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ITALIAN CURRENTS IN THE POPULAR MUSIC OF ENGLAND
IN THE SIXTEENTH CENTURY

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I wish to express my gratitude to Professor Otto Gombosi, whose guidance and understanding has made this study possible. I am also indebted to him for generously permitting me to use his own microfilm copies of the manuscript sources.

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CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

The subject of this investigation is the penetration of style characteristics of Italian origin into the popular music of England during the sixteenth century. The principal source material is music for the lute and related instruments preserved in manuscript tablatures dating from approximately 1550 to 1580, but also including some from the last two decades of the century. A representative selection from the writer's own transcriptions of music from these tablatures is included as Part II of this study.

The period beginning about the middle of the century has been chosen, because the earliest known English lute manuscripts date from about that time. The terminal date for the study will be about the year 1588, the year of the publication of Musica Transalpina by Nicholas Yonge, and William Byrd's Psalms, Sonnets and Songs. The quarter of a century following these publications marks the flowering of the English madrigal school.

The works of the English madrigal composers have been edited by Edmund H. Fellowes,¹ who also wrote several studies on this music.² Up to the time of these publications there was no comparable modern edition of the works of the most important sixteenth-century Italian madrigal composers. Consequently, while Fellowes recognized the importance of the Italian madrigal to the rise and flowering of the English madrigal, he was unable to make comparative studies inquiring into the nature and extent of this relationship.

¹The English Madrigal School (36 vols.; London: Stainer & Bell, 1913-1924).

²Edmund H. Fellowes, The English Madrigal Composers (London: Oxford University Press, 1921); and The English Madrigal (London: Oxford University Press, 1925).

This situation has changed since the publication of two volumes of the madrigals of Luca Marenzio¹ and, more recently, the monumental study The Italian Madrigal by Alfred Einstein.² A comparative study of the English madrigal and its relation to the Italian madrigal has been the subject of a doctoral dissertation by Joseph Kerman.³ For this study Kerman was also able to make use of the large "Einstein Collection of Manuscript Scores" in the Smith College Library. The first part of Kerman's study deals with the background. Among the subjects receiving special attention are the popular vogue of the Italian madrigal in England, as shown first by the importation of Italian publications, and then particularly in the five anthologies of Italian madrigals in English translation published in London between 1588 and 1598;⁴ the character and historical importance of the madrigals of Alfonso Ferrabosco, the elder;⁵ and the English tradition of secular song as represented by the works of William Byrd and Orlando Gibbons.

In the second part of Kerman's study he analyses those aspects of the style of the English madrigal composers which owe something to that of the Italian madrigalists. The typical Italian forms which were most cultivated by the English were the ballet, the canzonet, and the light madrigal, Thomas Morley and Thomas Weelkes being most prominent in these classes. The more serious madrigal was not cultivated in England to any comparable extent as in Italy, although Weelkes and John Wilbye achieved excellence in works of this type.

¹Publikationen Alterer Musik (1926--), Vols. IV, VI.

²Alfred Einstein, The Italian Madrigal (3 vols.; Princeton, N. J.: Princeton University Press, 1949).

³Joseph Kerman, "The Elizabethan Madrigal, a Comparative Study" (Type-written Ph. D. dissertation, Dept. of Music, Princeton University, 1950).

⁴An abridgement of this chapter has been published as an article, Joseph Kerman, "Elizabethan Anthologies of Italian Madrigals," Journal of the American Musicological Society, IV (1951), 122-138.

⁵This part published as an article, Joseph Kerman, "Master Alfonso and the English Madrigal," The Musical Quarterly, XXXVIII (1952), 222-244.

In summarizing Kerman points out some distinctive contrasts between the Italian and English madrigalists. The English tended more toward a purely musical preoccupation, while the Italians were more literary minded. In Italy there existed a more serious literary tradition, and the composers were concerned with a just musical setting of poetry of high literary quality. The English composers were generally attracted to verse of a lighter character, and sometimes employed English translations of the texts of the less serious Italian madrigals. Among the English poems employed there are almost none from the "new poetry" of such poets as Sidney and Spenser.

In the hands of the English composers the forms adopted from Italian models underwent some modification or development. In Morley's work the ballet often approaches the canzonet, and the canzonet approaches the madrigal. In some madrigals Weelkes experiments somewhat with musical recapitulation. The feeling for tonality, in the sense of the major and minor modes, is stronger in the English than in the Italian madrigal.

The literary side of the Italian influence on the English madrigal is treated at length in a new book by Alfredo Obertello.¹ In this book are included the full original Italian texts and the English translations of the compositions included in the Elizabethan anthologies of Italian madrigals, mentioned above, and of the two books of Thomas Morley's own compositions which were published in 1595 in parallel English and Italian editions. The sources of the Italian poems are traced and identified. Obertello then proceeds to a detailed study of the Italian influence on English madrigal verse itself, which constitutes the greater part of the book.

Thus, the dependence of the English madrigal school upon the long and great tradition of the Italian madrigal has long been recognized, and recently has been the subject of serious investigation. On the other hand, up to the present time, the Italian influence on English popular music, particularly the

¹Alfredo Obertello, Madrigali Italiani in Inghilterra (Milano: Bompiani, 1949).

instrumental music, has received relatively little attention. One good reason for this is the fact that much of the music pertinent to such a study is preserved only in manuscript tablatures for the lute and related instruments, and that very little of this music has been transcribed into modern musical notation and made available in print. Italian lutenists and other instrumentalists were present and active in considerable numbers in England throughout the century, and the Italian music they brought with them undoubtedly became quite popular.

The impact on English popular music becomes apparent when one begins to examine the music of the lute repertory preserved in the manuscript collections. The most direct influence is noted in the cases of Italian songs, which were adopted as tunes for English ballads, and instrumental dance pieces, which were taken over literally and also subjected to endless arrangements and embellishment. But almost as direct as these practices is the adoption of one of the most characteristic style features found in much of the early popular Italian dance music, though also found in vocal music, the use of certain well-defined basso ostinato or ground bass patterns. It is clear that in England, as on the continent, these ground bass patterns became very commonly used as a fundamental basis for improvisation and for composition.

A study of this material will therefore show that the Italian influence on the English madrigal school was not a new current in English music, but was preceded by the penetration of Italian music and musical style into the popular music of England throughout the century. The music to be dealt with will be principally music for the lute and related instruments, consisting for the most part of dance pieces and popular song tunes. The field of the ballad and ballad tunes will be touched only where relevant to this investigation. Sacred music and secular vocal music related to the part-song and the madrigal do not fall within the scope of this study.

The plan of the study will be first to review briefly the history of Italian instrumental musicians in England during the sixteenth century. Next

the most important Italian ground bass patterns will be identified and illustrated, and some account will be given of the research, particularly that of Otto Gombosi, which has made this possible. The largest section of the study will consist of a somewhat detailed study of the music for lute and related instruments in five manuscripts dating from the middle of the sixteenth century until possibly some time in the 1570's, and a more generalized survey of the contents of two larger lute manuscript books belonging to the last two decades of the century. In this repertory it will be seen that these Italian ground bass patterns are already well established in English musical practice by the middle of the century, and that their use forms an integral part of the style of popular music to the end of the century.

Following this large section there will be a short review of parallel Italian influence on English poetry, with special reference to translations from the Italian and the adoption of certain Italian verse forms by Wyatt and Surrey. Other artistic and cultural aspects of Italian influence in England will be briefly mentioned.

In conclusion, the penetration of Italian music and musical style into English popular music in the sixteenth century will be seen as one aspect of the cultural and artistic influence of the Italian Renaissance in England.

London, records lists of the various musicians employed in the royal household, which seem to be quite complete from the year 1545-7 on. Earlier than that there are occasional records, but only for the years 1503-4, 1509, and 1510-11 are there any very full listings.¹

An account dated February 13, 1503-4 for liveries for the king's household, for the funeral of Queen Elizabeth, wife of Henry VII, lists the names of sixteen "gentlemen of the king's chapel," one "wyndrell," five "bassmen and shalmyes," nine of "the king's trumpettes," three "wyndrells to

¹ A transcript of the records relating to music and musicians (1400-1700) is printed in Henry Just de la Fontaine, *The King's Musick (London: Neville & Co., 1907)*. The records up to the year 1503 are found on pp. 1-41.

CHAPTER II

ITALIAN INSTRUMENTAL MUSICIANS IN ENGLAND

IN THE SIXTEENTH CENTURY

During the sixteenth century numerous Italians took up residence in England, and among these were many instrumental musicians who were in service at the royal court and in various households of the nobility. The Italian music which they brought with them was attractive to English listeners, and thus became an important part of the repertory of English musicians.

There is much documentary evidence of the presence of these Italian musicians, but this evidence is by no means complete, and further, the details are in many cases difficult to ascertain because of the great variation in the spelling of proper names, and also because some Italians adopted Anglicized forms of their names. The following account of some of these Italian musicians may be taken as representative, but in no sense comprehensive.

The Lord Chamberlain's records, now preserved in the Record Office, London, contain lists of the various musicians employed in the royal household, which seem to be quite inclusive from the year 1546-7 on. Earlier than that there are occasional records, but only for the years 1503-4, 1509, and 1510-11 are there any very full listings.¹

An account dated February 23, 1503-4 for liveries for the kind's household, for the funeral of Queen Elizabeth, wife of Henry VII, lists the names of eighteen "gentilmen of the King's chapell," one "mynstrell," five "sak-busshes and shalmoyes," nine of "the king's trumpettes," three "mynstrells to

¹A transcript of the records relating to music and musicians (1460-1700) is published in Henry Cart de Lafontaine, *The King's Musick* (London: Novello & Co., 1909). The records up to the year 1603 are found on pp. 1-44.

the prince," and two "mynstrells to the Quene of Scottis." Among the names of nine trumpeters three are Italian—Peter de Casa noua, Domonys and Adryan. In 1509 the same three trumpeters are mentioned among those receiving liveries for the funeral of Henry VII and later for the coronation of Henry VIII.

While the extant records of the Lord Chamberlain covering disbursements for musicians during the reign of Henry VIII are scanty, some very important information concerning music at Henry's court is found in the despatches written by the Venetian ambassador, Sebastian Giustinian, and addressed to the Signory of Venice, from January 15, 1515 to July 26, 1519.¹ Along with these are also letters written by Giustinian's fellow ambassador, Piero Pasqualigo, and by Giustinian's secretary, Nicolo Sagudino. Sagudino appears to have been something of a musician himself, and Pasqualigo had been ambassador at the courts of the Emperor, of Spain, Portugal, Hungary, and France. The letters show their writers not only to be well informed in musical matters, but also experienced in observing the state of music and the other arts at the various European courts at this period.

The following quotation is from a letter written by Sagudino to Alvise Foscari, in Venice, dated at London, May 3, 1515:

This ceremonial being ended, his Majesty invited the ambassadors and all their retinue to hear mass, and dine with him; so we went to church, and after a very grand procession had been made, high mass was chaunted, attended, moreover, by the most Serene Queen, and it was sung by his Majesty's choristers, whose voices are really rather divine than human; they did not chaunt, but sang like angels (*non cantavano ma jubilavano*), and as for the counter-bass voices, I don't think they have their equals in the world. I could add many details, but have not time.

.....
The personal beauty of his Majesty will be well known to your magnificence, through your brother, the Lord Frederick, and I have heard that besides his beauty, which is indeed very great, he has, moreover, many other most excellent qualities; for instance, he is courageous, an excellent musician, plays the harpsichord well, is learned for his age and station, and has many other endowments, and good parts. . . .

.....
After dinner the ambassadors were taken into certain chambers containing a number of organs and harpsichords and flutes, and other instru-

¹Sebastian Giustinian, *Four Years at the Court of Henry VIII*, trans. Rawdon Brown (2 vols.; London: Smith, Elder & Co., 1854).

ments, and where the prelates and chief nobles were assembled to see the joust which was then in preparation; and in the mean while the ambassadors told some of these grandees that I was a proficient on some of these instruments; so they asked me to play, and knowing that I could not refuse, I did so for a long while, both on the harpsichords (clavicimbali) and organs, and really bore myself bravely, and was listened to with great attention. Among the listeners was a Brescian, to whom this King gives 300 ducats annually for playing the lute, and this man took up his instrument and played a few things with me; and afterwards two musicians, who are also in his Majesty's service, played the organ, but very ill forsooth: they kept bad time, and their touch was feeble, neither was their execution good, so that my performance was deemed not much worse than theirs. The prelates who were present told me that the King would certainly choose to hear me, as his Majesty practises on these instruments day and night, and that he will very much like my playing. So I shall prepare, and hope not to disgrace myself if called upon, and will give you notice of the result; and pray send me some compositions of Zuane Maria's, as I vaunt him to every one for what he is, and thus they have requested me to send for some of his music, promising me some of theirs in return; and I should also wish to receive a few new ballads (frottole).¹

The identity of the Brescian lutenist, whom Sagudino exasperatingly fails to name, has given rise to considerable speculation. W. H. Grattan Flood in quoting the above passage assumes him to be Peter Carmeliano.² Lewis Einstein may have had this letter in mind when he wrote that Peter Carmeliano (1450?-1527), of Brescia, a poet who had served as Latin secretary and as a chaplain to Henry VII remained at court as lutenist to Henry VIII.³ Neither Flood nor Einstein cites any evidence concerning Carmeliano as a lutenist, and without such evidence the assumption that the lutenist in question was Carmeliano is not warranted.

Otto Gombosi suggests the possibility that the lutenist in question may have been Vincenzo Capirola (1474-c. 1548?), of Brescia, on the evidence that the theme of a Padoana by Capirola appears as the theme of a lute piece, "The Duke of Somerset's dompe," in British Museum MS Royal Appendix 58.⁴ Although there seems to be no documentary evidence that Capirola ever visited

¹Ibid., I, 78-81.

²William H. Grattan Flood, Early Tudor Composers (London: Oxford University Press, 1925), p. 22.

³Lewis Einstein, The Italian Renaissance in England (New York: Columbia University Press, 1902), pp. 181-182.

⁴Infra, pp. 46 ff.

England, the possibility can not be altogether dismissed. The fact that Sagudino requests some compositions of Zuane Maria's shows that he was familiar with the music of the finest Italian lutenists of the day. Though not mentioned in subsequent letters in this collection, it would seem likely that the music of Zuane Maria, and possibly also of Capirola, may have been sent to him in England following his request.

In a despatch dated London, September 30, 1516, Giustinian relates the arrival of Friar Dionisius Memo, organist of St. Mark's, Venice, and his enthusiastic reception by Henry VIII and his court.¹ In subsequent letters Memo is repeatedly mentioned, his playing on the organ being praised in superlative language, and spoken of as the chief feature of entertainment at the court. On occasion he was said to have played for the king's guests as much as four hours at a time. Memo became a favorite of Henry VIII, so much so that during the plague, or sweating sickness, when the king, in fear for his health, dismissed the whole court and kept moving from place to place, he kept with himself and the queen only three of his favorite gentlemen and Memo.²

The following passage from a letter of February 28, 1518 has been often quoted:

After this conversation, his Majesty caused the Princess his daughter, who is two years old, to be brought into the apartment where we were; whereupon the right reverend Cardinal and I, and all the other lords, kissed her hand, pro more, the greatest marks of honour being paid her universally, more than to the Queen herself. The moment she cast her eyes on the Reverend D. Dionisius Memo, who was there at a little distance, she commenced calling out in English "Priest!" and he was obliged to go and play for her; after which, the King, with the Princess in his arms, came to me and said, "Per Deum iste est honestissimus vir et unus carissimus, nullus unquam servivit mihi fidelius et melius illo, scribaris Domino vostro quod habeat ipsum commendatum." I thanked the King, and told him he would be recommended to your Signory in proportion to the satisfaction which you might know his Majesty received from him, and that I therefore on my part recommended him to his Majesty. This say I, most serene Prince, that I perceive him to be in such favour with the King, that for the future he will prove an excellent instrument, in matters appertaining to your Highness.³

¹Giustinian, *op. cit.*, I, 296.

²*Ibid.*, II, 127, 136. Letters dated August 27 and November 11, 1517.

³*Ibid.*, II, 161.

That the Venetian ambassadors hoped that the position of Memo might be of help to them in gathering useful information is hinted in the last sentence of this quotation. In a letter dated May 18, 1519 Giustinian reports that he had learned through Memo the reasons for the dismissal of four of the chief lords-in-waiting in his Majesty's court.¹

Preserved in the diaries of Samuto is a letter by Nicolo Sagudino, Giustinian's secretary, dated May 19, 1517, in which occurs the following passage:

He [Sagudino] remained ten days at Richmond with the ambassador, and in the evening they enjoyed hearing the King play and sing, and seeing him dance, and run at the ring by day, in all which exercises he acquitted himself divinely. Monsignor Dionisio Memo was there, and at his request the King made them listen to a lad who played upon the lute, better than ever was heard, to the amazement of his Majesty, who never wearies of him, and since the coming of this lad, Zuan Piero is not in such favour as before, and complains, and is quite determined on returning into Italy sane bene peculiatus, and he does wisely.²

Again, Sagudino does not identify "the lad." The name of Zuan Piero, however, appears with the title of one of the lute pieces contained in British Museum Additional MS 31,389, which will be discussed later.³

A quite numerous family of Italian musicians in service at the royal court, beginning about the middle of the century, was that of the Bassani.⁴ Listed in the Lord Chamberlain's records as musicians, the names of John (Zuan, Johannes),⁵ Antony (Anthonio), Gasper (Gespero, Jasper), and Baptist (Baptista, John Baptista) appear from the year 1546-7 to 1564; Augustine (Augustino), from 1555 to 1564; Lewes (Lodovike), in 1546-7 and 1558; and Alviso (Alinso) in 1547-8 only. The name of Mark Anthony Bassani, musician, one of the sack-butts, is present on the lists from 1565 until 1599. It seems quite probable that Antony Bassani and Lodovike Bassani may be identified with Antonio da

¹Ibid., II, 271.

²Ibid., II, 75.

³Infra, pp. 77 ff.

⁴Lafontaine, op. cit., pp. 5-46.

⁵The spellings given in parentheses are variant spellings as they appear from year to year in the records.

Bergamo and Lodovico da Bergamo, whose names appear with the titles of some of the lute dances in British Museum MS 31,389, just mentioned.

Italian names figure largely in the lists of players on the vyoll, (viall, violon). Among these are Marc Antony Gayerdell, from 1546-7 to 1558-9; Albertt de Venyce, 1547-8 to 1558; Ambrose (Ambrosio) de Myllan, from 1546-7 to 1564; George (Zorzo) de Cremona, 1547-8 to 1558; Francisco (Frauncis de Venice, or Vyzenza), from 1547-8 to 1564; Vizenzo (Vyncentt) de Venetia, 1546-7 to 1547-8 only; Pawle Gayerdell, 1555 to 1562-3; Innocente de Coma, 1555 to 1564; and Joseph Lupo, 1563 only.

Among the musicians, sackbutts, appear the names of Marc Anthonio and Anthony Symon (Syma), 1546-7 to 1547-8; and Antony Mary (Anthonio Marie), 1546-7 to 1564. The name of Anthonio de Countie appears continuously on the rolls as lutenist (luter, lewter) from 1555 to 1580. A harper identified only as Bernardo is listed in 1547-8 only.

It is evident that these accounts do not include all the musicians in service at the court. The first mention of any of the Ferrabosco family is in the account for liveries for musicians for the funeral of Queen Elizabeth in 1603, where Alfonso "Forobosco" is listed among the "lutes and others." This would be Alfonso Ferrabosco, the younger, who was born probably before his father, Alfonso Ferrabosco, returned to Italy from England in 1578, and died about the year 1628. A number of pieces in tablature for the lute and the lyra viol ascribed to Alfonso in the William Ballet lute book must be by Alfonso Ferrabosco, the younger. These works, however, are too late to fall within the scope of this study.

Alfonso Ferrabosco, the elder, was born at Bologna in 1543, the son of Domenico Ferrabosco, a madrigalist of some note and an associate of Palestrina in the Sistine Chapel Choir in 1555.¹ Alfonso, according to all accounts an adventurer and a rascal, found his way to England and was already in the service

¹Joseph Kerman, "Master Alfonso and the English Madrigal," The Musical Quarterly, XXXVIII (1952), 222-244.

of Queen Elizabeth in 1562. Aside from his musical services he seems to have acted as an agent for Elizabeth on several trips to the continent. It appears that in 1578 he jumped leave and remained on the continent until his death in 1588. He had left behind two children with the Queen as guarantee for his return, and attempts on his part to have the children sent to him in Italy were unsuccessful. The descendants of these became the large and influential Italian family of musicians known in the next generations of English musical history.

Alfonso the elder is most important as a madrigal composer, and as such was very highly praised by Thomas Morley and others in England, though his work made little impression in Italy. While a very competent craftsman, he seems to demonstrate little imagination, and compared to his Italian contemporaries, Andrea Gabrieli and Marenzio, his style is quite old-fashioned.

While not in the least comprehensive, the account given here is sufficient to show that Italian musicians had a very considerable share in the musical life in sixteenth-century England. The music they brought with them and cultivated became a part of the familiar and popular repertory, and inevitably style characteristics of this music were adopted into the general practice of English musicians. Evidence of this will be found in the music preserved in the manuscripts to be examined in the following chapters.

CHAPTER III

THE PRINCIPAL SIXTEENTH-CENTURY GROUND BASSES

One of the striking features found in the popular instrumental music of the sixteenth century, especially in dance pieces, is the presence in a large proportion of this music of harmonic phrase and period structures which have as their foundation a relatively small number of ground bass patterns. Among the most important of these grounds are those now commonly identified, since the researches of Otto Gombosi, as the passamezzo antico, the passamezzo moderno, the romanesca, the folia, and the Ruggiero.

The systematic study of these ground basses has been a comparatively recent development in musicological research. In an article published in 1897 L. Torchi called attention to a "curious series of bassi continui" found in the manuscript Q. 34 in the Biblioteca del Liceo Musicale di Bologna, dated 1613.¹ As examples Torchi printed the folia, tortiglione, alta vittoria, bass' e alta, pauaniglia, tenor di Napoli, contrapasso, Alta Regina, braccio onorato, and riccis ardente. These are notated in two voice parts--a bass melody and a discant melody. Additional examples from the same manuscript are to be found in the "Einstein Collection of Manuscript Scores," Vol. LXXXIV,² among which are the romanesca, monaca, aria di Firenze, aira del Gazzella, and Rogiero.

Among the first scholars to investigate the origin of the practice of composition over a ground bass was Alfred Einstein, whose inaugural disser-

¹L. Torchi, "La musica instrumentale in Italia nei secoli XVI, XVII e XVIII," Rivista Musicale Italiana, IV (1897), 581-630.

²Smith College Archives.

tation was published in 1905.¹ A considerable part of this study is devoted to the principles of composition--and improvisation--on a ground, as described in the Tratado de Glosas sobre Clausulas y otros generos depuntos en la Musica de Violones, published in Rome in 1553 by Diego Ortiz. In this work Ortiz, for the first time, systematically formulated for the instruction of the composer and player of the viola da gamba the techniques of diminution as applied to melodic formulas in general, to any of the voice parts of a madrigal or other part-music, and over a ground bass pattern. Einstein calls attention to the fact that in the nine "recercadas" Ortiz calls the ground basses "Italian tenors."² However, Ortiz does not identify these ground basses by name, and neither does Einstein. Einstein notes that these basses are short, four-eight-, and sixteen-measure themes, with strong harmonic progressions and effectively balanced cadences, ideally suited for repetition as a basis for a series of variations, either improvised or composed.

