers inherent in this approach, for as we saw, Bull and Sweelinck, despite using similar figuration, were composing in different, almost opposite ways. Example 4D shows that the typical patterns of the English virginal school can be found in the music of most European countries. Figuration patterns, whether in lute music or keyboard music are generally patterns which fall readily under the fingers and it is thus to be expected that they can be found in the music of all national schools, as the natural product of improvisatory techniques which search for an idiomatic instrumental style. (66) Analytical studies, then, which attempt to establish far ranging stylistic links, must look further than these patterns, and concentrate more on a study of underlying compositional methods.

We noted in the introduction that the art of the sixteenth-century organist was essentially an improvisatory one. (67) It was also a secret art. This is made clear in the Spanish treatises on organ music which date from this

time. From the preface to Venegas de Henestrosa's *Libro di cifra nueva* of 1577(68) it is clear that the goal of the keyboard player is to improvise polyphonic music in the "fantasy" style. In Italy the most important tests in the competitions to find organists for St Mark's in Venice were those which required tremendous skills in improvisation. Only towards the end of the century and into the next one did publications of organ music become numerous, so that the special "secret" skills of the organist, the "arte de taner fantasia" discussed at length by Santa Maria(69) could be studied by all. Music that was published before that date was often intended for didactic use. This is certainly the case with Cabezón's *Obras*, for example, which begins with simple pieces in two parts in all the tones and gradually builds up to the longer tientos and the technical difficulties of the variations. Cabezon's collection is also a retrospective one. Published twelve years after the composer's death it includes music from earlier periods, such as Venegas' *Libro di cifra nueva*. The parallel with Sweelinck is remarkable. As an improviser he would have been unlikely to have written much down. The Sweelinck sources all date from later in the composer's life and many are in the hands of his pupils. A similar didactic purpose may therefore also be inferred for these manuscripts, which were probably intended for distribution by his pupils, possibly even to be used by them in their own teaching.

As Example 4D shows, superficial resemblances between the music of the Spanish master Cabezón and Sweelinck are easy to find, just as superficial links like these can be found between most countries. There are common elements in the figuration of Bull, Cabezón and Sweelinck, but the course of influence and stylistic transmission is by no means chronologically clear. A close look, however, reveals a more fundamentally similar style between the Spanish and Italian school and the style of Sweelinck; the large number of intabulations of vocal music, particularly of the masses of Josquin, the preoccupation with a smooth and regular four-part texture in the Cabezón tientos and the subordination of the figuration to an overall harmonic direction are all features which we can see in Sweelinck's music and which become increasingly apparent in the late works of Bull.

Organ music was published in Italy from a much earlier date than in Spain or the Netherlands. Marc Antonio Cavazzoni published his *Libro primo* as early as 1524, and his son published his own two volumes during the 1540s. Perhaps the art was not so secret in Italy as in Spain? The next series of Italian publications begins in the 1580s with the Merulo toccatas and the works of the Gabrielis. It is possible that Sweelinck had access to all these prints. Seiffert observed Italian elements in Sweelinck's style in

1899(70); perhaps Mattheson's tale of the Venetian study trip has at least a musical basis, if not a factual one.

The most significant feature of this pattern is that it leaves English music isolated. There seems to be no case for arguing that Spanish influence entered the Netherlands via England; in spite of Cabezón's visit to England of 1554. English keyboard music is unashamedly insular and shows no sign of absorbing the Spanish style at that stage. After 1470 the compositional processes of the English tended to be independent of those of their Continental contemporaries; this was certainly the case with Bull who wrote very little keyboard music which compares directly in style with that of the European mainland until he went to live there in 1613. It is this fundamentally different approach to compositional procedures which in the light of the evidence presented above makes it hard to accept Bull or his English contemporaries and predecessors as a true source for the Sweelinck style. The following chapter looks in some detail at Sweelinck's keyboard music in the light of the observations made here. It shows how the compositional principles observed in the music of the Cavazzonis, Cabezón and late Bull relate directly to Sweelinck's own works and confirm that his music is part of the long-established Continental tradition.

CHAPTER 5

Sweelinck's Keyboard Works

A study of Sweelinck's music is presented with the same fundamental source problem as we found in the case of John Bull; no autograph sources but rather a large and amorphous group of around 30 manuscripts covering a wide range of copyists, styles and periods. This study does not intend to assess the nature of all Sweelinck's sources - several other writers have done so over the years(1) - rather it will concentrate on Sweelinck's music as it survives in just a small number of the most obviously important sources and particularly on those which can be dated from within Sweelinck's lifetime.

The largest Sweelinck source is a manuscript of German origin dating from the second quarter of the seventeenth century: Berlin Deutsche Staatsbibliothek, Lübbenauer Orgeltabulaturen, MS Lynar A 1 (**LyA1**). It was once thought to have been compiled by Matthias Weckman and - unusally for a German source - it is written in staff notation.(2) This source **LyA1** contains along with a vast variety of European and English music nearly all of Sweelinck's important keyboard compositions; twenty-seven examples of his music from every main compositional genre. One other German

source is of particular importance to Sweelinck's music: Berlin Stadtbibliothek, Gymnasium zum Grauen Kloster, MS HB 103 *olim* 52 (**GK**). This second manuscript also dates from the second quarter of the seventeenth century and is written in German organ tablature.(3) It contains eleven works by Sweelinck, including some *unica*, but also several with concordances in **LyA1**. A third major source is the Fitzwilliam Virginal Book (**Tr**). This contains four important Sweelinck pieces including one for which no other source survives.(4) The manuscript is especially important because it is one of only two which can be positively dated from within Sweelinck's lifetime.(5) It contains the single dated Sweelinck piece: the *Praeludium Toccata* is dated 1612.

These three sources provide between them the vast majority of Sweelinck's keyboard compositions. One other source is important to this study because it too dates from within Sweelinck's lifetime. Add MS 24986 is dated 1618 and contains a version of a Sweelinck toccata more familiar today in its version found in **GK.** Table 5/1 lists Sweelinck's compositions found in these four sources with their concordances and the following discussion is based around a consideration of the repertoire which they represent. The numbering prefixed by a letter in the table refers to the three parts of volume I of the new Sweelinck edition. (*Opera Omnia* Amsterdam 1974). Part I (fantasias and toccatas) is edited by Leonhardt (L.-), part II (sacred

variations) by Annegarn (A.-) and part III (secular variations) by Noske (N.-) This system of identification will be followed throughout the chapter.

Great importance in the past has been attached to the style of Sweelinck's secular variation works, in which inevitably, patterns of figuration can be most clearly seen and heard. I have shown earlier how these patterns can be found in most European music of the period, (6) and that they therefore they cannot necessarily be traced back to the virginalists. The variations - perhaps at least partly through their deserved popularity with twentieth-century keyboard players - have taken on a disproportionate importance in the minds of musicologists. For most composers of the period - the important instrumental genres were the fantasia and other imitative forms such as the intabulation. The fantasia and toccata genres form the major part of Sweelinck's surviving keyboard output. The composition of secular variation sets, to judge from their survival in the major sources, was not a particularly favoured Continental pastime, just as the intabulation of vocal music was not an English one: we saw in the previous chapter that Giles Farnaby was the only composer in Tr who seems to have been interested in the genre. (7) (Peter Philips, can be considered a European composer. He left England when he was very young and his repertoire - mostly contained in the Fitzwilliam Virginal Book - is Continental

in content and style.) Sweelinck's variations on sacred melodies are different in style from those on secular melodies, and more of them survive.

A brief glance at Sweelinck's surviving keyboard repertoire, shows a quite clearly Continental slant: even the small group found in the Fitzwilliam Virginal Book provides a good "sampler" of his work in the main genres of fantasia, toccata and sacred variation. It is as if a group of pieces had been specially chosen for study in England in which the main features of Sweelinck's style are quite clearly shown. The Fitzwilliam repertoire will be used here as an anchor point for the study because the manuscript dates from within Sweelinck's lifetime and because it contains Sweelinck's only dated piece. There seems no reason to question the date of 1612 which it assigns to the *Praeludium Toccata* - all other dates in the source are compositional rather than copying dates. It means that the piece was written when Sweelinck was around fifty years old, an age by which we can safely assume that his compositional style was established. If Sweelinck was influenced by the English virginalists then all the signs should appear in this work. If they do not, and instead we find signs of the general European compositional techniques which would be suggested by the slant of Sweelinck's surviving repertoire, then we can begin to establish the true roots of Sweelinck's style.

Apart from the *Praeludium Toccata* (L. 16) the other three Sweelinck pieces in the Fitzwilliam collection are - in the order in which they occur - a fantasia on *Ut, Re, Mi, Fa, Sol, La a 4 voci* (L. 5), a setting of Loys Bourgeois's melody for Psalm 140 (A. 12) and a second fantasia (L. 3), which is notable for its lack of concordances. The other pieces have concordances in the main Continental Sweelinck sources. Using these four pieces I will deal with Sweelinck's output in generic groups, dealing firstly with fantasias, then toccatas and finally variation works. General stylistic details which can be established from close study of the individual pieces of the Fitzwilliam repertoire will be projected outwards onto Sweelinck's other works in the same genres.

II

The overall shape of L. 3 is illustrated in the following diagram:

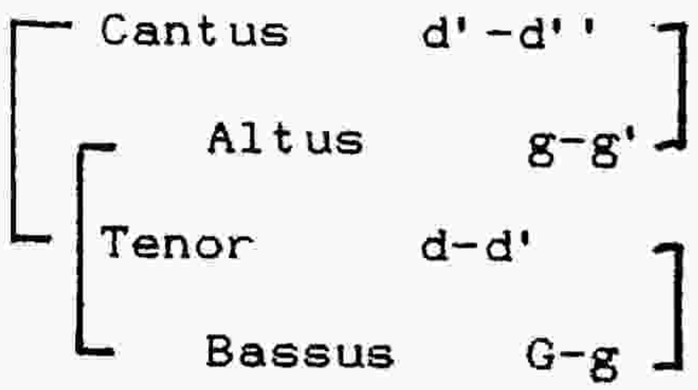
Section	bars	no. of voices
I	1-83	4
II	84-102	2
III	103-135	3
IV	136-243	4

L.3 is extensively analysed by Noske. He is quite right to place the work on an equal footing with the *Fantasia Chromatica* and the hexachord fantasia, although most of his analysis seems to miss the fundamental point of the structure of the piece. Noske sees the fantasia as based upon a monothematic principle with "every procedure being dependent on the theme, the longest in Sweelinck's fantasias". (8) Noske divides this theme into three sections, and in his ensuing discussion sees the fantasia - as in fact he sees all Sweelinck's counterpoint - in effect as embryonic fugue. This rather anachronistic view makes Noske blind to the underlying structure of the piece which is much more dependent upon the procedures of the Renaissance than of the Baroque, and it shows the dangers of viewing Sweelinck mainly in terms of his supposed influence on later composers, rather than seeing him as the inheritor not the instigator of a compositional tradition. Seen in the context of the music of Cabezón, Cavazzoni and Gabrieli, Sweelinck's methods form a logical and natural part of the fantasia/ricercar and toccata tradition. This tradition is, of course, dominated by technical procedures arising from the sixteenth-century concept of mode.

