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THE ACCOMPANIED SOLO SONG OF THE  
FIFTEENTH AND SIXTEENTH CENTURIES

THESIS

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by

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## LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

- AM -- Acta Musicologica
- EIM -- Italian Madrigal, Alfred Einstein
- FSM -- French Secular Music, edited by Willi Apel
- HAM -- Historical Anthology of Music, Davidson and Apel
- HD -- Harvard Dictionary of Music, Willi Apel
- HHOdh -- Odhecaton, Helen Hewitt
- HMI -- History of Musical Instruments, Curt Sachs
- JRBM -- Journal of Renaissance and Baroque Music
- LS -- Literary Sources, Walter Rubsamen
- MQ -- Musical Quarterly
- MWC -- Music in Western Civilization, Paul Henry Lang
- OMH -- Our Musical Heritage, Curt Sachs
- Pprs. AMS -- Papers of the American Musicological Society
- RN -- Renaissance News
- SchGMB -- Geschichte der Musik in Beispielen, edited by  
Arnold Schering

## FOREWORD

If ever there has been as much as one article written entirely on the subject of instrumental accompaniment before the advent of Thorough-bass in the Baroque Period, it is yet to be found. Even the musical dictionary articles entitled "Accompaniment" leave much to the imagination. The scarcity of material on this subject is perhaps the reason that those dictionaries which give source readings at the end of their articles give none for the history or development of accompaniment. The only references cited are a few modern works concerned with the basic principles of modern pianoforte accompaniment.

Some of the reasons for this neglect are obvious, of course, and others that are not so obvious will present themselves during this study. Perhaps the easiest explanation is the musicologist's preoccupation with the main categories of music, i.e. vocal and instrumental. Only once in a great while does a writer have a few words to say about how the music of the Middle Ages and Renaissance was performed; it is from such small bits of information, however, that we have gleaned a thread of knowledge about this neglected aspect of music. The old adage, "Any fool

knows that when he sees something, what he sees is not all there is of it," applies particularly to the subject of early accompaniment.

An almost glaring oversight in dictionaries, encyclopedias and other works is the lack of information concerning the joining of voice and instrument. The subject is either left out or dismissed with a hasty sentence or two. The history of melody has not been preserved in treatises and manuscripts; there are only fragments of information for our puzzle. Instead of finding all of our answers in the realm of music (which either does not exist, is lost, or leaves one in doubt, one must supplement our information on this subject from reading literature, diaries, poetry and chronicles of everyday life. An example is the Bible: from the scriptures we gain more knowledge of music in Biblical times than can be pieced together from any fragment which might date from that period. Equally important as a source is the iconography of music. Both literature and pictures prove that accompaniment antedates its published form by centuries.

Another inconsistency of writers is that they speak of "poetry and music" without specifying whether the music was vocal and/or instrumental. Another example is saying that

the "words" were set to "music." "Music" in what sense? Was it a single voice part, more than one part, all vocal, all instrumental, or both? Many references are made to "instrumental music" without specifying they mean instrumental solo or an instrumental accompaniment.

Why there is not a better record of accompaniment in the early times is obvious. A few reasons can be listed here: (1) accompaniments apparently were not written out because of the custom of leaving the interpretation and method of performance up to the musicians; (2) after centuries of improvisation, it must not have been easy for secular instrumentalists to write down what they played, especially when they were apt to change their playing from audience to audience; (3) instrumental accompaniment--sometimes all the music--was left out of the manuscripts and the early printed works because of the expense involved, although places were often left for the music to be written in by hand (e.g. in the liturgical books), and few people connected with secular music knew how to write out the accompaniments when there were any; (4) sometimes there is music without words, in part perhaps because many manuscripts were the joint output of more than one scribe, with a non-musical scribe taking over the decorative details, and leaving no space for the underlaying of the

words; (5) the incipit was all that was necessary for the performer to know, since, in a great many instances, the words were probably as familiar as those of "America" are to us. In addition, there is the fact that although everyone had, of course, a voice, not every person owned an instrument; consequently, they were of secondary importance.

Nevertheless, according to contemporary writings and the visual arts, instruments were used very often with singing. The earliest accompaniment, since it was not written, must have either been an exact duplication of the voice part or an improvisation by the player. Doubtless the accompaniment added to the pleasure afforded by the singing and eventually the accompaniment itself called forth the attention of musicians to the possibilities of developing instrumental music alone. The practice of improvisation delayed the appearance of written accompaniments because as long as a satisfactory support could be realized for the voice or voices, there was no need for writing out a fixed accompaniment. This aspect of musical development had to wait until the early sixteenth century when the accompanists were musicians of such calibre that the accompaniments began to attract attention for themselves. Such performers as Luys Milan, a trained court

musician, would be the first people to want to write down a fixed instrumental accompaniment.

The history of accompaniment, then, is characterized by the following states: (1) from earliest times, a vocal line with text but no indication whatsoever of an accompaniment which (in the form of improvisation) is, however, presumed, on the basis of literary and pictorial representation of singers and players; (2) the appearance, from the thirteenth century on (incipits), of textless parts (accompanying parts with texts) which may have been vocalized but which more often seem intended for instruments, although they are not so designated; (3) the appearance from the sixteenth century of merely prefatory designations ("per cantare e sonare"); (4) accompaniments clearly intended (by direct specifications or by notation such as tablature) for a particular instrument (lute) or class of instruments (keyboard).

The simplicity of the accompanied song of around 1600 was a reaction against the complex polyphonic styles of the sixteenth century. But in the preceding period polyphonic forms (i.e. motet, ballade, madrigal, villancico, etc.) had occasionally produced examples which amounted to solo song with instrumental accompaniment.

With the idea of the Renaissance as a time of expressive freedom, the soloistic trend developed quickly.



Actually, it amounted to personal music that one might enjoy alone as well as with a group. Art music was no longer restricted to the communal religious activity of the church but came into the home and the everyday life of the people.

## CHAPTER I

### INSTRUMENTS AND INSTRUMENTAL ACCOMPANIMENT

#### THROUGH THE ARS NOVA PERIOD

#### (FOURTEENTH CENTURY)

(1)

For if the trumpet give an uncertain sound,  
who shall prepare himself to the battle?  
I. Corinthians 14:7-8

(2)

And, lo, thou art unto them as a very lovely  
song of one that hath a pleasant voice, and  
can play well on an instrument. . . .  
Ezekiel 34:32

(3)

The singers went before, the players on  
instruments followed after; among them were  
the damsels playing with timbrels.  
Psalms 68:25

(4)

And the harp, and the viol, the tabret,  
and pipe, and wine, are in their feasts. . . .  
The mirth of tabrets ceaseth, the noise  
of them that rejoice endeth, the joy of the  
harp ceaseth. They shall not drink wine with  
a song.

Isaiah 5:12; 24:8-9

(5)

And it came to pass as they came, when David  
was returned from the slaughter of the Philistine,  
that the women came out of all cities of Israel,  
singing and dancing, to meet king Saul, with tabrets,  
with joy, and with instruments of musick. And the  
women answered one another as they played. . . .  
I Samuel 18:6-7

(6)

Praise him with the sound of the trumpet;  
 praise him with the psaltery and harp.  
 Praise him with the timbrel and dance;  
 Praise him with stringed instruments and organs.  
 Praise him upon the loud cymbals:  
 Praise him upon the high sounding cymbals.  
 Psalms 150:3-5

(7)

Let them praise his name in the dance: let them  
 sing praises unto him with the timbrel and harp.  
 Psalms 149:3

(8)

They send forth their little ones like a flock,  
 and their children dance. They take the  
 timbrel and harp, and rejoice at the sound of  
 the organ.

Job 21:11-12

Without any introductory remarks, the reader of these preceding passages from the Bible is exposed to one of the best of all sources on the existence and uses of ancient music. These verses are a few of many which illustrate the presence of instruments with singing in the Biblical times: (1) in battle, (2) in poetical expressions, (3) in processions, (4) at feasts, (5) at celebrations, (6) in praise services, (7) to accompany dancing and (8) for the enjoyment of children. These uses are the same today. The array of instruments is large: eleven are mentioned in these few verses and there is an indication of others since "stringed instruments" in the sixth example may mean many different kinds.

There are also secular references to instruments and their uses in the writings of the early Greeks. Thus, for example, in Homeric times (ninth century B. C.)

. . . [The Gods] feasted all day until sunset, and there was no lack; plenty to eat and drink, a splendid harp with Apollo to play it, and the Muses singing turn by turn in their lovely voices.<sup>1</sup>

We have accounts of heroes singing and playing songs, of wedding and of funeral processions with the participants singing to the accompaniment of the lyre. The instruments used for accompanying purposes are nearly always mentioned: citharodia meant singing with the accompaniment of the cithara, and aulodia meant singing with the accompaniment of the aulos (a double reed wind instrument). How these instruments were used in accompaniment is another question. Many modern authors claim that the instruments played in unison with the voices, but Sachs thinks that such a practice did not exist. "Unison is neither usual nor even natural--nowhere in the primitive or oriental world has such a practice existed."<sup>2</sup> Rather is the role of instruments that of striking the main note, adding a short

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<sup>1</sup>Homer, The Iliad, Book I, translated by W. H. D. Rouse, p. 23.

<sup>2</sup>Sachs, Curt, The Rise of Music in the Ancient World East and West, p. 256. It must be remembered that information of the Greek writers on music is not necessarily exact because they wrote as philosophers rather than as practical musicians.

ostinato figures, "or playing 'heterophonically.' That is . . . interpreting the same melody according to the personal taste and abilities of the players and to the special conditions of their instruments. . . ." <sup>3</sup> Plato (427-347 B. C.), in his Laws, Book VII, mentions *ἑτεροφωνία* <sup>4</sup> in this passage:

So, to attain this object, both the lyre-master and his pupil must use the notes of the lyre, because of the distinctness of its strings, assigning to the notes of the song notes in tune with them; <sup>5</sup> but as to divergence of sound and variety in the notes of the harp, when the strings sound one tune and the composer of the melody another, or when there results a combination of low and high notes, of slow and quick time, of sharp and grave, and all sorts of rhythmical variations are adapted to the notes of the lyre. . . . <sup>6</sup>

This accompaniment, except in the instances when it acted as a drone bass, was always pitched higher than the melody. <sup>7</sup> The only instrument which Plato thought should be

<sup>3</sup>Sachs, Curt, The Rise of Music in the Ancient World East and West, pp. 256-257.

<sup>4</sup>Plato, "Laws," Vol. II, Loeb Classical Library, p.82.