After further investigation of the problem of the ground bass, Einstein published a study on the Ruggiero.³ In this essay Einstein first remarks on the prevalence in the period around the end of the sixteenth century of a number of melodies among both vocal and instrumental compositions, which in manifold arrangements always appear as bass-melodies. Among these bass-melodies he mentions the Aria di Ruggiero, di Romanesca, di Genova, di Zeffiro, and di Gazzella. Rejecting the facile explanation of the origin of these melodies as folk melodies, Einstein tries to trace the origin of one of these, the Aria di Ruggiero, in order possibly to discover the key to the explanation of the origin of all.

¹Alfred Einstein, Zur deutschen Literatur für Viola da Gamba im 16. und 17. Jahrhundert (Leipzig: Breitkopf & Härtel, 1905).

²Ortiz published this book simultaneously in two editions, one with Spanish and one with Italian text. In the Spanish edition the ground basses are called "Italian tenors," while in the Italian they are called simply "tenors."

³Alfred Einstein, "Die Aria di Ruggiero," Sammelbände der Internationalen Musikgesellschaft, XIII (1911-1912), 444-454.

Taking up representative vocal compositions in the monodic style, Einstein examined the texts which, for example, Giulio Caccini (in the Musiche, 1601), Sigismondo d'India (in the Musiche, 1609), and Caccini again (in the Fuggilotio musicale, 1613) designate to be sung to "Musica sopra il Basso della Romanesca," to the aria di Genova, or the aria di Ruggiero, or the aria da Napoli. He found that all the texts are in ottava rima, with one exception, the "Sonetto sopra l'aria di Ruggiero a due voci," in Francesco Dognazzi's Primo libro de varij concerti (1614), which shows such an obvious misfit between music and text that Einstein remarks that it may be said to prove the rule. The conclusion is then that these bass-melodies served as the basis for the singing of any poetry in ottava rima, such as the epic poems of Ariosto or the strambotti of Serafino.

In Antonio Cifra's fifth book of Scherzi (1617) Einstein found the old bass-melody of the Ruggiero with the original text, a stanza from Ariosto's Orlando Furioso (Canto 44, 61), to be sung in declamatory-concertizing style by the upper voices:

Ruggier, qual sempre fui, tal' esser voglio
Fin' alla morte, e più, se più, si puote.
O siami Amor benigno, o m' usi orgoglio,
O me Fortuna in alto, o in basso rote;
Immobil son di vera fede scoglio,
Che d' ogn' intorno il vento, e il mar percote.
Ne giamai per bonaccia, nè per verno
Luogo mutai, nè muterò in eterno.

When the text is fitted to the bass-melody it is seen that there is perfect agreement between the music and two lines of verse, the first phrase closing in a dominant cadence and the second in a tonic cadence, and the caesuras are also accommodated. The bass-melody would be repeated four times for the eight

Example 1. The Ruggiero bass-melody. (Barring added.)

Rug - gier, qual sem - pre fui, tal' es - ser vo - gliò

Fin' al - la mor-te, e più, se più si puo - te.

lines of the stanza, while the discant melody could be sung with improvised variations.

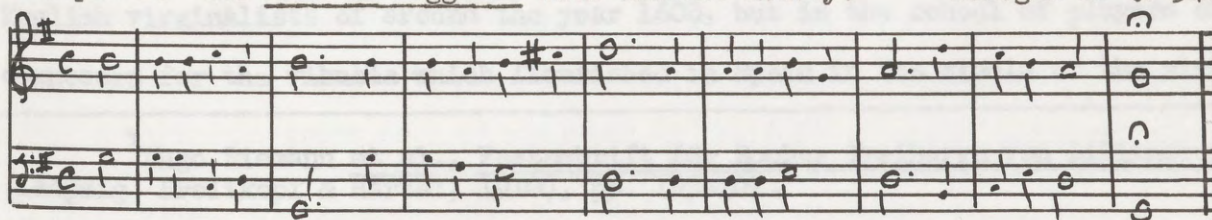
The name Ruggiero comes from the first word of the above stanza. Modifications of the text appear in later versions, e.g., by Tuttovale Menon (1548) and Ghiselin Dancherts (1553), beginning "Fedel qual sempre fui." So it comes about that the Ruggiero is sometimes referred to as the Aria sopra Fedele. In fact, it was no doubt used for the singing of any poetry in ottava rima.

At the time Einstein wrote this study (1910) he surmised that probably the original discant melody, sung without accompaniment, carried within itself the germ of the bass, and that during the course of the sixteenth century, when sung to the accompaniment of the lute or theorbo, the fundamental bass took on a crystalized form in the accompaniment. Thus, from the Aria di Ruggiero came the Basso del' aria di Ruggiero, one of the popular reciting arias, i.e., a bass-melody over which stanzas in ottava rima could be sung.

The other bass-melodies are explained thus: the Romanesca was the Roman reciting aria, the Aria di Genova that of Genoa, and the Aria di Firenze that of Florence. Zeffiro and Gazzella seem to point to the opening words of what were well-known popular stanzas.

In 1937 Einstein published a shorter article supplementing the earlier study,¹ and in the new article he printed the discant melody and bass of the Aria di Ruggiero as found in MS Q. 34, in the Biblioteca del Liceo di Bologna, which he believed to be the earliest sketch known. By this time Otto Gombosi's

Example 2. The Aria di Ruggiero with discant melody.² Bologna MS Q. 34.



¹Alfred Einstein, "Ancora sull' 'aria di Ruggiero,'" Rivista Musicale Italiana, XLI (1937), 163-169.

²Barring added, and note values reduced 1:2.

studies on the basso ostinato had been published, and Einstein had become convinced that from the beginning the traditional Ruggiero melody had been a real basso ostinato rather than a treble melody. From this it follows that while the above may be the oldest known written discant melody to the Ruggiero bass, no one discant melody can be called the "original" melody.

Hugo Riemann published in 1910 a preliminary study entitled "Basso ostinato und Basso quasi ostinato,"¹ devoted for the most part to the practice of these techniques by early seventeenth composers--e.g., Caccini, Monteverdi, and Frescobaldi. In introducing the subject he speaks of the basso ostinato as being very old, and gives as examples the drones of the hurdy-gurdy and the bagpipe of the early middle ages, the tenors of the thirteenth century motet, and the pes of the English Sumer canon. After being pushed into the background by the "Ars nova" of the fourteenth century, Riemann says, it returns in the tenors of the cantus firmus masses and motets of the fifteenth century.

This historical account of Riemann, however, must be questioned, because these classes of styles do not represent the practice of the basso ostinato, in that they are polyphonic styles in which the tenors do not determine a definite harmonic structure. The real basso ostinato is a bass melody which does govern a harmonic structure which is in essence homophonic.

After reading Einstein's study Zur deutschen Literatur für Viola da gamba im 16. und 17. Jahrhundert, mentioned above, Riemann² came to the conclusion that the origin of the practice of composition on a basso ostinato is to be found neither in the work of the Italian monodists nor in that of the English virginalists of around the year 1600, but in the school of players and composers for the vihuela which flourished in Spain in the middle of the six-

¹Hugo Riemann et al., Festschrift für Rochus Freiherrn von Liliencron (Leipzig: Breitkopf & Härtel, 1910), pp. 193-202.

²Hugo Riemann, Handbuch der Musikgeschichte (Leipzig: Breitkopf & Härtel, 1912), II/2, 356 ff.

teenth century. He exclaims that the *recercadas* for violone and cimbalo in Ortiz' *Tratado de Glosas* are examples of true monody, but he does not discuss them as fully as did Einstein.

Here and there in the *Handbuch* Riemann has occasion to discuss several of the ground basses with which this present study is concerned. The *passamezzo* is mentioned as one of the members of the family of sixteenth-century dances, but not specifically defined as to character, nor is there any mention of the *passamezzo antico* or *passamezzo moderno* as ground bass patterns. The *romanesca* is represented by examples quoted from S. Rossi, "Sonata sopra l'Aria della Romanesca" (1613), and Stefano Landi, "Romanesca" (1620),¹ and later² by the bass of the "Romanesca" by Alonso de Mudarra (1546). Riemann thus recognizes the character of the *romanesca* as a ground bass pattern. The name *romanesca* Riemann equates with *romance* and places it in contrast to the *moresca*. Neither the *folia* nor the *bergamasca* is discussed in this section of the *Handbuch*.

In his *Musiklexikon*³ Riemann gives here and there some information in addition to the above. He opines that the name *passamezzo* derives from the *alla breve* time signature, and thus that it is a dance in "faster" tempo. He says that toward the end of the sixteenth century in collections of dance pieces (e.g., Phalèse's collection of 1583) the *passamezzi* consist of a great number of variation-like strains, which in the *passamezzo antico* were repeated and in the *passamezzo moderno* not. He does not give any further distinguishing features of the two, nor does he give any hint of a ground bass pattern. In fact, the example he quotes, "Passo e mezzo d'Italie" (Phalèse, 1571)⁴ begins with the bass pattern of the *romanesca*.

In the course of his researches for a history of violin-playing Andreas Moser uncovered a great deal of material on the *folia*, some of which he pub-

¹Ibid., pp. 88 ff.

²Ibid., p. 358.

³Hugo Riemann, *Musiklexikon*, ed. Alfred Einstein (11th ed., 2 vols.; Berlin: Max Hesses Verlag, 1929), *passim*.

⁴Ibid., II, 1352.

lished in an article entitled "Zur Genesis der Folies d'Espagne."¹ Moser quotes the treble theme and the bass as they appear in the well-known Sonata, Op. 5, No. 12, by Corelli, published in 1700. The other examples he presents are all from the seventeenth century--Fra Carlo Milanuzzi (1623), Lucas Ruiz de Ribayaz (1677), and Don Francisco Guerau (1694). All these are in the later more crystalized form, and none of the variant forms is represented. He also prints in full the violin part and the ground of "Farinelli's Divisions on a Ground" from John Playford's Division-Violin (London, 2nd ed., 1685), and continues with examples of the use of the folia even up to compositions of Cherubini and Liszt.

As to the origin of the folia, the earliest reference to it which Moser mentions are by the Spanish Abbate Franciscus Salinas (1577) and Cervantes (ca. 1613). Moser inclines to the view that the folia is of Spanish origin, although he admits the possibility of its being Portuguese, citing its description as such in two dictionaries of Lorenzo Franciosini Fiorentino, published in Rome in 1638. However that may be, it was industriously cultivated in Spain, whence it came also into France, where it became known as the "Folies d'Espagne." Moser remarks that the folia has for three hundred years played a similar role to that of the romanesca and the Ruggiero, but he does not attempt to establish any relationship between them. Indeed, the article, while providing a good history of the folia from the seventeenth to the nineteenth century, throws little light on the origin of the folia, which, according to the title, is the object of the study.

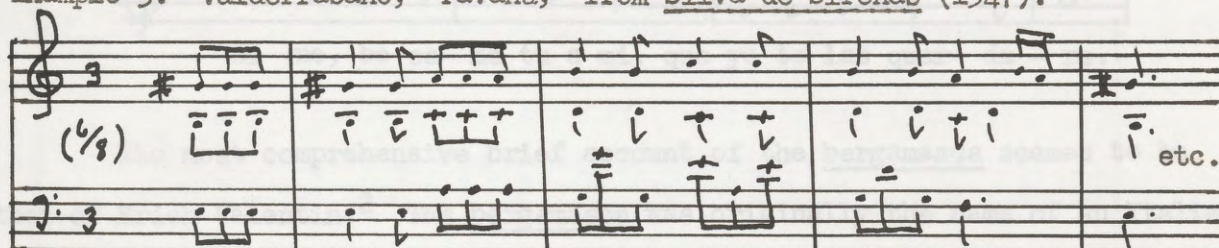
Following very shortly after Moser's article, Paul Nettl published a study dealing with the folia and the romanesca.² This article provides a valuable supplement to Moser's, since Nettl cites several examples from sixteenth-

¹Andreas Moser, "Zur Genesis der Folies d'Espagne," Archiv für Musikwissenschaft, I (1918-1919), 358-371.

²Paul Nettl, "Zwei spanische Ostinatothemen," Zeitschrift für Musikwissenschaft, XII (1919), 694-698.

century Spanish sources. Of the folia he quotes the beginnings of a "Pavana" and a "Pavana para guitarra" from Alfonso Mudarra's vihuela book, Tres libros de musica en cifras (1546). A third example, a "Pavana" from Valderrabano Anriquez' Silva de Sirenas (1547), is in triple meter and belongs to the type of folia variant known as the "Cara cosa," with some interesting substitutions in the bass line of the second phrase--a g f e for c' g a e. The "Pavana" from

Example 3. Valderrabano, "Pavana," from Silva de Sirenas (1547).¹



Diego Pisador's Libro de musica de vihuela (1552) is also of the "Cara cosa" type, in triple meter. Nettl's examples are also valuable in that they show in addition to the bass typical discant melodies.

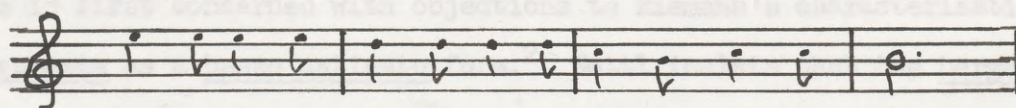
The second Spanish ostinato theme that Nettl discusses is the romanesca. The examples of which he quotes the opening measures are the "Cuatro diferencias sobre Guárdame las vacas" from the Delfin para vihuela (1538) by Luys de Narváez, and the "Romanesca: O guardame las vacas" from the Tres libros de música en cifras (1546) by Alfonso Mudarra. Nettl disagrees with Riemann in considering the romanesca bass as the foundation of these pieces, and regards them rather as variations on the treble melody, a diatonically descending tetrachord. It is difficult to agree with Nettl in this opinion, since the bass is in all these cases the constant factor.

The title "O guárdame las vacas," often abbreviated to "Las vacas," comes from the opening words of a popular song which was sung to the common discant melody associated with the romanesca bass. The beginning of the song has been published in an article by J. B. Trend on Francisco de Salinas,

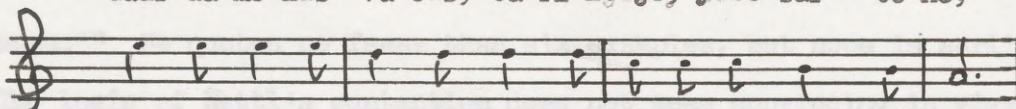
¹Here rebarred and note values reduced 1:4.

whose famous collection of Spanish folk-songs, De Musica Libri Septem, was published at Salamanca in 1577.¹ The song begins like this:

Example 4.



Guar-da-me las va-cas, Ca-ri-le-jo, y be-sar - te he;



Si no, be-sa-me tu a mi, que yo te las quar-da - re.

The most comprehensive brief account of the bergamasca seems to be that of Erich Valentin.² The bergamasca was originally the name of an Italian dance-song, similar to the Giustiniane, in the provincial dialect of the district of Bergamo, which dialect, along with the manners of the people, had a reputation for awkwardness and loutishness. Such a song in villanella style is found as a "Bergamasca" in Filippo Azzaiolo's Villoti del Fiori, 3^o Livre (1569). The mention of the bergamasca in Shakespeare's Midsummer Night's Dream refers to the rude dance of the peasants of the country around Bergamo, a sort of stock joke, perpetuated as type figures in the commedia dell' arte.

Valentin refutes Riemann's opinion³ that the first use of the bergamasca in an instrumental composition is in Marco Uccellini's "Sonata" (1642, Aria quinta sopra la Bergamasca), by citing several earlier examples—a "Bargue masque" in the manuscript supplement to the Vienna copy of the organ tablature book of Bernhard Schmid der Ältere (1577), an unidentified example by Tielman Susato, and one from Jean Baptiste Besard's Thesaurus harmonicus (1603).

¹J. B. Trend, "Salinas: A Sixteenth-Century Collector of folk Song," Music & Letters, VIII (1927), 13-24.

²Erich Valentin, "Bergamasca," signed article in Friedrich Blume, Die Musik in Geschichte und Gegenwart (Kassel: Bärenreiter-Verlag, 1949--), pp. 1685-87.

³Riemann, Musiklexikon, I, 154.

Valentin, however, does not quote any example in notation, or characterize the bergamasca as to its musical nature.

Paul Nettl published a short article on the bergamasca in 1923,¹ in which he is first concerned with objections to Riemann's characterization of the bergamasca as a basso ostinato form.² Nettl insists that the bergamasca is not a series of variations on a bass, but on "the Italian folk-tune called 'Bergamasca.'" He quotes no fewer than six examples, but none is earlier than 1619. The logic of Nettl's contention does not seem convincing in view of the

Example 5. Gianbattista Domenico, "Bergamaska" (1619).

Vienna Nat. Bibl. MS 1849.

Bergamasca bass.

fact that in all these cases the bass is the one factor that remains constant. The bergamasca is definitely the bass pattern I IV V I.

Nettl's concluding statement, however, that the history of the bergamasca points definitely to the importation of Italian art music into Germany in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, and that also German popular music was enriched by it, is true. However, it will be shown in this study that the bergamasca had reached England during the sixteenth century.

Willi Apel has described the bergamasca as a popular tune from the district of Bergamo.³ While he never speaks of the bergamasca specifically as a

¹Paul Nettl, "Die Bergamaska," Zeitschrift für Musikwissenschaft, V (1923), 291-295.

²Riemann, Musiklexikon, I, 154.

³Willi Apel, Harvard Dictionary of Music (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1945), p. 85.

ground bass pattern, Apel does say that Jean-Baptiste Besard and Samuel Scheidt "used its scheme of harmonies for continuous variations similar to a chaconne, except for the duple time."

An important step forward in this area of musical investigation was taken with the publication in 1931 of Jenny Dieckmann's doctoral dissertation on the dances in the German lute tablature books of the sixteenth century.¹ In dealing with the passamezzo antico she made the observation that pieces so designated, however varied in detail, always have a certain harmonic structure in common, so that one may almost speak of a "normal harmonic scheme," which may be represented in this form:²

Example 6.

a = 8 measures b = 8 measures

OT ODp OT D+ Tp ODp OT D+ T+

However, Miss Dieckmann did not carry this deduction to its logical conclusion, that underlying all these pieces is the same fundamental ground bass pattern, which can be readily identified. Nor did she investigate the harmonic patterns of the pieces built on the passamezzo moderno or the romanesca.

In the meantime, Otto Gombosi had been investigating the origin of the ground bass and variation techniques, and he presented some of his findings in two papers—"Zur Geschichte der Tanzmusik im 15. Jahrhundert," read at a meeting of the Deutschen Musikgesellschaft at Berlin in 1930;³ and "Englisches und

¹Jenny Dieckmann, Die in deutscher Lautentabulatur überlieferten Tänze des 16. Jahrhunderts, (Kassel: Bärenreiter-Verlag, 1931).

²Ibid., p. 13.

³Zeitschrift für Musikwissenschaft, XIII (1930-1931), 583. This is a report of the meeting with a list of the papers read.

Kontinentales in den Variationsformen der Virginalisten," read at the Congress of the International Musicological Society at Cambridge, England, in 1933.¹

In 1935 Gombosi printed a review of Jenny Dieckmann's study,² just mentioned, in which he makes clear that the passamezzo is not only a dance-form, but also a technique—variations on a basso ostinato. He distinguishes two forms--the passamezzo moderno (or passamezzo commune) in the major mode, and the passamezzo antico in the minor mode. Dances built on these ostinato themes are passamezzi, while dances which may be similar, but lacking a basso ostinato, are simply pavaues.

In 1934 and 1936 Gombosi published the two articles³ which have come to be regarded as basic in the field of sixteenth-century basso ostinato practices. In these articles Gombosi identifies and explains the passamezzo antico, the passamezzo moderno, the romanesca, and the folia, both in their basic forms and their many variants, and also their relationships to each other. However, before taking up Gombosi's conclusions, it will be well to examine each of these ground bass patterns in its simple, or abstracted, form and as it occurs in typical examples from sixteenth-century sources.

Among the most valuable of single sources for these ground bass patterns is the Tratado de glosas of Ortiz, published in Rome in 1553.⁴ This is an instruction book for composers or performers on the viola da gamba, showing various methods of ornamental treatment of a given melody in composition or improvisation. The final section of the book is of special value to the present study, since it consists of eight "Recercadas" and a "Qunita pars" illustrating

¹Acta Musicologia, V (1933), 145. Report of the Congress.

²Zeitschrift für Musikwissenschaft, XVII (1935), 118-120.

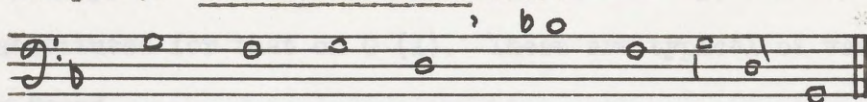
³Otto Gombosi, "Italia: patria del basso ostinato," La Rassegna Musicale, I (1934), 14-25; and "Zur Frühgeschichte der Folia," Acta Musicologia, VIII (1936), 119-129.

⁴Diego Ortiz, Tratado de glosas sobre clausulas (Rome, 1553), reprinted with the original Spanish text and a German translation by Max Schneider (Kassel: Bärenreiter-Verlag, 1936). The section discussed here is on pp. 107-136.

how florid discant melodies for the viola da gamba may be formed over the harmonic patterns of a number of grounds, which he calls "tenores Italianos."¹ While Ortiz does not identify these grounds by name, they are found to be the passamezzo antico, the passamezzo moderno, the romanesca, a variant form of the folia (the "Cara cosa" type), and the Ruggiero, with some mixed forms and one example of the so-called half-form of the passamezzo antico. These examples of Ortiz are particularly helpful to an understanding of these grounds, since they are given with complete four-part harmony (with the exception of one, in which only the bass is given) for the harpsichord, to accompany the florid discant melody of the viola da gamba. It seems clear that Ortiz is trying to present in systematic fashion principles of improvisation and composition that already existed as an established practice. Each of these ground basses will now be illustrated in its basic form and as it appears in typical examples from sixteenth-century music.

The passamezzo antico.--The abstracted normal form of the passamezzo antico bass is this:

Example 7. Passamezzo antico bass.

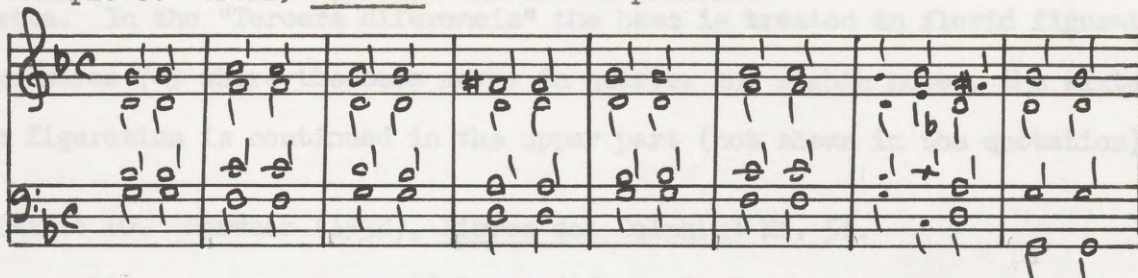


It will be seen that this pattern provides the bass of the harmonic-rhythmic form of a balanced period, consisting of two four-measure phrases, the first cadencing on the dominant and the second on the tonic. It is in the minor (dorian) mode, but with the second phrase beginning in the relative major. Very frequently, especially in the first half of the century, it occurs in a variant form in which the second phrase begins in the minor mode, exactly like the first phrase. It is in this form that it is given by Ortiz (Example 8).²

¹Supra, p. 14, n. 2.