We saw in our study of M.A.Cavazzoni's works that modal procedures are an essential element of the structure and relationships of the ricercars and their motets. The following analyses, particularly of the toccatas, repeatedly

show the similar importance of modal procedures to the structures employed by Sweelinck in his compositions. We noted in chapter 1 that the lack of regular part writing made modal assessment on the basis of *a voce piena* scoring very difficult. Instead, cadence frequency was used to determine mode. Sweelinck's music, on the other hand, responds remarkably well to this basically very simple method of modal analysis in which the ranges of the voices can be used to determine the modal structure of a piece. Meier explains *a voce piena* scoring particularly clearly. (9) Cantus and tenor have the same range of pitches set one octave apart. The altus and bassus ranges are similar, set a perfect fifth below. The pairing is maintained even in works in more than four parts; any extra parts simply double one of the ranges already found in one of the fundamental pairs. The lower pair almost invariably reflect the opposite side of the mode to the upper pair. Thus if cantus and tenor correspond in range to the authentic side of a modal group, then the ranges of the altus and bassus will correspond to the plagal side. Meier shows how for most sixteenth-century theorists the mode of a piece could be satisfactorily determined by the ranges of the cantus/tenor pair. The following diagram shows a typical *a voce piena* layout for mode II transposed by a fourth with a G final; one of the most frequent modal transpositions, because it provides a more useful set of ranges for voices than mode II untransposed in which the voices are set very low. The

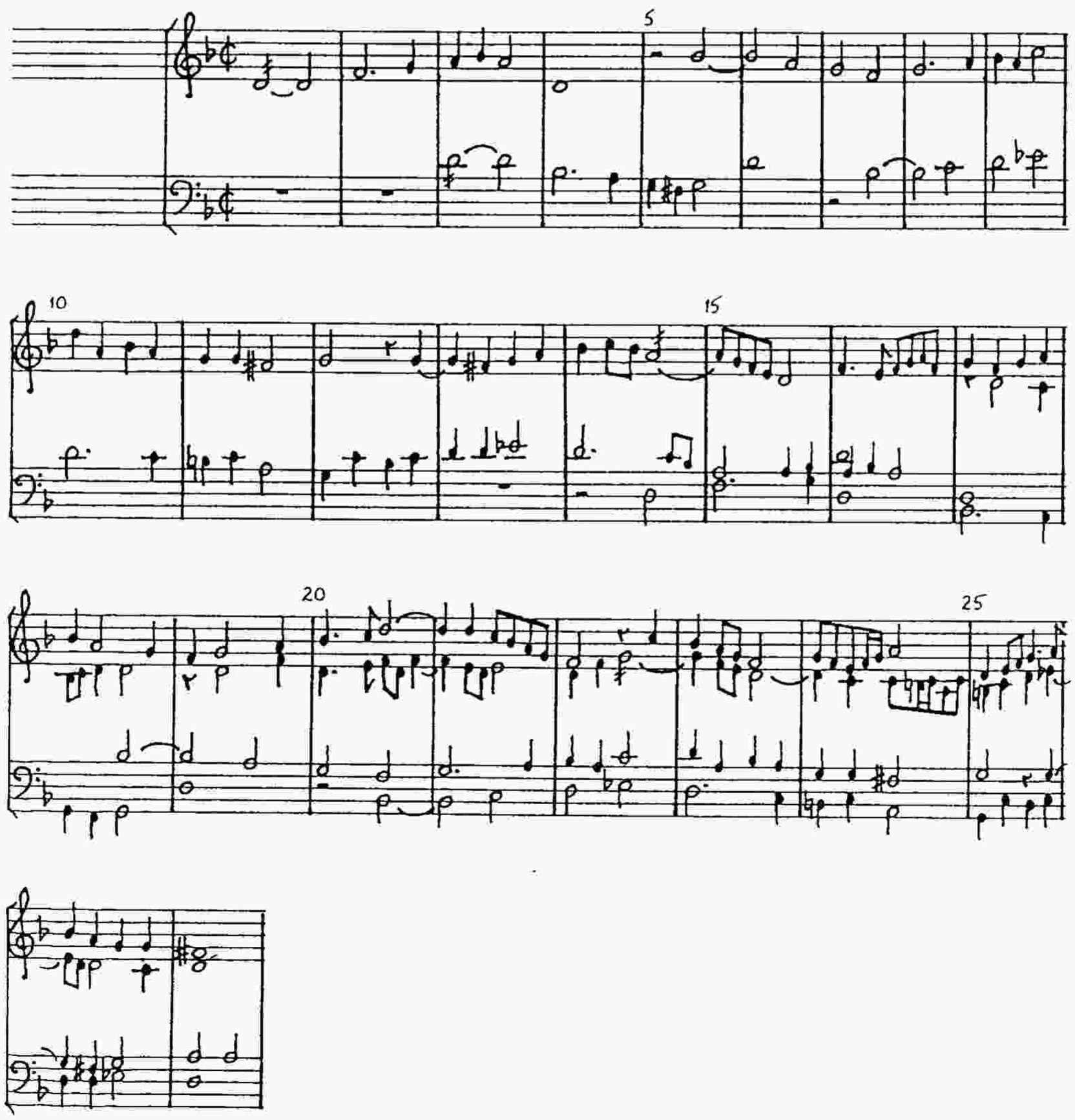
diagram indicates the principle pairing of cantus/tenor and altus/bassus with brackets on the left. The brackets on the right represent the other pairing found in Renaissance music. These two pairs - cantus/altus and tenor/bassus are those most frequently used in the compositional technique of paired imitation. The upper and lower halves of these pairs cover between them the entire spectrum of their modal group.



Sweelinck's keyboard music responds remarkably easily to these analytical procedures which are generally applied to vocal music: this is a sure sign that his compositional methods are closely related to those of Continental music in the sixteenth century. As I will show, even the toccatas, supposedly the most improvisatory of keyboard idioms, are heavily steeped in the devices and procedures of sixteenth-century modal counterpoint.

This modal exploration is far more significant to Sweelinck's procedures than the stretto and double counterpoint observed by Noske in the Fitzwilliam fantasia. Brief modal analysis of the fantasia reveals that it is in the second (Hypodorian) mode - and that the structural

features of the piece are derived from many elements of modal procedures. The similarity of its motives with those given for the second mode by the contemporary theorist Pontio are worth noting. (10) The four voices follow the typical *a voce piena* ranges outlined in the diagram above. Each of the pairs covers the range expected of the authentic and plagal areas of the Dorian modal group. This is particularly obvious in the first section of the fantasia (see example below) but can still be traced later whenever there is four-part writing:



Even within the *bicinium* of section II, in which the theme in plagal range in the upper voice in long notes values is provided with a complex figural accompaniment in the lower part, there are very few moments when the lower part exceeds the expected authentic range. These excursions always arise as a product of figuration which for the sake of a scalar figure will occasionally dip as low as D, although the underlying pattern may well revolve around a higher note.

In the light of this modal analysis it is not therefore unexpected to find at the beginning of the Fitzwilliam fantasia the classic device of Renaissance polyphony from Josquin onwards, that of paired imitation, a prominent feature of much of the keyboard music analysed earlier. This is disguised partially by the layout of the melodic lines in the source; the lower voice of the first pair appears in the lower stave and looks much lower than it is, even though it actually begins on the same note as the upper voice. It forms an inverted canon with the upper voice for several bars and explores the authentic area of the mode rather than the plagal area dealt with by the upper voice.

Sections II and III of the fantasia are extensions of the paired imitation principle which dominates the work. In one sense they form simply a massively expanded pair, in which the upper voice begins with the first motive of the

paired imitation in long note values in section II. It is followed in section III by the lower voice which completes the pair, still in long note values but displaced by a further octave. To this paired structure Sweelinck adds first of all a single voice in section II and then two voices in section III. I have already noted how the lower voice in section II corresponds to standard modal practice, despite its apparently wide range, by conforming to the opposite side of the mode to the upper voice. A similar process can be observed in section III. Here the upper voice follows the same priniciple: it explores the contrasting modal area to that of the lower voice, apart from occasional excursions which arise in the same way as those noted in the lower voice of section II; scalar figures briefly breaking the bounds of the range for the sake of a sequence or motivic consistency. The lower voice from section II continues into section III as an inner part and seems to migrate from the authentic mode to the plagal to form an extra counterpoint to the basic two-part framework represented by the outer voices.

Paired imitation continues to be a dominant feature of the texture later in the piece. At bar 121 Sweelinck returns to four-part writing and accelerates the imitative exchange between the voices (for although we have had many semiquavers already, any imitation in such short note values has been confined within a single voice, a point to which I

will return later). Although the main motivic material (in plagal form) underpins this section heavily disguised within the texture - appearing, in the manner of a cantus firmus in longer note values in the tenor - it is the imitation, particularly in pairs, which gives the section its impetus. It is not, as it might be in Bull, an impetus derived from figuration and the repetition of patterns, but an organic process in which the parts each play an equal and interdependent role. A cantus firmus is present, but it is as if it has grown from the inevitable process of the imitation. It is no longer the anchor point for the music in the way it would be in an early Bull fantasia. Instead the imitative paragraph controls the forward movement of the piece in much the same manner as we saw in Girolamo Cavazzoni's liturgical organ music. The process continues at bar 98 showing that this entire section from bar 76 to bar 113 is a varied repeat of the structure of sections II and III. After the tenor has worked through the plagal version of the theme, an octave lower than we hear in the bicinium, it is presented in the altus - an octave higher than in section III - in authentic form. Another version of the paired imitation principle can thus be observed, for although the melody used in the alto is that of the original plagal part of the pair transposed into an authentic version rather than the inverted version characteristic of the other paired entries in the piece, nevertheless the

characteristics and contrasts of the two modal aspects are preserved.

Noske describes section IV of L.3 as consisting of a series of stretti.(11) I prefer to see the section as a series of imitative sections followed by a prolonged cadence. Paired voices still play an important role in the structure of even this section, most obviously in the cantus firmus-like role played first by the bassus and then by the cantus from bars 164 to 182 in an unusual but inconsistent proportional rhythm.(12) The final bars of the piece are notable for their different construction. After the first few bars Sweelinck relies almost entirely on a further series of imitative paragraphs to create the structure. After a very clear cadence on Bb in bar 219 (note the emphasis towards the end of the piece of a very strong second tone trait, the stress of the interval re-fa, which in transposed mode II forms the interval G-Bb) the tenor enters with the opening motive of the paired imitation in plagal guise. Despite the shortened note values (and altered rhythm) there is once again a sense of cantus firmus: the upper part simply holds a D while the bass part moves in rapid figuration. It is not obvious here that this tenor part is the first of yet another paired structure and not a cántús firmus at all: the bass enters with the authentic side of the original pair at bar 226 in the same note values and is in its turn subjected to a figural

accompaniment from the upper voice. A second strong cadence on G occurs at bar 233 which leads into considerable extension. Even here the sense of paired imitation is pervasive with the soprano in bar 236 imitated by the tenor in bar 237 and thus providing the structure around which Sweelinck can arrange the figuration.

It is clear from this, then, that the modal techniques of the fantasia and the used of paired imitation are fundamental and inter-related structural elements. Viewing the fantasia in this way is to get closer to its real spirit than to analyse it in the light of eighteenth-century fugal practices, for while it is possible to argue the case that the fantasia style in general was merely a foreshadowing of later developments, the ease with which analytical procedures appropriate to sixteenth-century vocal music can be applied to this particular piece clearly show in which century the spirit of this piece lies. Its strict adherence to the basic procedures of sixteenth-century vocal polyphony - and indeed to Continental compositional practice generally in the sixteenth century - suggest that the piece may have been written many years earlier than the Fitzwilliam Virginal Book and that it may be an early work of Sweelinck's.