<sup>5</sup>"i.e. the notes of the instrument must be in accord with those of the singer's voice. The tune, as composed by the poet, is supposed to have comparatively few notes, to be in slowish time, and low down in the register; whereas the complicated variation, which he is condemning, has many notes, is in quick time, and high up in the register." Ibid., pp. 82-83fn.

<sup>6</sup>Ibid., p. 82.

<sup>7</sup>Barry, Phillips, "Greek Music," MQ\*, Vol. V, (October, 1919), p. 600. (\*See list of abbreviations after Table of Contents.)

used by the Greeks was the lyre. Contrary to popular belief, this instrument was not invented by the Greeks, but dates from the pre-hellenic Minoan civilization. The Minoans got it from Egypt, and the Egyptians probably got it in turn from the Semitic Bedouins as early as 2200 B. C.<sup>8</sup>

The Romans accepted the theoretical system of Greece, founded a Society of Greek Singers, and introduced military trumpets and horns of such genre as the cornu, the lituus, and the tuba. In addition, they probably continued using the instruments of the Greeks.<sup>9</sup>

It appears that all or most all of the early Christian music was vocal. St. Clement of Alexandria wrote in 200 A. D., "We need one instrument: the peaceful word of adoration, not harps or drums or pipes or trumpets."<sup>10</sup> About forty years after the erection of Constantinople, the Council of Laodicea (367 A.D.) forbade the use of instruments in the liturgy.<sup>11</sup> However, about 980 the monastery at Winchester possessed an organ which, according to Sachs,

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<sup>8</sup>Barry, Phillips, "Greek Music," MQ, Vol. V (October, 1919), p. 599.

<sup>9</sup>Sachs, OMH, pp. 47-48.

<sup>10</sup>Ibid., p. 52.

<sup>11</sup>Ibid., p. 62.

had only mixtures so that it played in octaves and fifths, and may therefore have played the organal voice in early organum and may even have been the origin of this early type of polyphony.<sup>12</sup> Secular music is rarely mentioned until the mid-twelfth century. The only contemporary sources were written by ecclesiastical clerks for the Church, and they rarely bothered to mention anything about the European bards who fiddled and sang across the continent for so many centuries. However, Thomas de Cabham (d. 1313) did write about the minstrels, dividing them into classes to show the ones that would be tolerated by the Church and those that would not be tolerated. According to his classification, there were three types of minstrels: acrobats, those who spread satires and libels, and then the musicians. The musicians were those who carried instruments and were classified as either those who sang dirty ditties in taverns and therefore must be classified as nonmusicians, or the tolerated ones: those singers of the deeds of princes and of the lives of the saints.<sup>13</sup>

Minstrels were known to sing pious words to secular songs to get attention from the church goers after Mass. "The

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<sup>12</sup>Sachs, OMH, pp. 64-65.

<sup>13</sup>"Qui cantant gesta principum et vitas sanctorum." Thomas de Cabham, Penitential, quoted in E. K. Chambers, The Medieval Stage, Vol. II, p. 262.

very method of inculcating Christian sentiments reveals the existence of a body of popular song accompanied by the harp."<sup>14</sup> Regardless of whether the songs were sung by the first or second class minstrel, they were sung to instrumental accompaniment, according to all indications.

The instrument which a musician carried was often incorporated as part of his name. For instance, at the Whitsuntide feast (the seventh week after Easter), Edward the First, in 1306, had in attendance at the celebration "'Janin le Lutour,' 'Gillotin le Sautroure', and 'Guillaume le Harpur'."<sup>15</sup> The Troubadours and Minnesingers (aristocratic poet-musicians of the Middle Ages in France and Germany) accompanied themselves upon a stringed instrument, notably the viella.<sup>16</sup> No one is certain how the accompaniment was performed. One idea is that it was in

<sup>14</sup>Bruce Pattison, Music and Poetry of the English Renaissance, p. 25.

<sup>15</sup>Manner and Household Expenses of England in the Thirteenth and Fifteenth Centuries, (Roxburgh Club), p. 141, Ibid., p. 47.

<sup>16</sup>The viella was the most important stringed instrument of the twelfth-thirteenth centuries. It had a drone string and four fingered strings. (HD "Viella"). Its prominence is verified by the inscription "In seculum viellatoris" found with thirteenth century instrumental pieces. See SchGMB No. 20.



unison with the singer.<sup>17</sup> Wellesz's transcription of six songs by Bernart de Ventadorn (twelfth century) has written an accompaniment which could be performed today on a violin or a viol, probably for the reason that the troubadours most often used a viol of some sort. Because the melodies were composed at a time when the intervals of the octave, fifth and fourth were considered the only perfect consonances, Wellesz constructs the accompaniment on the simplest lines and uses only such melodic phrases as were actually found in the melody of the song.<sup>18</sup>

Although the accounts of the traveling musicians mention only one or two instruments, such as the harp, the lute or the viella, one reads of the following instruments in medieval times: chrotta, crwth, rebec, rubebe, hurdy-gurdy, tromba marina, trumpets, horns, flute, shawms, bagpipes, portative organ, and so on.<sup>19</sup> It is not certain

<sup>17</sup>Peter Warlock, The English Ayre, p. 13. Warlock mentions specimens of fourteenth and fifteenth century English secular song transcribed from contemporary manuscripts and printed by Sir John Stainer in Early Bodleian Music, and from these comes evidence of instrumental accompaniment, and even some instrumental interludes between the vocal phrases. (p. 14).

<sup>18</sup>Music of the Troubadours, Six Songs in Provençal by Bernart de Ventadorn (Twelfth Century), transcribed and arranged by Egon J. Wellesz, preface, iii. Cf. No. 1 in this volume with HAM 18b. (Ventadorn (1130?-1195) is the only troubadour who came to England, as far as is known.)

<sup>19</sup>Sachs, HMI, passim.

exactly who played these instruments or for what particular occasion. In the art works of fourteenth, fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, we have numerous religious paintings which show angels playing almost all of these instruments. Matteo de Giovanni (1435-1495) shows in his painting "The Virgin of the Girdle" (London, National Gallery) shows angels playing a viol, a pair of small kettle-drums, a psaltery, a portative organ, a lute, a tambourine and the double pipes. In addition to the instrumentalists there are other angels singing. Another example is "The Virgin and Child Enthroned" (London, National Gallery) by Cosimo Tura (1430-1495). The instruments played by the angels in this painting include the portative organ, lutes and viols. Fortunately, in both of these paintings the instruments are very carefully executed; but in other works of art it is not rare to see an angel strumming away on a stringless lute. Artists very often did not know anything about the instruments which they incorporated into their works; they used them for the beauty of their shape or for their contribution to the general effect. Even when the artist reproduces an instrument with perfect accuracy, it does not follow that his reproduction of musical notation is correct. It was easy just to spatter a few dots on some lines; nowadays with a multitude of people able to read music

such inaccuracy would provoke ridicule. Yet, even allowing for these inaccuracies, these pictures are often of considerable interest, inasmuch as they provide historical evidence of the nature of musical instruments and sometimes even the methods of playing them. The majority of European pictures of this sort are either domestic scenes by painters belonging to the northern schools, or Italian altar pieces in which angels and saints are contributing, by their own performance, to some pious ceremony. The pictures by northern artists which link up music with daily life are as secular and domestic as those by Italians are religious.

As instruments became popular a new craft arose: that of the instrument maker. All over Europe highly skilled craftsmen took pleasure in making, and patrons in collecting, musical instruments which showed exquisite workmanship in all of the little details of inlay, carving, and choice of rare woods and varnishes. This craft was usually carried on within a family. The first great makers of stringed instruments were called luthiers, and they originated in Italy. Many of them were Germans coming from a little village called Füssen, of whom the Tieffenbrucker family was the most famous. This family settled in Padua, Venice, Lyons and elsewhere. Padua became the

center of lute making when Wendelin Tieffenbrucker started a school for lute makers there.<sup>20</sup> These instruments must have been beautiful indeed. Artists admired them for the beauty of their lines; Dürer (1471-1528), in writing his treatise on proportion, used the lute as his subject; he probably owned a lute made by Hans Frey, his father-in-law, (d. 1523), who was a famous lute maker.<sup>21</sup> The history of brass and reed instrument makers has been completely overshadowed by the various makers of the stringed instruments.

A change was in the making upon the arrival of the fourteenth century. The bourgeoisie were coming to the foreground, art works were not always religious as they had been, and a dividing line was beginning to appear, separating life and the arts into secular and sacred categories. The Church was not happy about this: Pope John, in 1324, protested against the secular music of the "modern school."<sup>22</sup> Petrus de Cruce (d. 1300) had already started a trend, to be taken up by Guillaume de Machaut (1300-1377), of breaking away from the rhythmic modes.<sup>23</sup> Philippe de Vitry (c. 1290-1361) penned the treatise which became the name for the

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<sup>20</sup>Paul Henry Lang, MWC, p. 239.

<sup>21</sup>Nicholas Bessaroboff, Ancient European Musical Instruments, Cambridge, Harvard University Press, 1941, p.231.

<sup>22</sup>Sachs, OMH, p. 101.

<sup>23</sup>See HAM, nos. 34-35.

whole period--Ars nova (c. 1325). Polyphony had penetrated all the domains of music, both sacred and secular.

Secularization with refinement was one of the earmarks of the early French ars nova. Machaut set the example with his treatment of ballades, rondeaux and virelais. He preferred not to use cantus firmus treatment, but to create "melody with accompaniment."<sup>24</sup> A forerunner of Machaut's style can be seen in the compositions of Petrus de Cruce. His motet Aucun--Lonc tans--Annuntiantes (HAM 34) has two texts for two voices above the tenor (which has only one incipit--Annun /tiantes). Eventually all but one text disappeared and instruments played the lower voice parts as in the Machaut ballade Je puis trop bien and virelai Comment gu'a moy (HAM 45, 46). No instrument is specified, but the importance of medieval instrumental participation should not be ignored on that account.

Machaut was a literary musician; such a person was most welcome at court. Apel has pointed out that nearly all of the works of the late fourteenth century French secular class were the compositions of men who wrote both the words and the music.<sup>25</sup> An employee of princes, Machaut had at his disposal the best singers and instrumentalists

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<sup>24</sup>HD "Ars Nova."

<sup>25</sup>Apel, FSM, p. 17.

of the royal chapel; his songs needed fluent vocal and instrumental performers. With this, then, we can say the rise of accompanied song had begun.