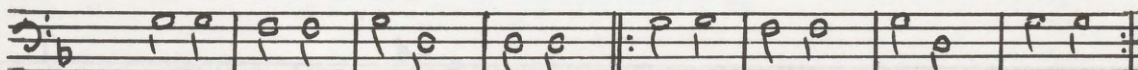
²In the quotations from Ortiz the viola da gamba part is omitted, and the note values are reduced 1:2.

Example 8. Ortiz, Tratada: "Recercada primera."¹

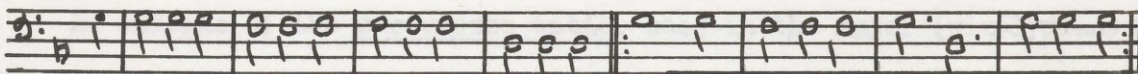


This form of the passamezzo antico bass appears in a pair of dances in Hans Newsidler's Ein Newgeordnet Künstlich Lautenbuch (Nürnberg, 1536) with the headings "Hie folget ein welscher tantz Wascha mesa" and "Der hupf auff."²

Example 9. Newsidler (1536), "Wascha mesa."



"Der hupff auff."



In the first it will be noticed that in measure 3 the dominant is reached a half measure early, and in the second, also at measure 3, the harmony on F (vii) is substituted for that on G (I). These are typical of variants which are commonly found.

The quotations (Example 10) from the bass of "No. 51. Otras tres diferencias" from Los seys libros del Delphin de música de cifre para tañer vihuela by Luys de Narváez (Valladolid, 1538)³ show in the "Primera diferencia" at measure 7 the substitution of the subdominant harmony (G) for the tonic

¹Ortiz, op. cit., p. 107.

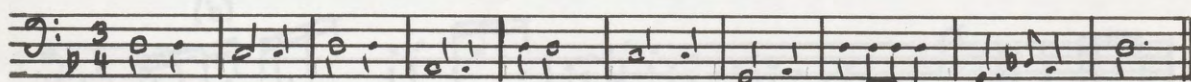
²Transcription by Oscar Chilesotti in his Lautenspieler des XVI. Jahrhunderts (Leipzig: Breitkopf & Härtel, 1891), pp. 3-4; transcription by Adolf Kocirz, Denkmäler der Tonkunst in Oesterreich, XVIII/2 (1911), 34-35.

³Transcription by Emilio Pujol, Monumentos de la Musica Espanola, III (Barcelona, 1945), 87-89. In Example 10 the note values have been reduced on the ratio of 1:4. This is true of most of the examples to be quoted, although in some cases (e.g., Example 9) the ratio is 1:2.

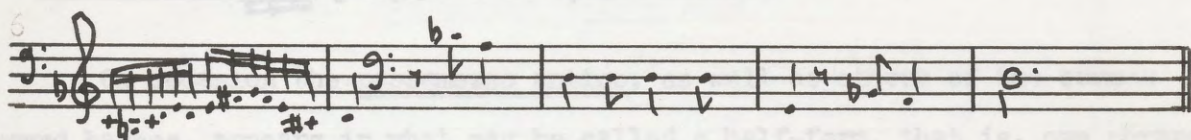
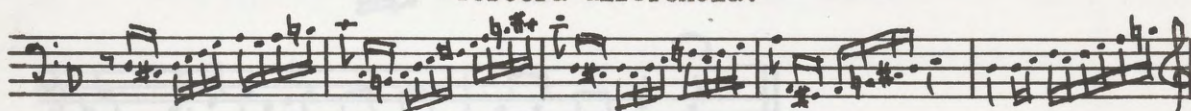
harmony (D), and a repetition of the harmonic pattern of measures 8-9 as a codetta. In the "Tercera diferencia" the bass is treated in florid figuration. In measures 7-9 where the bass moves in quarter and eighth notes, the sixteenth-note figuration is continued in the upper part (not shown in the quotation).

Example 10. Narvaez (1538), Libros del Delphin: No. 51.

"Primera diferencia."

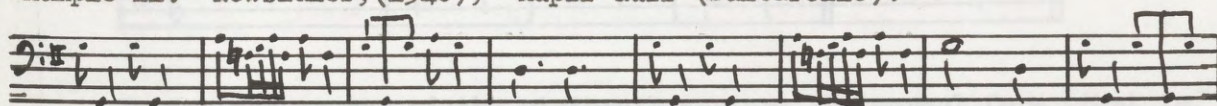


"Tercera diferencia."



An example of the passamezzo antico bass in the major (mixolydian) mode is found in the "Caminata" in Florence Biblioteca Nazionale Centrale, Panciatichi, 27 (sixteenth century).¹ An interesting use of this ground bass in the major mode and triple meter is found in the final period of the "Hupff auff (Saltarello)" following "Ein seer guter welscher tantz im abzug" from Hans Newsidler's Ein neues Lautenbüchlein (Nürnberg, 1540).² The bass is given a little simple melodic ornamentation.

Example 11. Newsidler, (1540), "Hupff auff (Saltarello)."

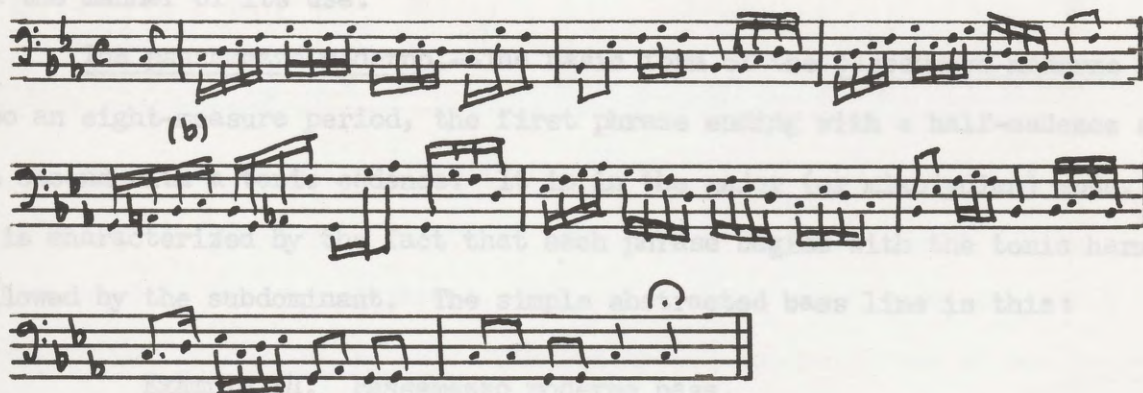


¹Johannes Wolf, Music of Earlier Times (Reprint, New York: Broude Bros., n.d.), pp. 66-67.

²Transcription by Koczirz, Denkmäler der Tonkunst in Oesterreich, XVIII/2 (1911), 42-43. The "Welscher tantz" is a rather close version of a Padoana, No. 17, in the Capirola Lute Book (Newberry Library MS), which, however, is not followed by a saltarello and does not include any period on the passamezzo antico bass. The full passamezzo antico pattern does appear in some other pavaues in the same collection. Otto Gombosi's study, including a transcription, of the Capirola MS is being published. Cf. infra, pp. 46-47.

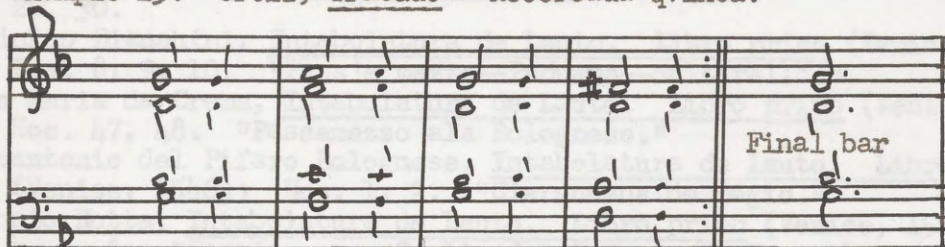
A typical figuration of the normal form of the passamezzo antico bass is to be found in the "Passo e mezzo bellissimo sopra i Soprani" in Giacomo Gorzanis' Il Secondo Libro de Intavolatura di Liuto (Venice, 1563).¹

Example 12. Gorzanis, (1563), "Passo e mezzo bellissimo."



On occasion the passamezzo antico, as well as others of the common ground basses, appears in what may be called a half-form, that is, one phrase only being repeated as bass for a series of continuous variations. An example of the passamezzo antico half-form used in this manner is found in Ortiz' Tratado de glosas.²

Example 13. Ortiz, Tratado: "Recercada qvinta."



During the course of the sixteenth century the normal form (that is, with the second phrase beginning in the relative major and ending in the minor mode) becomes more and more prevalent. For example, all six of the dance pairs, "Pass e' mezzo--Gagliarda," on the passamezzo antico bass in Simone Molinaro's Intavolatura di Liuto. Libro primo (Venice, 1599)³ are in this form. It is

¹Chilesotti, op. cit., p. 41

²Ortiz, op. cit., p. 120

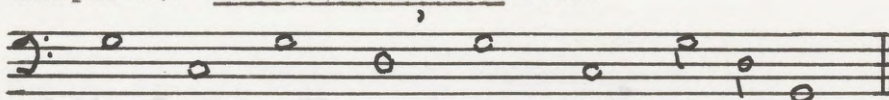
³Transcription by Giuseppe Gullino (Florence: R. Maurri, 1940).

therefore reasonable to regard this as the normal form of the passamezzo antico.

Examples of the passamezzo antico can be multiplied,¹ but enough examples have been given to illustrate the character of this ground bass pattern and the manner of its use.

The passamezzo moderno.--The basic form of the passamezzo moderno is also an eight-measure period, the first phrase ending with a half-cadence and the second with a tonic cadence. It is in the major (or mixolydian) mode, and it is characterized by the fact that each phrase begins with the tonic harmony followed by the subdominant. The simple abstracted bass line is this:

Example 14. Passamezzo moderno bass.



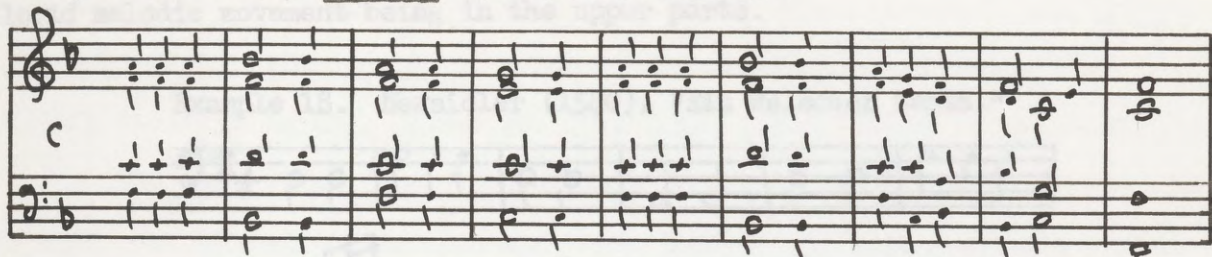
In Ortiz' harmonized example in the Tratado de glosas (Example 15) there is an

-
- ¹From the many examples to be found the following may be cited:
 Antonio Castelliono, Intabolatura de Lauto. Libro primo (Venice, 1536): Nos. 9, 10. "Pavana ditta la Milanese--Saltarelle," by Pietro P. Borrono.
 Julio Abondante, Intabolatura di lautto (1st book) (Venice, 1546): Nos. 29, 30.
 Domenico Bianchini, Intabolatura de Lauto. Libro primo (Venice, 1546): Nos. 8, 9, 10. "Pass'e mezzo--Paduana--Saltarello."
 Juan Maria da Crema, Intabolatura de Lauto. Libro primo (Venice, 1546): Nos. 47, 48. "Passamezzo ala Bolognese."
 Marcantonio del Pifaro Bolognese, Intabolatura de Lauto. Libro primo (Venice, 1546): Nos. 1, 2. "Ciarenzana de megio."
 Antonio Rotta, Intabolatura de Lauto. Libro primo (Venice, 1546): Nos. 4, 5, 6. "Pass'e mezo--Gagliardo--Padoana." Nos. 14, 15, 16. "Pass'e mezo--Gagliarda--Padoana."
 Melchior de Barberiis, Intabulatura di Lauto. Libro IX intitolato il Bembo (Venice, 1549): Three pieces entitled "Pass e meze," f. b. 1r; f. b. 2r; f. c. 1v. (Through an error in printing this book is attributed to P. P. Borrono in Johannes Wolf, Handbuch der Notationskunde, II (Leipzig: Breitkopf & Härtel, 1919), 67.)
 Hans Jacob Wecker, Lautenbuch für zweyen lauten. Tenor (Basel, 1552): No. 10. "Pass'e mezo antiquo." No. 18. "Pass'e mezo." No. 19. "Il suo saltarello." No. 23. "Le forze de Ercule" (variant).
 Benedictus de Drusina, Tabulatura continens et selectissimas quasdam Fantantias (Frankfort, 1556): "Choreae Italicae": four pairs of dances called "Passe mezo--Saltarello."

Note: A comprehensive treatment of these bass patterns in the Italian lute repertory of the sixteenth century is included in a dissertation in progress by Lawrence H. Moe at Harvard University.

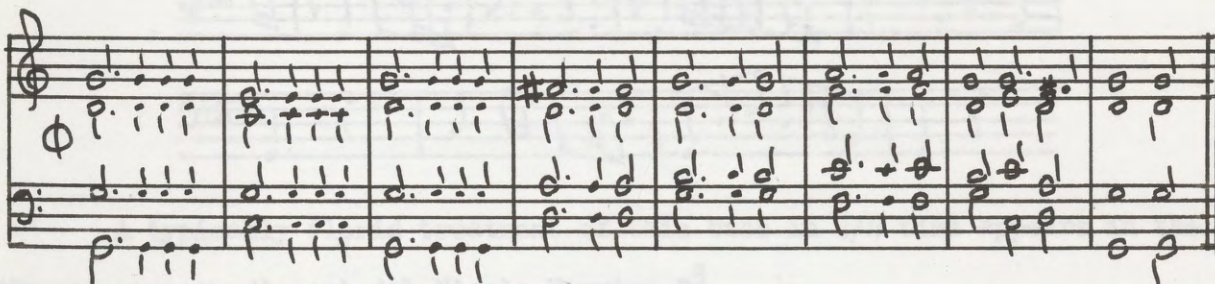
extension of one measure in the second phrase leading to the final cadence.

Example 15. Ortiz, Tratado: "Recercada tercera."¹



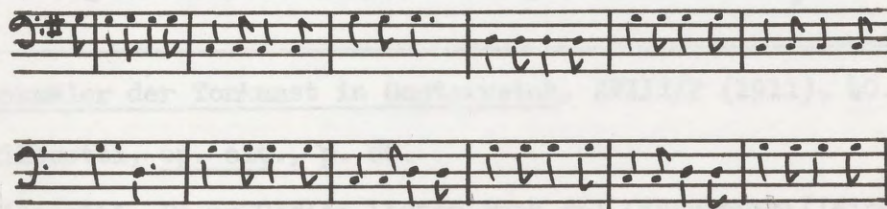
Ortiz also gives a variant form in which the chord on the mixolydian seventh degree ($\flat VII$) is substituted for that on the subdominant (IV) as the second chord in the second phrase, thus producing a mixed form--the first phrase of the passamezzo moderno followed by the second phrase of the passamezzo antico.

Example 16. Ortiz, Tratado: "Recercada segvnda."²



An early example of a piece with the passamezzo moderno bass is the the "Gassenhawer" in Newsidler's Newgeordent künstlich Lautenbuch (1536).³ The melodic movement of the bass line follows the pattern exactly, with a persistent rhythmic pulsation. A short codetta, IV - V - I repeated, is added.

Example 17. Newsidler (1536), "Gassenhawer."



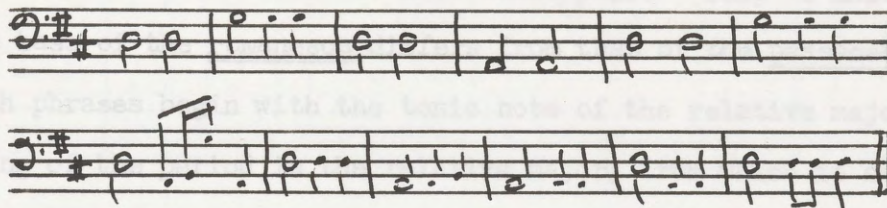
¹Ortiz, op. cit., p. 113.

²Ibid., p. 110.

³Chilesotti, op cit., p. 12; also, Denkmäler der Tonkunst in Oesterreich, XVIII/2 (1911), 35.

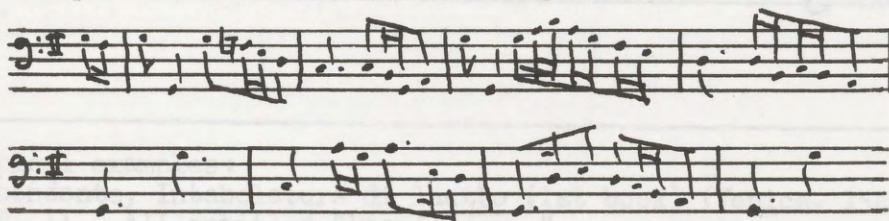
The passamezzo moderno bass appears in quite plain form in the "Passameza, Ein Welscher tantz" in Newsidler's *Ein neues Lautenbüchlein* (1540),¹ the florid melodic movement being in the upper parts.

Example 18. Newsidler (1540), "Ein Welscher tantz."



In Julio Cesare Barbetta's *Il primo libro dell' intavolatura de liuto* (Venice, 1569) the name of this ground bass appears in the title of a piece, "Gagliarda del passo e mezo detto il Moderno."² The first period runs thus:

Example 19. Barbetta (1569), "Gagliarda."



A typically florid treatment of this bass in 4/4 time appears in the "Passa mezzo in discant dal Nicolo Nigrino."³

Example 20. "Passo mezzo in discant dal Nicolo Nigrino."



¹Denkmäler der Tonkunst in Oesterreich, XVIII/2 (1911), 40.

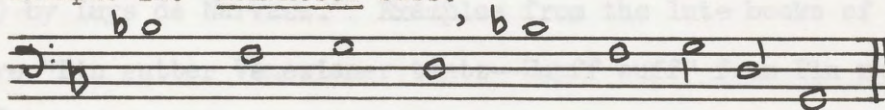
²Chilesotti, *op. cit.*, p. 80.

³Chilesotti, *Da un Codice Lauten-Buch del Cinquecento* (Leipzig: Breitkopf & Härtel, 1890), p. 1. A transcription of a late sixteenth-century manuscript lute book.

Many more examples of the use of the passamezzo moderno bass could be cited,¹ and the frequency of its occurrence toward the end of the century may be illustrated by the fact that of the fifty-one dance pieces in the Intavolatura di Liuto, Libro primo of Simone Molinaro (Venice, 1599)² ten are built on this harmonic scheme. These are five dance pairs—"Pass 'e mezzo--Gagliarda."

The bass of the romanesca differs from that of the passamezzo antico in that both phrases begin with the tonic note of the relative major. Thus, the beginning of the period in the relative major, from which it settles down in the minor mode, gives the harmonic pattern its distinctive symmetrical character.

Example 21. Romanesca bass.

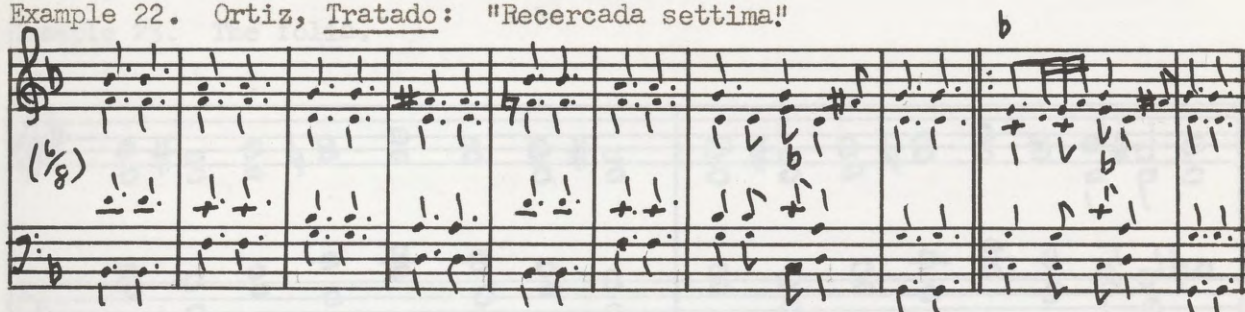


- ¹Typical examples:
- Julio Abondante, Intabolatura di lautto (1st book) (Venice, 1546): Nos. 1, 8, 11. All entitled "Pass'e mezo."
- Antonio Rotta, Intabolatura de lauto. Libro primo (Venice, 1546): Nos. 11, 12, 13. "Pass'e mezo--Gagliarda--Padoana."
- Peter Phalesius, Carmina pro Testudine, lib. IV (Louvain, 1546): (Passamezzo), f. IIIr.
- Melchior de Barberiis, Intabulatura di lauto. Libro IX intitolato il Bembo (Venice, 1549): "Passe e mezo," f. a Iir, "Gagliarda," f. d 2v.
- Hans Jacob Wecker, Lautenbuch. Tenor (Basel, 1552): Nos. 5, 6, 7. "Pass'emezo Commun--Il suo saltarello--Padouana comun." Nos. 20, 21. "Pass'emezo--Il suo saltarello." No. 33. "Pauana." No. 34. "Les Bouffons" (variant form). (Cf. Heckel, 1556, 1562.)
- Bernardino Balletti, Intabolatura de lauto lib. I (Venice, 1554): Nos. 1, 2. "Padoana."
- Wolff Heckel, Discant Lautten Buch mit zweyen Lautten and Tenor Lautten Buch (Strassburg, 1556, 2nd ed., 1562): "Pass e mezo--Il suo saltarello," discant book, 92, 95, tenor book, 73, 75; "Pauana," discant book, 105, tenor book, 81; "Les Bouffons," discant book, p. 107, tenor book, p. 83.
- Octavianus Secundus Fugger, Lautenbuch (MS, 1562): "Passemeggio del gropo--Sua gagliarda" (Reprinted in transcription by A. Kocircz in Denkmäler der Tonkunst in Oesterreich, XVIII/2, 112.)

²Transcription by Giuseppe Gullino (Florence: R. Maurri, 1940).

In the version of the romanesca given in Ortiz' Tratado de glosas a short codetta is added.¹

Example 22. Ortiz, Tratado: "Recercada settima!"



Among the earliest examples of the use of the romanesca published in modern transcription is "No. 50. Cuatro diferencias sobre Guardame las vacas" from Los seys libros Delphin de musica de cifra para tañer vihuela (Valladolid, 1538) by Luys de Narvaez.² Examples from the lute books of Hans Newsidler are "Ein gutter Venezianer tantz--Hupff auff" from Ein neues Lautenbüchlein (Nürnberg, 1540), and "Ein ander Welischer tantz--Der hupff auf zum tantz" from Das Ander Buch. Ein New künstlich Lautten Buch (Nürnberg, 1544).³ In the manuscript lute book of Octavianus Secundus Fugger (1562) the romanesca appears in a piece entitled "Aria per Cantare,"⁴ referring to the widespread use of this pattern as a basis for the improvised singing of poetry.