One aspect of the piece that remains to be discussed is that of texture. Here one might expect to find in

particular signs of English influence, in the figuration patterns so beloved of the virginalist school. It can be quickly established, however, that this is not the case. The four-part *a voce piena* scoring of the opening has already been observed. While regular part writing is not strictly adhered to throughout the first large section, the overall feeling is of the texture of vocal music. The section could be an intabulation. The two-part section which follows looks, on the page at least, the most like the English school, but closer investigation reveals that the lower, figural voice works in a fundamentally different way to a similar passage from a work of the English school, such as we might find in John Bull's music. The first striking feature of the lower part is its clear harmonic orientation. The semiquaver figures constantly outline fourths and fifths, creating harmonic, rather than purely melodic sequences. Often the sequences will be a whole breve long, rather than occurring within shorter time spans. This creates an expansive effect which is absent from so many of Bull's works: in the Englishman's works the uncertain harmonic direction of the figuration - created often by a lengthy cantus firmus - leads, despite its own internal vigour and logic, to a static or at best, halting sense of forward movement. (13)

Other points in the piece where figuration occurs are equally significant. It is mostly found - outside sections

II and III- as an aid to articulation of the large sections of the fantasia. Thus the start of the final larger section of the piece (bar 164), is marked by extensive figuration in the cadence immediately preceeding the section. This was noted as a particular feature of the Italian intabulations discussed earlier. In this fantasia, however, the patterns are organised not only as imitation within each individual line, but in larger units as well, with imitation between the parts spread over a larger time span. Although the figuration is heard as if it were still only one voice, moving through the entire range of the parts, Sweelinck once again subdues the figuration to the larger structure, and makes it fit into and amplify the imitation which occurs in larger, filled-out note values between the voices. The *a voce piena* scoring and principle of equality between the voices is thus preserved. The final extensive section of the fantasia containing figuration is, of course, the elaborately decorated cadence. Here the harmonic orientation is clearer still. The bass outlines several triads (bar 221, bar 222) while the upper voice from bar 225 onwards outlines elements of the opening themes.

On one level, then, the basic texture of this fantasia is that of sixteenth-century vocal music; four parts with clear, typical modal ranges. We have seen how even sections II and III keep their part-writing fundamentally within these expected norms. Sixteenth-century manuals on vocal

improvisation define and categorise most of the figural patterns found in this piece. Its use of these patterns - predominantly at cadences and within a firm harmonic structure - show that the fantasia owes much to the style of the European intabulation. We can see in the fantasia several of the compositional techniques of the Italian keyboard composers of the early sixteenth century. Particularly important is Sweelinck's treatment of cantus firmus, which is very similar to that practiced by Girolamo Cavazzoni. The cantus firmus - in Sweelinck's case represented by the appearance of the paired motives in long note values - does not control the overall shape and direction of the piece. Instead it is the imitative paragraphs, created on a large or small scale from the principle of paired imitation, which control the overall structure and musical direction. All these features add up to a surprising conservatism in Sweelinck's style, a conservatism with its roots in the compositional style of earlier European generations. We will now turn to the other Sweelinck fantasia in the Fitzwilliam Virginal Book and analyse it in a similar way.

Ut, re, mi, fa, sol, la does not obviously fall into the almost standardised patterns observed in the other Sweelinck fantasia found in the Fitzwilliam Virginal Book. The scoring of the opening, for example, does not fit conveniently into the *a voce piena* ranges. The final of the

piece, F, suggests either mode V or mode VI. The range of the cantus part varies from section to section of the piece. Sometimes it covers the octave range f'-f'', suggesting mode V, but occasionally it begins its phrases, particularly in connection with statements of the hexachordal theme on c', and works within the octave above. It thus presents pointers to both sides of the Lydian modal group, and we cannot be sure from its range which of the two is of primary importance. Instead we must rely instead on the melodic outline of the opening motive. That it begins on C, the dominant, is strangely enough a clear sign that the piece is in mode V. Its emphasis of Bb in bar 3 and its consequent marked descent onto F also suggest the melodic patterns of that mode. (14) The first entry of the hexachord which is on F in bar 5. All further entries of the hexachord are on either F or C, (molle and naturalis). They interlock in the following way:

F G A Bb C D

C D E F G A

The use of only these two hexachords and not of the durum in this imitative framework has the obvious effect of avoiding B natural and its tendency in modes V and VI to act as a leading note to the dominant C. This strengthens the sense of F as the final and allows us to say with certainty that *Ut, re, mi, fa, sol, la* is in mode V.

The entries of the theme in the first imitative paragraph do not at first appear to follow the usual paired pattern and it is easy to assume that the hexachord is used structurally only as a cantus firmus. In the first few bars a typical ricercar-like theme forms an imitative paragraph with three consecutive entries, two on the dominant and one on the final. The hexachord itself enters in the third bar, and while its beginning and end are disguised it soon identifies itself by its longer note values. It is also, however, integrated into the musical plan, providing the missing entry on the final which is needed to balance the number of entries with those on the dominant. We still, then, have a form of the paired entry relationship and we still have the "correct" number of entries for a four-part contrapuntal piece. We can see, then, in this fantasia, a construction based on several layers of imitative activity, just as we saw in the case of the intabulation procedures reviewed earlier.

Yet another layer is imposed upon the first two in the form of figuration. The first twenty bars of the piece resemble very closely the opening section of a Cabezón intabulation: regular part writing until just before the first major cadence when a decorated uppper part is allowed free reign. After the cadence the smooth, regular style returns immediately until the next major cadence provokes a similar reaction from the composer. (See bar 26).

Naturally towards the end of the piece the figuration gathers in intensity, but it never becomes the driving force behind the music and never provides the forward movment. The real "drive to the cadence" lies in the framework of entries of the hexachord: an imitative framework with its own logic around which the figuration is woven. The figuration is inessential to the forward movement of the piece which is controlled by this steady imitative pattern. In other words we find another example of a conservative approach to composition, in which Sweelinck adopts the smooth and well-regulated idiom of sixteenth-century imitative practices. Figuration is used as an aid to the articulation of the periodic structure; it is important for its role in defining the larger paragraphs and as a decorative cadential feature rather than as a structural element in its own right.

We will now look briefly at other Sweelinck fantasias to see if their stylistic features tie in with the observations made above concerning the two Fitzwilliam fantasias. We can begin by looking at a piece from **LyA1**, Sweelinck's *Fantasia Chromatica* (L.1).(15) The most important compositional procedure at the opening of the fantasia is that of paired imitation, between altus and cantus and bassus and tenor. As in the first Fitzwilliam fantasia discussed above the pairing is not obvious at first: in this case it is disguised by the altus dropping down to a low F in the bar

before the entry of the tenor (bar 13). As in *Ut, re, mi, fa, sol, la* figuration at first occurs almost exclusively at cadence points or as small decorative figures. The music proceeds in large imitative paragraphs and the voices correspond to *a voce piena* norms; the cantus and tenor outline the authentic side of the Dorian mode while the altus and bassus outline the plagal side. Even when more constant figuration begins in bar 106, it is still carefully controlled by the decisive harmonic direction. Although the pace of the figuration increases at first, turning into sextuplets at bar 167, slower movement returns almost immediately afterwards to create a final section which achieves intensity and a sense of climax through contrapuntal complexity rather than through the increased rhythmic activity which might characterise the closing section of an English fantasia.

The Fantasia L. 2 is in mode I, untransposed. It opens with paired imitation and the voice ranges correspond closely with those of the *Fantasia Chromatica*: cantus and tenor outline the authentic modal area while altus and bassus cover the plagal side, dropping one note below the standard octave range:

Cantus d'-d''

Altus g-a'

Tenor d-d'

Bassus G-a'

There is very little evidence in this, the longest fantasia by Sweelinck of "all the elements of Baroque fugue". (16) Instead the opening paired imitation provides the first part of a series of extended imitative paragraphs. The first is 43 bars long, without a single unambiguous cadence throughout. Paired imitation - at the fifth - begins the following section which leads via some cadential figuration to a cadence on the final. At this point a new motive is introduced. This motive cannot be considered simply as a variant on the opening motive: (17) each of its appearances descends through either a standard hexachord or a complete octave, whereas the opening motive unequivocally outlines a fifth in both parts of the paired imitation. The new motive combines with the old to form new paired relationships, which in their turn form another huge imitative period. As in the case of the first section, the end of this period is marked by figural activity leading to the cadence at bar 121. These first two sections, then, follow the almost standardised patterns of an intabulation of a vocal piece. The imitative techniques are those of vocal music and figuration is confined normally to a single

voice at a time, and used primarily to mark out important cadential moments.

In the remainder of the piece the amount of figural writing increases slightly but it continues to occur within a framework of larger-scale imitative counterpoint in the manner of an intabulation, in which generally only one part at a time is moving in small note values, although of course, as in the Cabezon intabulations discussed earlier, imitation can occur within the figuration. This point is illustrated particularly clearly towards the end of the piece. At bar 276 the opening theme appears in diminished note values and is passed between the hands for several bars. It is always accompanied, however, by a clear harmonic direction provided by the other parts. Sweelinck's cantus firmus technique is similar in L.2 to that which we saw in the hexachord fantasia from the Fitzwilliam Virginal Book. At bar 123 the theme is presented in long note values in the upper part, but once again the music's impetus is provided by the activities of the imitative counterpoint in the lower parts which form a texture with a clear and precise harmonic direction.

L.4 and L.6 are described by Noske as being "built on themes that include non-diatonic semitones"(18) Once again he fails to grasp the essential nature of these pieces. The chromatic nature of the themes arises from the composer's

response to their modal properties. L. 4 is clearly in mode VI which features the classic pull between Bb and B natural arising from the juxtaposition of the durum and molle hexachords. L. 6 is in mode VII. The similarity of the modes on F and on G were highlighted in the chapter on M. A. Cavazzoni and need not be repeated here. (19) It is clear, however, that the C# in the fourth bar of the opening motive and its equivalent F# in bar 9 arise from procedures typical of the Mixolydian modal group and not as a result of "non-diatonic semitones". These two fantasias are not only similar in their modal structure but also in their formal structure. Both rely heavily upon paired imitation and both use figural passages at first only to mark significant cadences. As in the other fantasias discussed above, later figural excursions are held in check by clear harmonic direction. This is particularly clear in the bicinium passage begining at bar 159 in L. 4. After typical cadential figuration the upper part forms a cantus firmus in long note values while the lower part features figuration which is firmly harmonic not only in its internal structure but also in its direction. A similar process occurs in the following tricinium. Here the figuration imbues the music with a sense of an extended cadence. It becomes increasingly harmonic throughout this short section, ending with arpeggio figures which have the effect of harmonic affirmation, rather than of textural disintegration before slower-moving counterpoint takes over again, producing another section of

music in which, despite the presence of the theme as a cantus firmus, the musical impetus still lies firmly with the imitative framework.

A typical example of Sweelinck's integrated approach to figuration can be found towards the end of this piece. The notes at the beginning of each crotchet in the bass from bar 280 to 284 perform a clearly harmonic function throughout the passage while still allowing inventive figuration to occur. This type of writing is typical of the diminution patterns illustrated profusely in sixteenth-century manuals for singers and is typical of the writing one would expect to find in an intabulation. Even clearer signs of this type of writing can be seen in L.6. From bar 131 to bar 143 imitation (disguised as figuration) is built up from bar to bar within a very clear slower-moving harmonic framework. A similarly clear harmonic framework dominates the figuration towards the end of the piece, first of all (from bar 235) with a quicker harmonic pace, but finally the figuration itself is slowed down from bar 253 to mark an extensive cadence which relies on a few, slow-moving harmonies for its structure. Again the figuration is confined to a single part at a time and again we see a close relationship between imitative writing and forward movement. Vertical and horizontal considerations come together in writing typical of the pervasive imitation of the sixteenth century.

The last fantasia from **LyA1** to be discussed is L.9. As Noske writes, this fantasia shows "ostinato technique combined with imitative treatment of melodic elements".(20) Noske later writes that "the gradual increase in the number of voices determines the overall structure" of this piece.(21) While this gradual increase may indeed be part of one aspect of L.9, there is perhaps a more important structural element in the theme itself. This forms a quasi-ostinato, but it differs from normal ostinati in its use of different pitches. These entries on G, D and A form a large-scale imitative framework around which harmonically-based figuration is woven. Even the opening eight bars form their own balanced imitative paragraph. Thus a piece which seems on first glance to closely resemble a fantasia by Bull or other earlier English composers, actually owes more to the style of pervasive imitation of the European vocal school than to the linear, figural writing of the early English keyboard school.