Following Machaut, the music of the late fourteenth century is luxuriant to the point of extravagance. The key figure at the beginning of the next century was Matheus de Perusio (fl. fourteenth-fifteenth centuries). A characteristic of Perusio's style is his use of declamation, alternating with florid passages.<sup>26</sup> In the Apel collection, French Secular Music of the Late Fourteenth Century, there are four ballades, seven virelais, ten rondeaux, and one canon by this composer. All but the canon could be sung easily by a solo voice with instrumental accompaniment. In examples 3, 4, 5, 6, 7, 10, 11, 12, 14, 15, 16, 18, 20 and 21 there are evidences of either instrumental prelude, interlude or postlude. No. 21 is unusual and deserves attention. It is written in two parts throughout, but the greater portion of the text is distributed in one part at a time with a slight overlap, see diagram below.

Superius	Text	...(Textless)...	Text	
Tenor	.....	Text	.....	etc.

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<sup>26</sup>See SchGMB, No. 24.

The following methods of performance present themselves:

- (1) purely vocal performance with vocalization of the textless parts;
- (2) duplication of both voice parts by instruments throughout;
- (3) use of instruments for the textless portions only.

At any rate, this seems to be a clear case of one voice alternately "accompanying" the other.

Another point to consider is what instruments were used for the accompaniment. In this regard there is one consideration of importance: wind instruments were more plentiful than stringed instruments in this period.<sup>27</sup> As to the original medium of the performance of a three voiced composition, Apel makes the following suggestion: ". . . an ensemble consisting of a singer (possibly in unison or alternation with a recorder . . .) for the superious a shawm [oboe] . . . for the contra, a trombone . . . for the tenor would seem a normal medium of performance. . . ." <sup>28</sup>

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<sup>27</sup>"In the two poems by Machaut containing an enumeration of instruments . . . I count twelve strings, twenty-four winds, and five percussion instruments." Apel, FSM, p. 25 fn. 59.

<sup>28</sup>Apel, FSM, p. 14.

These same problems of performance are plentiful in the study of fifteenth century music; one must be careful not to think of performance in the terms of present day instruments. Information in regard to what instruments were used for accompaniment is very sparse because the choice was usually left up to the performer.



## CHAPTER II

### SECULAR FORMS (CA. 1430-CA. 1530)

Adherence to polyphonic style and instrumental accompaniment continued into the fifteenth century, an indication of continuation of music such as existed under Machaut.<sup>1</sup> This meant the instrumentally accompanied song and the polyphonic ballade. "The period assimilated a great many of the minstrel elements that had already begun to assert themselves in Machaut's time."<sup>2</sup>

The principal song form of this period was the chanson, a great many of which were preserved in the Mellon Chansonnier.<sup>3</sup> Busnois (fl. 1467-1492),<sup>4</sup> Binchois (1400-1460),<sup>5</sup> and Dufay (c. 1400-1474)<sup>6</sup> are

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<sup>1</sup>Paul Henry Lang, "The So-Called Netherlands Schools," MQ, Vol. XXV (January, 1939), p. 51.

<sup>2</sup>Ibid.

<sup>3</sup>Bukofzer, Manfred F., "An Unknown Chansonnier of the 15th Century, (The Mellon Chansonnier), MQ, Vol. XXVIII (January, 1942), pp. 14-49.

<sup>4</sup>An example of a chanson by Busnois, Ibid., pp. 39-41.

<sup>5</sup>An example of a chanson by Binchois, HAM No. 70.

<sup>6</sup>An example of a chanson by Dufay, SchGMB No. 40.

included with others in this collection. The Burgundian chanson reaches its classic type with Busnois; his chansons had a cantus and tenor duet in imitation with a free contratenor, which acted sometimes as a bass, sometimes as an inner part filling in the harmony. This was the part usually taken by an instrument. The majority of the pieces in the Chansonnier were of this style. Binchois clung to the older style of a vocal subject supported by two instrumental parts.<sup>7</sup> Bukofzer sheds light on problems of performance in this period in the case of Dufay's "Donnes l'assault."<sup>8</sup> This appears in the Trent codices as a three-part song. In the Denkmäler Tonkunst in Oesterreich the editors thought it to be a war song, going literally by the first three words, the only part of the text then known. This seemed reasonable because the tenor has a fanfare-like style. With the discovery of the complete text, the chanson is revealed as actually a love song using the nomenclature of military science. The lady love was compared to a fortress to be conquered. "The cantus of "Donnes l'assault" is the only part supplied with words, and calls for vocal performance, while the other

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<sup>7</sup>Bukofzer, "An Unknown Chansonnier . . .," p. 41.

<sup>8</sup>Ibid., pp. 35-37.

parts are apparently instrumental."<sup>9</sup> The lower parts are trumpet motives, especially in the tenor, as in the chanson L'homme arme.

As to performance, Bukofzer classifies the chanson as "chamber music for vocal soloists and instruments."<sup>10</sup> Even if the chanson was in duet style, he suggests that it can be done by two singers and one or more instruments. The chansons in duet style in the Mellon Chansonnier have text underlayed in the cantus and sometimes in the tenor: the contratenor never has text. Text does not indicate singing any more than the absence of it indicates instrumental accompaniment. Besides the suggestion already made, Bukofzer says such a chanson might be performed: (1) by one singer and two instruments accompanying (solo song); (2) instruments alone; or (3) the tenor as a vocal solo without the other parts.

A single person could perform the entire thing, according to Molinet in 1486:

A young girl . . . of twenty years sang alone chansons and motets, and while she was singing played the lute, harp, rebec, and the harpsichord so melodiously, artfully, and in such

<sup>9</sup>Bukofzer, "An Unknown Chansonnier . . .," p. 38.

<sup>10</sup>Ibid., p. 46.

good time that she seemed to be an angel rather than a human creature.<sup>11</sup>

The only accurate thing to say is that there is no one way of performing the chanson. However, most scholars who have devoted their efforts to the study of fifteenth century chanson performance agree that they were performed by various combinations of voice and instruments; where disagreement enters is in trying to decide what the particular instruments were.<sup>12</sup>

The greatest collection of chansons is the Odhecaton printed in 1501 by Petrucci (1466-1539). Gustave Reese, in 1934, wrote an article concerning the question of performance of the music in the first printed collection of part music, the Odhecaton. It was his belief then, at a time when no one had undertaken to solve the problems connected with the work, that some of the music was "probably intended for instruments."<sup>13</sup> He explains that

<sup>11</sup>Dupire, Jean Molinet, La Vie--Les Oeuvres, Paris, 1932, p. 24, quoted by Bukofzer, "An Unknown Chansonnier . . .," p. 47. Similarly, G. Crétin reports in his Deploration on the occasion of Okeghem's death that Hayne sang Okeghem's puzzle motet, Ut hermita solus, and accompanied himself on the lute." Ibid., fn. See also SchGMB, No. 52.

<sup>12</sup>Bush, Helen, "The Laborde Chansonnier," Pprs. AMS, 1940, p. 64. See the examples on pp. 68-75.

<sup>13</sup>Gustave Reese, "The First Printed Collection of Part Music, (The Odhecaton), MQ, Vol. XX (January, 1934), p. 42.

the labeling of the parts altus, tenor, etc. was only to show the relationship of the parts to one another, without necessarily implying they were vocal lines.

. . . Some of the compositions were found to survive in sources other than the Odhecaton, with texts in some or all of the parts. These compositions were partly or wholly vocal in style, and it was clear, from the other sources, that the compositions had been written to be sung (or, alternatively, according to the custom of the time, played; or--still another possibility--performed with some parts sung and others played.) But many of the remaining pieces were distinctly unvocal and led to the conclusion that the collection was intended for instruments.<sup>14</sup>

That instruments were important to performance is evidenced by the fact that about a third of Libro primo of the Intabulature de Lauto (the oldest printed Italian lute-book), printed by Petrucci in 1507, were transcriptions of pieces found also in the Odhecaton series.<sup>15</sup> In the discussion of frottole and madrigals (see pp. 30-39), it is mentioned that it was often the custom to set the same pieces several different ways, and a solo voice with accompaniment was among them. There has been speculation that perhaps Petrucci's prints of frottole were only for

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<sup>14</sup>Gustave Reese, "The First Printed Collection of Part Music, (The Odhecaton) MQ, Vol. XX (January, 1934), p. 62.

<sup>15</sup>Reese, "The First Printed Collection . . .," p. 57fn. (Series includes the Odhecaton A, 1501, Canti B, 1502, and Canti C, 1503.

codification purposes because they are identical with the MS sources.<sup>16</sup> The frottole were four-part writings as compared with the three-part writing of the Burgundian chanson. Being very short, some of the parts were printed one below another, sometimes taking up only one page; the majority, however, are printed on two pages facing one another in the so-called "choir-book" arrangement. The left-hand page has the soprano with the tenor below; the right-hand page contains the alto and bass. "It is hardly possible that four singers can have sung from a single copy, not even when their eyesight was good. . . . It is also certain that a quartet of singers did not buy two or more copies as we do today. . . ."<sup>17</sup> Music was too expensive for that. The crux of the whole question is whether or not the music was really for four singers. "Or is it not music for a soloist who sings one part and condenses the other three in the form of the accompaniment

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<sup>16</sup>EIM, Vol. I, p. 58.

<sup>17</sup>EIM, Vol. I, p. 58. Around 1480 was probably the period of change from three to four-part writing. The extra performer may have made it too difficult for four people to read from one book; this may explain the reason for the new idea of part-books. "They seem . . . to have been unknown throughout the era of three-part music and to have their rise" correspond with the use of more parts. --HHOdh., p. 14.

on the lute or viol?<sup>18</sup> Einstein believes that the prints only serve as material for a performance. ". . . The music as Petrucci published it was simply the 'raw material' for any kind of performance that might have been desired."<sup>19</sup> This, like any other conjecture, is one person's opinion, and to be considered as such. While it is possible in a rich household, there would be enough books to go around, it is likely in less prosperous circles that each performer might copy his own part from the printed book or have a scribe do it for him.

The fact is that the secular works published by Petrucci which include the more serious forms--sonnetto, capitolo and canzone show melodic lines of unequal importance. "The declamation . . . is left mainly to the upper voice; the lower voice furnishes the fundamental support; and the inner voices, almost always written in the same clef, are essentially homogenous filling-in parts."<sup>20</sup>

<sup>18</sup>EIM, Vol. I, p. 58.

<sup>19</sup>Everett B. Helm, "Heralds of the Italian Madrigal," MQ, Vol. XXVII (July, 1941), p. 313.

<sup>20</sup>Alfred Einstein, "Dante, on the Way to the Madrigal," MQ, Vol. XXV (April, 1939), p. 150. There is an example each of the sonnetto, capitolo and canzone included in the transcriptions of Rubsamen, LS, Nos. 5, 6 and 7.