While very common in sixteenth-century music, the romanesca⁵ does not appear as frequently as the passamezzo antico or the passamezzo moderno.

¹Ortiz, op.cit., p. 126.

²Monumentos de la Música Espanola, III (Barcelona, 1945), 85-87.

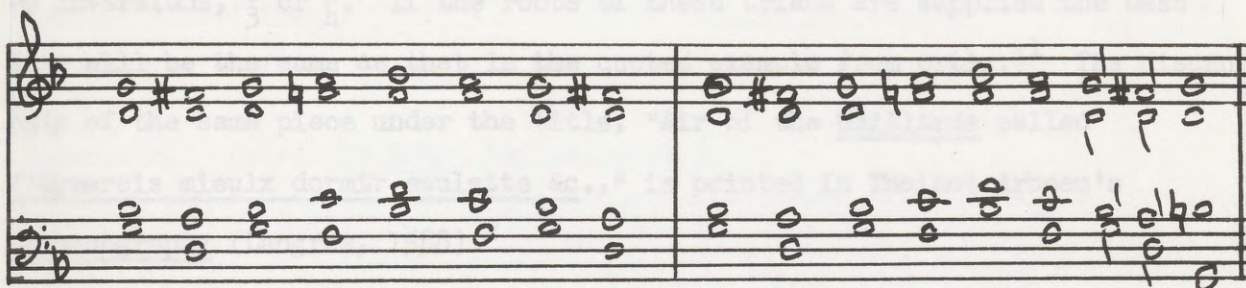
³Denkmäler der Tonkunst in Oesterreich, XVIII/2 (1911), 41-42, 55.

⁴Ibid., p. 111.

⁵Among typical examples the following may be cited:
 Antonio Rotta, Intabolatura de Lauto Libro primo (Venice, 1546): Nos. 20, 21, 22. "Pass'e mezzo ala vilana--Saltarello cioe Gagliarda--Padoana."
 Peter Phalesius, Carmina pro Testudine, lib. IV (Louvain, 1546): "Passamezzo de vacas," f. lv; "Romanescha," f. 164r.
 Melchior de Barberiis, Intabolatura di lauto. Libro IX intitolato il Bembo (Venice, 1549): "Pass' e mezo," f. a IIv.
 Bernardino Balletti, Intabolatura de Lauto, Lib. I (Venice, 1554): Nos. 11, 12. "Padoana."

The folia.—The abstracted form of the folia bass with its discant may be represented thus, in plain four-part harmony:

Example 23. The folia.



Of the numerous variants of the folia that one known as the "Cara cosa" or "La Gamba" is of special importance, because of the frequency of its occurrence. In the present study it is the most important because it is in this form that it is most often to be found in the English manuscript sources. The "Cara cosa" type appears twice in Ortiz' Tratado de glosas, in the "Recercada qvarta" and "Recercada ottava."¹ The former appears in this form:

Example 24. Ortiz, Tratado: "Recercada qvarta."

¹Ortiz, op.cit., pp. 117, 130.

Typical of settings of the "Cara cosa" is that under the title of "Galliarde I'aymeroy mieux dormir seullette" in Adrian Le Roy's Second Livre de Cistre (Paris, 1564). (Note that many of the harmonies are represented by inversions, $\frac{6}{3}$ or $\frac{6}{4}$. If the roots of these triads are supplied the bass line will be the same as that in the quoted example from Ortiz.)¹ The discant only of the same piece under the title, "Air of the Gaillarde called J'aymerois mieulx dormir seulette &c.," is printed in Thoinot Arbeau's Orchesography (Langres, 1588).²

Example 25. Le Roy, "Gaillarde I'aymeroy mieux dormir seullette."



A "Caracossa" from Sebastian Vreedman's Carminum quae cythara pulsantur liber secundus (Louvain: Phalese, 1569) is published in both the original cittern tablature and transcription by Johannes Wolf.³ A slightly varied

¹Supra, p. 34.

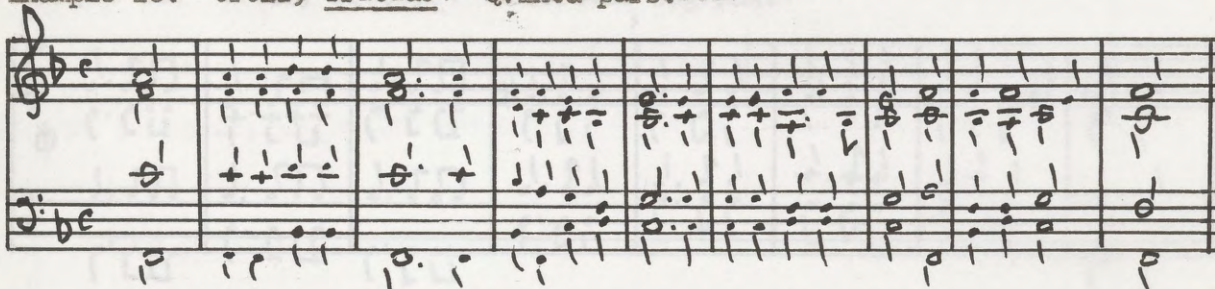
²Translated by Cyril W. Beaumont (London: Beaumont, 1925), pp. 98-99.

³Johannes Wolf, Handbuch der Notationskunde, II (Leipzig: Breitkopf & Härtel, 1919), 133.

version entitled "Ein Welisch tentzlein: clira Cassa" is found in Hans New-sidler's *Ein neues Lautenbüchlein* (Nürnberg, 1540).¹

The Ruggiero.—The traditional Ruggiero bass has already been discussed, together with examples quoted.² In Ortiz' *Tratado de glosas* the accompanying keyboard part for the Ruggiero appears thus.³

Example 26. Ortiz, *Tratado*: "Quinta pars."



Ortiz also gives a curious example which begins with the Ruggiero bass, but concludes with the final phrase of the passamezzo antico (or romanesca) (Example 27).⁴ Among other variant or mixed forms found in Ortiz' *Tratado de glosas* is one in which the first phrase of the passamezzo moderno is completed with the second phrase of the passamezzo antico. (Example 28).⁵

¹*Denkmäler der Tonkunst in Oesterreich*, XVIII/2 (1911), 54.

Among other examples the following may be mentioned:

Julio Abondante, *Intabolatura di lautto, libro primo* (Venice, 1546):

No. 13. "La chara cosa."

Peter Phalesius, *Carmina pro Testudine, lib. IV* (Louvain, 1546): "Cara cossa." f. 163r.

Dominico Bianchini, *Intabolatura de Lauto. Libro primo* (Venice, 1546):

No. 14. "La cara cossa."

Melchior de Barberiis, *Intabolatura di Lauto. Libro IX* (Venice, 1549):

"La cara cosa." f. e lv.

Hans Jacob Wecker, *Lautenbuch mitt zweyen lauten Tenor* (Basel, 1552): No. 22. "La gamba."

Bernardino Balletti, *Intabolatura de lauto, lib. I* (Venice, 1554): No. 13. "La Gamba."

Wolff Heckel, *Discant Lautten Buch . . . mit zweyen Lautten . . . and Tenor Lautten Buch* (Strassburg, 1556; 2d ed., 1562): "La gamba."

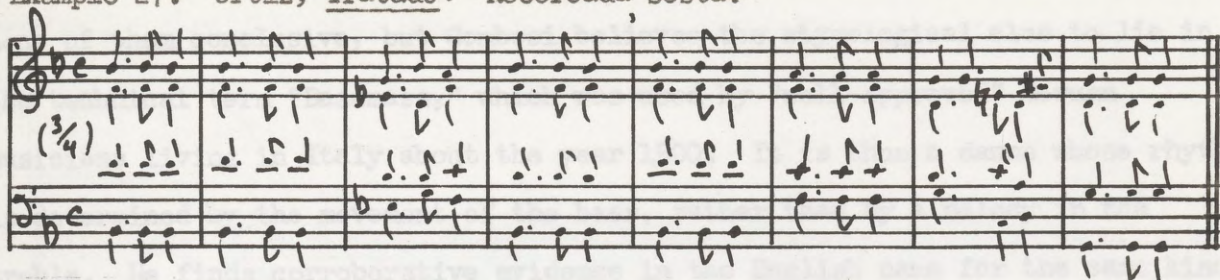
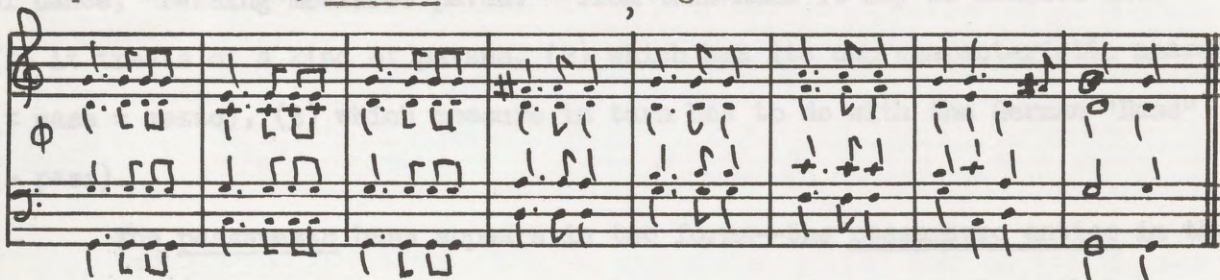
Discant book, p. 100; tenor book, p. 78.

²*Supra*, pp. 14-17.

³Ortiz, *op. cit.*, p. 134.

⁴*Ibid.*, p. 124.

⁵*Ibid.*, p. 110.

Example 27. Ortiz, Tratado: "Recercada, sesta."Example 28. Ortiz, Tratado: "Recercada, segvnda."

It is now time to return to the findings of Otto Gombosi, published in the articles already mentioned.¹ After reviewing the findings of previous investigators, Gombosi took up the question as to the origin of these ground bass patterns. After discussing improvisational practices, both vocal and instrumental, which reach back into the middle ages, he observed that the Ruggiero, romanesca and folia are grounds that were diligently cultivated in sixteenth-century Spain by composers for the vihuela, the viola da gamba, and keyboard instruments, and that these grounds have hence been quite generally regarded as of Spanish (in the case of the folia, possibly Portuguese) origin. However, he emphasized the fact that when Ortiz treated these grounds in the Tratado de glosas, he called them specifically "tenores italianos." Gombosi also reviewed Einstein's findings on the history of the Ruggiero as a bass melody over which verse in ottava rima was sung in improvisatory style. Of equal importance, however, in the history of the use of these grounds is their employment in instrumental music, composed and improvised, in the dance forms.

The improvisatory technique does not, Gombosi thinks, go back to the Spanish dance forms, but to the Italian form, the passamezzo. The origin and

¹Supra, pp. 23-24.

meaning of the term passamezzo have previously received various explanations, none of them conclusive, but Gombosi believes the etymological clue to lie in the technical term "Bassmass," which was used by "well-approved" German musicians living in Italy about the year 1500. It is thus a dance whose rhythm is determined by the movement of the bass, rather than by a melody in the treble. He finds corroborative evidence in the English name for the same kind of dance, "Passing measures paven." From this name it may be deduced that (1) it treats of a kind of pavane, (2) which has its own characteristic measure (= mass = mezzo), (3) which measure in turn has to do with the German "Bass" (= pass).

The passamezzo bass appears in two forms--the passamezzo antico in the minor mode, and the passamezzo moderno in the major, a terminology that has come into quite general use since the publication of Gombosi's studies. In sixteenth-century sources the passamezzo antico appears under a variety of names, such as "Venezianer Tantz," "Passamezzo la Chiarenzana," "Passamezzo Milanese," "Gassenhauer," "Studententantz," etc., but not always consistently. On occasion one of these titles may be found with a piece built on the passamezzo moderno. In English sources there occurs quite frequently the "Quadran pavan," which indicates the passamezzo moderno (with B quadratum = B natural, the major third).

Gombosi concludes that the form and themes of the passamezzo are definitely Italian, and that it descends from the Quaternaria, known to us from the Italian dance of the fifteenth century, and which in its structure belongs to the Italian bassadanza family. Moreover, when the passamezzo appears in early German lute tablatures (e.g., Newsidler, 1536) it is with titles referring to Venice or Milan, or called simply "Welscher Tantz," "Ballo italiano," and the like.

Gombosi's next step was to show the derivation of the romanesca and the folia from the passamezzo antico. The basic forms and typical examples of

these grounds have already been cited. Their relation to each other is conveniently seen when they are arranged on the page in comparative vertical score, as Gombosi has presented them.¹

Example 29.

Passamezzo antico:

Romanesca:

Folia:

The romanesca differs from the passamezzo antico only in the replacement of the first note, tonic, by the note a third higher, the tonic of the relative major. Its distinctive character then is that both phrases begin alike in the relative major and move to the minor mode, the first cadencing on the dominant and the second on the tonic.

The folia pattern takes its first phrase from the first phrase of the passamezzo antico, but by changing the order of the two pairs of notes the phrase moves to the dominant of the relative major, thus strengthening the tonic of this key, with which the second phrase begins. The second phrase cadences on the dominant. The whole period is then repeated with a final cadence on the tonic. The complete pattern is thus two balanced periods of eight measures each, consequently twice the dimensions of the passamezzo or romanesca pattern. In spite of its more highly developed organization, its relation to the passamezzo antico is apparent.

Gombosi's conclusion is that since variations on the two types of passamezzo basses are the oldest demonstrable form of variations on a ground bass, and since the Italian origin of these is established on a datable basis, the origin of such instrumental practice in improvisation and composition is

¹In the articles cited supra, p. 24, n. 3.

to be found in Italy. It is from Italy that the practice of improvisation and composition on these ground bass patterns spread into Germany, France, Spain, and England. Therefore, in later chapters dealing with the music in sixteenth-century English sources they will be regarded as Italian ground basses.

Gombosi's findings have been recognized as basic in the history of the ground bass and its function in improvisation and composition. They therefore occupy an important place in Ernst Ferand's study of the history of the practice of improvisation.¹ In regard to the "Recercadas" on "Italian tenors" for viola da gamba and cembalo of Ortiz, which have been quoted above, Ferand observes that Ortiz' instructions are not altogether clear as to whether the accompanying cembalist should confine himself to a simple completion of the chordal harmonies or allow himself the liberty to improvise some contrapuntal ornamentation. Ferand believes the latter to be more likely.²

In his more recently published work on the Italian madrigal Alfred Einstein has amplified some aspects of his previous published studies, showing conclusively that the practice of monodic singing of epic poetry to a basso ostinato, far from being an innovation of the Florentine camerata around the beginning of the seventeenth century, had already at that time a history of at least a century. Einstein sums it up in this paragraph:

In the sixteenth century the problem of monody doubtless was best solved when the singer improvised over an unchanging and constantly repeated bass. To be sure, such improvisations were tied to specific poetic forms--the ottava, and perhaps also the sonnet, with the four statements of the bass familiar to us from the frottola. The historical development of this improvisation on a basso ostinato is strange, yet simple. Simple melodies for the recitation of strambotti and ottave, to be sung four times for each stanza, must have been available since the fifteenth century: we already know some of these from the madrigals of Corteccia and Hoste. But as this sort of improvisation developed and the singing of a great many stanzas became more and more usual--with the publication of the Orlando furioso it became almost a craze--there arose a need to vary the upper voice according to the expression, leaving the bass unchanged. Thus various basses come into being in various parts of Italy,

¹Ernst Ferand, Die Improvisation in der Musik (Zürich: Rhein-Verlag, 1938), especially pp. 358 ff.

²Ibid., p. 325.

the Romanesca, the aria di Genova, and the aria di Firenze. The most famous is the one called the Ruggiero or Fedele, after the stanza of the Orlando furioso that marks the superb, passionate climax of the poem:

Ruggier, qual sempre fui, tal esser voglio

(In the first line, the name Ruggiero is sometimes replaced by Fedel—hence the name Fedele for the same bass.) This improvising of ottave stanze was one of the hidden sources of the monody that suddenly came out into the open at the beginning of the seventeenth century. Yet references to such melodies are by no means rare in the literature, for example in the austere Zarlinò (Istituzioni, III, cap. 79), when he compares the ancient modes to the modern arie, which he says are simply "quei Modi, sopra i quali cantiamo i Sonetti, o Canzoni del Petrarca, overamente le Rime dell' Ariosto." They are the tunes that Michel de Montaigne heard "everywhere in Italy" in the course of his travels: when he goes to Empoli from Florence on Sunday, July 2, 1581, one of the things that surprises him is "to see these peasants with lutes in their hands and even the shepherdesses with Ariosto on their lips. But one sees this everywhere in Italy. . . ." The peasants sing or recite Ariosto with the tune in the soprano, the courtly singers to the lute and viol with the tune in the bass. . . . And we may be sure that we only half know the sixteenth century if we know its music solely from the printed sources.¹

The same situation prevailed in Spain, and, as will be seen in chapters to follow, in England also. How much, by the end of the century, English musicians regarded these originally Italian grounds as an important part of their own musical resources is shown in the following words from the preface to Antony Holborne's Cittharn Schoole:

. . . . Next in an orderly consequence I haue conioyned the most vsuall and familiar grounds of these our times, for consort or thine owne priuate selfe: together with some such other light fansies of vulgar tunes for variety. . . . To these as thy increase of performance riseth, haue I annexed some of the same grounds in variable diuision: done after a more quicke and hard maner of plaie. . . .²

¹Alfred Einstein, The Italian Madrigal (Princeton, N. J.: Princeton University Press, 1949), II, 847-849.

²Antony Holborne, The Cittharn Schoole (London: Peter Short, 1597).

CHAPTER IV

THE ENGLISH MANUSCRIPT SOURCES

It is now possible to turn to the main task of this investigation, the examination of sources of English music from the sixteenth century, with the view of finding whether, and if so to what extent, evidence appears of the penetration of Italian music and Italian style characteristics, particularly the use of Italian ground bass patterns. This would parallel the dissemination of Italian music and musical practices which have already been observed in German, French, and Spanish sources.

The principal part of the material to be examined is music for the lute and cittern, but also some for gittern, bandora, the lyra-viol, and some keyboard music. This music is preserved in manuscript miscellanies, some of which are "musical commonplace books" containing a great variety of music--secular and sacred vocal music, both part-song and solo; keyboard music; music for the lute, cittern and other plucked instruments; music for viols; and sometimes things other than music. The manuscripts studied are now in the British Museum, the Library of Cambridge University, the Library of Trinity College, Dublin, and the Folger Shakespeare Library, Washington.

The catalogue of the British Museum manuscripts¹ gives a classified and detailed list of the contents of each, together with such information as to date, previous ownership, or other facts as was available to the compilers. The only catalogues of the Cambridge manuscripts, on the other hand, are very old and give only a listing of the manuscripts, together with brief notes as

¹Augustus Hughes-Hughes, Catalogue of Manuscript Music in the British Museum (3 vols.; London: Oxford University Press, 1906-1909).

to approximate date, state of preservation, the general nature of the contents, with occasionally the names of a few of the best known pieces represented.¹ At the time these catalogues were compiled the nature of notation in tablature was little understood, and there is consequently no distinction made between the music for lute, cittern or lyra-viol. The same is true of the catalogue of the manuscripts in the Library of Trinity College, Dublin.² A brief description of the manuscript from the Folger Shakespeare Library is found in a published census of medieval and Renaissance manuscripts held in the United States and Canada.³ This information may be supplemented by that found in various histories of music, books and periodical literature, to which reference will be made when discussing individual manuscripts. This leaves a great deal to be learned through examination of the manuscripts themselves and consideration of their contents in detail.

British Museum, Manuscript Royal Appendix 58

The first manuscript to be considered is British Museum Manuscript, Royal Appendix 58, a miscellany of quite varied contents, collected over a period of some years and written by a number of hands. The book may have been started as a tenor part-book, since the oldest section (ff. 1-24v) consists mostly of tenor parts of secular vocal compositions with English texts. The part-books for the other voices apparently are lost. The texts for these songs, together with those for the fifty-nine songs in British Museum Additional Manuscript 31,922, were already transcribed and published by Ewald

¹James Orchard Halliwell-(Phillips), The Manuscript Rarities of the University of Cambridge (London: Thomas Rodd, 1841); Catalogue of Manuscripts Preserved in the Library of the University of Cambridge (5 vols.; Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1856-1867).

²T. K. Abbott, Catalogue of the Manuscripts in the Library of Trinity College, Dublin (Dublin: Hodges, Figgis, & Co., 1900).

³Seymour de Ricci and W. J. Wilson, Census of Medieval and Renaissance Manuscripts in the United States and Canada (New York: H. W. Wilson Co., 1935), p. 314.

Flügel in 1889.¹ There is only one song in the group with definite reference to a known historical event, No. 21, "Now fayre fayrest off euery fayre." The words, "Welcum of Scotland to be quene," which form the fourth line of each of the four-line stanzas, can only refer to Margaret, oldest daughter of Henry VII, who was married to James IV of Scotland at Edinborough on August 8, 1503. It is not possible to say whether the song was written down in this book at that time or later. Notations in the manuscript seem to indicate some connection with the diocese of Exeter (f. 3), and with the town of Cardiff (f. 39v), and that it once belonged to a "Domnus Johannes B---y" (f. 59v).

Although most of the songs are anonymous, two are ascribed to William Cornish (or Cornysse), who was born about 1465 and held the appointment as master of the children of the Chapel Royal from 1513 until the time of his death in 1523.² It would seem reasonable to estimate that this part of the book was written down by about 1525.

Another group of single parts, chiefly tenor, of sacred vocal music with Latin texts, including part of a mass beginning with the words, "Et in terra pax" (ff. 11v, 26-28, 31v-39v, 58v-59v), afford no further clues as to the date of origin. The same is true of a group of three single parts, chiefly medius, of pieces apparently intended for a consort of viols, bearing the names of chansons, "Apre de vous," "Dum vincela," and "Grace and vertu" (ff. 30-31).³

A group of eleven keyboard pieces, all anonymous except for the "Horn-

¹Ewald Flügel, "Liedersammlungen des XVI. Jahrhunderts, besonders aus der Zeit Heinrich's VIII. I.," *Anglia*, XII (1889), 225 ff.

²Jeffrey Pulver, *A Biographical Dictionary of Old English Music* (London: Kegan Paul, 1927), pp. 117-120.

³The second title is a corruption of the first words, "D'où vient cela," of a chanson by Claudin de Sermisy. These chansons had been in quite general circulation for some time, and "Auprès de vous secrètement" and "Dont (*sic*) vient cela" were already being published in keyboard arrangements by Pierre Attaignant in Paris in 1530. The chansons could easily have been in circulation in England at the same time. Attaignant's keyboard publications, in which these two chansons figure, have been reprinted in facsimile by Eduard Bernoulli in *Seltenheiten aus süddeutschen Bibliotheken* (München: Carl Kuhn, 1914), III/1, 59; III/3, 63.

pipe" by Hugh Aston (born ca. 1480, died 1522, as Canon of St. Stephen's, Westminster),¹ are found on ff. 40-49v. Two of these pieces, the "Hornpipe" and "My Lady Carey's Dompe," have been reprinted a number of times, and more recently ten of them have been published as a collection.² This part of the manuscript has been subjected to quite varied speculation as to date. Henry Davey, evidently surmising that they must have been written during Aston's more active years, estimated the date as about 1510.³

There is a possible clue as to the date of the keyboard pieces in connection with the piece called "My Lady Carey's Dompe." John Ward has recently conjectured that the name dump may be the English equivalent of the French déploration or tombeau, which have been applied to music written to honor the memory of a deceased person named in the title.⁴ The lady of "My Lady Carey's Dompe" may have been Anne Boleyn's sister, who married Henry Carey, knight of the body to Henry VIII. If Ward's conjecture is correct, the piece would have been written down in her honor no earlier than the year of her death, 1543.