Having dealt with the main body of Sweelinck's fantasias from the major English and Continental sources we must now turn to two further fantasias, both from Southern German sources. L.7 is given the Italianate title of *Ricercar del nono tono* in both its sources.(22) After a strict, ricercar-like opening in a style now very familiar - paired imitation, unequivocal paired vocal ranges representing the plagal and authentic modes, figuration confined to cadences

- Sweelinck gradually introduces a wider variety of figuration patterns than in any of the fantasias we have already discussed. The patterns tend to lead towards the disintegration of the otherwise regular, four-part texture, but many of the effects still reveal an underlying continuation of the type of writing we have observed so far in Sweelinck's other fantasias. Paired imitation is a unifying feature of the fantasia from the opening few bars onwards. Even from bar 239 onwards, when the figuration becomes most extreme, the technique of paired imitation provides an anchor point for the music. Earlier in the piece the figuration is still generally confined to one line at a time. Its internal imitative logic is still controlled by the larger-scale demands of periodic imitation and a clear harmonic direction. The harmonic and imitative framework provides the musical impetus, not the figuration itself. Even the arpeggio figures at bar 244 emphasise a harmonic function while the scalar figures which follow soon after perform the function - also frequently observed in Sweelinck's other fantasias - of cadential affirmation, (in this case of the third above the final, an important reciting tone) and are thus part of the large-scale pattern. Similar figuration returns at the close of the piece to emphasise the cadence on the final of the mode. The figuration in this ricercar, then, performs a structural function once again similar to that observed earlier in many

intabulations: it articulates the larger, underlying structure of the piece, rather than actually determining it.

Fantasia L. 8 does not follow the same structural patterns as the other fantasias. It is in three parts, and consequently does not feature paired imitation. Once again, as in L. 7 there is considerable figural variety, but it is also clear that the fastest-moving figuration performs the same function as in the other fantasias. Semiquavers occur - again almost always in only a single voice - to mark important cadences on either G or Bb, two very important degrees of the transposed first mode (see bars 63-70 and 98-103). Once again the figuration is regulated by the overall structure of periodic imitation. The concluding bars of the piece are a case in point: although the theme is present as a cantus firmus from bar 118 to bar 124, the passage functions as an extensive cadence, reaffirming the cadence on G already reached by the end of bar 117. Further cadential elaboration occurrs at bar 124 when the flattened sixth degree of the mode is given prominence in a series of trill like figures alternating between the hands. The very theme of this piece is clearly cadential in nature, moving as a staightforward descending scale from the fifth degree of the mode to the first. Sweelinck uses the figuration to exploit this tendency by turning the piece into a series of imitative section interspersed with extended cadences; a typical technique of the periodic, imitative style.

It is clear, then, that Sweelinck's fantasias have their stylistic origins in European compositional techniques. Their basic structural features are those of periodic imitation, while their figural techniques owe much to the style of the intabulation.

We should now return to the Fitzwilliam Virginal Book and undertake a brief study of some of the examples of English fantasia style which it contains. This should confirm that the English had a different approach to the formal problems posed by cantus firmus and imitative texture and show clearly just how different their methods were from those of their contemporary European composers.

Bull's two hexachord fantasias are both to be found in the Fitzwilliam Virginal Book (nos. 51 and 215) The second one is described by Cunningham as "an essay in figuration against a ground". (23) It is Bull's longest fantasia and the theme is presented throughout in the upper voice and at a single pitch - that of the *durum* hexachord on G. After a false start representing an imitative opening the theme determines the structure of the piece, controlling the changes in texture which take place. It is fundamentally a horizontal conception, however: an unvaried cantus firmus rather than a harmonic structure. Bull's response to the hexachord is linear, without a consistent harmonic pattern. Cunningham then, is inaccurate in his description of the

piece as a ground, and indeed his subsquent analysis of the piece deals with it primarily in linear terms. Bull's more famous Hexachord Fantasia despite its more regular, four-part counterpoint can be seen in the same way. The hexachord is an external element to the texture - it is still a linear concept. Indeed its stepwise ascent (but avoiding G until just before the final section) is in itself a linear rather than harmonic procedure. Both these pieces then can be seen to be different in constructional principle from the Sweelinck fantasias found in the Fitzwilliam Virginal Book.

Byrd's hexachord fantasias are also found in this remarkable collection (nos 101 and 102). In the first, which is based on the simplest form of the hexachord melody (the same form that both Bull and Sweelinck use), we find seventeen statements of the melody preceeded by a short, imitative introduction. The longer breaks between the hexachord statements, too, suggest a method of construction different from that of the Bull pieces. Perhaps here we have something closer to the Sweelinck fantasia style. The hexachord statements occur on a variety of pitches, and in various places within the texture. We thus have the basis of a similar imitative framework to that of the Sweelinck *Ut, re, mi, fa, sol, la* fantasia. However, as Neighbour points out, "the work as a whole is planned in relation to the hexachord statements, but is not primarily controlled by

them". (24) The very variety of pitches in this case mitigates against such a large scale imitative plan. The main difference between Byrd's piece and that of Sweelinck is one of texture. In place of the regularity of paragraphs articulated by diminution which we observed in Sweelinck's fantasia we can see in the Byrd piece a gradual disintegration of the texture of the opening. The *a voce piena* scoring of the opening in which each part carries equal weight gradually dissolves into figuration over a chordal accompaniment as the cantus firmus settles repeatedly on a single pitch. Increased rhythmic activity, in the form of syncopations, cross rhythms and smaller and smaller imitative patterns take over the structural impetus and provide the drive to the final cadence. Another Byrd fantasia from the Fitzwilliam Virginal Book (no. 261) shows similar traits. Here the theme is presented on either the final or the dominant, proceeding through the four voices for several bars. By the eleventh entry of the theme (conveniently numbered for us by Tregian), the *a voce piena* scoring is beginning to disentegrate, and despite the continuation of contrapuntal activity small-scale periodic construction becomes more important and textures become intermittently homophonic. The figuration is rather more than diminution, it is the driving force of the music. We can see this technique in even more dramatic form in Tallis's *Felix namque* settings from the Fitzwilliam Virginal Book (nos 109 and 110) both open in quasi-vocal style, but

it soon becomes clear that imitative counterpoint is not to be the controlling factor. Such a long cantus firmus too, can have very little structural effect, very little periodic sense. All energy comes from the figuration. In the Byrd *Ut, re, mi, fa, sol, la* we have the typically English fantasia style: an irregular texture and motivic and dynamic figuration. Neither of these features could be described as typical of Sweelinck's style as exhibited in the fantasias in the Fitzwilliam Virginal Book. Byrd's vigorous textures, in which the chord structures seem to grow naturally out of the figuration comes from a different root than that of Sweelinck. For the English virginalists the secular world of the instrumental dance and the ground bass was the root of their keyboard style; whereas for the Europeans and particularly Sweelinck it was the imitative texture and style of vocal counterpoint. We know that Sweelinck was strongly influenced by Zarlino's theories of music and of structure and it is these which fundamentally dominate his thinking in keyboard composition. (25) Even where we might least expect it such as in his variations we find Sweelinck following many of the rules of the *a voce piena* style. If we look at another composer represented in the Fitzwilliam Virginal Book the contrast between the English composers and the Dutchman becomes even clearer. Most of Giles Farnaby's output is preserved in the Fitzwilliam and his fantasias provide striking evidence of their secular origins.

The Fitzwilliam fantasia no. 208, like Byrd's Ut, re, mi, fa, sol, la is not stucturally dependent upon a regular four-part texture. Instead the rhythmic impulses of dance music - regular phase lengths and decisive cadences - provide the musical momentum. A syncopated chordal texture is particularly prominent. This can be seen to be quite clearly controlling the piece in shorter-breathed sections than we would expect from the pervasive-imitation style. Note particularly the four two-bar phrases between bars 7 and 15, landing each time firmly on full root position chords. Despite the imitation found at the very beginning of the piece and despite the presence of imitation throughout the remainder of the piece there is a distinct importance attached to the upper voice and its harmonisation. The frequent and sudden changes of register from bar 28 onwards also suggest composition in blocks and short, cadence-like phrases. Writing like this is occasionally found in Sweelinck's works, but it cannot be taken as typical of his style. The thematic material of this fantasia is different in style to that of most of Sweelinck's works in the fantasia style, and it could be argued that this type of theme is bound to produce a different response from a composer than the rather grander themes that are more typical of the ricercar. In this light it is worthwhile to look at another Farnaby fantasia which has just such a theme: the fantasia which is no. 231 in the Fitzwilliam Virginal Book. Here we have a theme which would

appear to be far more at home in an Italian ricercar of the middle of the sixteenth century than in an English fantasia, and indeed for the first few bars we find it given a traditional, ricercar-like treatment. Soon, however, as in the fantasia discussed previously, the upper voice begins to dominate and the phrase structure starts to become four-square. At bar 40 typical layered English activity begins and it is once more the rhythmic patterns which provide the impetus.

It is clear, then, that the sixteenth-century English fantasia style has little in common with Sweelinck's compositional methods, despite occasional superficial resemblances in the figuration patterns. The English style differs from the general European style of the period in several ways, most noticably in its lack of consistent use of large-scale motivic structures as building blocks for lengthy pieces, relying instead primarily on shorter, repeated patterns - rhythmic or melodic - for its musical direction. The smaller-scale elements are of great importance to the structure, whereas for European music - including that of Sweelinck - the large-scale periodic and motivic structure is of greater importance than smaller elements such as figuration which although they can be used to articulate the structure are rarely an essential part of it. This will become clearer later in this discussion, particular in the section dealing with variation.

III

Before that, however, I will deal firstly with Sweelinck's toccatas. Bradshaw(26) and Sigtenhorst Meyer(27) both stress the importance of the toccata genre in Sweelinck's output, and both remark that is surprising in the light of the multi-faceted keyboard style presented by Sweelinck in these works that little attempt was made by Sweelinck's pupils to develop this toccata idiom. Neither of them, however, has understood the implication of their observation; that if one of Sweelinck's most idiomatic styles was not imitated, then the chain of development of keyboard figurations and patterns from the English virginalists through to J.S. Bach is broken.(28) We have seen the predominantly conservative aspects of Sweelinck's fantasia style; close scrutiny of the *Praeludium Toccata* further reveals a deep-rooted conservatism in Sweelinck's style which on the one hand provides with opportunity to re-assess the roots of his own style, while at the same time forcing us to re-evaluate his position as a style-leader of the early seventeenth century.

Bradshaw points out the lack of consistent form in Sweelinck's toccatas and goes on to point out that the imitative sections are treated in the Venetian manner: " the subjects are brief, uniform in design (usually moving within the range of a fifth and with repeated notes) and simple of

rhythm. They are seldom allowed to appear without some form of accompaniment and are often presented in *stretto* fashion."(29) His analysis is a curious blend of modal thinking with more modern, anachronistic observations, and he often uses the same language as Noske when he applies the tonal and contrapuntal terminology used to analyse eighteenth-century music to these basically sixteenth-century works. In the light of his other work on the toccata style, this attitude presents a curiously anomalous situation in which he discusses the tonality of a work in terms of major and minor keys while at the same time observing that many of the toccatas are structurally based on modal psalm tones. I will show later how Bradshaw's misconception has lead to some serious errors in his work. Although he is certainly correct in recognising that toccatas are firmly based on modal procedures, this conclusion should really be inevitable in any analysis of sixteenth-century music. The "ideal" cantus firmi which he presents as the bases of many works are often formulated around an incorrect modal assessment.