As for the music of the Odhecaton, its transcriber has again shown how music and texts of this time may appear in several forms: "If one were to go beyond the bounds of Odhecaton music it might be found that almost all compositions of this period underlaid with text in one source may be found without that text in some other source."<sup>21</sup>

. . . Vocal compositions in this, as in later, periods were, when so desired, performed by groups of monophonic instruments. The presence of a text in a manuscript would in no way interfere with an instrumental performance of a composition so underlaid. Also, we find no manuscripts before 1500 which have so removed all texts, ostensibly with such performance in mind. In this, his first venture in music printing, Petrucci undoubtedly focused his attention on the successful printing of music. . . .<sup>22</sup>

Another characteristic of the time is found in the addition of parts. The oldest works are those for three parts, as we already know; sometimes an added part, of uncertain authorship, had been added si placet, or in other words, "if it pleased" the performers to add it.<sup>23</sup>

Certain pieces in the Odhecaton seem "to step over the boundary line of vocal music into the realm of instrumental music."<sup>24</sup> These have a common characteristic

<sup>21</sup>HHOdh., p. 33fn.

<sup>22</sup>Ibid., p. 38.

<sup>23</sup>See HHOdh., Nos. 2, 4, 8, 9, 12, 13, 20, 27, and 93.

<sup>24</sup>See HHOdh., Nos. 44, 49, 50, 56, 61, 74, 76, and 80.



of opening in imitation. Another point of interest in these pieces is passages in which one voice is written in long notes while in the other two voices quicker notes predominate.<sup>25</sup> That instruments were intended seems to be verified further by the long stretches which offer no rest; however, one should not exclude the possibility of two singers on the part, breathing alternately.

Between the Petrucci collections at the beginning of the sixteenth century and the first chanson publications started in 1528 by Pierre Attaingnant (fl. 1520-1550, d. 1553) there are very few printed works. Attaingnant printed his first publication of chansons at Paris, probably the very first polyphonic music to be printed in France. The first chansons with lute accompaniment were issued October 6, 1529. There are sixty-five books of chansons and twenty books of motets dating from 1527-1550. In the three years following 1528, he put out twelve more chanson collections containing about four hundred pieces. "At the same time he published nearly a hundred chansons in transcription, partly for any keyboard instrument, partly for solo voice and lute or lute alone."<sup>26</sup>

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<sup>25</sup>Example: HHOdh. No. 80, measures 30-41; No. 44, measures 36-43, etc.

<sup>26</sup>Erich Hertzmann, "Trends in the Development of the Chanson in the Early Sixteenth Century," Pprs. AMS (1940), p. 9. See also LaLaurencie, Chansons au Luth et Airs de Cour Français du XVI<sup>e</sup> Siècle, pp. xi, xii.

Attaingnant was a careful printer, taking special care to see that each word was placed underneath the note or notes to which it corresponded. "This does not necessarily imply an a cappella performance. On the contrary, iconographic and literary sources point rather to a combined use of voices and instruments."<sup>27</sup> Instruments play a most unusual part in the fifteenth century. The Burgundians liked to use extremely dissimilar instruments: shawms, viols, recorders, trombones and many others, with the voices. The "sound ideal" of this period is "that of a light, multicolored combination of vocal sound with many instrumental timbres of a somewhat nasal character, extremely rich in overtones, indeed rather harsh and piercing."<sup>28</sup>

In the last half of the fifteenth century, the Flemish School aimed at a darker color as a "sound ideal" which was achieved by lowering the vocal and instrumental range, and using instruments relatively the same in timbre.

Until well into the fifteenth century, instrumental music was probably of improvisational nature, since almost no purely instrumental pieces are extant from this period.

<sup>27</sup>Hertzmann, "Trends in the Development of the Chanson . . .," p. 10.

<sup>28</sup>HD, "Sound Ideal."

Improvisation seems to have been especially useful in the realm of dance music, as well as that of song accompaniment. In the basse dance, for example, Sachs tells us that the player takes a tune (a "tenor") and embellished it rhythmically until it fitted the dance movements.<sup>29</sup>

"The addition of accompanying parts, or counterpointing to a cantus firmus which originally was . . . freely improvisatory, is also taught in the tablature books, the first being . . . by the blind organist Conrad Paumann, dating from 1452."<sup>30</sup>

The fifteenth century also saw marked changes in the motet. The solo-motet with instrumental accompaniment, and with the same text in all parts, is peculiar to this period, and, as was said in the preceding chapter, probably the result of the fourteenth century French secular song.<sup>31</sup> The motet was second in importance to the Mass in the Flemish School of the latter half of the century. It lost the instrumental accompaniment, however, and became a choral work with Latin text for four to six voices. It is not until after 1600 that the a cappella style declines

<sup>29</sup>Sachs, World History of the Dance, p. 316.

<sup>30</sup>Ernst T. Ferand, "Improvisations in Music History and Education," Pprs. AMS (1940), p. 120.

<sup>31</sup>HD "Motet." See examples in SchGMB, Nos. 34, 37.

in the motet in favor of the use of solo voices and instrumental accompaniment.<sup>32</sup>

By 1450 the Flemish school, with sacred music as its forte, almost overshadowed the solo song, which did not fully emerge again until the lute songs of the next century.<sup>33</sup>

Another important aspect of the fifteenth century is the growing urban culture which found support from the courts. Not only were the royal families cultivating the arts, rich merchants did also. Freed from the patronage of the Church and royalty, the arts gave an impetus to the culture of the bourgeoisie and to the desire of all classes of people to learn. We read of the musicians traveling a great deal in order to come in contact with the music centers of Europe. At first each country kept to its own musical forms, but soon there was an exchange of ideas; the first secular art form in music to be accepted in other countries was the French chanson, already discussed. The chanson manuscripts were widely dispersed during the last part of the fifteenth century, and the popularity of this form spread all over Europe.<sup>34</sup>

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<sup>32</sup>HD "Motet."

<sup>33</sup>HD "Song."

<sup>34</sup>HHOdh. See also Hertzmann, Erich, "Trends in the Development of the Chanson in the Early Sixteenth Century," Pprs. AMS (1940), p. 5.

The inclination toward declamation and dramatic singing increased in the fifteenth century. There are annotations to this effect: Sanchez de Badajoz (fl. 1450's), in his "Farsa del juego de canas," depicts Sybil "medio cantando en tono igual (half chanting in an even tone); that is, in a sort of recitation. . . .)"<sup>35</sup>

As for the contemporary Italian forms, manuscripts and printed collections of strambotti, including those in the early sixteenth century frottole books, were "apparently . . . composed for a recital with musical [Instrumental] accompaniment."<sup>36</sup> This was probably done by Improvvisatori who were so prized by the courts of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, and who gained musical, as well as literary, renown. When reciting their own verses, they likely improvised the accompaniment. Sometimes they also were called upon to perform the verses of others, and when this happened, the accompaniment was still improvised.<sup>37</sup> The courts of Florence and Naples led in the composition of verses in the vernacular, after a

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<sup>35</sup>Adolfo Salazar, "Music in the Primitive Spanish Theatre Before Lope de Vega," Pprs. AMS (1938), p. 106.

<sup>36</sup>Paul Kristeller, "Music and Learning in the Early Italian Renaissance," JRBM, Vol. I (June, 1947), p. 272.

<sup>37</sup>Ibid.

long period of imitating the ancient writers.<sup>38</sup> This new vernacular Italian literature was aristocratic and courtly in its origin.<sup>39</sup> A famous advocate of the vernacular was Lorenzo d' Medici (1449-1492), who was especially influential in causing the Tuscan dialect to become the national speech of Italy. We have a good example of this in his poem in the Tuscan countryside dialect, "La Nencia da Barberino." For a long time it was thought that this was the poem which Jean Japart set to music and was printed in the Odhecaton. The folios at the Biblioteca Colombina (Seville) which contain the Canti C composition based upon this same melody, and the only known source which has a text with the melody, does not give any of Lorenzo's lines.<sup>40</sup>

The period ca. 1470-1520 is a brilliant time in the court life of Italy. Royal courts were the strongholds of musicians and artists, sacred and secular. Lodovico il Moro, the Duke of Milan (1452-1508), had in his court the finest Flemish and Italian singers and instrumentalists

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<sup>38</sup>Leicester Bradner, "From Petrarch to Shakespeare," Abstract in RN, Vol. 5 (Summer, 1952), p. 32.

<sup>39</sup>Ibid.

<sup>40</sup>HHOdh., p. 96 and No. 7. See also Walter Rubsamen, LS, p. 21. "La Nencia da Barberino" by Lorenzo is included in his Opere, a cura di A. Simioni (Bari, 1914), II, 151ff. (Not available for this study.)

obtainable. They provided both musical service in the cathedral and secular entertainment.<sup>41</sup>

Another famous amateur of literature, music and art was Isabella d'Este (1474-1539). It is significant that the majority of Italian poets who flourished at the height of frottole writing were her personal friends. She spent a large part of her time writing to them asking for their latest poetical efforts in order that she might have them set to music--usually by her two chief musicians, Marchetto Cara (d. ca. 1527) and Bartolomeo Tromboncino (fl. fifteenth-early sixteenth century).<sup>42</sup> So famous did these two master writers of frottole become, that the Mantuan court was called the mainspring of this style. Not only did she love to hear others perform, but Isabella herself was a talented performer on the lute and clavichord. Her lute teacher was Gian Angelo Testagrossa (1470-1530), a very eminent artist on the instrument. He was also the teacher of Francesco da Milano (1497-1543), one of the

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<sup>41</sup>Rubsamen, LS, p. 20.

<sup>42</sup>For examples of frottole by Cara and Tromboncino see the following sources: HAM No. 95a; SchGMB Nos. 69, 72; cf. Nos. 70, 71, and Rubsamen, Nos. 1, 2, 5, 7, 8 and 9. For additional information concerning Isabella d'Este, Tromboncino and Cara, see EIM, Vol. I, pp. 38-53. (Portrait of Isabella facing p. 62.) Other examples of frottole: Johannes Wolf, Music of Earlier Times, Nos. 20, 21, 22 and 23.

most outstanding virtuosos and lute composers of the sixteenth century.<sup>43</sup> Besides instrumental instruction, her vocal teacher, the Flemish composer Johannes Martini, must have done well by his student if the praises of her beautiful voice by her contemporaries are any indication of his pedagogic skill.<sup>44</sup> Her talent found satisfaction both in poetry and in music. "Lyrical verses were thoroughly enjoyable to her only when they were sung to the lute or the clavichord, and bedecked with an accompaniment which could readily be provided by her master frottolists.<sup>45</sup> Frottole style is chordal in three or four parts, with the upper voice serving as the melody. Nearly always the performance called for instrumental accompaniment.<sup>46</sup> Isabella had the interesting habit of making gifts of new frottole verses and dispatching them by a musical courier. Marco Caro was once sent to Verona to the poet Bernardo Bembo (1470-1547) with orders to sing and play the tribute.<sup>47</sup> (This well could have been an early form of the singing telegram!) Bembo later came to see her in

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<sup>43</sup>Joel Newman, "Francesco da Milano," The Guitar Review, No. 9 (1949), p. 23.