In only one of the keyboard pieces is found any of the ground bass patterns discussed in the previous chapter. "The Short Mesure off my lady Winkfylds rownde" (ff. 45v-46v) is built on a variant of the folia bass, having the harmonic scheme I | V | I | bVII ' | bVII | I | V | I ||.

The last music to be entered in the book seems to be the set of pieces in French lute tablature (ff. 51v-55), written in the space left before and after "Thys vyrgyn clere," a sort of dialogue between the Virgin and Child,

¹Jeffrey Pulver, A Biographical Dictionary of Old English Music (London: J. Curwen & Sons, Ltd., 1927), pp. 17-18.

²Frank Dawes (ed.), Ten Pieces by Hugh Aston and Others (London: Schott & Co., Ltd., 1951).

³Henry Davey, History of English Music (London: J. Curwen & Sons, Ltd., 1895), p. 97.

⁴John Ward, "The 'Dolfull Dumps,'" Journal of the American Musicological Society, IV/2 (1951), 111-121.

seemingly introduced by a short three-part piece, "Thys endere ny³th," both having the refrain, "By by, baby, lullay" (ff. 52v-54v). It is the lute music with which the present study is concerned, and transcriptions of these pieces are included in Part II (pp. 125-130). The ink in this part of the manuscript is considerably faded, making reading difficult. The notation, particularly as regards metrical indications, is often quite incomplete and inexact, necessitating not merely transcription, but virtual reconstruction to arrive at what seem to be the intended forms of these pieces. For the music which is also found in other sources this can be done with plausible results, but for the rest any solution must be regarded as tentative. The following is a list of these pieces:

- No. 1. "The Duke of Somerset's dompe." f. 51v-52.
- No. 2. "In wynter's just returne." f. 52.
- No. 3. "Yf care cause men to cry." f. 52.
- No. 4. "Heven and erth." f. 52, concluded on f. 55v.
- No. 5. Unnamed piece. (Theme of "Queen Marie's Dump.") f. 54v.
- No. 6. "Warda mus" (?) (Title not legible.) f. 54v.
- No. 7. "Pastyme." f. 55.
- No. 8. "Pover man's dompe." f. 55.

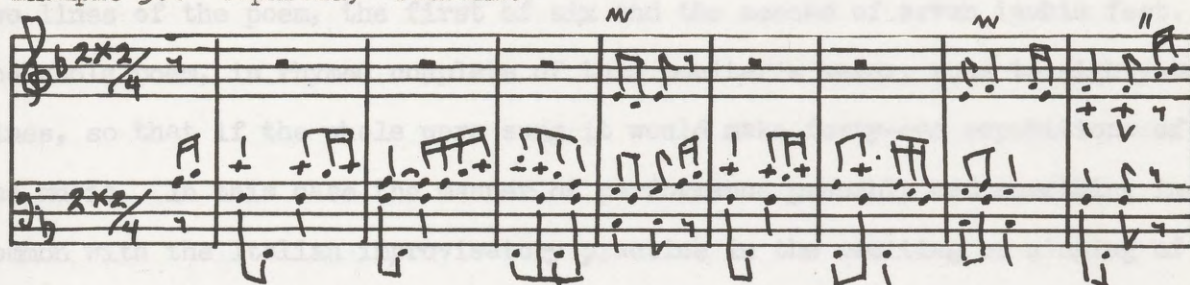
If, as Ward suggested,¹ "The Duke of Somerset's dompe" is named in honor of Edward Seymour, third Duke of Somerset, who met his death by execution January 22, 1552, the lute music must have been added in the manuscript soon after that date. The piece consists of an eight-measure theme--two parallel phrases, the first cadencing on the dominant and the second on the tonic--followed by five variations, with considerable irregularities in some of them. The theme of this piece is to be found in more than one earlier source, the earliest seeming to be a piece called "Padoana," No. 17, in the manuscript Lute Book (ca. 1515-1520) of Vincenzo Capirola (1474-ca.1548?),² now in the

¹Ibid., pp. 120-121.

²Dr. Otto Gombosi's study of this manuscript, including a complete transcription, is in process of publication. The above "Padoana" is mentioned, together with quotation of the theme, but a fifth higher in key, in J. P. N. Land, Het Luitboek van Thysius (Amsterdam: Frederik Muller & Co., 1889), p. 289. Cf. supra, p. 27, n. 2.

Newberry Library, Chicago. The theme, as transcribed by Otto Gombosi, runs like this:

Example 30. Capirola, "Padoana."



Also thematically identical with these two pieces is "Ein seer guter welscher tantz in abzug" and its "Hupff auff (Saltarello)" in Hans Newsidler, Ein neues Lautenbüchlein (Nürnberg, 1540).¹ The Capirola and Newsidler pieces are in the well-defined dance-form patterns, the first being an independent piece, and the second having its after-dance, or Saltarello, in triple meter. The last period of the Saltarello is built on the passamezzo antico bass in the major mode, as mentioned earlier,² the only place in these three versions that this bass pattern occurs. It must be admitted that the variations in "The Duke of Somerset's dompe" can not be compared in either craftsmanship or musical interest with the two other versions. The significant fact is, however, that this Italian music evidently was in circulation in both Germany and England, and the anonymous English composer simply adopted it as the theme for the series of variations comprising the dump.

"In wynter's just returne" is found also in French lute tablature in Folger Shakespeare Library MS 448.16, but neither this version nor that in Royal Appendix 58 is exact as to notes and meter, that in the Folger manuscript having no metrical indications whatever. In Part II of this study (p. 127) a literal transcription of both versions is given, together with a conjectural reconstruction. The words "In wynter's just returne" are the beginning of the

¹Denkmäler der Tonkunst in Oesterreich, XVIII/2 (1911), 42-43.

²Supra, p. 27.

first line of the poem by Henry Howard, Earl of Surrey, published under the title, "Complaint of a dying louer refused vpon his ladies iniust mistaking of his writyng," in Tottel's Miscellany (1557).¹ The music would accomodate two lines of the poem, the first of six and the second of seven iambic feet. The whole poem, in rhymed couplets of this poulter's meter, runs to eighty-two lines, so that if the whole were sung it would make forty-one repetitions of the music. In this case the manner of performance probably had something in common with the Italian improvisatory practice in the reciting or singing of poetry to a musical accompaniment, which was discussed in the previous chapter. The two manuscript versions of the music do not show a discant theme distinctive enough to serve as a basic improvisatory theme. The bass line, however, is more definite and shows a partial relationship to the passamezzo antico bass, and may well have served as the stable factor in such performance.

"Yf care cause me[n] to cry" is also found in French lute tablature in British Museum Stowe MS 389,² and in a setting for four voices in The Melvill Book of Roundels (1612).³ These versions have been considered in working out the suggested reconstruction on p.128. This poem is also by Surrey, published in Tottel's Miscellany under the title, "The faithfull louer declareth his paines and his vncertein ioies, and with only hope recomforteth somewhat his wofull heart."⁴ The meter and rhyme schemes are the same as in the previous poem, and the length of the poem is sixty lines. In this case the discant melody seems to have a more distinctive character than in the previous song,

¹Hyder E Rollins (ed.), Tottel's Miscellany (1557-1587) (2 vols.; Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1928), I, 14-16. The same poem published under the title, "A Stricken Shepherd," in Frederick Morgan Padelford (ed.), The Poems of Henry Howard, Earl of Surrey (2d ed.; Seattle: University of Washington Press, 1928), pp. 75-77.

²Infra, p. 52.

³Granville Bantock and H. Orsmond Anderton (eds.), The Melvill Book of Roundels (London: privately printed for the Roxburgh Club, 1916), p. 199.

⁴Rollins, op. cit., I, 209-210. Under the title, "Calm after Storm," in Padelford, op. cit., pp. 80-82.

and it therefore could possibly have served as a basis for improvised discant variations.

The music for "Heven and erth" proves to be a version for the lute of the "Pavane d'Angleterre," which was published in a setting for five instruments by Claude Gervaise in Pierre Attaignant's Sixieme Livre de Dancieries (Paris, 1555).¹ Incidentally, the title and circumstances show a good example of musical interchange among different countries--an Italian dance-form written or adapted for an English song, then arranged for several instruments by a Frenchman and published in Paris. The musical form is more highly organized than in the two previous songs, consisting of two eight-measure periods, each divided into two four-measure phrases. The harmonic scheme shows some relationship to that of the romanesca, in that each period begins in F major and moves to D minor at the final cadence. In the final cadences of both periods (measures 6-8 and 14-16) both the bass and the discant show the romanesca pattern, and the same occurs at the beginning of the final phrase (measures 12-14), but here it leads into a deceptive cadence.

"Heven and erth" is one of Sir Thomas Wyatt's poems preserved in the most authentic form in British Museum Manuscript, Egerton 2711.² The music accomodates one four-line stanza of the poem, which is in iambic pentameter rhymed a b a b. The poem is nine stanzas in length.

The unnamed piece, No. 5, is an eight-measure period in G minor in duple meter, built on the passamezzo antico bass, the form in which both phrases begin with the G minor tonic. Thematically the piece is nearly identical with the first period of "Queen Maries Dump" found in the William Ballet lute book.³ While the discants are closely related, the bass in the Ballet

¹Henry Expert (ed.), Les Maîtres Musiciens de la Renaissance française, XV (Paris: Alphonse Leduc, 1908), 18-19; also, Archibald T. Davison and Willi Apel, Historical Anthology of Music, I (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1946), 148.

²Kenneth Muir (ed.), Collected Poems of Sir Thomas Wyatt (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1949), pp. 56-57.

³Infra, p. 103.

version has the normal form of the passamezzo antico bass, the second phrase beginning with the tonic of the relative major, B-flat. In the Ballet version the theme is followed by three variations. Another copy similar to the Ballet version appears without title in the Dallis lute book.¹

Over No. 6 there are a few letters which are not quite legible, which seem to be something like "Warda mus."² It is a song in G minor, sketched with only the bass line and the discant tune, with no chords, and, as in the rest of these pieces, with uncertain metrical indications. Until the piece is identified and can be correlated with a version from some other source reconstruction is hardly feasible.³

No. 7, "Pastyme," is an arrangement for the lute of the best-known song written by Henry VIII, "Pastyme with good companye," which is preserved in a version for three voices in British Museum Additional MS 31,922.⁴ The latter manuscript contains fourteen songs and sixteen compositions without text bearing the king's name. Both the bass line and the discant melody of "Pastyme" show traces of relationship to the typical passamezzo antico pattern, although the rhythmical treatment is quite free. The final phrase (measures 18-22) of the lute version shows an interesting rhythmical condensation of the progressions of the second phrase of the passamezzo antico twice repeated (p. 130).

The title of No. 8 is hardly legible in the manuscript. The compilers

¹Infra, p. 103.

²This has been missed in the published catalogue, where Nos. 5 and 6 are taken to be one piece. The two pieces are definitely not related. Cf. Hughes-Hughes, op. cit., III, 57.

³The sketch in Part II (p. 129) is a literal transcription of the tablature.

⁴Reprinted by H. E. Wooldridge in William Chappell, Old English Popular Music, rev. H. E. Wooldridge (2d ed.; London: Chappell & Co. and MacMillan & Co., 1893), I, 44-45; and more recently in Anthony Lewis (ed.), Henry VIII, Three Songs of his own Composition (Paris: Lyrebird Press, 1936).

of the catalogue of British Museum manuscripts suggest "Pover man's dor. . .s,"¹ and Wooldridge in his revision of Chappell's Old English Popular Music calls it "Power manes doumpe" in the text, but "Poor Man's Dump" in the index.² It is a short piece in galliard-like meter in C major, in two strains, the first cadencing on the tonic, and the second on the dominant, each phrase to be repeated. Possibly a da capo of the first strain was intended.³ The harmonic scheme consists almost altogether of simple alternation between tonic and dominant.

In summarizing the Italian elements in this group of pieces, there is one piece, No. 1, the theme of which is traceable to an early Italian source; one, No. 5, built on the passamezzo antico bass; two, Nos. 2 and 7, with some relationship to the passamezzo antico bass; and one, No. 4, with some relationship to the romanesca bass. Thus, more than half, five of the eight pieces, show in varying degrees something of stylistic elements brought into England from Italy.

British Museum, Stowe Manuscript 389

British Museum Stowe Manuscript 389 is a volume of statutes from the time of Henry V to Henry VI, at the beginning and end of which a small set of lute pieces in French tablature has been added.⁴ The purpose of this collection is pleasingly stated on f. 120: "The xviijth Daie of maye the same writtin by one Raphe Bowle to Learne to playe on the Lutte in anno 1558." The manuscript is obviously the work of an amateur, with many inaccuracies, and in some cases so slipshod in metrical indications as to make any attempt at transcription

¹Hughes-Hughes, op. cit., III, 57.

²Chappell, op. cit., I, 221, 331.

³The notation is quite indefinite as to metrical values, and there are some obvious inaccuracies. In the middle of the second phrase something seems to have been omitted. The reconstruction on p. is possibly as near as may be conjectured from the notation, until a more accurate version may be discovered in another source.

⁴Hughes-Hughes, op. cit., III, 58.

and reconstruction conjectural at best. These very facts, however, give this manuscript a special value, since they give evidence that the music here written is typical of the popular music in general circulation in England at the time, especially with amateurs. It is also helpful that the manuscript is definitely dated.

Transcriptions of the music in this collection are included in Part II of this study.¹ The following is a list of the pieces, with some supplementary description:

- No. 1. Unnamed incomplete piece. Beginning of a pavane on the passamezzo antico. f. 1.
- No. 2. "My hearte ys Leied on the Londe." f. 120.
- No. 3. "Yf care doe cause men crie." f. 120.
- No. 4. Unnamed piece. Pavane to the romanesca. f. 120v.
- No. 5. Unnamed piece. Galliard to the romanesca. f. 120v.
- No. 6. Unnamed piece. Pavane to the romanesca. f. 121.
- No. 7. Unnamed piece. Pavane to the passamezzo antico. f. 121.
- No. 8. "A Galliarde." Romanesca and passamezzo antico mixture. f. 121v and f. 121.
- No. 9. "A Galliarde." Passamezzo antico. f. 121v.
- No. 10. "The Kynges pawvion." Begins with passamezzo moderno half-form. ff. 121v-122.
- No. 11. "The princis pavion." ff. 122-122v.
- No. 12. Unnamed incomplete piece. Beginning of a pavane on the passamezzo antico. f. 123.

No. 1 is a fragment written on a four-lined staff, apparently for a four-course lute tuned to c f a d'. It is the beginning of a pavane in C minor on the passamezzo antico bass, the first phrase complete, and the writing breaking off after the beginning of the second phrase on the tonic of the relative major, E-flat. The piece seems to be a slightly varied version of No. 12.

The music of No. 2, "My hearte ys Leied on the Londe," is the same as that found in the first keyboard piece in British Museum Additional Manuscript 30,513 ("The Mulliner Book," f. 3), under the title "O ye happy dames."² The title in "The Mulliner Book" is puzzling, since the text of Surrey's poem

¹Infra, pp. 131 ff.

²Musica Britannica, I (London: Stainer and Bell, Ltd., for The Royal Musical Association, 1951), 1.

beginning with these lines¹ does not fit with this music, while there is in the same manuscript another composition with the title "O happy Dames" (ff. 107-107v) which will accomodate the text.² The title "My hart is leiuit [= left] on the la[n]d" is to be found as No. 86 in the listing of "The Complaynt-of-Scotland" tales,³ although the text of the song does not seem to be known. In form the music consists of four quite regular four-measure phrases which may be represented as to content as a b c a'.

No. 3, "Yf care doe cause men crie," has already been discussed when it appeared in the British Museum Manuscript, Royal Appendix 58.⁴ The version found in the Stowe Manuscript 389, though not altogether free from inaccuracy or ambiguity, is on the whole much more clearly notated.

The three unnamed pieces, Nos. 4, 5, and 6, are all simple pieces constructed over the romanesca bass, making occasional sequential figures. The discant in No. 4, a pavane in 2/4 time, uses melodic figures with eighth and sixteenth notes; No. 5, a galliard in 6/8 time, runs mostly in sixteenth notes; and No. 6, a pavane in 2/4 time, runs mostly in thirty-second notes.

No. 7, also unnamed, is a pavane in C major, eight measures in length, whose bass line is a passamezzo antico variant, both phrases beginning on the tonic, with a few harmonic interpolations, and in the final cadence a substitution of the subdominant for the tonic preceding the dominant.

Nos. 8 and 9 are both eight-measure galliards in 3/8 time in C minor. No. 8 begins with the first phrase of the romanesca bass and concludes with the second phrase of the passamezzo antico bass, which begins, however, on the tonic C rather than on the chord of the relative major, E-flat.⁵ No. 9 is

¹Padelford, op. cit., pp. 71-72. ²Musica Britannica, I, 81-82.

³Frederick J. Furnivall (ed.), New Shakespeare Society Series, VI/4 (London, 1889), clx.

⁴Supra, p. 48.

⁵In view of the parallel structure of the two phrases of this piece, and the skip, C to Ab, in the discant (measure 1), it may be questioned whether the first bass note of No. 8, Eb, is not an error of the scribe and that C was intended, making the bass pattern the simple passamezzo antico, as in No. 9.

similar in structure, being also built on the passamezzo antico bass, both phrases beginning on the tonic. Both galliards show parallel phrase structure, and some interesting examples of the use of sequence.

No. 10, "The Kynges pawvion," begins with a phrase that appears at first to be the passamezzo moderno half-form (i.e., second phrase) in C major, but the second phrase, parallel with it in structure, cadences in F major. The whole piece consists of four four-measure phrases whose formal scheme may be represented as a a' b b'. The notation is quite faulty, both as to notes and metrical indications.

"The princis pawvion," No. 11, in C minor, consists of three strains, but it is not built on any pattern related to the ground basses found in the other pieces. The manuscript was evidently hastily and carelessly written, and it is so full of errors and questionable passages as to make any attempt at reconstruction almost pure guess-work.

No. 12, unnamed, is the beginning of a pavane in C minor, quite similar to No. 1, on the passamezzo antico bass. It proceeds in normal fashion up to the middle of measure 6, following which the scribe has written some incoherent passages (copied from the wrong place in his model?) closing on the G major chord, following which is the word "ffynys," and a few illegible characters.

While little of the music in this manuscript may be said to have much intrinsic musical value, the collection is of historical importance, since it shows how common the use of these Italian ground basses had become in the popular repertory of instrumental music in England by the middle of the sixteenth century. Of the twelve pieces in the collection there are five with the passamezzo antico bass or its variant forms, three with the romanesca bass, and one with some relation to the passamezzo moderno bass, making a proportion of three-fourths of the pieces either wholly or partially constructed on these grounds.

Folger Shakespeare Library Manuscript 448.16

The Folger Shakespeare Library Manuscript 448.16 is a "commonplace book" including in its contents a short account of "Money owinge to Giles Lodge 1591," twenty-one folios of lute music in French tablature, a miscellaneous collection of remedies and recipes, among which at one place is found the date 1571, an example of how to make a will bearing the date September 22, 1559, and finally, the text of a play in verse entitled "The Comodi of Ivli and Ivlian." The manuscript was sold at the Earl of Westmorland sale by Sotheby (London, 13 July 1887, No. 481) to a Mr. Pearson for J. O. Halliwell-Phillipps (Calendar of Shakespearian Rarities, 1891, p. 155, No. 805).¹

The lute tablatures were written by three quite different hands. The first group comprises twenty-four pieces (Nos. 1-24, ff. 3-12), in which the writing is quite untidy. While there are relatively few inaccuracies in the notes themselves, metrical indications are inadequate, in some cases making little if any sense. In a few cases, which will be mentioned later, there are no metrical indications at all. A second scribe seemingly added three pieces (Nos. 25-27, ff. 12v-13). Here too the tablature is lacking in definiteness, particularly as to metrical notation. A third scribe's work is in evidence in the last group, comprising eleven pieces (Nos. 28-38, ff. 13v-21). The tablature here is for the most part quite neat and accurate, both as to notes and metrical signs.

From the nature of the contents of the first group it may be surmised that this part of the manuscript was roughly contemporary with that of British Museum Manuscript, Stowe 389 (1558), just considered), or only slightly later. The small group of three pieces may have been added soon after. The last group is later, but it is difficult to estimate how much later. If the dates of the

¹Seymour de Ricci et al., Census of Medieval and Renaissance Manuscripts in the United States and Canada (New York: The H. W. Wilson Co., 1935), p. 314.

first known publication of the texts of Nos. 28 and 35 may be taken as a clue, this part of the manuscript may be possibly twenty years later.

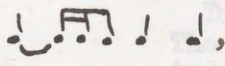
The following is a list of the pieces in lute tablature.¹ The folios in the manuscript are not numbered. The numbering here employed is simply the order of the folios as they come. On f. 1 is an incomplete table of contents of the lute pieces, including those here numbered 1 to 24, and on ff. 1v-2 is an itemized account of "Money owinge to Giles Lodge 1591." F. 2v is blank, and the lute tablaturs begin on f. 3.

- No. 1. "Will ye go walk the woods so wilde. Cha. Jackson." f. 3.
- No. 2. "Pretye Shivall." f. 4.
- *No. 3. "I am my lordship Greis man." ff. 4-4v.
- *No. 4. "Blame not my lute." Folia variant--"Cara cosa" type. f. 4v.
- No. 5. "Robin Hoode." f. 5.
- No. 6. "A galiard." f. 5v.
- *No. 7. "Passamesure galiarde." Passamezzo antico. ff. 5v-6.
- No. 8. "Hygh mystris whiller." f. 6.
- *No. 9. "The motlye." Bergamasca. f. 6v.
- *No. 10. "A flatte pavione." ff. 6v-7.
- *No. 11. "The Antycke." Passamezzo moderno. ff. 7-7v.
- *No. 12. "A le bon galiarde." f. 7v.
- *No. 13. "Reprise f. pp." ff. 8-8v.
- *No. 14. "A pavion." Passamezzo antico. ff. 8v-9.
- No. 15. "The bagpipes." f. 9.
- No. 16. "A horne pippe." f. 9.
- *No. 17. "The passe a mesures pavion." Passamezzo antico. ff. 9v-10.
- No. 18. "Trenchmore." ff. 10-10v.
- No. 19. "A rounde." ff. 10v-11.
- No. 20. "Iinitium." ff. 11-11v.
- No. 21. "Of love to learne to skylle." f. 11v.
- No. 22. Unnamed piece. f. 12.
- No. 23. "The hunt is uppe." f. 12.
- No. 24. "Pauls galiarde." f. 12.
- No. 25. "Laberkar." (?) f. 12v.
- No. 26. "Hanc tua Penelope." f. 12v.
- *No. 27. "In winters iuste retorne." Passamezzo antico variant. f. 13.
- *No. 28. "O heavenly god, my L. of E. hes Songe." "ffinis qoth Mr. Hewese." f. 13v.
- *No. 29. "A Dumpe." Bergamasca. ff. 14-15v.
- *No. 30. "Quarte brawle." ff. 15v-16v.
- *No. 31. "The Ffrenche galiarde." In part a folia variant. ff. 16v-17v.
- *No. 32. "Almaine." f. 18.
- *No. 33. "Vaine is worldlye pleasure." Free folia variant. f. 18v.
- No. 34. "The upright esquiere." ff. 18v-19.
- *No. 35. "All of grene willowe." In part related to folia. f. 19.
- No. 36. "In Ffa ut dissend Bassū." ff. 19v-20.
- *No. 37. "A Measure." f. 20.
- *No. 38. "Westones pavion." Passamezzo antico. ff. 20v-21.