For the moment, however, I shall look in some detail at the *Praeludium Toccata* L. 16. For Sigtenhorst Meyer this piece exhibits a greater variety of figuration than any other Sweelinck toccata. He sees the work in three basic sections of unequal length, an introduction, a "strictly

canonic" contrapuntal episode and a final section of "small units of figuration with occasional canonic treatment". (30)

Section	bars
I	1-21
II	21-44
III	45-138

Bradshaw assigns the psalm tone IV to the toccata and shows how it forms the underlying, "ideal" cantus firmus. Not many of Sweelinck's toccatas begin in the same way as the *Praeludium Toccata*. At first glance we find some figural writing at the beginning moving from the final to the dominant at bar 11. This figuration is worthy of closer inspection, however, because it shows that, in fact, the figuration forms carefully worked-out four-part counterpoint, with ranges corresponding to *a voce piena* norms. Cantus and tenor both exhibit plagal modal tendencies, while the altus and bassus are each approximately a fifth below their normal partners. This observation also allows us to determine the mode as Hypophrygian, (mode IV) transposed up a fourth. **LyA1** incorrectly ascribes mode IX to the *Praeludium Toccata*, although another German source (Berlin, Deutsche Staatsbibliothek MS 40615) entitles the work *Toc: 4T1: Ton....*

Cantus e'-e''

Altus c'-a'

Tenor e-e'

Bassus A-b

The texture of the opening of the toccata in which an clear and regular imitative structure if overlayed with figuration is that of an intabulation. Bradshaw shows how the second section overlaps with the "ideal" cantus firmus of the first, but fails to notice that the imitative theme is based on an inversion of the contours of the tone itself. Tone IV rises by a second above the final and then falls to the fourth below the final. Sweelinck's motive begins a second above the final, falls a tone and then climbs up a fifth. Sigtenhorst Meyer observes that cantus and altus are followed by tenor and bassus and that it is a few bars before all four voices are heard together, but again fails to see the full implications of his observations. (31) Once more, as in most Sweelinck's fantasias, we have an example of Sweelinck's use of paired imitation in its strictest, modally correct sense. Gradually, then, a picture is emerging of a still larger underlying structural principle: pervasive imitation and the texture of a four-part motet. Even the brilliant, forward-looking and idiomatic toccata style strays only a little way from the conventional techniques. This conservatism is surely at the root of the

lack of development of the genre among Sweelinck's pupils and followers.

We now move on to Meyer's section III (bars 45-138). The clear harmonic direction of the music - a typical trait of Sweelinck used often in connection with other pieces by commentators as examples of the composer's modernity - belies an underlying devotion to modal principles in which great prominence is given by Sweelinck to the third above the final - a typical trait of the fourth mode, where the third degree of the modal scale forms the nodal point for progression from one hexachord system to another, in original position from naturalis to durum, but here, in transposed form, from durum to naturalis:

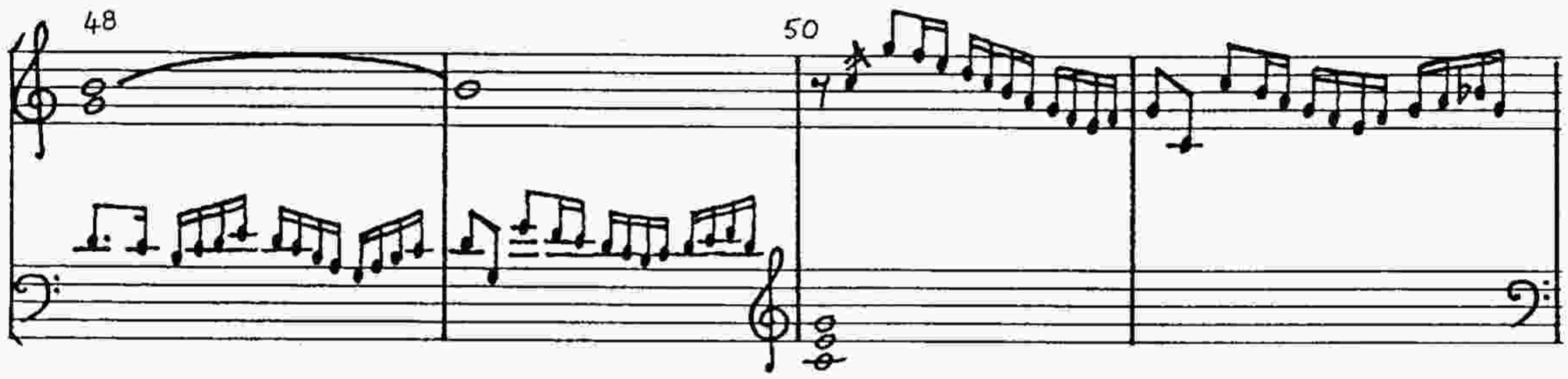
G A B C D E

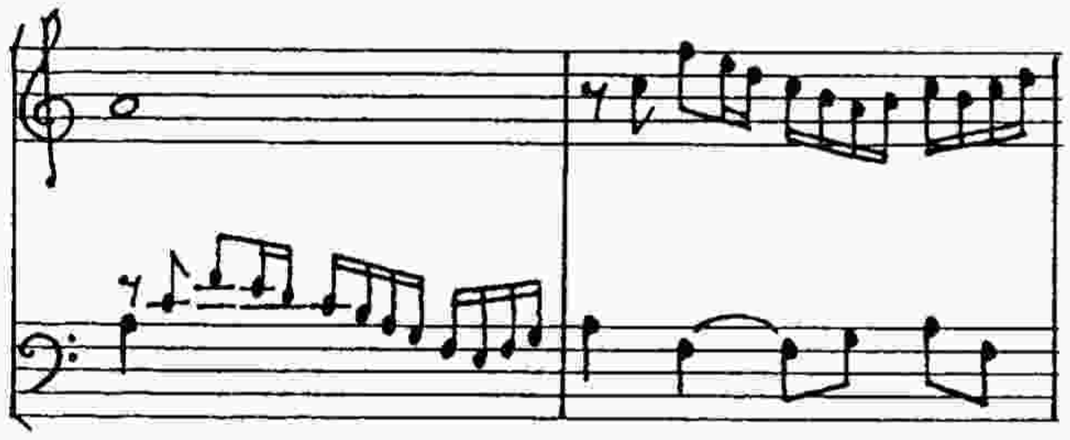
C D E F G A

Similarly the move which follows onto F harmonies is emphasising the third below the final (or sixth above) - the normal pattern of repercussion of the Phrygian modal group. Even the figuration with which the cantus begins this section is an expansion into scales of an emphasis of the third degree of the modal scale. There can be no question in this section of a modulation to the relative major, or even to the new tonal centre of C. (32)

If a distinct contrapuntal framework can be traced throughout the first two sections of the Praeludium Toccata, and if this can be shown to be of major structural significance, then it seems logical to look for similar structures in the "free-composed", figural third section. We can now observe how the figuration between bars 44 and 53 is an expansion of the techniques noted in the first section; a development of intabulation technique, disguised by the appearance of the part-writing on the page. The alternation of the figuration between the approximate cantus/tenor and altus/bassus ranges is clear, but "internal" imitation is perhaps less so: note for example the lower part in bar 49. This voice begins as a decorated tenor part in bar 48, but in bar 49 the bassus drops out. There is no rest indicated for this part in the Fitzwilliam Virginal Book, and this is perhaps significant, because it is effectively still there as a background element. Its pitch is picked up by the tenor on the second quaver, but notational complexities made it impossible to notate. Note how the altus also rests in bar 49, and then observe how the ostensible tenor part also picks up the altus pitch immmediately after the low G of the bassus. On the page it thus appears as if the imitation on the figuration of the first beat of bar 48 occurs within a single part by appearing again in the tenor on the second beat of bar 49. In fact, what actually occurs is an imitative point between the tenor and altus of the "ideal" contrapuntal framework.

The point is continued in bar 50 in the cantus, and a clear contrapuntal structure, made audible by the leaps of an octave or a fifth at various pitches at the beginning of each bar again emerges until bar 54. The head of each imitative motive is indicated by square brackets in the following example:





An underlying structure of this kind - although not always conveniently matching *a voce piena* scoring - directs virtually every turn of the fguration throughout the rest of the section. Even apparently freely-moving chords contain hidden counterpoint. The two lowest voices in the left hand chords from bar 64 to bar 67 find their own decorated imitative point which descends as a canon in thirds, and many of the individual horizontal lines of the three-part chords are made up of elements of the psalm tone - or perhaps simply of the motives characteristic of the Phrygian

modal group. Either way, it shows that the chords have their own inner life; they are not merely accompaniment to the figuration, but possess their own, hidden logic.

The underlying logic of these modal procedures - illustrated in part by Bradshaw's "ideal" cantus firmus, even if the rhythmic problems his theory faces cannot be entirely overcome - along with a framework derived from the procedures of vocal composition are the key to the understanding of Sweelinck's toccatas. While there may be a parallel logical scheme of acceleration and figural development (as described by Noske's theory of *forma formens*, (33) we can clearly see the toccata as part of the sixteenth-century contrapuntal tradition. It is in part an outgrowth of the intabulation, a breaking away from purely vocal music, and therefore from text. The toccata, then, can also be seen as a form of textless motet, an alternative way of expressing the contrapuntal ideal from that of the ricercar or fantasia, but running parallel with that form. This accounts in a very simple way for the large proportion not only of Sweelinck's output devoted to the two genres, but of most other European keyboard composers of the time. Again the English pattern is different; their repertoire reflects different interests and different compositional approaches to keyboard music, another reflection of the insularity of the English style.

An obvious model for Sweelinck's toccatas is the corpus of keyboard music of Andrea Gabrieli, one of the first exponents of the "Venetian" toccata style. Gabrieli's *Toccata Nona* is in the same mode as the *Praeludium Toccata* and this would therefore seem a convenient moment to look at Gabrieli's style, particularly in its relationship to Sweelinck's work. Gabrieli's *Toccata Nono* first appeared in print in 1578, although this volume is now lost and we must rely upon the later reprint of 1593. (34) Bradshaw's premise that the Venetian toccata developed from the intonation, in which a psalm tone was subjected to harmonic and contrapuntal elaboration certainly seems to ring true, despite the fierce argument of Noske's opposite case. (35) Bradshaw's argument accords with observations made earlier in the present work which show how Girolamo Cavazzoni's mass and magnificat movements develop a polyphony and an overall structure from the assimilation of a single line of plainchant.

Bradshaw sees the use of psalm tones in the much larger structure of the toccata as an oft-repeated cantus firmus. The analysis above shows how in his fantasias Sweelinck articulates periodic imitation by the use of figuration. Surely a similar process can be seen in the toccata. As the analysis of the *Praeludium Toccata* shows, Sweelinck responds also to the demands of the larger structure of an "ideal" four-part texture: the figuration itself is less important.

The idea that a toccata might not be structurally dependent upon its figuration is a new one although it is, of course, fundamental to Bradshaw's theory. The figuration in a "Venetian" toccata is used as part of this structural articulation of modal procedures. Just as we expect to find ornamentation at cadence points in a fantasia or an intabulation, so we can well expect it to perform a similar function in a toccata. In Gabrieli's *Toccata del 9. Tono* we find the texture of an intabulation which responds to the modal procedures inherent in the large-scale framework. The framework provides a chordal basis around which a single line of figuration is woven in much the same way as in an intabulation. Periodically, again as in an intabulation, the music returns to stricter counterpoint as an anchor point. The framework can be seen as a huge expansion of the relevant psalm tone - which after all, contains most of the essential elements of final, reciting tone and some characteristic intervals of its mode - into a general modal pattern. The single plainchant line metamorphoses into a polyphonic structure in much the same way as it does in the works of Girolamo Cavazzoni. It is not a straightforward repetition of a cantus firmus but a process in which the essential modal characteristics - expressed in linear form in the psalm tone - are developed and expanded under the fingers into a new and complex form.

Bradshaw assigns psalm tone IV to Andrea Gabrieli's *Toccata del Nono Tono.* (36) Since mode IX is a transposition of mode III, however, one would expect the latter tone to be more appropriate to the piece. Tone III stresses the interval mi-sol, represented in transposed form by the minor third from A to C. If we look in the tenor in the opening few bars of the toccata we find this interval unambiguously outlined. The importance of the tenor should not be underestimated even in an instrumental piece if the techniques of instrumental and vocal writing are to be considered basically the same. The psalm tone can be easily traced as far as the first main cadence in bar 10. The figuration occurrs in these opening bars at important moments within the psalm tone. Thus the first ornamentation (at bar 6) emphasises in the cantus the rise of the tone to its highest note (D), while its imitation in the tenor stresses the mi-sol interval again in the tenor. In bar 8 the figuration once more accompanies the mi-sol interval presented in chordal form. In bars 10 and 12 the figuration is again stressing the same interval. The same can be said for nearly every other highly figured passage in the rest of the piece.