<sup>44</sup>Rubsamen, LS, p. 9. See also HHOdh., p. 73.

<sup>45</sup>Ibid., pp. 9-10.

<sup>46</sup>HD, "Frottola."

<sup>47</sup>Rubsamen, LS, p. 10.



1505. For his entertainment, Isabella sang the works of other poets and accompanied herself. So impressed by her performance was Bembo that he sent her some sonnets and strambotti of his own in hopes that she would add them to her musical repertoire.<sup>48</sup>

The poets of this time are very important to consider because of their bearing on the frottole. Represented more often than anyone else in the earlier manuscripts and prints of frottole was Serafino de' Ciminelli dall Aquila (1466-1500). Called alternately Serafino and Aquilano, this poet spent nearly three years in the 1480's memorizing the sonnets, canzoni and trionfi of Petrarch (1304-1374), singing and accompanying himself on the lute. "Such improvisators were most welcome at the courts."<sup>49</sup> Two of his fellow poets were the blind Giovanni Cieco di Parma and Francesco Cieco di Ferrar--the latter wrote Il Mambriano, the model for Orlando Furioso by Ariosto. Both of these men sang and accompanied their verses for the court at Ferrara.<sup>50</sup> Aquilano visited the court in Milan in 1490, and there a significant thing took place: he happened to hear Andrea Coscia, a Neapolitan singer, perform a strambotti of the Spanish virtuoso, Benedetto

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<sup>48</sup>Rubsamen, LS, p. 28.

<sup>49</sup>Ibid., p. 12.

<sup>50</sup>Ibid.

Gareth, known as Il Chariteo (fl. 1485-1505). This fact is important because Gareth, famous for his fine voice and his improvised musical accompaniment, was in the service of the Spanish princes at Naples. One of his strambotti was printed by Petrucci with the poet's own harmonization.<sup>51</sup> Aquilano obtained a high reputation in Rome, and from there he went to Naples, establishing himself in Ferdinand's court for three years. Here was a gathering place for Italian and Spanish musicians. Il Chariteo was there and so was the great humanist and poet Jacopo Sannazzaro (1456-1530). Evidence of the relationship between the frottola and Spanish secular vocal music is observed by the borrowing or infiltration of music in the principal collections: Petrucci's publications in Italy and the Cancionero musical del palacio in Spain. As far as it is known, no one has made an exacting study of the interchange of musical ideas between Spain and Italy, but "the technique evident in most of the music of the Cancionero, that was composed before the influence of Netherlandish polyphony made itself felt, is similar to that used in the Italian frottola, laud and carnival chant. . . ."<sup>52</sup> Aquilano's verse became so popular that in his last years

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<sup>51</sup>(Lib. IX, Fol. 56). See Rubsamen, LS, p. 13.

<sup>52</sup>Ibid., p. 17.

the time was called "the age of Serafino" in Italian literature. ". . . The effectiveness of his verses depended . . . upon their musical accompaniment . . . not merely an embellishment, but an essential part of the poet's original conception."<sup>53</sup>

Isabella d'Este not only liked the rhymes of the most cultured poets but also those of simple origin. In her literary friendship with Aquilano she was not satisfied with just the reciting of the works of Petrarch; she wanted them set to musical accompaniment. "It is this fact which is of musicological importance, since Isabella thus, perhaps unwittingly, gave her blessing to a vital change in the quality of secular vocal music."<sup>54</sup> Another interesting habit of this patroness was to write her literary friends and ask them to tell her their favorite canzoni by Petrarch so that she could have Tromboncino set them to music. A good example of this was her letter in 1504 to the soldier-poet Niccolò Correggio (b. 1450). Not only did he send back to her his selection, he also dispatched one of his own verses which could be sung to the same melody. This man was a fine poet himself and because of his friendship with the family d'Este, he may have had influence on the literary quality of the texts set to

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<sup>53</sup>Rubsamen, LS, p. 19.

<sup>54</sup>Ibid., p. 24.

music by Tromboncino and Cara. His sonnet Quest'e quel locho, amore, se'lti ricorda was set to music by the organist at St. Mark's, Franciscus Ana (d. ca. 1502), and was printed by Petrucci.<sup>55</sup> It is the first sonnet to appear in Petrucci's collection and in its refinement of expression marks a notable milestone on the way from frottola to madrigal."<sup>56</sup>

The trend toward literary refinement increased from 1520 on. More artistic text than those of the frottole were called for in the madrigal. Also needed was the construction of all the voice lines as independent ones, with each melodic line adhering to the text; "a distinction was no longer made between a solo voice, the musical phrasing of which corresponded to that of its poetry, and three accompanying instrumental parts, as in the canzoni from Lib. VII [6F Petrucci]. . . ."<sup>57</sup>

After the eleven frottole volumes published by Petrucci in 1504-1514, the works found in subsequent publications were not only more complex musically, they were also distinguished by more independence of parts than is found in

<sup>55</sup>(Lib. II, 3.) Rubsamen, LS, p. 25.

<sup>56</sup>Ibid. See also transcription No. 6, p. 51.

<sup>57</sup>Ibid., p. 35. See also transcriptions in Rubsamen, Nos. 7, 8, 9 and 10.

the earlier frottole, which continued as a form for solo voice with instrumental accompaniment. In this bifurcation, therefore, the earlier frottole became the ancestor of the solo song, while the latter frottole developed into the madrigal. In fact, the earliest sixteenth century madrigals (those of Verdelot, Carlo and Festa) differ only slightly from the late frottole.

Arcadelt (1514-1557), Festa (b. ca. 1480) and Verdelot (1500-1565) became the three principal early sixteenth century madrigal composers. They are represented in the first volume to have the title "Madrigal" --Madrigali noui de diversi excellentissimi Musici Libro Primo de la Serena, issued in 1533.<sup>58</sup> It must be remembered, however, that a volume entitled frottole could contain madrigals, sonnets, strambotti or similar pieces. Frottole were probably the most numerous in the volume and the book entitled frottole for that reason. The same thing happened with the volumes entitled "madrigal"--no matter whether they contained all madrigals or other forms in addition.<sup>59</sup>

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<sup>58</sup>EIM, Vol. I, p. 154. The word madrigal became a musical term by 1535. Ibid., p. 119.

<sup>59</sup>Ibid., p. 119.

The Netherland composers did not write so well in the forms like the frottola because their style was more elaborate than was called for in the frottola. The madrigal helped the Netherlanders and the Italians to meet on a common ground, however. For some time the use of the vernacular was finding favor with the Italian aristocracy. With this new medium, rhyme schemes were freer and the sameness of line length was broken. The poetry to which madrigals were set had no absolute rule and, in addition, it was non-strophic. The music could either be simple or elaborately contrapuntal.

The madrigal, then, was extremely well fitted to the art of the Netherlanders--Arcadelt, Verdelot and Willaert (d. 1562) in particular. <sup>60</sup> "Imitative counterpoint in cisalpine music resembles an imported plant which occasionally bears fruit but which is usually choked out by a native growth, in this case by solistic writing."<sup>61</sup>

The demand was great for solo material, apparently, because Willaert, in 1536, arranged the madrigals of Verdelot for voice and lute, selecting the ones that had

<sup>60</sup>Madrigals by Arcadelt: EIM, Vol. III, No. 23; HAM No. 130; SchGMB No. 100. Madrigals by Verdelot: EIM, Vol. III, Nos. 16, 17, 18, 19; SchGMB No. 98; Madrigals by Willaert: EIM, Vol. III, Nos. 31, 32.

<sup>61</sup>Rubsamen, LS, p. 35.

a song-like cantilena with a simple accompaniment. "The little coda of the three lower voices is regularly used as an instrumental postlude. . . ." <sup>62</sup> This practice had been shown even earlier when Tromboncino set Ariosto's Orlando furioso. The first setting came out in 1517 and was reprinted in 1520. Then the lament of Orlando, Queste non son più lagrime che fuore, was arranged in 1520 as a piece for solo voice and lute. <sup>63</sup> The popularity of this piece lasted for a long time. Zarlino (1517-1590) thought that the best text that could be sung to lute accompaniment was the lament of Orlando. <sup>64</sup> The practice of converting polyphonic compositions into solo song was cultivated by the lute-playing singers for use in dramatic performances such as the comedia. <sup>65</sup>

What we call "monody" was clearly in evidence long before the Camerata formed before the turn of the sixteenth century. It existed in a form of recitation over a ground bass or basso ostinato. <sup>66</sup> When music was performed

<sup>62</sup>EIM, Vol. II, p. 840.

<sup>63</sup>Ibid., Vol. III, No. 93.

<sup>64</sup>Ibid., Vol. II, p. 838.

<sup>65</sup>Ibid., p. 840

<sup>66</sup>Ibid., p. 836.

with a mixed ensemble of singers and instruments, it had an effect of completely covering up the words and their meaning. When performed nearer to the style of the "ancients"--a solo sung to the sound of the lute, or similar instrument--one was able to sing in a simple style that could be understood easily.<sup>67</sup> We see it also in the characteristics of the late sixteenth century Italian madrigals by Gesualdo (1560-1614), Marenzio (1560-1599), and Monteverde (1567-1643); their works appeared in publications between 1580 and 1620. In these madrigals are found elements needed for change to opera: declamatory monody, virtuosity of the solo singer and dramatic effects. These madrigals declined in favor of instrumentally accompanied solo song.

We have seen example after example proving that "accompanied solo song" was not "an invention of the Florentine Camerata: it is already in existence. . . . It is also to be found in the marvelous literature of the Spanish villancicos for voice and guitar (vihuela) beginning with Don Luys Milan's El Maestro. . . ."68

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<sup>67</sup>EIM, Vol. II, p. 838.

<sup>68</sup>Ibid., p. 841.



### CHAPTER III

#### SOLO SONG WITH INSTRUMENTAL ACCOMPANIMENT IN THE SIXTEENTH CENTURY

It is not known when the change from thinking vertically [harmonically] instead of horizontally [contrapuntally] began, but somewhere along the way it became obvious that, at regular intervals, several notes could be gathered up, so to speak, into what we term chords. Instruments, such as the lute, were able to sound more than one note at once and this made it possible for several parts to be played simultaneously and the melody taken by the singer, as shown by the publication in the early sixteenth century of polyphonic chanson collections transcribed for lute and solo voice such as those of Petrucci (see p. 20 ) and Attaingnant (see p. 24). That the accompaniment soon ceased always to be mere transcriptions of the voice parts and developed an instrumental style is particularly apparent in the Spanish tablatures for voice and vihuela, headed by the Libro de Musica de Vihuela de Mano, intitulado El Maestro (1535), by Don Luys Milan (ca. 1500-ca. 1560) of Valencia. It is the earliest extant book of Spanish lute music.