¹Transcriptions of pieces marked * are included in Part II (pp. 136 ff.).

Turning to the group of pieces written by the first two hands, those in which Italian ground bass patterns are found will be considered first. The passamezzo antico bass figures in four of this group. No. 7, "Passamesure galiarde," is a simple eight-measure piece in 6/8-3/4 meter in C minor, traversing the ground pattern once, the second phrase beginning, like the first, with the C minor tonic rather than that of the relative major, E-flat. The texture consists of the bass line, a discant melody with slight coloration, and a fill-in middle voice when there is less movement in the discant voice.

No. 14, "A pavion," in F minor, is more extended, thirty-two measures of 4/4 meter in length. The texture consists only of two voice lines, except for a third note added at the cadences. In form the piece consists of four strains, each built on the bass pattern, with the second phrase always beginning with the minor tonic rather than that of the relative major, and each with its own distinctive rhythmic and melodic figures treated sequentially. The first period is irregular in that the second phrase is modified so as to cadence on the dominant instead of on the tonic. In the third strain (measures 17-24) there is apparently an ellipsis of two measures, due to an omission by the scribe. In the transcription (p. 141) a suggested restoration of these two measures is enclosed in brackets.

No. 17, "The passe a mesures pavion," consists of one eight-measure strain in C minor, the second phrase beginning on the minor tonic. It is for the most part in three voices. The bass has a quite distinctive rhythmic pattern , and the upper voices are quite florid, running often in thirty-second-note patterns. As a composition it is the most highly developed in motive and texture of those on the passamezzo antico bass in this section of the manuscript.

The other piece using the passamezzo antico bass, No. 27, "In winters just retorne," has already been discussed in connection with the version of it found in British Museum Manuscript, Royal Appendix 58.¹

¹Supra, pp. 47-48.

No. 11, "The Antycke," is not, as the title would seem to indicate, built on the passamezzo antico, but on the passamezzo moderno bass pattern. Here the full pattern is contained in a four-measure phrase of 4/4 meter. The first phrase presents the tune, with something of a dance-like lilt, in three-part harmony. This is followed by two phrases which are simple variations on the first phrase. The latter of these is followed by a repetition, which is not completely written out (the first measure being omitted in the tablature), with only very slight changes.

A very interesting example of the typical "Cara cosa" variant form of the folia is found in No. 4, "Blame not my lute." The tablature gives only the notes, in three-part harmony, with no metrical indications. Comparison of the notes with the "Cara cosa" example quoted¹ from the "Recercada quarta" in Ortiz' Tratado de glosas shows it to be practically identical, except that Ortiz' keyboard part is a four-voice harmonization. That the music had become quite widely disseminated, and was used also in vocal performances, is shown by its appearance in the chanson, "Mes pas semez," by Adrian le Roy, which was published in Paris in 1555.²

"Blame not my lute" is one of the poems of Sir Thomas Wyatt preserved in the British Museum, Devonshire Manuscript, Additional 17,492.³ It is in six seven-line stanzas, the first of which runs:

Blame not my lute for he must sownde
of thes or that as liketh me;
For lake of wytt the lutte is bownde
To gyve suche tunes as plesithe me:
Tho my songes be sume what strange,
And spekes suche wordes as toche thy change,
Blame not my lutte.

In Part II of this study (pp. 136-137) is a literal transcription of

¹Supra, p. 34.

²Adrian le Roy et Robert Ballard, Premier livre de tabulature de Guiterre, 2. livre (Paris, 1555), f. 8.

³Kenneth Muir (ed.), Collected Poems of Sir Thomas Wyatt (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1949), pp. 122-123.

the tablature, a rhythmic setting based on the Ortiz version, and finally, a suggested reconstructed setting of the first stanza of the poem as it may have been sung. The first four lines fit quite well by taking phrase (b) twice, the first time closing on the dominant (as in the Ortiz example), and the second time on the tonic. The remaining three lines fit exactly the Folger manuscript version if the words of the short seventh line are repeated. That Wyatt's poem, which definitely alludes to the practice of singing poetry to the lute, is associated here with the "Cara cosa" music, shows that not only had a practice comparable to the manner of singing popular poetry in Italy become current in England, but in this case it is specifically associated with one of the most popular Italian grounds and its most usual discant tune. Furthermore, the omission of metrical signs in the manuscript would seem to indicate that the music was so well known as to make them unnecessary.

No. 9, "The motlye," is a little eight-measure piece made up of two phrases, each built on the bergamasca bass. This brings to seven the number of pieces in this part of the manuscript which are built on Italian ground basses.

As can be seen from the list, the remainder of this first part of the manuscript consists of lute tablatures of popular songs, a few dances, and one song with Latin text, No. 26, "Hanc tua Penelope." The notation for some of the songs is quite haphazard, particularly with regard to rhythmical signs, but sometimes also with regard to the notes. No. 10, "A flatte pavione," and No. 13, "Reprise of f[lat] pp[avane]," may be somewhat related thematically to two of the pavane-galliard compositions in British Museum, Additional Manuscript 31,389, which will be discussed later.

Turning now to the part of the manuscript written by the third hand, the first piece in this group, No. 28, is entitled "O heavenly God, My L[ord] of E[ssex] hes Songe," and at the end are the words, "ffinis goth Mr. Hewese." This is the song supposed to have been sung on his death-bed in Ireland by

Walter Devereux, first Earl of Essex, a knight of the Garter and Earl Marshall of Ireland, who died September 22, 1576. An account of the Earl's death, including the text of the song, by the Earl's friend and secretary, Edward Waterhouse, is preserved in a commonplace book compiled by Richard Broughton, who served as man of business to both Walter and Robert Devereux, Earls of Essex. The following passage referring to the song also identifies Mr. Hewese (here spelled Hayes) as musician in the Earl's household:

The night folowinge the Friday nighte, w^{ch} was the night before he died, he willed William Hayes his musician to playe on the virgynalls, and to singe. "Playe," said he, "my songe, and I will singe yt my self." And so he did most joyfullie; not as the howlinge Swan, still lokinge downe, wayleth her end, but as the swete lark, liftinge upp his hands and castinge his eyes upp unto his God, wth his unwearied winges to the toppe of the heighest heavens. . . .

The songe his honor songe the night before he died:

O heavenlie God, O father deare, cast downe thy tender eye¹

The full poem was first published in The Paradise of Dainty Devices in 1576, under the title "The complaint of a Synner."² In the first editions of this miscellany the poem is ascribed to Francis Kinwelmarsh, and in some of the later editions there is added to the title, "and sung by the Earl of Essex upon his death-bed in Ireland." The presence of the name of "Mr. Hewese" in connection with the music in the Folger manuscript would seem to support the tradition connecting the song with the Earl. It would seem then that this part of the Folger manuscript was written some time after 1576.

The music to "O heavenly God" which appears in the Folger manuscript

¹Henry Elliot Malden (ed.), "Devereux Papers with Richard Broughton's Memoranda (1575-1601)," Camden Miscellany, XIII (1923) ("Royal Historical Society, London, Publications, Camden, Third Series, XXXIV"; London: Offices of the Society, 1924), v ff, 9-11.

The same account is quoted in Walter Bouchier Devereux, Lives and Letters of the Devereux, Earls of Essex (London: John Murray, 1853), pp. 145 ff. The wording is somewhat different, the part referring to the Earl's musician reading: ". . . . he called William Hewes, which was his musician, to play upon the virginal and to sing. 'Play,' said he, 'my song, Will Hewes, and I will sing it myself.'"

²Hyder E. Rollins (ed.), The Paradise of Dainty Devices (1576-1606) (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1927), pp. 87-88, 251-252.

in an arrangement for lute solo, is found twice as a song with lute accompaniment in Thomas Dallis' Lute Book.¹ The music to the same text in two later manuscript lute tablatures in the British Museum (Additional MS 31,992, f. 53, and Additional MS 15,117, f. 4) is a completely different composition. In his commentary Rollins says that a notation added by an old hand in the unique copy of the 1596 edition of the Paradise, now in America, indicates that the poem was also sung to the tune of "Rogero." This is quite possible, since the meter of this tune agrees quite well with that of the poem.²

No. 29, "A Dumpe,"³ is a thirty-two measure composition in 2/4 meter written in continuous variation technique on the four-measure bergamasca bass pattern. Several of the variations are in pairs, containing similar rhythmic motives, and in one pair (measures 17-24) having a florid movement in thirty-second notes in the treble part in the first, and in the bass part in the second.

No. 30, "Quarte brawle," is a lute setting of a dance which appears under the name "Quatre Branle" in Tielman Susato's Danserye, a collection of dance pieces arranged for four instruments, published in Antwerp in 1551.⁴ In form the piece consists of two periods in 2/4 time, the first of which is made up of two parallel four-measure phrases, both cadencing on the dominant, while the second period, cadencing on the tonic, is extended to nine measures by the repetition (with very slight changes) of the next to the last measure. The melody runs in rhythmic groupings of eighth and sixteenth notes. The whole piece is repeated in an ornamented variation using quite a number of thirty-second-note groups.

¹Infra, p. 98. A transcription of the Dallis version is included in Part II of this study, p. 188.

²Cf. infra, p. 184.

³The same music, with only minor differences, is found under the title "Militis dumpe" in British Museum, Additional MS 31,392, ff. 16v-17.

⁴Reprinted for four recorders by F. J. Giesbert (Mainz: Schott & Co., 1936), I, 28-29.

A lost ballad entitled "The Cater bralles bothe Wytty and mery" was registered by a Thomas Colwell with the London Stationers' Company in 1565-66.¹ In the same year Alexander Lacy registered a ballad under the title of "The goddes Diana &c," which was printed under the title "The Historie of Diana and Acteon. To the Quarter Braules" in the miscellany A Handful of Pleasant Delights (1584) by Clement Robinson and Divers Others.² The poem begins:

Diana and her darlings deare,
 Walkt once as you shall heare:
 Through woods and waters cleare,
 themselves to play:
 The leaues were gay and green,
 And pleasant to be seen:
 They went the trees between,
 in coole aray,

Rhythmically the text does not fit at all with the "Quarte brawle" in the Folger manuscript. In the notes to his edition of the Handful of Pleasant Delights³ Rollins prints a later broadside version of the ballad, preserved in the Manchester Free Reference Library, dating as early as 1624, with this heading: "A new Sonnet, shewing how the Goddesse Diana transformed Acteon into the Shape of a Hart. To the tune of Rogero." Thus, the "Quarter Braules" referred to must have had some rhythmical similarity to "Rogero" and cannot be the one in the Folger manuscript.

No. 31, "The Ffrenche galiarde," is a full-fledged dance form in three strains, in 6/8-3/4 time, each strain being a four-measure phrase with a somewhat ornamented repetition. The form of the whole may be represented by the following letter symbols: A A' B B' C C'. While different versions of "The French Galliard"⁴ vary considerably in detail, they are all related to the folia, although the treatment is quite free. The beginning and the end of

¹Hyder E. Rollins, An Analytical Index to the Ballad-Entries (1557-1709) in the Registers of the Company of Stationers of London, Studies in Philology (Chapel Hill, N. C.: University of North Carolina Press), XXI/1 (January, 1924), item 265. Hereafter referred to as Index to Ballad-Entries.

²Clement Robinson and others, A Handful of Pleasant Delights (1584), ed. Hyder E. Rollins (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1924), pp. 25-26.

³Ibid., pp. 91-96.

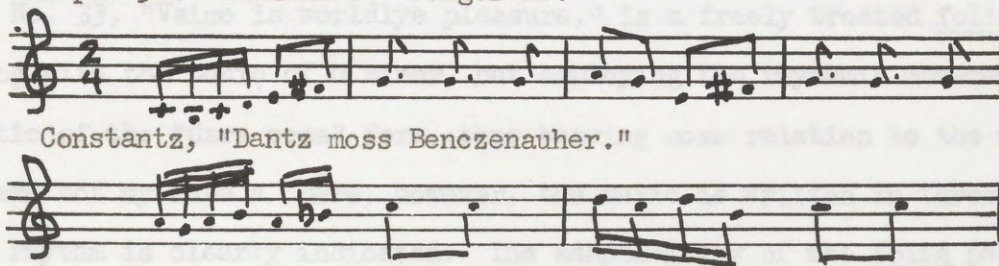
⁴Infra, pp. 72-73.

this version are related to the first and last phrases of the folia, with some phrases in the middle part using the harmonic pattern of the bergamasca. How differently details may be treated in this free folia variant, while preserving the principal thematic idea and dance structure, may be observed by comparing the version in the Folger manuscript with that for cittern in the Mulliner manuscript, which will be discussed in the next section.

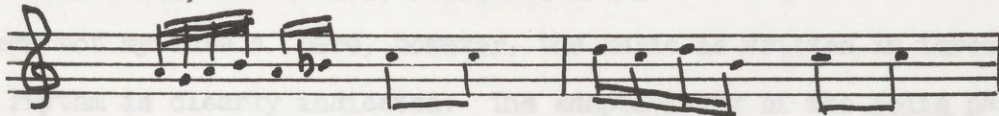
No. 32, an "Almaine," consists of two four-measure phrases in 2/4 time, the first cadencing on the dominant and the second on the tonic. Although not so indicated in the tablature, the first phrase was probably intended to be repeated; the repetition of the second phrase is written out, with a little melodic ornamentation toward the approach of the cadence. There follows an after-dance in 3/4 time, which is an exact variation of the Almaine proper.

Thematic relationships in this repertory can be somewhat tantalizing. Many tunes, or snatches of tunes, turn up in a great variety of places. The theme, but the theme only, of the "Almaine" here is found with slight variation in the coda to the "Dantz mos Benczenauher" by H. v. Constantz in an organ tablature book of Hans Kotter (1513).¹

Example 31. "Almaine." Folger MS.



Constantz, "Dantz moss Benczenauher."



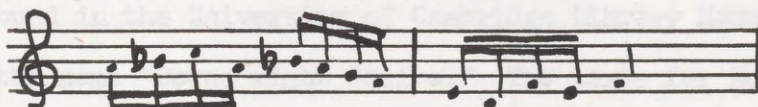
A later phrase from the same piece in Kotter's book turns up at measure 13 of the "Quarte brawle" in the Folger manuscript, which is also the same music as the "Quatre Branle" in Susato's Danserye (1551),² and it is again found as the

¹Wilhelm Merian, Der Tanz in den deutschen Tabulaturbüchern (Leipzig: Breitkopf & Härtel, 1927), pp. 54-55.

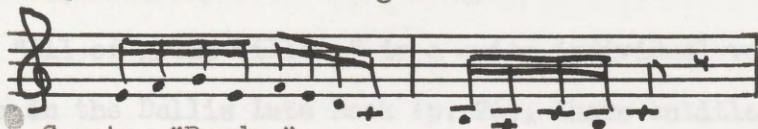
²Supra, p. 61.

concluding phrase of a "Ronde" and "Saltarello" from the third book of the same year.¹

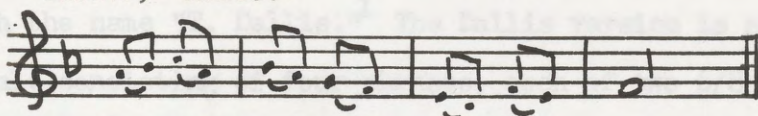
Example 32. Constantz, the same.



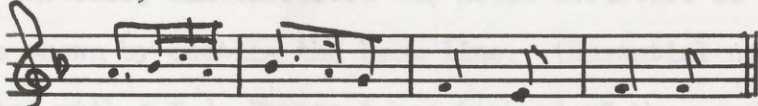
"Quarte brawle." Folger MS.



Susato, "Ronde."



Susato, "Saltarello."



Such instances could be multiplied indefinitely, but no purpose would be served except to belabor the obvious point that in the repertory of dance music, and some vocal forms as well, of sixteenth-century Europe there are many conventional melodic and rhythmic motives, and whole phrases, which occur over and over in many different contexts.

No. 33, "Vaine is worldlye pleasure," is a freely treated folia variant, beginning with the tonic of G minor, but employing the rhythmic movement characteristic of the "Cara cosa" form, thus bearing some relation to the music for "Blame not my lute." Here, however, the music is written in three parts, and the rhythm is clearly indicated. The adaptability of the folia pattern for song composition can be demonstrated by many examples throughout the sixteenth century, a particularly good early example being Bartolomeo Tromboncino's setting of the ottava (strambotto) "Aqua non e l'humor che versa gli occhi" in Petrucci's Eleventh Book of Frottole published in 1514.²

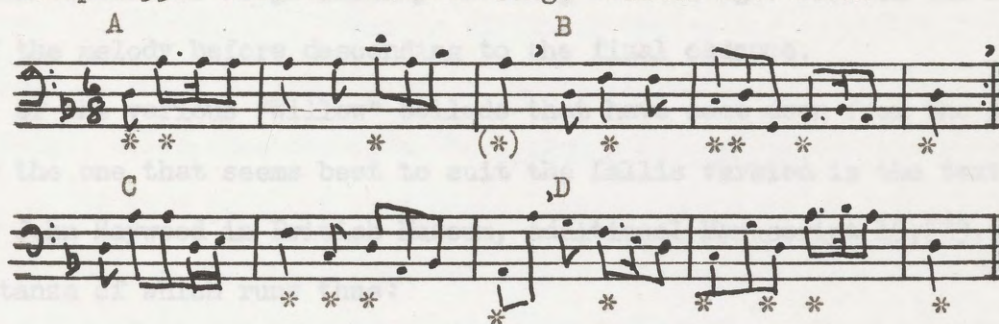
¹Arnold Schering, Geschichte der Musik in Beispielen (Leipzig: Breitkopf & Härtel, 1927), pp. 54-55.

²Alfred Einstein, The Italian Madrigal (3 vols.; Princeton, N. J.: Princeton University Press, 1949), III, 318-319.

No. 34, "The upright esquire," is a ballad tune in two unequal parts, one of six and one of eight measures in 6/8 time. The same tune, but treated quite differently in detail, and with a more florid repetition of each of the two parts, is found in the University of Cambridge Library Manuscript Dd. 2. 11 (f. 70), under the name "Downe right Squire." The texts for Nos. 33 and 34 do not seem to be known now.

No. 35, "All of grene willow," is a quite individual version of the music found also in the Dallis Lute Book (p. 26), there entitled "All a greene willow" and with the name "T. Dallis."¹ The Dallis version is simpler and much more conventional, consisting of four phrases, each of two 6/8 measures. The relationship of the bass, and therefore the basic structure of the piece, to the folia can be shown by quoting the bass line. (Essential notes of the folia bass are indicated with a *.) Phrase A has instead of the usual progression

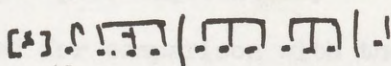
Example 33. Bass of "Willow" song. Dallis Lute Book.







I V# I bVII, the first phrase of the folia bass, simply I V# I V#. Phrases B and D have the harmonies of the final phrase of the folia, III bVII I V# I. Phrase C is based on the second phrase of the folia, III bVII I V#.

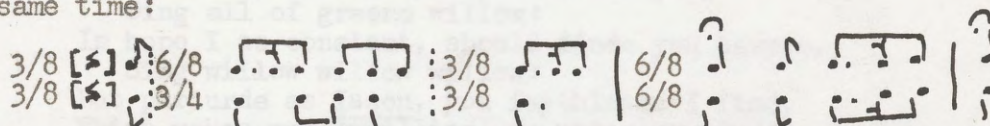
The Folger version is much freer and more interesting in phrase structure. While using three of the phrases corresponding to those in the Dallis version, a little one-measure refrain is added after each of the first three phrases. While the form of the Dallis version is simply A B :|| C D||, the form of the Folger version is A - refrain :|| C - refrain - C | D D' ||.

¹ Transcriptions of both versions in Part II, pp. 147, 186.

Further, the internal rhythmic structure of the phrase in the Dallis version is quite simple, a two-measure phrase: 6/8 

That of the phrase plus refrain in the Folger version is, on the other hand, more subtle and complex: 3/8  6/8  3/8  6/8 

Using the eighth note as the unit of time value, the phrase in the Dallis version is 12, divided simply into 6 + 6. The phrase plus refrain in the Folger version is 18, divided into $\overbrace{3 + 6 + 3}^{12} + 6$. The middle measure of 6 is either 6/8 or 3/4, and sometimes one in the melody and the other in the bass at the same time:



In performance each has six phrases, but the Folger version is more varied and interestingly organized. A feeling of urgency in the latter part is achieved by the omission of the refrains, and in the final phrases the emotional tension is heightened by dwelling for a longer time on the highest note of the melody before descending to the final cadence.

Of the various "Willow" ballads that have come down from the sixteenth century the one that seems best to suit the Dallis version is the text of the song by John Heywood in British Museum, Additional Manuscript 15,233, the first stanza of which runs thus:

Alas by what mene may I make ye to know,
the unkyndnes for kyndnes that to me doth growe:
that wone who most kynd love on me shoold bestow,
most unkynd unkyndnes to me she doth show:
for all a grene wyllow is my garland.¹

The poem that seems best fitted to the Folger version, with its refrains, is found in the miscellany A Gorgeous Gallery of Gallant Inventions (1578) with the title in verse,

A Louer approuing his Lady vnkinde
Is forsed vnrwilling to vtter his Minde.²

¹Chappell, Old English Popular Music (2d ed.; 1893), I, 110.

²Thomas Proctor, A Gorgeous Gallery of Gallant Inventions (1578), ed. Hyder E. Rollins (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1926), pp. 83-86.

The whole poem is in six double stanzas, each of eight plus eight lines, counting the refrain. The first stanza may be quoted for comparison with the music.

My loue, what mislyking in mee do you finde,
Sing all of greene willow:
That on such a soddayn, you alter your minde,
Sing willow willow willow:
What cause doth compell you, so fickle to bee?
Willow willow willow willow:
In hart which you plighted, most loyall to mee,
Willow willow willow willow.

I faythfully fixed, my fayth to remayne,
Sing all of greene willow:
In hope I as constant, should finde you agayne,
Sing willow willow willow:
But periurde as Iason, you faythlesse I find,
Which makes mee vnwilling, to vtter my minde:
Willow willow willow, singe all of greene willow,
Sing all of greene willow shall bee my Garland.

The better known "Willow Song," which Shakespeare adapted for Desdemona's song in Othello, Act IV, Scene iii, is found in British Museum, Additional Manuscript 15,117 (f. 18). This is different music, and a different poem, except for the words of the refrain.¹ While it is possible to adjust this poem to the Folger music, the one from the Gorgeous Gallery fits it more easily.

No. 36 is a galliard in F major, sixteen measures of 6/8-3/4 time, whose four phrases make up a form that may be represented as A A' B B'. The title, as far as it can be read, looks like "In Ffa ut!" The two words following it "Dissend: Bassū" merely mean that the lowest lute course is tuned to F instead of to G.