In the light of the clear stylistic traits outlined above in the *Praeludium Toccata*, and echoed in Gabrieli's *Toccata del Nono Tono*, it is useful now to turn to Sweelinck's other toccatas and look for similar features

which will strengthen my conclusions regarding the toccata style. I will deal mainly with those discussed by Bradshaw and Sigtenhorst Meyer, concentrating first of all on those toccatas which - like the *Praeludium Toccata* - are to be found like most of Sweelinck's fantasias in **LyA1**. L. 15 is a good example of the close relationship between the toccata and the fantasia style. Here we find most of the elements observed in Sweelinck's fantasias. At first, at least, the figuration occurs mainly at important cadences. Note particularly the emphasis on Bb harmonies provided by the figuration in bars 26 to 28; a typical procedure of the first mode which after a series of cadences on A emphasises the opposition of B natural and Bb. Note also the strong build up to a cadence on the final D at bar 41. After a highly contrapuntal episode a series of extended cadences occurrs which as in the opening few bars of the toccata continue the clash between B natural (often represented by cadences on A) and Bb. In L. 15, then, contrapuntal writing alternates with passages of extensive figuration to emphasise important cadences. The texture of these passages is that of an intabulation: a single line of figuration woven around a chordal, clearly harmonic background.

Bradshaw deals at length with the Toccata L. 19. (37) He attempts to show how the piece is based around two separate tonal centres, F and C. The range of the cantus from bars 1-22 is typical of an authentic mode; an octave c'-c'' plus

the semitone below, apart from one instance - arising from the figuration - when it drops down very briefly to a fourth below the final. The distinct emphasis in the first few bars of this piece on Bb is a result in itself of a tendency to move towards the fourth above the final, F. The movement of the bassus, too, emphasises both these pitches in its basic progress through the molle hexachord on F. At the same time, however, we find considerable attention paid to the F - F# contrast, although this is less important here than in L.20. Less emphasis of the F# implies in turn less emphasis on the dominant, where it would act a sharpened leading note: further confirmation of an authentic mode. These factors taken together with a study of the ranges of the other voices allows us to assign the Toccata to the authentic Lydian mode (mode V), transposed up a fifth as in toccata L.20. In this case Bradshaw does in fact concur by suggesting psalm tone V as the "ideal" cantus firmus. His analytical procedures however, begin to look increasingly arbitrary.

Toccata L.17 is in mode III transposed: the cantus ranges in the first 28 bars from g'-g'' with cadences on c'', d'' and finally on a'. Bradshaw assigns it a mode IV tone: the correct modal group at least, but the incorrect version. There is no real question - as he asserts(38) - that this piece can be based on the two tonal centres of C and A. Sweelinck simply emphasises the modal nature of the

toccata by stressing once again - as he did in L. 16, the *Praeludium Toccata* the modal repercussion mi-fa which is characteristic of the Phrygian modal group. (39)

For Bradshaw L. 20 is "clearly in C major" (40) and his analysis is based on this assumption. In the light of the conservatism which I have shown to be a major characteristic of Sweelinck's style, this analysis does not ring true. Scrutiny of the range of the cantus - note in passing that a four-part texture can be seen as clearly in L. 20 as it can in the Fitzwilliam toccata (L. 16) - suggests a plagal range around the final C while the other parts fit comfortably into the now to be expected *a voce piena* paired ranges a fifth apart:

Cantus g'-f'' (plus brief descent to d' in bar 3)

Altus d'-c''

Tenor g-g'

Bassus C-c'

This immediately suggests that we are dealing with a transposed mode and that we should search for other signs of modal qualities within the piece. Shortly after the opening we find several strong clues. Bradshaw sees bars 19-21 as "root movement around the circle of fifths", but it is is in fact quite clear that Sweelinck is here utilising typical techniques of modal procedure. The G# in bar 20 - which

Bradshaw sees as merely part of an E major triad is in fact used in a linear sense to stress the nodal A which is used to move from one hexachord to another, from the naturalis Through the durum to one on D. The G# then, is a chromatic alteration which stresses the fundamental tension between these two interlocking hexachords, separated by the durum hexachord; it emphasises the contrast between F and F# which is the main result of these interlocking hexachords.

C D E F G A

G A B C D E

D E F# G A B

We can see how irrelevant the circle of fifths really is in this case. Bearing in mind that we are searching for a transposed mode we can now look for the mode in which there is this characteristic tension between the two possible fourths above the final. By transposing our haxachordal structure down a fifth onto F, we find then, that we have an example of procedures typical of the Lydian modal group, with its typical B natural - Bb alterations caused by the overlap of the molle hexachord with the durum. Our analysis has already taken us a long way from C major, but a further investigation of L. 20 confirms that the piece is transposed Hypolydian, or mode VI. Typical procedures can be seen in bars 22-25, or in even stonger form in bars 7-12. The bassus

at bar 22 begins to climb steadily up the naturalis hexachord. The tenor climbs up the durum hexachord at the same time and moves further onto the hexachord on D in bar 24, providing an F# above the final A of the naturalis hexachord in the bass. We thus have a classic pattern of modulation from adjacent hexachords via an intermediary one - from the F of the naturalis to the F# of the hexachord on D via the durum hexachord. The F# of bar 24 is predictably soon contradicted in the cantus in bar 26. Bradshaw sees bars 45-49 as one of several "periods of relatively quick harmonic motion" and in doing so fails again to see the real significance of G#s, F#s and Fs occuring close together as *musica ficta* techniques designed to emphasise the hexachordal nature of the modal structure. A study of the ranges of the parts and the smilar procedures in bars 7-11 in which F#s in cantus and tenor are contradicted by Fs in the altus and bassus confirm the assignation of the piece to mode VI transposed up by a fifth.

It is odd then, that Bradshaw provides psalm tone V as his "ideal" cantus firmus for L.20 when all other indicators point to tone VI, and we can see the dangers implicit in the application of modern analytical procedures of tonality to Renaissance music. It is especially curious that Bradshaw should fail to understand the true nature of these toccatas, since he has in his "ideal" cantus firmus identified an important feature of the toccata idiom - its strong

dependance on the procedures of modal composition. He has failed, however, to fully develop the logical procedures behind his observations and deal with the repertoire in genuine sixteenth-century terms. As I will show, several more of his analyses must also be regarded as incorrect.

Two further toccatas, L. 22 and L. 24, are assigned psalm tones by Bradshaw. **LyA1** assigns L. 22 the title of *Toccata 2di Toni Joann Peters.* Bradshaw accordingly suggests psalm tone II and provides an analysis of how it controls the structure of the piece. (41) The modal characteristics of this toccata, along with those of L. 24, prove more difficult to assess than is the case with the examples discussed above. The ranges of the parts are less clearly defined and even their number is less certain, and certainly less regular than in the other pieces. The cantus range in the opening few bars, for example, is wider than one might expect, from g to d'', and there is no convenient imitative (or quasi-imitative) structure at the opening. If, however, we consider the scalar descent to g and the consequent return to g' as melodic decoration, unimportant to the overall melodic structure, then we find a cantus range that does in fact correspond closely with that expected of the second mode: an octave d'-d'' plus one tone below. This range suffices until bar 15, after which the figuration again forces the voice to venture outside this standard plagal range. Throughout most of the piece the cantus very

rarely extends in range beyond d'' and concentrates for the most part on the range of a sixth, f'-d'', with particular emphasis on melodic formulae based on f'-g'-bb', a typical formula of mode II. The importance of the high D - the dominant - is also a sure sign of mode II procedures. It is therefore quite unsurprising that Bradshaw's application of the mode II psalm tone should fit so well to this toccata. A notable feature of this toccata is the rather spare texture which occurs in several places, such as bar 19 or bar 43. Even though an implied four-part imitative stucture is not hard to imagine, nevertheless this toccata seems to be rather different in this respect, too, from the others discussed above.

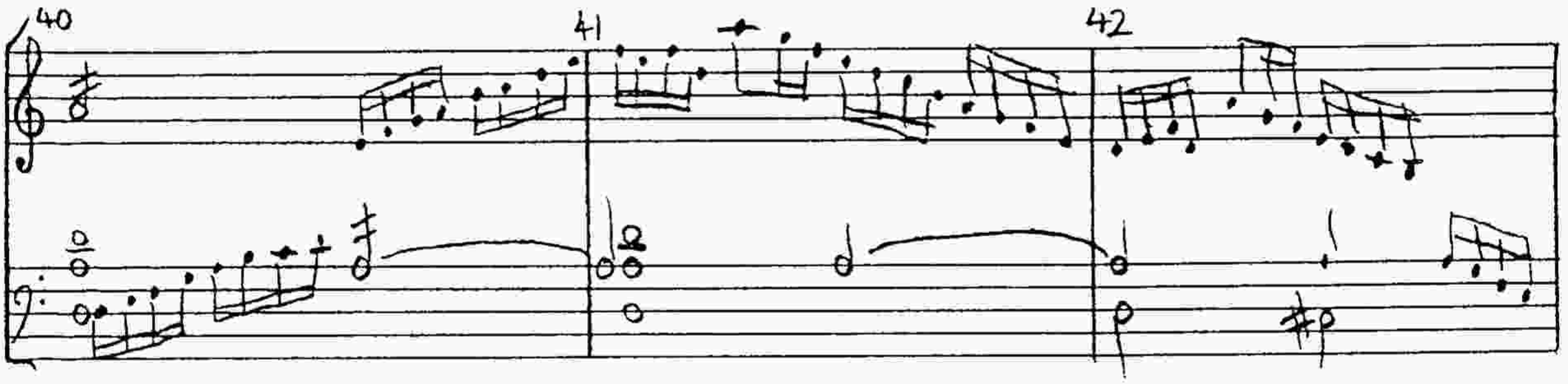
This discussion of Sweelinck's toccatas opened with Sweelinck's only dated piece, the *Praeludium Toccata* of 1612. The discussion will close with an analysis of the other toccata from a source compiled within Sweelinck's lifetime, the toccata L.24/L.24a. L.24 shows similar traits to Sweelinck's other toccatas and its sources provide interesting variants to the piece. Differences between the sources are great enough for the editor of the new Sweelinck edition to feel justified in providing two separate versions of the piece rather than one, conflated piece. L.24 is thus a version of the toccata found in **GK** in German tablature notation while L.24a on the other hand is an unaltered transcription of the piece as it survives in a unique

version in **Lo**, preserved in staff notation. The titles assigned to the piece in the sources are in themselves of interest. **GK** (probably compiled in Augsburg in the second quarter of the seventeenth century) describes the piece as *Toccata à 4 voci*, thus implying a relationship of some kind between toccata and fantasia or motet style. The London source gives an opinion on the mode of the piece: *quarti toni fantasia*, as well as describing the piece not as a toccata at all, but as a fantasia. Both scribes, then, working separately and producing differing versions of the piece, saw it as primarily contrapuntal type, as an example of imitative counterpoint, not of free, figural writing. To deal with the question of mode first, we may apply our now expected technique of assessing the range of the parts - we have seventeenth-century evidence that individual parts exist. The cantus in the first 26 bars corresponds broadly to the range g#'-a'': as in L.22 any deviations arise from figuration patterns and not from the fundamental melodic structure. The tenor duplicates the cantus range exactly one octave below, while the bassus follows the normal plagal range until bar 14, and deviates only occasionally thereafter. All this suggests mode III, although the altus doesn't quite fit the pattern, with its range from c'-a'. It never strays above the final, however, and proceeds in the first few bars immediately downwards from final to dominant, staying within this even narrower range until it disappears and merges with the tenor in bar 11. Plagal

tendencies are thus still evident in this voice, as it concentrates on the dominant of the mode rather than the final. Meier notes that modes III and IV were hard to distinguish even in the sixteenth century, but goes on to say that "if the upper voice...begins in a range near [the] sixth above the final, we may conclude that the work is in mode III. But if the soprano hovers closely around the final, or remains for a long time in the ambitus of the fourth *mi-la* [in this case a'-d''], then mode IV may be assumed."(42) The cantus in L.24 certainly "begins in a range near the sixth above the final" - a mode III indication - and, conversely, does not hover around the final, or around *mi-la*, concentrating instead on the range around the sixth above the final throughout the first section of 26 bars. L.24 can therefore be confidently assigned to mode III: both Bradshaw and the scribe of **Lo** are almost certainly incorrect in assigning the toccata to mode IV.