Milan, a highly skilled composer was, according to all accounts of his contemporaries, the finest lutenist in Spain. The Iberian peninsula had a host of good performers on the lute at this time so Milan must have indeed been extraordinary. The lutenists actually had the adaptability of the minstrels, but they were also literary musicians, part of their duties being to supply and set verses for their royal patrons. Often they played the accompaniment to poems written by their patrons or friends. There seemed to have been no record of anyone writing an accompaniment first and getting someone to fit words to the music; the words appear always to have come first, or to have been improvised simultaneously.

Because of this thorough knowledge of music, Milan was capable of putting down accurately an exact reproduction of his own instrumental accompaniment. A brilliant student of composition, he expected a vihuelista to be familiar with vocal style and keyboard music. In order for one to be a good improvisator, it was first necessary to be well trained in the vocal style of the time. This was part of every gentleman's training, as we see from Castiglione's El Cortegiano (1528) where he speaks in

special praise of singing to the lute.<sup>1</sup> Castiglione's work was paraphrased and duplicated in many countries; Milan, himself, wrote an imitation of it called El Cortesano which was published in 1561, a fact which suggests that El Maestro, too, had been for the education of the perfect courtier.<sup>2</sup>

One of the pages of El Maestro shows Orpheus playing the vihuela (probably to please the vihuelistas, because traditionally Orpheus was a lyre player); he is surrounded by animals, seemingly entranced with his music. Encircling the picture are these words: "The great Orpheus, first inventor/ for he is of them all the most ingenious [bazador] If he was the first, he was not without a successor [segundo]."<sup>3</sup> Its contents included songs with lute accompaniment (villancicos, sonetas and romances)

<sup>1</sup>"Singing to the lute with the ditty (methink) is more pleasant than the rest, for it addeth to the words such a grace and strength that it is a great wonder." Quoted in Strunk, Source Readings in Music History, p. 284.

<sup>2</sup>Leo Schrade, "Luys Milan, the Vihuelista," The Guitar Review, No. 9 (1949), pp. 19-20.

<sup>3</sup>Facsimile page of El Maestro, The Guitar Review, p. 26. See also title page, p. 20, and another facsimile page on p. 21.

six pavaues in a simple harmonic style and forty fantasies.<sup>4</sup> Milan gives two versions of each song--one in slow tempo with a chordal accompaniment and another one in faster tempo with embellishments. "As indicated by his own comment in the text, the slow version was to permit the singer to embellish the vocal part, which he calls hacer garganta (. . . 'use the throat')." <sup>5</sup> The music is in tablature and the voice line is separated from the accompaniment in having its figures printed in red, a practice followed by most vihuelistas.<sup>6</sup> Milan directs that the song first be played by the vihuela according to the music. The second time, the vihuelista plays it again and sings the red figures at the same time.<sup>7</sup>

The question has been raised whether or not the notes which were sung were also played on the instrument

<sup>4</sup>Willi Apel, "Early Spanish Music for Lute and Keyboard Instruments," MQ, Vol. XX (July, 1934), p. 299. "The vocal music . . . consists entirely of solo songs--a voice accompanied by the vihuela; they are among the earliest examples in the history of music. The words are taken from Spanish or Portuguese villancicos, Spanish romances and Italian sonnets." Trend, Luis Milan and the Vihuelistas, p. 47.

<sup>5</sup>Gilbert Chase, The Music of Spain, pp. 47-48.

<sup>6</sup>For a facsimile of the tablature, see J. Wolf, Handbuch der Notationskunde, Vol. II, p. 107.

<sup>7</sup>J. B. Trend, Luis Milan, pp. 45-46.

at the same time. Some believe that they were, especially if the singer was not sure of his part. But "it would . . . have been a positive insult to a good singer to play his part for him on an instrument; as the tune of a song is always better known than the accompaniment, it is more reasonable to suppose that the voice-part was not played on the vihuela unless the composer specially stated that it was to be played as well as sung."<sup>8</sup> Later, writers for the vihuela and the English lutenists wrote the voice line in ordinary musical notation, placing the tablature for the lute underneath showing the voice line to be independent of the accompaniment.

Fuenllana (fl. 1540-ca. 1565), in his Orphénica Lyra, (1554), also presents the question of whether the melody which was sung was also played at the same time as the vihuela. This composer has the following to say in his work:

It was my intention to give the words (of these works), as it seems to me that the words are the soul of any composition; for although a piece of music may have great merit, without the words it lacks real spirit. And so, as I have said, I ~~thought~~ it better to give the words and to indicate that part which was the most suitable for singing, by putting it in red numerals. If the student of these works pays attention to this instruction, and to others which will be given later, he will be

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<sup>8</sup>J. B. Trend, Luis Milan, p. 46.

enabled to taste the delights of singing one of the parts of the work which he is playing.<sup>9</sup> Under-  
scoring not in the original.

The important words here have been underscored: "The work which he is playing." That appears to mean that the voice line is a part of the whole composition being played.

It should be made clear that the vihuela was not a lute either in looks or sound. It can almost be said that there was not such a thing as a Spanish lute. A real lute resembles half of a pear cut lengthwise with a long fingerboard. The peg box bends back at an approximate angle of ninety degrees. The vihuela looks more like a guitar, having a flat back, a shorter fingerboard and a peg box bent at about 135 degrees.<sup>10</sup>

The vihuela de mano was a cross between the lute and the guitar. It had five double strings and one single

<sup>9</sup>Quoted in J. Bal, "Fuenllana and the Transcription of Spanish Lute-Music," AM, Vol. XI (1939), p. 18. ". . . Fue mi intincion poner les letra (a estas composturas), porque me parece que la letra es el anima de qualquiera compostura, pues aunque qualquier obra compu(e)sta de musica sea my buena, faltandole la letra parece que carece de verdadero spiritu. Por lo qual, como dicho es, me moui a ponerla, y a senalar una de los bozes que mas agradable fuesse para poderse cantar, que es la de la cifra colorada. Pues teniendo cuenta con esta senal y con las que adelante se pornan, el que de veras lo quisiere trabajar, sin dud podra gozar desta excellencia, que es canta una vox de la compostura que tanere." (underscoring not in the original.)

<sup>10</sup>J. B. Trend, Luis Milan, pp. 25-26. "The ancestor of these instruments, as far as Spain was concerned, was an Arab instrument, al'ud, from which the word 'lute' is derived."

string, tuned at intervals of a fourth with a major third between the third and fourth strings: G-c-f-a-d'-g'.<sup>11</sup>

Other important vihuela books came out shortly after El Maestro, among them Los seys libros del Delphin de musica (1538) by Luis de Narvaez printed at Valladolid.<sup>12</sup> Narvaez introduced the variation or diferencias, an important form of Spanish lute music. There have been several explanations for the rise of variation writing; the most logical one is that it was invented to vary the accompaniment during the singing of a long romance. The renowned "Conde Claros" is a good example.<sup>13</sup> Narvaez developed the diferencias as a purely instrumental form. He was maestro de vihuela to Philip II (1527-1598) and was considered one of the finest players of his time.<sup>14</sup> The next tablature book came out in 1546 by Alonso de Mudarra entitled Tres Libros de Musica en Cifra para Vihuela, published at Seville. The next year Valderrábano

<sup>11</sup>J. Bal., "Fuenllana and the Transcription of Spanish Lute-Music," AM, p. 17.

<sup>12</sup>Luis de Narvaez, Los seys libros del Delphin de musica de cifra para tañer vihuela (Valladolid, 1538), transcribed by Emilio Pujol, Barcelona, 1945.

<sup>13</sup>Ibid., no. 49, "Veintidós diferencias de Conde Claros."

<sup>14</sup>Gilbert Chase, Music in Spain, p. 58.

(fl. 1540's) put out his Silva de Sirenas at Valladolid. This work was mostly songs and transcriptions of vocal music.<sup>15</sup>

Already the instrumentalists were striving to break away from vocal music and create something of their own. There was a reason for this. Such instruments as the vihuela and lute could not always play all of the notes which were sung and which were indicated to be played; to sustain them was also impossible. A piece transcribed from vocal literature was not actually reproduced on these instruments, rather, it was only hinted or suggested. When contrapuntal music was transcribed for the lute, an effect could be made by sounding only the most important notes. Eventually, around these principal notes instrumental embellishments were woven, helping the instrument to become independent.<sup>16</sup>

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<sup>15</sup>Gilbert Chase, Music in Spain, p. 58. The archives of Valladolid, according to the great twentieth century Spanish musicologist, Higinio Anglès, is extremely rich in musical material dating from the reigns of Charles V and Philip II. Much of it has been incorporated in these volumes: Anglès, La Musica en la Corte de los Reyes Catholicos, Vol. I, "Polifonia Religiosa," Vol. II. "Polifonia Profano"--Cancionero del Palacio, Barcelona, 1947. Anglès, La Musica en la Corte de Carlos V, con la transcripcion del Libro de Cifra Nueva para tecla, harpa y vihuela de Luys Venegas de Henestrosa, (Alcalá de Henares, (1557), Barcelona, 1944.

<sup>16</sup>J. B. Trend, Luis Milan, pp. 32-33.



More popular than the romance was the villancico, the Spanish counterpart of the Italian frottola.<sup>17</sup> The villancico was fundamentally choral, implying a part for a soloist and a chorus; it was often connected with a dance.<sup>18</sup> However, after 1500 it also became a solo song with lute accompaniment, just as all of the major forms did at one time or another.<sup>19</sup> Villancico means a rustic song, derived from villano meaning villager.<sup>20</sup>

As a musical form, the villancico was to Spain what the madrigal was to the rest of Europe. . . . The composers of villancicos . . . sought always to make the music enhance and emphasize the meaning of the words. The tendency . . . was toward a homophonic and syllabic style of song writing. . . .<sup>21</sup>

Both villancicos and romances were arranged as solo songs with instrumental accompaniment in the Spanish tablature books. "The villancio did not cease to be cultivated at the decline of the contrapuntal art of the sixteenth

<sup>17</sup>Adolfo Salazar, "Music in the Primitive Spanish Theatre before Lope de Vega," Pprs. AMS (1938, pp. 101-102.

<sup>18</sup>Isabel Pope, "The Musical Development and Form of the Spanish Villancico," Pprs. AMS (1940), p. 13.

<sup>19</sup>HD "Villancico." "Luis Milan, Diego Fuenllana, Alonso Mudarra, wrote a number of Spanish and Portuguese villancicos which are . . . considered the earliest examples of song in the modern sense of the word."