No. 37 is a little pavane in style, four phrases long, in C minor.² All the phrases cadence on the dominant except the last, which cadences on the tonic. Why it is named "A Measure" is not clear, since nothing of either of the passamezzo bass patterns is present.

¹The vocal line and lute tablature, with literal transcription are printed in Germaine Bontoux, La Chanson en Angleterre au Temps d'Elisabeth (London: Oxford University Press, 1936), pp. 341-343.

²A very free arrangement of this piece for keyboard by Arnold Dolmetsch is printed in Mabel Dolmetsch, Dances of England and France, 1450-1600 (London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, Ltd., 1949), pp. 53-54.

The last piece in this collection, No. 38, "Westones pauion," is a fully developed pavane of three eight-measure periods built on the passamezzo antico bass. The beginning is varied by starting with a measure of dominant harmony, the first two characteristic harmonies of the passamezzo antico, I ^bVII, being in the second measure. After this the normal pattern prevails through the full period. Since this piece is so definitely a passamezzo antico while No. 37 is not, Otto Gombosi's suggestion that the titles of these two compositions as they stand in the manuscript are interchanged seems quite reasonable.¹

Considering the group of eleven pieces in this manuscript written by the third scribe we find that five are structurally based on Italian ground bass patterns. That music from the continent other than Italian was also current in England at this period is shown by the inclusion of the "Quatre Branle" from Susato's Danserye (1551), and the partial thematic relationship of the "Almaine" to the "Dantz moss Benszenauher" in Kotter's organ tablature book of 1513. However, the Italian influence is predominant. Of the thirty-eight pieces in the whole collection twelve make use of Italian ground bass patterns.

British Museum, Additional Manuscript 30,513

British Museum Additional Manuscript 30,513 is a "musical commonplace book" from about the middle of the sixteenth century.² The music contained in the volume is believed to have been gathered together and copied down by Thomas Mulliner, a London organist, and has become known as "The Mulliner Book." The manuscript was one of the valuable items in the library of John Stafford Smith (1750-1836), in whose hand there are interspersed short biographical notes here

¹Otto Gombosi, "Some Musical Aspects of the English Court Masque," Journal of the American Musicological Society, I/3 (1948), p. 18.

²Hughes-Hughes, Catalogue of Manuscript Music in the British Museum (London: Oxford University Press, 1906-1909), III, 77. The date of the manuscript is given here as "late Henry VIII."

and there in the book. Smith lent the manuscript to Sir John Hawkins in 1774 for use in preparing his history of music. After Smith's death it was acquired by Dr. Rimbault, and belonged later to Professor W. H. Cummings, coming to the British Museum about 1879.

The greater part of the manuscript (ff. 3-115) consists of a collection of one hundred twenty-one keyboard pieces, representing music of practically every kind that was currently practiced--arrangements of part-songs, Latin motets, English anthems, fantasias on plainsong melodies and dance music.¹ From the standpoint of musical and historical value this part of the book is undoubtedly the most important, containing music of such composers as John Redford, William Blitheman, John Shepherd and Thomas Tallis.

The last part of the manuscript to be written down is a group of pieces in French tablature for the cittern and gittern (ff. 118-127). This is the part of the manuscript with which this study is primarily concerned since it consists of a collection of popular songs and dances. One of the songs is "Chi passa per questa strada," a composition by Philippo Azzaiolo, published by Gardano in Venice in 1557 in a collection entitled Il primo libro de Villotte alla Padoana.² This song became very popular throughout western Europe and it turns up in many sixteenth century sources which will be mentioned later. By the time the cittern pieces were written down in the Mulliner manuscript

¹This part of the manuscript has recently been published for The Royal Musical Association as the first volume of a new series Musica Britannica, I, "The Mulliner Book" (London: Stainer & Bell, Ltd., 1951). The editor, Denis Stevens, in the introduction (p. vii) speaks of certain pieces in the collection as being for the organ and others for clavichord or virginals. Specific designation as to which keyboard instrument is intended occurs seldom, if ever, in the sixteenth century. E.g., Pierre Attaignant's books of keyboard arrangements of chansons and dances (Paris, 1530) are described on the title-pages as "reduictes en la tablature des Orgues Espinettes Manicordions et telz semblables instrumentz musicaulz."

²Oscar Chilesotti, "Jacomo Gorzanis, liutista del cinquecento," Rivista Musica Italiana, XXI (1914), 90-91.

"Chi passa" was already popular enough in England that two different arrangements were included. Thus, it would seem that the date of this part of the manuscript must be later than the first publication date, 1557.

Since the cittern and gittern are now little known, a few words about them may be in order. There were several reasons for the popularity of the cittern. As compared to the lute it was a flat-backed instrument, smaller and handier to carry about. It was more sturdily and less expensively constructed, its wire strings seldom broke as did the gut strings of the lute, and one could learn to play it passably much more easily than the lute.¹ One of the facts about the cittern most frequently mentioned by writers of musical histories is that it was commonly to be found in barber shops for the entertainment of the customers. This would seem to indicate that the cittern was a popular instrument with musical amateurs of the ordinary social classes, a conclusion which is born out by the popular character of most of the music for the cittern which has survived.

Most of the pieces in this part of the Mulliner manuscript are for the four-course cittern, the four unison pairs of strings being tuned to a g d' e', which Praetorius called the French tuning.² The Italian tuning, b g d' e', is more generally used in later English cittern tablatures.³ One piece in the Mulliner collection is for a five-course cittern tuned d a g d' e'. There are also two pieces for the gittern, an instrument somewhat similar to the cittern, but having four pairs of gut strings tuned d' g b e'.⁴ In this manuscript the tablature is written on a hand-ruled staff of six lines, four of which are used, except in the case of the one piece for five-course cittern, which uses five.

¹Thurston Dart, "The Cittern and its English Music," The Galpin Society Journal, I (1948), 46 ff.

²Ibid., p. 48.

³E. g., University Library, Cambridge MSS Dd. 4. 23 and Dd. 14. 24, and Antony Holborne's Cittharne Schoole (1597).

⁴Dart, op. cit., p. 51.

Owing to the limited range of these instruments the harmonies of the music written for them often appear in the form of what we now call inversions, $\frac{6}{3}$ or $\frac{6}{4}$, especially the latter, instead of in root position. For example, the dominant harmonies of a piece in G will be in the $\frac{6}{4}$ position, and the tonic harmonies of a piece in D will be in the $\frac{6}{4}$ position. In analyzing the harmonic basis of this music it is therefore necessary to supply the real bass.

Included in Part II of this study is a complete transcription of the music for cittern and gittern in this manuscript (pp. 150-159). The pieces in this group are listed here with identification, where possible, of pieces not named in the manuscript, and other descriptive matter.¹ Except where otherwise specified, the music is for four-course cittern.

- No. 1. "A songue." Passamezzo moderno. f. 118.
- No. 2. "A pauion." Passamezzo moderno. For five-course cittern. ff. 118v-119.
- No. 3. Unnamed piece for "Gitterne." = "Chi passa," a galliard; cf. No. 6. ff. 119v-120v.
- No. 4. Unnamed piece for gittern. A pavane on the passamezzo antico. ff. 120v-121v.
- No. 5. Unnamed piece for "Cytherne." A galliard on the passamezzo antico. f. 122.
- No. 6. "Que passe." = "Chi passa," cf. No. 3. f. 122v.
- No. 7. "Was not goode Kinge Solomon." f. 123.
- No. 8. Unnamed piece. A pavane on the passamezzo antico. f. 123v.
- No. 9. "The Queene of Scotts gallyard to y^e Sitherne per T M." ff. 123v-125.
- No. 10. "The Frenche gallyarde." In part related to folia. ff. 125-126.
- No. 11. "Venetian Galliard. Churchyarde." ff. 126v-127.

Instead of discussing these pieces in numerical order, it will be more convenient to take up first those in which Italian ground basses are found. The passamezzo antico bass pattern is found in three compositions, Nos. 4, 5, and 8. No. 4, an unnamed piece in the style of a pavane, is in length sixteen measures of $\frac{4}{4}$ time, consisting of a regular eight-measure period built on the ground bass pattern, and an ornamented repetition, or, in other words, a division or variation. The two-measure fragment immediately following No. 4 at the bottom of f. 121v is an alternate version for measures 13-14. It is similar to the passage given in the body of the text, except that the melodic

¹Cf. Hughes-Hughes, *op. cit.*, III, 44; *Musica Britannica*, I, 96; Dart, *op. cit.*, pp. 50-51. These listings are not altogether complete or accurate.

line lies on the next higher chord tones of the same harmonies, thus showing that the bass is the governing principle in the construction of the piece.

No. 5, also unnamed, is a galliard in the typically interchangeable $6/8$ - $3/4$ meter. In structure it consists of a period on the passamezzo antico bass, repeated with only slight variants. In the manuscript there seems to be an omission of a half measure in measures 3-4, which can be rectified by reference to the corresponding passage in the second period, measures 13-14. The second phrase of the first period (measures 5-10) is expanded from the normal four-measure length by two varied repetitions of measure 7 to form a six-measure phrase. In the manuscript the second period is incomplete, breaking off at measure 16, corresponding to measure 6 in the first period. Probably a cadence corresponding to that in measures 7-10 was intended. No. 8, also unnamed, is a simple eight-measure period in $4/4$ time, mostly chordal in style, traversing the ground bass pattern once, and in the movement of a pavane.¹

The passamezzo moderno bass is found in Nos. 1 and 2. No. 1, "A songue," is a twelve-measure piece in $6/8$ time, consisting of an eight-measure period on the ground bass pattern, with an almost literal repetition of the second phrase. No. 2, "A pauion," for five-course cittern, is sixteen measures in $4/4$ time, the first period of eight measures being built on the ground bass pattern. This is followed by two four-measure phrases, each on built on the cadential formula $V \mid V \mid IV \mid V \mid I \parallel$.

No. 10, "The Frenche gallyarde," in the usual $6/8$ - $3/4$ meter, as it stands in the manuscript consists of five four-measure phrases, the scheme of which may be represented as A A' B C C'.² In performance it would seem that

¹In the above-mentioned catalogue listings of the contents of this part of the manuscript No. 8 is regarded as a continuation of No. 7. Examination shows them to be two distinct and unrelated pieces.

²The form of the version already found in Folger Shakespeare Library MS 448.16, f. 16v, discussed on pp. 62-63. Another version of "The French Galliard" found in Thomas Dallis' Lute Book, Trinity College, Dublin (p. 40) is probably incomplete since it has only the strains A A' B B', thus ending in the relative major instead of the tonic minor.

phrase B should also be repeated (possibly with slight ornamental variants), thus rounding out the form. In its general harmonic structure it may be regarded as fairly typical of the numerous variants of the folia. The first two measures of phrase A are built on the first phrase of the folia bass, and the last two measures of phrase C are built on the final phrase of the folia. In the intermediate phrases there are suggestions here and there of the bergamasca or the passamezzo moderno.

No. 3, unnamed, and No. 6, "Que passe," are two versions for gittern and cittern respectively, of the Italian song, "Chi passa per questa strada," by Filippo Azzaiolo, which, as already mentioned, was published in Venice in 1557. The two versions in the Mulliner manuscript are in galliard rhythm, 6/8-3/4, twenty measures in length, consisting of a four-measure phrase with an ornamented repetition, followed by a six-measure phrase, also repeated with ornamentation. Of the two settings, No. 3 is the more florid in movement, while No. 6 is more chordal. Basically they correspond throughout, measure for measure. Under the name "Kypascie" or "Qui passa" this piece was very popular in England as a ballad tune, as indicated by the number of ballads directed to be sung to it.¹ In 1578 Holinshed refers derisively to the tune, saying, "And trulie they beeset a divine as well, as for an asse to twang quipassa on the harpe or gitterne."² Numerous versions of "Chi passa," often under the name "Gagliardo Chi passa," are found in other English cittern³ and lute⁴ tablatures, as well as in many continental sources.⁵

¹E.g., Robinson, op. cit., pp. 53, 112; also, Rollins, Index to Ballad-Entries, passim.

²Holinshed, Chronicles of England, Scotland, and Ireland (6 vols.; London, 1808), VI, 13.

³E.g., Cambridge University Library MS Dd. 4. 23, f. 30; Antony Holborne, Cittharn Schoole (1597).

⁴E.g., William Ballet's Lute Book, pp. 86-87; Thomas Dallis' Lute Book, p. 3; Cambridge University Library MS Dd. 3. 18, ff. 7v-8.

⁵E.g., Christof Löffelholz, Tabulatur (klavier) (1585), No. 21, reprinted in Merian, Der Tanz in den deutschen Tabulaturbüchern, pp. 170, 183; also, Chilesotti, Da un codicetto di Musica del secolo XVI, p. 36.

No. 11, "Venetian Galliarde," in G major, in 6/8-3/4 time, as written in the Mulliner manuscript consists of three strains, with an ornamented repetition of the first, which may be formally represented as A A' B C. Undoubtedly, although not expressly indicated, strains B and C were also to be repeated, since versions of the same piece in other sources do have the repetitions. A somewhat plainer version of this piece, in F major, is found in William Ballet's Lute Book (p. 95) under the name "The Sinck a pace Galliard."¹ This version has the three four-measure strains, A B C, each marked to be played twice. A much more elaborate version, also in F major, is to be found in the Pratum musicum of Emanuel Hadrianus Antverpiensis, published in Antwerp by Phalese in 1584. Here the texture is most of the time in four-part harmony. The repetition of each of the three strains is written out with melodic ornamentation. There follows then a quite florid variation of the whole piece marked "La mesme plus diminue." In structural plan all versions agree. Phrases A and C cadence on the tonic, while the middle phrase B cadences on the tonic (with major third) of the relative minor.

At the end of the piece in the Mulliner manuscript, in two lines, appear the words "finis" and "Churchyard." Following the two words respectively, written by another hand, appear the words "galliarde" and "a Poet." This undoubtedly refers to Thomas Churchyard (1520?-1604), a prolific writer of ballads,³ who may also be one of the anonymous poets represented in Tottel's Miscellany (1557-1587).⁴

That "The Venetian Galliard" was a well-known popular tune in England is indicated by the reference to it in The Adventures of Master F. J., by

¹Infra, p. 189.

²Transcriptions printed in W. J. v. Wasielewski, Geschichte der Instrumentalmusik im XVI. Jahrhundert (Berlin: J. Guttentag, 1878), Supplement, pp. 23 ff.

³Rollins, Index to Ballad-Entries, passim.

⁴Rollins (ed.), Tottel's Miscellany, passim.

George Gascoigne (d. 1577), whose tale is adapted from certain novelle by Bandello. In one passage the hero Ferdinando, "taking into his hand a lute that lay on his Mistresse bed, did unto the note of the Venetian galliard apply the Italian dittie written by the worthy Bradamant unto y^e noble Rugier, as Ariosto hath it. Rugier qual semper fui, etc. . . ."¹ However, since other music was also known under the same title,² one may not be sure that this quotation refers to the tune in the Mulliner manuscript.

The only other piece in the collection whose authorship is indicated is No. 9, at the end of which is written "finis the queene of scottes galliarde, per T M." In the margin another hand has added "By T. Mulliner." This is the only piece in the collection that has yet been published in transcription.³ It is in the usual three-period structure, each period being repeated with a little ornamentation: A A' B B' C C'. The structure shows some irregularity as to phrase length, possibly owing to imperfections or omissions for which the scribe is responsible. The music is not based on any of the well-known Italian ground bass patterns, although there is some affinity to them in the conventional cadential measures. Two versions of the same piece are found in Thomas Dallis' Lute Book (pp. 41, 44-45).⁴

No. 7 is entitled "Was not goode Kinge Solomon," the first line of a ballad by William Elderton, registered under the title "The Pangs of Love and Lovers' Fittes" in 1558-59, and published by Richard Lant in 1559.⁵ The ballad is published in J. P. Collier's Old Ballads.⁶ The first stanza runs thus:

¹George Gascoigne, Complete Works (Cambridge: University Press, 1907), I, 405.

²E.g., in Intabolatura Nova di varie sorte de balli (Venice, 1551); reprinted in Schering, Geschichte der Musik in Beispielen, p. 111.

³Dart, op. cit., p. 57.

⁴Infra, p. 93.

⁵Rollins, Index to Ballad-Entries, p. 176, item 2039.

⁶The Percy Society, I (London, 1840), 25-28.

Was not good Kynge Salamon
 Ravished in sondry wyse,
 With every lively Paragon
 That glistered before his eyes?
 If this be treue, as trewe it was,
 Lady! lady!
 Why should not I serve you, alas,
 My deare lady?

While the first four lines fit the tune as given in the manuscript, the rest of the stanza does not fare so well. The music may be somewhat incomplete as it stands on f. 123; there is no "finis" or double bar at the end of the page. However, the music immediately following on f. 123v. is definitely not a continuation of "King Solomon" (the text could not possibly be sung to it), but a pavane on the passamezzo antico bass, No. 8, mentioned earlier in connection with the pieces using this ground.

"King Solomon" was one of the most popular ballads written during Queen Elizabeth's reign, and it was often imitated. Among the ballads imitating "The Pangs of Love" is an incomplete one (the first part being lost) in Clement Robinson's poetic miscellany A Handful of Pleasant Delights (1584).¹ A number of ballads directed to be sung to the tune of "King Solomon" are to be found in the Registers of the Company of Stationers of London.²

Summing up the contents of this collection of eleven pieces we find that three are built on the passamezzo antico bass, two on the passamezzo moderno bass, and one in part on a variant of the folia, making, in all, six pieces using Italian ground bass patterns. When to these are added the two versions of "Chi passa" and the "Venetian Galliarde," it is found that nine of the eleven pieces either are built on Italian grounds or consist of music from Italian sources.

¹Robinson (ed. Rollins), op. cit., pp. 29-31; 96-97.

²Rollins, Index to Ballad-Entries, passim.

British Museum, Additional Manuscript 31,389

Not very much seems to be known of the history of British Museum Additional Manuscript 31,389. It was acquired by the Museum in the purchase in 1881 of an extensive collection of manuscripts of both English and foreign origin, which had been formed by Julian Marshall (1836-1903), and catalogued under the numbers 31,384 to 31,823.¹ Marshall was a connoisseur of engravings and a collector of prints, musical autographs, and portraits.² He also contributed to Grove's Dictionary of Music and Musicians.

Additional Manuscript 31,389 consists of twenty-six folios containing twenty-five compositions in Italian tablature for the lute, and one song with Italian text with lute accompaniment. The date of the manuscript is given in the British Museum catalogue only as sixteenth century.³ While most of the music in the manuscript is anonymous, there are two pavaues attributed to "Jo. Ant^o da Bergamo," and undoubtedly the saltarellos that go with them are to be similarly attributed. There is one pavane, without saltarello, attributed to "M^{tro} Lodovico da Bergamo." And finally, one piece is headed "Cha la danza Zuan Piero." Zuan Piero was an Italian lutenist at the court of Henry VIII. He is mentioned in the letter by Nicolo Sagudino, secretary to the Venetian ambassador Sebastian Giustinian, dated May 19, 1517, quoted in an earlier chapter.⁴

It may be that Antonio and Lodovico da Bergamo are members of the Bassani family who figure so prominently in the Lord Chamberlain's accounts for the musical establishment at the royal court.⁵ An Anthony (Anthonio) Bassani

¹Catalogue of Additions to the Manuscripts in the British Museum in the years MDCCCLXXVI-MDCCCLXXXI (London: Wm. Clowes & Sons, Ltd., 1882), pp. 177, 187-188.

²Dictionary of National Biography, Supplement 1901-11 (London: Oxford University Press, 1912, 1920, 1927), II, 574.

³Hughes-Hughes, op. cit., II, 466; III, 58.

⁴Supra, p. 10

⁵Supra, pp. 10-11.

appears on the rolls continuously from 1546-7 until 1564 among the "musicians." Lodovike Bassani, musician, is listed only in the years 1546-7 and 1558. A further possibility may be that Antonio da Bergamo may be the Anthonie de Countie, listed as "lewter" (sometimes "luter") continuously from 1555 until 1580. There is nothing, however, in the records specifically connecting these musicians with Bergamo.

If these musicians are those included in the account records, the manuscript would seem to date from the years when they were still active in their profession at the court. Hence, it would be not later than 1564, or, if the Antonio in question is Anthonie de Countie, not later than 1580. However, since some of the music is related thematically to dance pieces published in Pierre Attaingnant's Quatorze Gaillards neuf Pauennes (1530), and since Zuan Piero was in England in 1517, some of the music must be older.

The compositions in the manuscript are listed here:¹

- No. 1. "Pavana." f. 1-2.
- No. 2. "Saltarello." f. 2-3.
- No. 3. "Rezercar Dom^o & Pater." f. 3v.
- No. 4. "Pauana ditta sguizera." f. 4-6.
- No. 5. "Saltarello de la ditta Pauana." f. 6-7v.
- No. 6. "Dismonta da Caualo." 7v-9.²
- No. 7. "Oselino de ramo in Ramo." f. 9.
- No. 8. "Cha la danza Zuan Piero." f. 9-9v.
- No. 9. "Ben si possiamo tuti lamentare." f. 9v-10.
- No. 10. "Partita che mi son." f. 10-10v.
- No. 11. "Cauerca cauca Baiardo." f. 10v-11.
- No. 12. "Tu dici che son fantino." f. 11-11v.
- No. 13. "La strepa fana." f. 11v-12.
- No. 14. "La gambeta." f. 12.
- No. 15. "Padoana." A fragment only. f. 12v.

¹Numbering is in accord with that in Hughes-Hughes, op. cit., II, 466; III, 58. Transcriptions of Nos. 1-14 and 18-22 are included in Part II of this study, pp. 160-183.

²A piece entitled "Dismonta del caualllo saltarello" appears in Wolff Heckel's Discant Lauten Buch (1556, 1562), p. 30, and in his Tenor Lauten Buch (1556, 1562), p. 28; and one entitled "La fantina saltarello" in the two books respectively on pp. 32 and 29. "La Fantina" appears also in the Amsterdam Bibliothek der Vereeniging voor Neederlandsche Muziekgeschiedenis Manuscript (in German lute tablature), ff. 43r-43v. See Dieckmann, Die in deutschen Lautentabulatur überlieferten Tänze der 16. Jahrhunderts, pp. 84, 116. These tablatures have not been available to the writer for comparison.

- No. 16. "Recerchare." f. 13v-15.
 No. 17. Unnamed piece. f. 15v-16v.
 ----- Song with lute accompaniment: "Altro non e 'l mio amor che il
 propio Inferno." f. 17-18. f. 18v blank.
 No. 18. "Pauana a la Feraresa da Jo. Ant^o da Bergamo." f. 19-19v.
 No. 19. "El Saltarello de la ditta Padoana." f. 19v-20.
 No. 20. "La Tintorella da Jo. Ant^o da Bergamo." f. 20v-21.
 No. 21. "El Saltarello de la ditta Tintorella." f. 21-22.
 No. 22. "Pavana di M^{tro} Lodovico da Bergamo." f. 22v-23v.
 No. 23. "Tumbolo." f. 23v-24. f. 24v blank.
 No. 24. Unnamed piece. f. 25-26.
 No. 25. Unnamed piece, incomplete. f. 26v.