The version of the toccata in **Lo** differs considerably in places from that in **GK**. One of the most significant differences is the attempt in **Lo** to create a more regular texture than that presented by the German source. The scribe of **Lo** saw the piece as a fantasia and we can see the hidden, the quasi-imitative texture underlying the figuration. In bar 39 we find a bassus and tenor part under the figuration, providing continuity and harmonic support.

His attempts at notating the rhythm of this framework failed, but with care a reasonable attempt can be made to reconstruct his original intentions, finishing up with something much closer to the contours of **GK** than it first appears. Perhaps the original source which this scribe used included these fuller harmonic details, but in any case we end up as we saw in L.16 with a toccata closer in style to an intabulation or to the fantasia style than we have previously assumed was the case:



The principle which Bradshaw subscribes to without realising it, then, despite his inaccurate modal assessment, remains: that keyboard music from the sixteenth century until around the time of the death of Sweelinck was heavily indebted to the forms, styles and methods of vocal music. The "ideal" cantus firmus of the Venetian toccatas is a development not only from the simpler intonations and falsobordone of the early Spanish and Italian composers, but the extension of the use of a framework for a new composition. We saw how in the masses and magnificats of Cavazzoni the monophonic chant infused more than simply the individual melodic lines of the composition but had important structural implications as well, without neccesarily appearing in the easily recognisable form of a cantus firmus in equal note values. Bradshaw's "ideal" cantus firmus is part of this phenomenon, although his detail may be wrong. There is no reason why the "ideal" cantus firmus should work harmonically at all points throughout the piece, as Bradshaw insists in his examples that it should. He cannot be correct about tone V in Toccata L. 20, and we can see that, in fact, tone VI will fit just as well in outline, even if harmonically it cannot. In

L. 17 psalm tone III seems clearly to provide much of the melodic material. The point is that the toccatas are an exploration of a modal area in the same way that a motet is; they are infused with the intervallic nuances and formulae which are characteristic of which ever mode they use. This is the real reason why Bradshaw's "ideal" canti firmi are possible to trace. The psalm tone often expresses the essence of its mode, and so its presence should be expected as part of the general background of compositional material available to the composer.

Bradshaw's insistence on seeing Sweelinck's keyboard music in modern harmonic terms is another aspect of the standard view of Sweelinck the innovator, the teacher of a style for the future. Once again we are reminded of Sweelinck's deep roots in the past and we see how his music fits in with the general European pattern of the sixteenth rather than the seventeenth century.

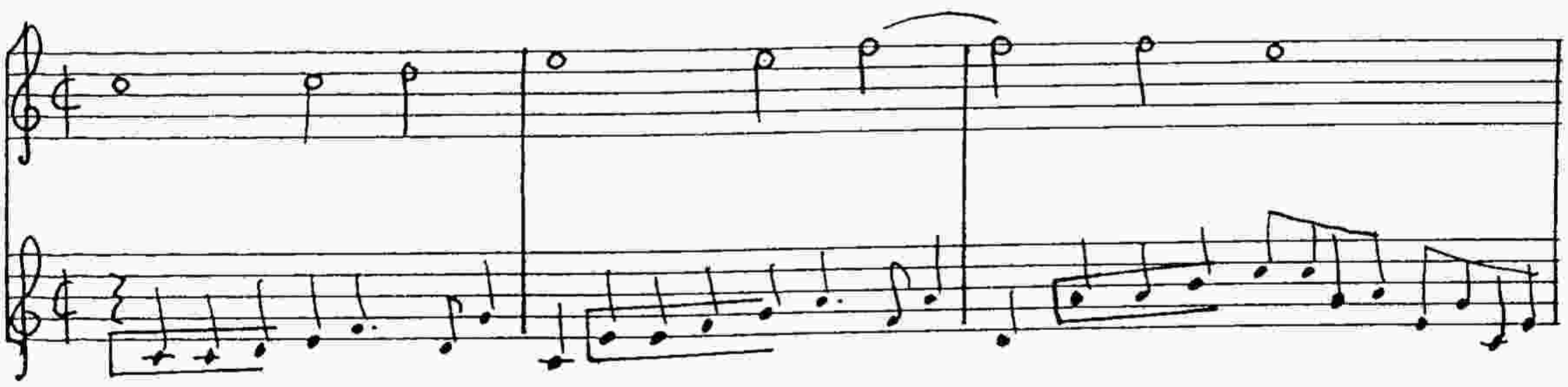
IV

From the foregoing analyses it is clear that neither Sweelinck's fantasia style nor his toccata style - the most important genres in his output - owe very much to the English virginalists in either form or idiom. Instead they reflect European compositional methods in their development in instrumental terms of the periodic, imitative structures

which dominated European compositional thought throughout the sixteenth century. As the following analyses will show, neither Sweelinck's sacred or secular variations can be seen as directly related to the English school either; their figuration patterns can be seen as being part of a general, European method of diminution which was as much a part of the tradition of vocal music as of instrumental idioms, while their underlying structure is based on that of expansive, periodic imitation.

Sweelinck's *Psalme 140* as it survives in the Fitzwilliam Virginal Book is a set of five variations on a psalm melody by Loys Bourgeois. This was first published in *De Psalmen Davids*, the great Genevan metrical psalter of 1562. The text for Psalm 140 is by Petrus Dathenus, after Théodore de Bèze. The melodies naturally share many of the characteristics of the Lutheran chorale; decisive rhythms and an underlying clear harmonic scheme. All but two of Sweelinck's variation sets (sacred or secular) which are accepted as authentic by Annegarn and Noske in the new Sweelinck edition are based on similar types of melodies.(43) The most important aspect of this type of melody so far as Sweelinck is concerned is its harmonically-conceived, periodic structure. This means that once again we are dealing with a pre-formed framework which Sweelinck fills out with his figuration, and the compositional process owes much to that of intabulation techniques. The composer

"picks out" what he needs from an imaginary harmonic, even four-part, framework. Thus in the opening variation of *Psalme 140*(A. 12) although we are presented with an example of apparently straight forward cantus firmus technique, closer inspection of the first few bars reveals the imitative structure of three voices hidden within the single lower part. Imitation occurs - at least of the head of the motive - at the beginning of each bar as we are led firmly away from and then back to the final on C, before the end of the first phrase of the melody leads to a chord on G. We thus find two structural levels here: a quasi-imitative opening paragraph stressing the modal characteristics of the piece working alongside another periodic structure created by the cantus firmus. The imitation is marked with brackets:



The periodic construction dominates and provides the impetus for the variation; forward movement does not come - as we might expect to find in a similar work by John Bull - from the figuration itself, but rather throughout the rest of the variation the figuration is controlled by this periodicity even though its changes in response to line

endings of the melody are disguised by occasional anticipation. Apart from the lead up to the high C in the third bar of the "imitative" opening, the lower voice remains within the confines of the plagal side of the mode. This was a feature of the bicinium of the Fitzwilliam fantasia, and, as in that piece, the only excursion beyond the normal plagal ambitus occurs to allow longer scale passages or to complete a sequential figure. As in that piece too, this use of ambitus is taken directly from vocal music and in particular the *a voce piena* scoring methods.

The sweeping lines of the second variation owe as much to the Gabrieli toccata style as to anything else. The plagal ambitus of the lower voice is still preserved most of the time and the figuration always leads to strong harmonic definition of the ends of the cantus firmus lines. Likewise in the third variation the figuration, which strongly resembles in appearance that of the English school is still based around smooth harmonic rather than linear progressions. The changes in the figuration patterns continue to correspond to the periodic nature of the cantus firmus. The fourth variation opens with anticipation by the soprano of the cantus firmus which appears for the first time in the piece in the tenor. In this variation, as in the final one, harmonic, large-scale considerations hold sway over the individual motives of the figuration.

We can thus see that, despite a superficial resemblance to the figural keyboard works of the English school, this variation set is conceived in a different way to a similar set that we might encounter in the works of Bull. Sweelinck's approach to composition is simultaneous rather than layered. His "ideal" texture is that of four voices *a voce piena* and even in his two- or three-part variations he never strays far from an underlying texture based on the vocal style of the sixteenth century. Once again we are reminded through this close study of the fundamentally conservative and essentially European nature of Sweelinck's style; any extraordinary figuration is soon brought back within the confines of modal procedures and it is the imitative texture of four-part counterpoint which dominates his compositional thinking.

If we turn to Sweelinck's other variation cycles a similar pattern soon emerges. **LyA1** again provides us with most of Sweelinck's pieces in this genre. I will deal first with Sweelinck's two plainchant settings. *Christe qui lux es et dies* (A.3) is a setting of a variant of a melody popular among English keyboard composers of the sixteenth century.(44) Sweelinck's compositional approach is to find a way of building a periodic, imitative framework around the melody. In the first variation this non-linear approach leads him to ignore some of the original phrase endings and to construct a series of four six-bar units. The first unit

consists of *Vorimitation* of the plainchant which forms counterpoint with a clear harmonic direction with the suspension in bars 5 and 6 clearly leading the harmony onward into the next unit which begins with the plainchant as a cantus firmus in the uppermost part. The next two units provide a half-close in bar 12 with the return to the G harmonies while bars 17 and 18 provide strong dominant harmonies roughly half-way through the variation. Another cadence on D at bar 24-25 introduces a change of texture in which the figuration becomes imitative, following a similar procedure to that noted in *Psalme 140*, with entries occurring as if there were an "ideal" background texture of four parts. As the piece progresses the textures change, falling increasingly into line with those of the intabulations and Sweelinck's toccatas and fantasias. The opening of the second variation is marked by the inevitability of the cadence in bar 52, marked by increased figural activity. The final cadence of this variation is marked in the usual way by another increase in the intensity of the figuration. The third variation opens with imitation in the lower voices which is again reminiscent of the "ideal" texture. The harmonic framework provides the background for the rapid figuration which occurs in only one part at a time - the typical texture of an intabulation.

It is primarily in Sweelinck's variation works that scholars have most often observed figural features

reminiscent of the English virginal school. Having established that these patterns could equally well have their origins in the style of sixteenth-century Europe it is well worth investigating the compositional methods with which Sweelinck deploys the figuration in his variations.

Sweelinck's other plainchant setting is *Da pacem Domine in diebus nostris* (A.4). The piece is remarkable for the regularity of its part writing. The variation techniques Sweelinck employs are those he uses to great effect in his own vocal music, particularly in the psalm settings. As we saw in Chapter 4, (p 173) Sweelinck works in larger units than the English composers. Each variation consists of a substantial verse rarely less than 30 bars long. These longer paragraphs are of great importance because Sweelinck tends to use one or at most two figural techniques during each one. English variation sets tend towards very short units of around eight bars and the figural variety is generally greater. With Sweelinck it is still the large-scale overall structure which determines the form. For an English composer of variations the small units of the figuration become self-generating, or the larger units themselves will be based on a dance-like rhythmic or harmonic pattern. The repeated harmonies give the feeling of a ground bass. In Sweelinck's variations, however, we find a different type of periodic control closer to that of a motet or mass movement, each variation forming its own large paragraph with its own inner logic and structure.