<sup>20</sup>Gilbert Chase, Music in Spain, p. 40.

<sup>21</sup>Ibid.

century. It continued living in the new styles of the accompanied solo song and in the vihuela books of the sixteenth century."<sup>22</sup> The syllabic style made the instruments accompany in chordal style, an anticipation of the traits found in the Nuove musiche of the next century.<sup>23</sup> Even another "dramatic" trait is present: the villancico was often inserted in plays and dramas as interludes and finales, notably those of Juan del Encina (1469-1529)-- the first to write secular dramas in Spain. By using the villancicos in this manner, he set a style for the national drama.<sup>24</sup> Another example is found in the practices of Gil Vicente (1465-1539), the most important writer in Spain until Lope de Vega (1562-1635). He used "cantar en chaceta" (singing in jest) and music with the text of the play; in his works we find another word for the villancico --villancete or vilancete.<sup>25</sup> Cervantes (1547-1616)

<sup>22</sup>"El villancico no dejó de ser cultivado al decaer al arte contrapuntístico del siglo XVI. Siguió viviendo en los nuevos estilos de la canción solista acompañada y en los libros para vihuela del siglo XVI." Cancionero de Upsala, p. 41.

<sup>23</sup>Gilbert Chase, Music of Spain, p. 47.

<sup>24</sup>Isabel Pope, "The Spanish Secular Vocal Music of the Sixteenth Century," RN, Vol. II (Spring, 1949), p. 4.

<sup>25</sup>Adolfo Salazar, "Music in the Primitive Spanish Theatre," p. 102.

continued the practice in "La Casa de los Celos," a comedy in which the words of a villancico are sung in duet and accompanied by two instruments.<sup>26</sup>

For our purposes, El Maestro is the most significant work of the Spanish vihuelistas, since it is the first Spanish work to contain solo song with designated instrumental accompaniment. However, another work must be mentioned because of its magnitude and of its comparable importance with Petrucci's Odhecaton. This is the Cancionero de Palacio.<sup>27</sup> It was not discovered until 1870 by Barbieri. Chase claims that the collection at one time had 550 songs, only 450 of which are in existence now.<sup>28</sup> The pieces were copied at different times, but they are characteristic of the last third of the fifteenth century and the first quarter of the sixteenth century.<sup>29</sup> Sixty-eight of the extant songs are by Juan de Encina.

<sup>26</sup>Adolfo Salazar, "Music in the Primitive Spanish Theatre," pp. 102-103.

<sup>27</sup>Madrid, Bibl. del Palacio, MS 2, 1-5 (ca. 1500). Contents: 459 Spanish accompanied songs, mostly villancicos. New edition in Anglès, La Musica en la Corte de los Reyes Cathólicos, Vol. II. See also F. A. Barbieri, Cancionero Musical del los siglos XV y XVI (1890); (the Barbieri was unavailable for this study.)

<sup>28</sup>HD "Sources" lists 459. Pope and Anglès say 460.

<sup>29</sup>Gilbert Chase, Music of Spain, p. 39.

There are more than forty Spanish musicians represented, as well as Flemish composers such as Josquin.<sup>30</sup> Pieces from Petrucci's frottole books are included under the name estrambotes.<sup>31</sup> These pieces, "probably compiled for Ferdinand the Catholic after the death of Isabella of Castile in 1504, display to full advantage the characteristics of the Spanish style over a period extending roughly from about 1460-1510."<sup>32</sup> The Cancionero songs are "amatory, pastoral, chivalresque, historical, religious, political, picaresque, humorous--and indecent. Most of the texts are in Castilian, but a few are in Italian, French, Portuguese, and Basque."<sup>33</sup> The technique shows proof that Spanish composers were familiar with the Flemish School and also the Italian style of the preceding century. Recent findings bear out this truth, as well as the known

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<sup>30</sup>Adolfo Salazar, "Music in the Primitive Spanish Theatre," p. 101.

<sup>31</sup>Gilbert Chase, Music in Spain, p. 43.

<sup>32</sup>Isabel Pope, "Spanish Secular Vocal Music . . .," RN, p. 3.

<sup>33</sup>Chase, op. cit., p. 39.

fact that the kingdom of Naples and Sicily came under Spanish domination in 1504.<sup>34</sup>

One of the finest collections of villancicos is the Cancionero de Upsala.<sup>35</sup> Isabel Pope describes the music as being entirely vocal because there is text under each voice. "In this respect the Cancionero de Upsala differs from the Cancionero del Palacio and other Spanish manuscripts and prints of the period, where absence of text usually in all but one voice (regularly the upper one) may indicate solo song with instrumental accompaniment."<sup>36</sup>

From the study of these works we see the lute tablature was important because of its accuracy. Part-books could never be as convenient as the tablature where all the parts could be seen together. After Luys Milan there is not so much trouble in determining accidentals.

<sup>34</sup>Apel, "Neapolitan Links Between Cabezon and Frescobaldi," MQ, Vol. XXIV (October, 1939), p. 421. "We find a continuous line of development from Madrid, through Naples to Rome, from Cabezon (the Spanish Bach) (1510-1566) through the Neapolitan School to Frescobaldi (1583-1643).

<sup>35</sup>Cancionero de Upsala, Introduction by Rafael Mitjana, transcription by Jesús Bal y Gay, with a study of "The Polyphonic Villancico" by Isabel Pope. Edición original, Venecia, 1556, Edición Mitjana, Upsala, 1909, primera edición moderna completa, El Colegio de México, 1944.

<sup>36</sup>Pope, "The Spanish Villancico," p. 14.

In the process of transcribing madrigals and church compositions for the vihuela, these composers show a gradual change that was taking place during the sixteenth century. The modes were replaced by the modern major and minor.

The transformation of the older tonalities towards the firmer tonality of succeeding centuries was largely determined by the music written for the lute, the melodic quality of which began to make the chord an essential element of musical construction. . . . The importance of lute-music depends upon the fact . . . that the players and composers could no longer regard music horizontally, as melodies running concurrently, but as a succession of chords; and the use of chords to support and punctuate the declamation of a solo voice was one of the principles of the 'new music' which came in about 1600.<sup>37</sup>

In France appeared books of songs to lute music, the first in 1528, published by Attaignant (see page 24), and later, in the 1570's, by LeRoy and Ballard, famous for their publications of the French airs de cour.

This short, strophic accompanied song flourished from the latter part of the century into the seventeenth century and, with dramatic recitation, was one of the two major contributions of the Académie Française de Poesie et de Musique (1571) headed by Jean-Antoine de Baif (1532-1589).<sup>38</sup> It was used in the Ballet Comique de la

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<sup>37</sup>Trend, Luis Milan, pp. 40-41.

<sup>38</sup>John Bice, The French Ballet de Cour and Its Predecessors, 1400-1650, pp. 53-54.

Reine (1581) in addition to the choruses and recitations. The music for the Ballet-Comique, as explained by Beaujoyeux (d. 1587) in the preface of the work, is written to go with the verse in the ancient classic manner: "No verses were recited without music."<sup>39</sup> The Ballet-Comique had two dialogues for soprano and bass, a bass solo and a tenor solo. Recitations for solo voice occurred for the main purpose of explaining the action.<sup>40</sup> The Académie ruled over the manner in which the recitations for solo voice were to be done; by 1608 these rules were disregarded, for, after this date, the recitations were done to only one melody throughout all the verses in strophic fashion, i.e. after the musician had written music to fit the first verse, the singer had to accommodate the rest of the verses to fit the same melody.<sup>41</sup> Usually the accompaniment for these recitations was in a chordal style and performed by stringed instruments.<sup>42</sup>

The business of music printing at this time was a monopoly which was held in Paris by Le Roy et Ballard.

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<sup>39</sup>" . . . ne récitait point ses vers sans musique," La Laurencie, Les Créateurs de l'opéra, p. 63.

<sup>40</sup>Ibid, p. 116.

<sup>41</sup>Bice, The French Ballet de Cour, p. 98.

<sup>42</sup>Ibid., p. 99.

In such a situation they could more or less dictate what kind of music would be printed.<sup>43</sup> The first printed collection of airs de cour came out in 1571 in which Le Roy, who was also a lutenist, pointed out that the air de cour was formerly called a voix de ville, a likely source of the word vaudeville. Not as aristocratic as the name implies, the air de cour for solo voice and lute accompaniment is a parallel to the Renaissance songs in Italy and Spain.<sup>44</sup>

On either side of 1550 the trend toward union of poetry and music--song with accompaniment--was evident. Clement Marot (1495-1544) thought of "marrying his verses to lute music."<sup>45</sup> To establish a taste for the classic art of poetry and music the poets of the Pléiade, seven poets of the humanist movement led in France by Pierre de Ronsard (1524-1585), wanted to establish an academy of

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<sup>43</sup>D.P. Walker, "The Aims of Baif's Académie de Poésie et de Musique," JRBM, Vol. I (June, 1946), p. 94.

<sup>44</sup>Manfred Bukofzer, Music in the Baroque Era, p. 145. See also La Laurencie, Lionel de, Chansons au Luth et Airs de Cour Français, Paris, Publications de la Société Française de Musicologie, Librairie E. Droz, 1934, p. 133ff.

<sup>45</sup>Henry Prunières, Le Ballet de Cour en France avant Benserade et Lully, pp. 58-59. See also La Laurencie, Chansons au Luth, pp. 12ff, 16ff, 29ff, 32ff, 44ff, 48ff, 104ff, 124ff.



poetry and music to expose their ideas to the artists and to the public. This was the purpose of the early "accademia" --for the enlightenment or furtherance of the arts for a selected group rather than a school established for the teaching of students as we think of the academy today.<sup>46</sup> Such an academy was founded in 1571, the Académie Française, as we have already mentioned. The members of the Académie wanted to give some sort of production using their favorite device of vers mesuré, but nothing materialized because of the religious wars in France during the last part of the sixteenth century.<sup>47</sup> Perhaps if they had succeeded in their desire, the group would have been a direct forerunner of the Italian Camerata that organized shortly before 1600. It is anybody's guess what they might have accomplished--possibly an attempt at ancient Greek musical drama antedating that of the Camerata. By 1577 the support given to the Académie terminated, and the group dissolved.

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<sup>46</sup>HD "Accademia."

<sup>47</sup>Vers mesuré attempted to set poetic texts to music in a rhythm which reproduces exactly the long and short syllables of the text. The long syllables are twice as long as the short syllables. It is a continuation of the earlier practice of setting the Horatian odes.

Rolland records accounts of entertainments at the meetings which usually took place at Baif's house.<sup>48</sup> The organization was very close; its members consisted of the professional musicians, who performed the musique mesurée, and the "auditeurs," who comprised the audience. Usually the two hour performances were held every Sunday; the musicians practiced every day for the occasion, however. They must have had to do all of their practicing at the place of rehearsal for they were not allowed to carry away or to copy any of the books containing the vers and Musique mesurée.<sup>49</sup> About all the auditeurs could do was to sit and to listen; they were forbidden to knock on the door or enter the room while a song was being performed (more courtesy than is shown at concerts today), or to enter the barrier past the place where the instruments were owned by the Académie. Either that, or the musicians simply left their own at the rehearsal hall since they were unable to take the music with them, and presumably did not want to play anything else at home.

The academy movement had been produced as a result of the social conditions of Italian court life, the earliest

<sup>48</sup>Walker, "The Aims of Baif's Académie . . .," p. 93.

<sup>49</sup>Ibid.

one being the Accademia di Platone, founded in 1470, by Lorenzo de' Medici in Florence. From Italy the academy spread to France. No formal academies were established in England, but, as we have seen, those of Italy and France influenced the culture of the times.<sup>50</sup>

For the first example in England one has to consider two songs in William Barley's Newe book of tabliture (1596). The very next year, however, appeared the publication of John Dowland's First Booke of Songes or Ayres of fowre parts with Tableture for the Lute.<sup>51</sup> This book is considered as the one which ushered in the era of the English Ayre.

A fifteen year period (1597-1610) covered one of the most productive periods in English music. This was the time when a great many books of ayres with instrumental accompaniment were written by such excellent composers as John Dowland (1562-1626), Thomas Morley (1557-1603), Orlando Gibbons (1583-1625), John Danyel (ca. 1565-1630), Thomas Campion (1567-1620) and Robert Jones (ca. 1570-1616), to mention a few.

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<sup>50</sup>Pattison, Music and Poetry of the English Renaissance, p. 62.

<sup>51</sup>Peter Warlock, The English Ayre, p. 18.

Until the studies of Peter Warlock and E.H. Fellowes were made relatively little material was written about the ayre, when compared to the large amounts of material on the other forms, i.e. madrigals, various dance forms, instrumental forms and the sacred services.<sup>52</sup>

The English ayres were printed in folio books while the madrigals were usually in part books. In these folios the left-hand page contained the main voice line, underlaid with the text. Underneath was the accompaniment for the lute in tablature. Across the page were the alto, tenor and bass parts. In some cases, there was a part for the bass viol alone. The parts were so arranged that the book could be placed on a table and the performers could stand around it and read their parts.<sup>53</sup> "The ayres, for all their careful construction, were so made that, although one person alone might render them quite adequately to his own accompaniment on the lute, he might

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<sup>52</sup>See the following publications: Warlock, The English Ayre, 1926; Fellowes, The English School of Lutenist Song-writers, 36 vols., 1920-1932; Warlock and Wilson, English Ayres--Elizabethan and Jacobean, 6 vols., n.d.

<sup>53</sup>See HAM, p. 235 and No. 163. For facsimile, see Kinsky, History of Music in Pictures, p. 101, figure 1; also in Warlock, The English Ayre, pp. 70-71.

be reinforced by one, two or three other singers, each of whom would have a separate part to sing."<sup>54</sup>

William Byrd published a volume in 1588 which he designated in the preface as being a collection of songs written as solo airs and the words had been fitted to accompany the string parts. "'Heere are diuers songs, which being originally made for Instruments to expresse the harmonie, and voyce to pronouce the dittie, are now framed in all parts for voyces to sing the same.'"<sup>55</sup> In

<sup>54</sup>Warlock, English Ayre, p. 18. The transcriptions of the English Ayres have been scrupulously handled--even to the accompaniment. Peter Warlock and Philip Wilson, in their edition of the Elizabethan and Jacobean Ayres, have not made any alterations, additions or modernizations in the accompaniments of the songs. The accompaniment can be transferred to the piano without any changes whatsoever. No dynamic markings are placed by the editors. "The lights and shades of interpretation are best left, as originally intended, to the performers. . . ." All the ayres in this edition (except the duets) were originally published between 1598 and 1620. --Warlock and Wilson, English Ayres . . . , Vol. I, p. iii.

<sup>55</sup>Quoted in Pattison, Music and Poetry . . . , p. 86. This change from solo song to voices singing the different parts was the result of the Italian influence of singing madrigals, which was a very popular entertainment in Elizabethan England. It is significant that the first printed collection of Italian madrigals with English words, Musica Transalpina, was issued shortly after the publication of Byrd's Psalmes, Sonets and Songs of Sadness and Pietie, the first English madrigal collection. Both of these volumes came out in 1588. However, it is certain that Italian madrigals in the original language were known in England some years before this date.

mid-century there were songs, some apparently sung in early court plays, for solo voice with string quartet accompaniment.<sup>56</sup>

To sing and play an instrument was encouraged from royalty down to the public educational system. Henry VIII, a composer and performer himself, kept a number of musicians in his court. "He played the lute well and sang his part at sight, and he saw that his children were taught music early."<sup>57</sup> He was a famous collector of instruments: 381 in all, 272 wind instruments and 109 stringed instruments.<sup>58</sup> Music was important to everyone's education, according to contemporary writings. In 1587 the justification of music in the curriculum was made by a John Howes:

I also thinck it convenient that the children should learne to singe, to play uppon all sorts of instruments, as to sounde the trumpett, the cornett, the recorder or the flute, to play upon shagbotts,

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<sup>56</sup>See Warlock, Elizabethan Songs, that were originally composed for one voice to sing and four string instruments to accompany, Oxford University Press, 1926. (Not available for this study.)

<sup>57</sup>Pattison, Music and Poetry . . ., p. 3.

<sup>58</sup>HD "Instruments."

shalmes, and all other instruments that are to be plaid uppon, either with winde or finger. . . ."59

If such an educational program succeeded, then the generation in which the English solo songs flourished must have had an appreciative audience. The quality of the works of the cluster of composers already mentioned is very high. To do John Dowland justice would require a study within itself. Let a brief discussion of his songs be mentioned here, however. His main volumes are as follows:

1597--First Booke of Songes or Ayres

1600--Second Booke of Songes or Ayres

1603--Third and Last Booke of Songes or Ayres

1606--Third edition of the First Book

1608--Fourth edition of the First Book

1612--A Pilgrimes Solace

1613--Fifth edition of the First Book

From the number of editions it is easy to see that the First Book alone would have made him famous. It was designed to be sung to the accompaniment of the lute or of the bass viol. Those of the Second Book were the lute with the bass viol; the Third Book allows substitution of

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<sup>59</sup>Foster Watson, The English Grammar Schools to 1600, (1898). Quoted in Pattison, Music and Poetry . . . , p. 11.

viols for some of the voices.<sup>60</sup> As far as actual output is concerned, Dowland wrote only seventy part-songs and eighteen songs for solo voice and lute; but each of them is a well written song and a credit to its composer.<sup>61</sup>

Dowland was the only composer of the Elizabethan period in England to gain a European reputation in his lifetime. A brief summary of his travels shows him in Italy and Germany (1593-1595) and by 1598 he was lutenist to the King of Denmark. The year 1601 finds him back in England and on an instrument buying spree for the Danish court musicians. In 1606 he returned to England to live. In 1612 he was appointed one of the King's Musicians for the lute.

The lute did not last very long as the favorite instrument in England. The small keyboard instruments--virginal, spinet and harpsichord took its place. Perhaps the main reason for its decline was its difficulty. Hard to play and hard to tune, the lute was cultivated less and

<sup>60</sup> Warlock, The English Ayre, p. 37.

<sup>61</sup> Ibid., p. 46. See also Fifty Songs Selected from the Works of John Dowland, 2 vols., transcribed by E. H. Fellowes, London, Stainer and Bell, 1925.



and less as the virtuosi, such as Dowland, died.<sup>62</sup> Yet the importance of the lute cannot be underestimated: "Our notions of harmony, our music-drama (which grew out of accompanied monody), our keyboard style and suite form," owe much to the influence of the lute.<sup>63</sup>

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<sup>62</sup>Sidney Beck, "The Decline of the Lute," The Guitar Review, No. 9 (1949), p. 8. Johann Mattheson, in his first musical treatise, "Das Neu-Eröffnete Orchester . . ." (Hamburg, 1718) had the following objections to the lute:

- (1) the lute was not of much use in Church or Opera;
- (2) it is not full-voiced as the keyboard instruments;
- (3) its many strings are affected by the weather, more so than other instruments;
- (4) one must often retune it as different keys are used;
- (5) it requires an uncommon delicacy, making it hard to play decently on it.

Quoted in Ibid., p. 12fn.

<sup>63</sup>Ibid., p. 8.

## CHAPTER IV

### CONCLUSION: THE RISE OF THE "NEW MUSIC" AROUND 1600

By now we know that 1600 marks no startling "Revolution" in music, as so many of the older music history books led us to believe. A strong tradition of solo song which had started at least by the fifteenth century gradually gained strength throughout the sixteenth century. When Caccini wrote his Nuove musiche in 1602, he had numerous precedents, as we have seen: (1) stretches of declamatory monody in some of the later sixteenth century madrigals; (2) solo song with chordal accompaniment, and (3) use of solo song in dramatic productions. These precedents even included the thorough-bass practices which stemmed from the practice of improvisation. We find early examples of this: at the last of the sixteenth century there are motets being accompanied by bassus pro organo, a kind of separate bass part that the organist used to play the harmonies. "The earliest known instance of this method is in a motet by A. Striggio of 1587."<sup>1</sup>

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<sup>1</sup>HD, "Thorough-Bass."

The first basso continuo with figures is still attributed to Cavalieri's Rappresentazione and Peri's and Caccini's operas on Euridice, all dating around 1600. The idea of solo song was not new; what actually changed was the performers, not the music. The time had arrived when the composer was no longer lord of his music, but secondary to the one who wanted all the attention--the soloist. Gone were the days when any piece could be written for whoever wanted to sing and enjoy it. Now some music came to be written to show off the performer first; the composer, if he were to be considered at all, remained in the background.

The history from 1600 has been taken up by many scholars and there is an abundance of material concerning the further development of the solo song into what we term the art song. This later development, in any case, lies beyond the scope of the present study. As for the preceding period, the Renaissance and its music, let us hope it may receive more frequent performance. We do not hide our paintings, sculpture or architecture of that period. Why should the music be gathering dust? Just as our eyes have to become accustomed to the periodical changing of fashions in clothes, home furnishings, jewelry,

art, etc., (many characteristics of which are traced back to the Renaissance), so **may** our ears become accustomed to the revival of music from the Renaissance.

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