Rarely do we find the repeated harmonic structures of a work such as Byrd's *Walsingham* variations (Fitzwilliam Virginal Book no 68). Whereas Byrd composes a series of 22 short variations around an almost constant rhythmic structure of harmonically consistent two-bar phrases, Sweelinck's techniques, even in his secular variations, are never conceived on this tiny scale. In *Est-ce Mars*, (N.3) for example, there is an expansiveness in the first variation which comes from a regular, four-part, motet-like texture. The following variations tend to use one variational technique at a time. Exuberant figuration is nearly always confined to important cadential moments and fast-moving figures occur in only one voice at a time. There is none of the density of imitation within the figuration that marks out Byrd's handling of variation technique. *Mein junges Leben* (N.6) presents a similar case. Deviations from a regular, contrapuntal texture in the first two variations occur exclusively at cadence points, while in variations three, four and five the figuration is still almost always confined to a single voice at a time. The triplets at the end of the fourth variation are typical of the type of writing found throughout Sweelinck's psalm settings. The other secular variation set found in **LyA1** is *Ick voer al over Rhijn*. It too is conceived in large paragraphs. The figuration works within the larger framework. In Byrd's *Walsingham* the figuration provides the forward movement, it is almost always thematically relevant and overrides in

importance the small framework of each variation. For Sweelinck the figuration is more decorative. Even when it is imitative it is rarely thematic and it is still conceived as a "filler" of a larger, periodic structure.

V

We have investigated Sweelinck's main compositional genres of fantasia, toccata and variation and found in all three types elements of intabulation techniques and of the imitative techniques of the sixteenth century. Of Sweelinck's remaining three keyboard works which fall outside these types two are intabulations of works by English composers. The first is a setting of Peter Philips' early Pavan found in the Fitzwilliam Virginal Book, the second a setting of Dowland's *Lachrymae*. The third piece, the *Pavan Hispanicae*, is a setting of a melody popular throughout Europe, first set by Cabezon and published in the *Obras de Musica* of 1578.

In the *Pavana Philippi* Sweelinck creates a regular, four-part texture out of the framework of the original. Here we see a similar process at work to that observed earlier in Cabezon's glosas and tientos based on vocal works. Sweelinck produces the texture of a vocal piece from an original instrumental texture. Philip's original Pavan is written in a free style in which the number of parts is

constantly varying. Sweelinck's more restrained texture is typical of that of his variations, toccatas and fantasias. The technique is similar to that employed in his reworkings of Italian madrigals in the *Rhymes italiennes et francaises*. (45) In these vocal works Sweelinck reduces the number of parts from four or five to two, picking out essential elements from the larger framework, as if finding new counterpoints amongst the already pre-existent notes of the original. This is similar to the procedures of intabulation discussed many times in earlier chapters of this thesis, and this paring down of a fuller texture into a simpler one is exactly the process at work in Sweelinck's *Pavana Philipi*. A similar preoccupation is also evident in the *Pavana Lachrimae*. Sweelinck takes the framework of Dowland's original and picks out from it a regular, four-part periodic texture. Ornamentation is confined once again to a single voice at a time. The texture becomes that of a typical sixteenth-century Continental intabulation.

CONCLUSION

In challenging the links between the English virginalist school and Sweelinck, links which have been proposed and accepted by writers from Max Seiffert to Alan Curtis, two important points emerge: first, that Sweelinck belongs to a far larger (and longer) tradition of polyphonic intabulation practised by keyboard composers throughout Europe; second, that the style of the English virginalists appears to belong to a separate tradition of decoration and pattern, probably based on traditions of improvised discant and faburden and the secular tradition of the repetitive forms of dance music, perhaps rooted in medieval practice and largely unaffected by the modernism of imitative polyphony. A condensed review of this background to Sweelinck's keyboard style can delineate these claims.

This study has looked at a wide range of keyboard intabulation procedures and shown how closely related those procedures are to the compositional techniques of the polyphonic, imitative vocal music of the sixteenth century. The very earliest written-down keyboard pieces rely upon an essentially linear process in reworking their vocal models while the figural writing of the sixteenth-century keyboard composer has its origins in the diminution procedures of sixteenth-century vocal performance practice. Despite this,

however, the processes of intabulation in even the simplest of sixteenth-century examples are formed around a polyphonic reworking of the vocal model. The study of Antico's *Frottole Intabolate* revealed two main points: that added figuration has an inner logic and imitative process of its own, its own framework of related motives and figures added to the background framework of the entire model. The figuration is concentrated around important cadential moments in the model, and new imitative frameworks grow from the harmonic background provided by the underlying cadential structure. In the Cabezón intabulation *Ultimi mei suspiri* we saw how the figuration is also imitative and how it adds expressive interest to the model. Its new framework is a reworking of the original, but has an independent musical and artistic value of its own.

The Attaignant organ mass shows how a series of cadences is overlaid on the monophonic model: the framework grows from the model and is dependent upon it for its overall shape, but the musical direction is that of a series of periodic frameworks leading from cadence to cadence, filled out with figuration that is partly thematic but for the most part consists of standard diminution patterns such as turns and scales, which once again create their own logic and imitative relationships. We see then, another fundamentally polyphonic reworking this time of a monophonic model, in

which the cadences and overall contours of the chant provide the basis for the imitative periods woven around it.

M. A Cavazzoni's ricercars and motet intabulations show a sophisticated grasp of modal procedure, particularly in relation to cadence structures. The cadences are of particular importance as a means of assessing the modal inter-relationships of the first four pieces of the *Libro Primo*, and the figuration amplifies the cadences and reveals an underlying imitative, periodic structure such as might be found in a typical vocal work of the sixteenth century. The figuration forms its own logical development, woven into the underlying structure of imitative counterpoint proceeding from cadence to cadence. The intabulation of *Plusiers regretz* demonstrates how a polyphonic model is substantially reworked and that the reworking consists of various polyphonic procedures in which imitative paragraphs are reworked between cadences.

The works of Girolamo Cavazzoni also show how the contours and cadences of a monophonic model are reworked into the polyphonic structures of his liturgical alternatim organ pieces and hymn settings. The plainchant infuses every aspect of the polyphonic structure; imitative motives form continuous variations on the contours of the plainchant, and the model is thus integrated into the periodic structure even more than in the Attaignant mass.

In the intabulations there is a further development in the intabulation processes of polyphonic models, in which increasingly large amounts of the overall structure of the original are reworked: in *Faulte d'argent* the overall shape of entire sections of the model are reshaped, not just imitative paragraphs.

On the other hand the various types of reworking of models that were published in Spain and Italy in the latter half of the century retain the overall shapes of the models with minimal alteration. However, despite retaining the overall ambitus and harmonic stucture of their models, the Cabezón and Palero tientos show how a new texture can be reworked from the original part-writing which is more suited to the keyboard than that of the model. But, in the glosas new imitative points are worked out within the precise framework of the original and the figuration is used to emphasise the cadential structure of the model.

Cadential emphasis is particularly noticeable too in Andrea Gabrieli's *canzon francese* and the textures of these intabulations may be seen as fundamentally the same as those of the toccata idiom, in which a series of cadences related to a particular psalm tone - expressing the essence of its mode - are developed into a figural complex underpinned by a chordal accompaniment. Such a practice seems to extend from a line of development first observed in M. A. Cavazzzoni's

ricercars, where the articulation of modal properties is achieved through cadence structure. Even in the toccata, the fundamental structural element is not the figuration but rather the articulation of period through decoration of cadence. Toccata figuration may have its own internal structures and imitative processes, but they are subject to the overall demands of a larger, periodic framework in much the same way as the figural writing of an intabulation. Thus Bradshaw's theory of psalm tones as the basis of the toccata is fundamentally correct, but his application of the principle appears to be wrong: the psalm tone does not form an "ideal" cantus firmus in the toccata, but rather an "ideal" framework consisting of the melodic contour and cadential structure of its associated mode.

The study of these intabulation processes establishes the debt of even the "purely instrumental" forms such as the toccata to the basic compositional methods of Renaissance polyphonic vocal music. It shows that the "emancipation of instrumental style" was never the aim of the sixteenth-century keyboard composer, who wrote in one basic style, that of periodic imitation, and for whom the principle of *imitatio* was all important. Seen from this perspective, the "late" keyboard works of John Bull are part of this same Continental tradition; in this context his personal influence upon European keyboard style (and on Sweelinck in particular) is negligible. Rather, it is <u>his</u> style that

changed after he moved to the Netherlands, responding to the instrumental style he found there. Even the limited indigenous style of instumental music of the Netherlands i.e. the lute volumes and the Suzanne van Soldt keyboard manuscript display a style fundamentally based on the principles of the polyphonic reworking of vocal music.

Within the Netherlands the predominant musical influence in the latter part of the sixteenth century came from southern Europe in the form of a massive surge in the printing of Italian music, and the circulation of music by foreign composers who were completely submerged in the *seconda pratica* style. Sweelinck's vocal repertoire may be seen to be part of this development; even the psalm settings despite their *prima pratica* elements are infused with the periodic, imitative style and a clear concern for harmonic structure which dominates Italian musical developments around the turn of the century. Sweelinck's awareness of the processes of reworking is clear from the *Rimes* of 1612 and the Petrarchian overtones of the collection are inescapable.

A review of Sweelinck's keyboard music in the light of this European context show how it complies with all the major features outlined here. The *a voce piena* scoring of the fantasias is not perhaps remarkable in the light of the importance of the relationship of vocal techniques to

keyboard music, but its presence in the toccatas of Sweelinck, along with the same modal concerns of cadence and contour, suggests a style closer to that of the mainstream of polyphonic, imitative music than has previously been thought. The textures of Sweelinck's fantasias and toccatas are those of the intabulations of the sixteenth century in which the figuration is used in the articulation of a larger framework rather than serving primarily as decoration or as part of the overall thematic process. Elements of cantus firmus technique in which the motive of a fantasia would appear in longer note values (in the manner of a ricercar), are overidden by a periodic, imitative framework which continually controls the musical direction and pace. The figuration at the end of a fantasia appears as cadential articulation, not as virtuosic display used to generate a climax: climax itself is achieved within the structure by the nature of the cadences themselves.

By contrast, in the music of the English keyboard composers of the late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries formal considerations are dominated not by the large scale articulation of cadence but by the small-scale repetition and development of patterns. Even for Byrd, who understood periodic construction as well as any other composer, it was the figuration itself which provided the musical impetus in his variation style. This is not an attempt to lessen Byrd's musical achievement in a work such

as *Walsingham*, but rather to show that his processes and those of his fellow countrymen are fundamentally different from those of the general European musical language of the period. Two categories of layering can be discerned in sixteenth century keyboard music. The musical layers of an early work of Bull are different from those layers found in contemporary Continental keyboard music. For Bull the layers are monophonic; single lines, complete in themselves added one at a time to a cantus firmus. For Sweelinck the layers are themselves polyphonic; reworkings of the periodic, imitative paragaphs which he creates.

Though variation is a possible source of comparison (if not of influence) between English composers and the Netherlands, in Sweelinck's variations it is the periodic control which counts. Even in the two-part textures of *Psalme 140* it is possible to trace a background harmonic framework which consists of regular, four-part writing. These procedures are fundamentally those of intabulation, and intabulation is itself but an expression of the *imitatio* tradition which had infused the minds and directed the aims of an entire Continent from the early 1500s. Sweelinck is a part of that tradition, just like any Continental composer. His complete absorption of the modal and contrapuntal principles of the sixteenth century shows that he was not the innovatory figure that he has often been believed to be. His toccata style was not developed by his pupils for that

very reason: it was already very old-fashioned by the time of the sources which have survived.

The extent of Sweelinck's influence on his pupils is beyond the scope of this study, but it seems too much to claim for him, as Noske does, the possibility of having eventually, through his Hamburg pupils, influenced Bach. Sweelinck's toccata style is not that of *stylus fantasticus*, nor is his fantasia style that of the fugue; both idioms remain firmly rooted to the sixteenth century. We must look elsewhere for the musical impetus which produced the North German toccata and the prelude and fugue of Bach. The first place to look is of course to Italy, with its new operatic spirit and the toccatas of Frescobaldi. Both are infused with a new spirit of the Baroque in which *Figuren* rather than figuration comes into its own and in which gesture (*Gestik*) becomes more important than either mode or imitation.