The greater part of the manuscript, including Nos. 1-2, 4-15, 18-22, and possibly 24-25, was written by one hand. Here the tablature is for the most part quite clear and accurate, although in places the ink has faded enough to make reading difficult. There are no metrical signs at all, except in some scale passages, where the notes falling on the weak part of the count and played with the up-stroke of the finger are marked with a dot. There are division-lines at the ends of phrases only, which in cases where the phrase begins with an upbeat do not correspond to rhythmical barring. Since most of the music is in well-known dance patterns, however, transcription and a plausible reconstruction is quite possible. The tablatures written by the other hands show haste and much carelessness. There are metrical indications, but they are so haphazard as to be next to useless. There are also bars, but they are not placed with any rhythmical significance. While a few of these pieces can be tentatively reconstructed, the results in most cases can only be conjectural.

The dance pieces in this manuscript are for the most part quite fully developed in form, often showing the three-period structure with repetitions, which may be represented as A A' B B' C C'. In texture they are more complex than most of the music so far considered, and there is evidence of considerable harmonic experimentation at times. Some of these pieces require technical virtuosity in performance. In phrase and harmonic structure most of them are built, partially at least, on Italian ground basses, but often quite freely treated, and sometimes using more than one in different parts of the same

composition. It will be most convenient to discuss the dance pieces first and those with descriptive titles afterward.

The "Pauana," No. 1, in G minor, is in the full three-period form, but in an unusual order, A B A' B' C C'. Period A is built on the passamezzo antico bass, the second phrase beginning with the G minor harmony rather than with that of the relative major, B-flat. Period B shows a somewhat experimental harmonic scheme:

B-flat I | IV | bVII | II# | I | IV | bVII (I) II# | V |

Period A' is a variation of period A, while period B' is a free variation of period B, but with the harmony much altered:

G minor III | bII (I bVII) | I | V# | III | bII (I bVII) | I V# | I |
(= Bb I)

Period C is a sort of variant of the romanesca harmony, but the effect is quite different, since the chord IV# takes the place of bVII in the second measure.

The period ends on the tonic, G major.

G minor III | IV# | I# | V# | III | IV# | I# V# | I# |

Period C', in G major, has for its first phrase the passamezzo antico bass, but uses the passamezzo moderno bass for the concluding phrase.

G major I | bVII | I | V | I | IV | I V | I ||

A few points of style may be mentioned. The occasional florid movement in the middle voices in period B is transferred to the bass in period B' and made more continuous through sequential repetition. Beginning in period C the texture is lightened, the soprano melody being accompanied by descending broken chord patterns.

The "Saltarello," No. 2, to the above "Pauana" follows the same plan, A B A' B' C, but with some harmonic changes and simplification. Period A is a passamezzo antico variant, and period A' has further modifications.

A G minor I | bVII | bVII I | V# | I | IV# bVII | I V# | I |
A' G minor I | I | bVII | V# | I | bVII | IV# (I) V# | I |

Period B is harmonically similar to phrase B in the pavane, but period B' uses

the romanesca bass in the first phrase, and the passamezzo antico, beginning on the G minor tonic, in the second. Period C, in G major, is built on the regular passamezzo moderno bass pattern. The composition as written ends with this period, making the whole forty measures in length, as compared with the forty-eight measures of the "Pauana." It is probable that in performance period C was repeated, possibly with slight variation, to round out the form.

The harmonic structure of these two pieces has been analyzed in some detail, because it is typical of the freedom with which these grounds were sometimes employed. While both of these two pieces begin with a regular period on the passamezzo antico, the continuation makes use of other grounds and mixed forms very freely treated.

The "Pauana ditta sguizera," No. 4, is more interesting in some of its details than as a whole. It is ninety-six measures long, consisting of twelve rather loosely organized periods. There is evidence of much more concern with harmonic experimentation than with formal coherence or logic. The anonymous composer seems to have been intrigued by the rising and descending curve of the melody and experimented with presenting it in variants in which the curve is widened, and the harmonies leading up to the highest melody note are repeated in reverse order on the descent. This can be seen by comparing measures 1-4, 33-36, and 65-68 (Example 34). It must be admitted that some of the resulting harmonic progressions sound somewhat forced. There are also some rather striking instrumental devices, such as the rhythmical breaking up of chord figures when the phrase beginning at bar 9 is repeated four bars later.

The "Saltarello de la ditta Pauana," No. 5, is thematically worked out on the same pattern as the "Pauana," No. 4, but more concisely and more satisfyingly as to form. It is fifty-eight measures long, consisting of seven eight-measure periods, which may be represented as A A' B C A'' B' C'. At the end two measures of cadence are repeated as a little coda. Owing to the faster tempo there is not such extreme harmonic experimentation as in the pavane, and the musical effect is more spontaneous and satisfying.

Example 34. "Pavana ditta sguizera." British Museum MS Add. 31,389.



The most interesting feature of these two dances, however, is their thematic relationship to music found in other sources. Among these are a pavane and a gaillarde in Pierre Attaingnant's Quatorze Gaillardes neuf Pauennes for keyboard, published in Paris in 1530.¹ The close thematic correspondence can best be seen by direct quotation of the first periods of these works. (Example 35). These pieces, though more florid, are more concise in form, the pavane being eighteen and the gaillard sixteen measures long, plus repetitions.

¹Reprinted in facsimile in Eduard Bernoulli, Seltenheiten aus Süd-deutschen Bibliotheken (5 vols.; München: Carl Kuhn, 1914), III/4, 2-9.

Example 35. Attaignant, Quatorze Gaillardes, etc. (1530): "Pauane." f. i^v.

First system of musical notation for "Pauane." f. i^v. The system consists of two staves. The upper staff is in treble clef with a 4/2 time signature. The lower staff is in bass clef with a 4/2 time signature. The music features a mix of eighth and sixteenth notes in the upper staff and chords and single notes in the lower staff.

Second system of musical notation for "Pauane." f. i^v. The system consists of two staves. The upper staff is in treble clef with a 4/2 time signature. The lower staff is in bass clef with a 4/2 time signature. The music continues with similar notation to the first system.

Third system of musical notation for "Pauane." f. i^v. The system consists of two staves. The upper staff is in treble clef with a 4/2 time signature. The lower staff is in bass clef with a 4/2 time signature. The music continues with similar notation to the first system.

"Gaillarde sur la Pauane." f. 4.

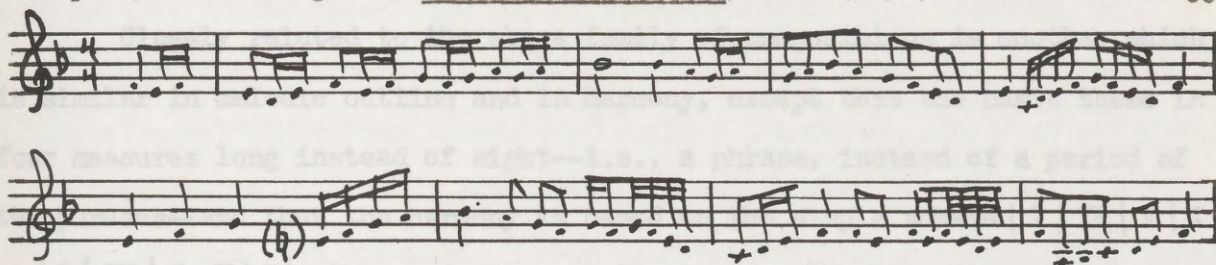
First system of musical notation for "Gaillarde sur la Pauane." f. 4. The system consists of two staves. The upper staff is in treble clef with a 4/4 time signature. The lower staff is in bass clef with a 4/4 time signature. The music features a mix of eighth and sixteenth notes in the upper staff and chords and single notes in the lower staff.

Second system of musical notation for "Gaillarde sur la Pauane." f. 4. The system consists of two staves. The upper staff is in treble clef with a 4/4 time signature. The lower staff is in bass clef with a 4/4 time signature. The music continues with similar notation to the first system.

Third system of musical notation for "Gaillarde sur la Pauane." f. 4. The system consists of two staves. The upper staff is in treble clef with a 4/4 time signature. The lower staff is in bass clef with a 4/4 time signature. The music continues with similar notation to the first system.

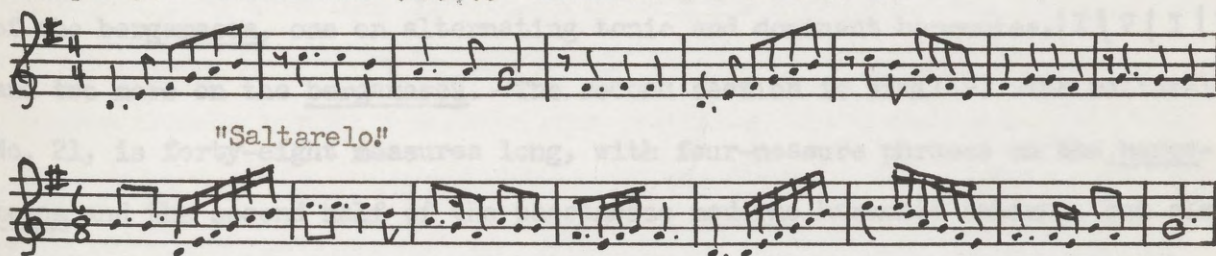
Another pavane in the same book, though quite different in figuration is basically the same thematically (Example 36).¹ The gaillarde immediately following this pavane is not thematically related to it.

Example 36. Attaignant, Quatorze Gaillardes, etc. (1530): "Pauane." f. jji.



Also related thematically to these are the "Pavana chiamata Monta fu che son de vella. P. P. B." (i.e., Pietro Paolo da Milano) and its "Saltarelo," in Antonio Casteliono's Intabolatura de Levto, published in Milan in 1536. The melody has the same outline, although it usually begins a fourth below the tonic (Example 37).

Example 37. Casteliono (1536), "Pavana P. P. B." 16



The obvious thematic relationship of these pieces in regard to the melody would seem to indicate that they derive from a common very widely disseminated and popular melodic formula. That the melody in each case has some individual character would indicate further that the formula was one very often adopted for individual treatment by different musicians. The probability of its Italian origin is suggested by the fact that in the one case where a composer is indicated it is the Italian Pietro Paolo Borrono. The fact that

¹Bernoulli, op. cit., III/4, 73-79. Also published under the name "French Pavane" in Davison and Apel, Historical Anthology of Music, I, 106.

Attaignant's book was published in 1530, while Casteliono's book was published in 1536, cannot be taken as evidence of priority of origin. The basic formula, considered as a melodic outline, must have been employed in countless pieces of music before being issued in print.

Closely related to the above family of compositions is another which is similar in melodic outline and in harmony, except that the basic theme is four measures long instead of eight--i.e., a phrase, instead of a period of two phrases--and that the harmony is based on the simple scheme | I | IV | V | I | or | I | IV | I V | I |, thus cadencing on the tonic. The bass lines of these harmonies will be recognized as that of the bergamasca and the second phrase of the passamezzo moderno. Belonging to this family are No. 20, "La Tintorella da Jo. Ant^o da Bergamo," and No. 21, "El Saltarello de la ditta Tintorella."

No. 20, a pavane, is forty measures long, in form consisting of two equal sections, each of twenty measures. The first section is made up of five phrases whose harmonic scheme consists of two phrases on the harmonic pattern of the bergamasca, one on alternating tonic and dominant harmonies, | I | V | I | V |, and two more on the bergamasca. The second section is similar. The saltarello, No. 21, is forty-eight measures long, with four-measure phrases on the bergamasca and the second half of the passamezzo moderno harmonic schemes, but also having some periods (measures 25-40) on the full passamezzo moderno pattern. It is true, however, that in the in the second of these periods the second half is simplified harmonically and more like the bergamasca.

As compared with Nos. 4 and 5, these pieces are simpler in texture and less experimental in harmony, also less of a virtuoso character, except for a few passages in the saltarello. A somewhat bizarre harmonic effect occurs at measures 26 and 30, where all the strings are stopped on the third fret except the A-string, which is stopped on the fifth fret, the result being a six-note chord on the subdominant, B-flat, but with E-flat and A-flat added. The intention seems to be to produce a strong rhythmic accent, even at the expense

of clouding the harmony with non-chord tones. (Or, were the six courses stopped thus, and only the four chord tones plucked?)

As in the case of Nos. 4 and 5, there are many sixteenth-century compositions with some thematic affinity with Nos. 20 and 21. This can be seen most readily if the themes are quoted in comparative score (Example 38). The similarity of the theme of these pieces to that of No. 13, "Reprise of the f[lat] p[avane]" in Folger Shakespeare Library Manuscript 448.16 is obvious.¹ Also thematically related to these are "Ein g^oter newer Teu. Tantz. A. P. O." and "Ist mir ein fein braun Meg," each with a "Nachtantz," in Ein Schön Orgel Tabulaturbuch by Jacob Paix (1583).² Another example is "Ein g^ottter Neysidlicher danncz" and "Der Nachdanncz" from Christof Löffelholz's keyboard tablature book (1585). These pieces make considerable use of the minor (mixolydian) seventh degree of the key, which is another point which they have in common with those in the British Museum manuscript.

Undoubtedly many more compositions belonging to these families exist, but those cited have been sufficient to show how widespread the basic pattern was disseminated, and how it lent itself to great variation in treatment. The germ idea is simply a melodic line beginning on the tonic, rising to the fourth degree of the scale and returning, which may be harmonized on the bergamasca bass. Two phrases with the same melodic curve, the first ending in a half cadence and the second in a full cadence, make a full period form, which may be harmonized with the bass of the passamezzo moderno. The roots of the idea lie in the Italian ground bass pattern, and therefore these families of musical compositions may be considered ultimately as Italian progeny.

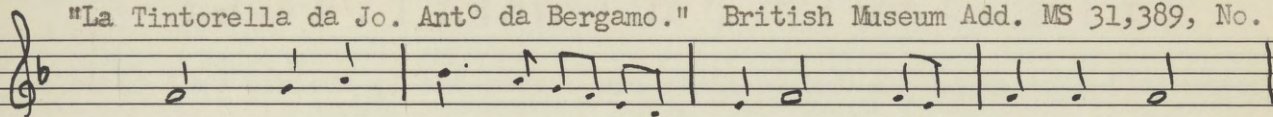
Returning to the dances of British Museum Additional Manuscript 31,389, Nos. 18 and 19, the "Pauana a la Feraresa da Jo. Ant^o da Bergamo" and "El Saltarella de la ditta Padoano" show another variant of the passamezzo antico bass pattern. The first period of each consists of a phrase beginning in G

¹Infra, p. 140.

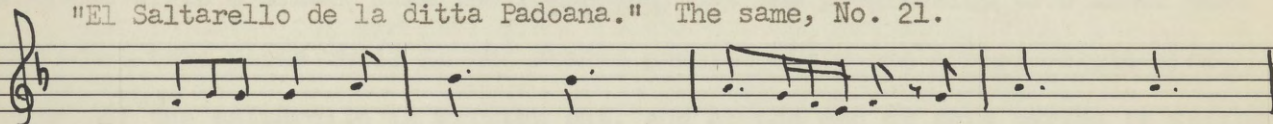
²These examples from Merian, Der Tanz in den deutschen Tabulaturbüchern, passim.

Example 38.

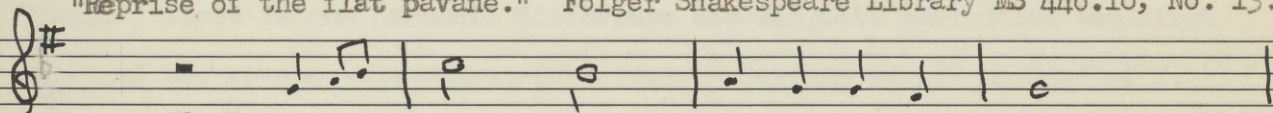
"La Tintorella da Jo. Ant^o da Bergamo." British Museum Add. MS 31,389, No. 20.



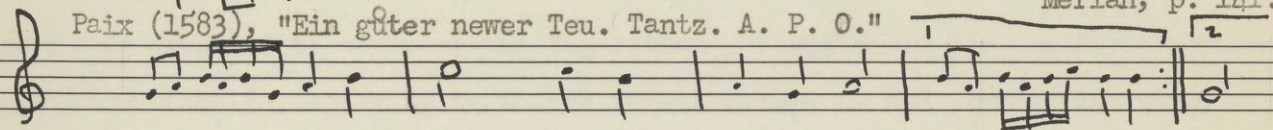
"El Saltarello de la ditta Padoana." The same, No. 21.



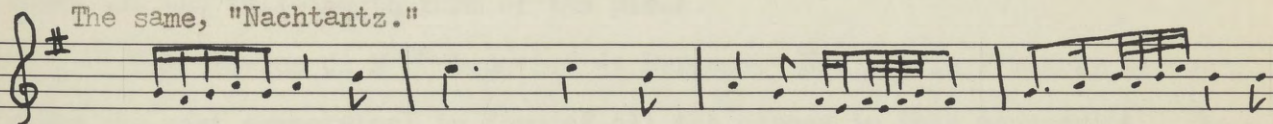
"Reprise of the flat pavane." Folger Shakespeare Library MS 448.16, No. 13.



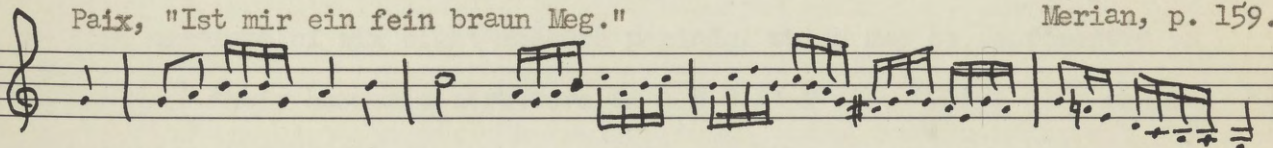
Paix (1583), "Ein guter newer Teu. Tantz. A. P. O." Merian, p. 141.



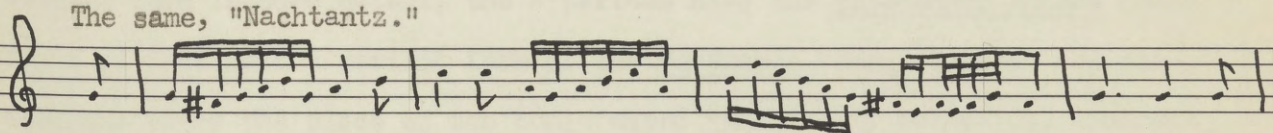
The same, "Nachtantz."



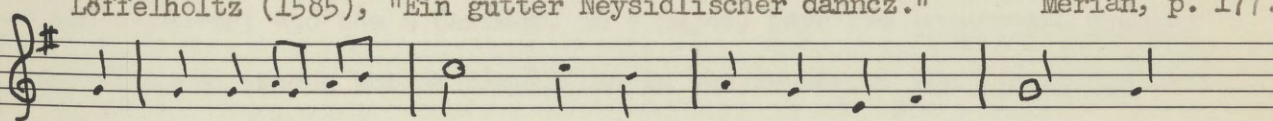
Paix, "Ist mir ein fein braun Meg." Merian, p. 159.



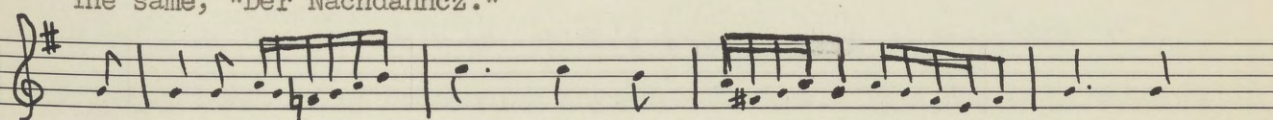
The same, "Nachtantz."



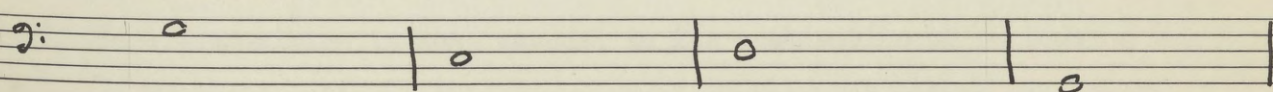
Löffelholtz (1585), "Ein gütter Neysidlicher danncz." Merian, p. 177.



The same, "Der Nachdanncz."



The bergamasca bass.



minor and moving to the relative major, B-flat, followed by a phrase whose bass is that of the second phrase of the passamezzo antico.

G minor | I | I | \flat VII | III ' | III | \flat VII | I V# | I |

The other four periods of the pavane are similar, but all begin in B-flat major instead of in G minor, like the romanesca, but the progression to G minor does not take place until in the second phrase. Only one period, eight measures, of the saltarello is written out, and at the end of this period is written "finis." There is one harmonic difference between this period and the first period of the pavane--the chord of the second measure is III instead of I. It would seem likely that, in spite of the indication "finis," the performer would be expected to continue the figuration pattern shown for the first period of the saltarello, applying it to the formal scheme of the pavane, and thus round out the full-length form of the piece.

The "Pavana di M^{tro} Lodovico da Bergamo," No. 22, in F minor, is possibly the most symmetrical in form of all the dances in this manuscript. The form consists of six eight-measure periods, which may be represented on the basis of their harmonic structure as A B C A' B' C'. While each shows a variant form in some detail, the A periods have the passamezzo antico bass; the B periods have a variant form of the romanesca bass, in which the subdominant takes the place of the tonic chord immediately before the dominant at the cadences; and the C periods, in F major, have the passamezzo moderno bass, with the second phrase simplified in the manner of the bergamasca bass.

A quite extraordinary series of harmonies occurs in period B', in which the fingers on three courses are shifted down one fret on successive chords, producing chromatically descending augmented triads. This can best be shown by quoting both the tablature and the transcription of measures 33-36. (Example 39). This composition is most unusual in its combination of periods on the three ground bass patterns in a symmetrical arrangement within one single piece. There is no saltarello in the manuscript to go with this pavane.

Example 39. "Pavana di M^{tro} Lodovico da Bergamo." Measures 33-36.

The image shows two staves of music. The top staff is a tablature with numbers 1-5 and 0, and the bottom staff is a standard musical notation with a treble clef and a key signature of two flats (B-flat and E-flat). The music is in 6/8 meter and consists of four measures.

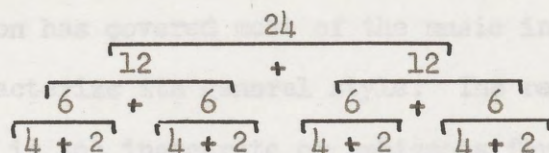
The seven pieces with titles, Nos. 6 to 14, are all in F major and in 6/8 meter, sometimes interchangeable with 3/4. In the use of harmonic and melodic formulas they have much in common with the dances in the manuscript. The pieces vary in length from eighteen to twenty-eight measures, except for No. 7, which is ten without counting repetitions, and No. 6, which is fifty-three. They are dance-like in rhythm, but show considerable irregularity in phrase-length. There is an interesting variety of upbeat patterns, some pieces beginning on the first beat of the measure, and others with upbeats of one, two, three, or four eighth-notes.

A romanesca bass variant, usually using only the second phrase, is present in Nos. 7, 8, 9, and 10. The most nearly conventional use is in No. 7, whose bass is shown in Example 40 (the essential notes of the romanesca bass indicated by the *). In some cases the pattern is condensed in time, in others lengthened. The bergamasca bass pattern appears in parts of Nos. 8 and 13.

Example 40. "Oselino de ramo in Ramo." Bass only.

The image shows two staves of music. The top staff is a standard musical notation with a treble clef and a key signature of two flats (B-flat and E-flat). The bottom staff is a standard musical notation with a bass clef and a key signature of two flats (B-flat and E-flat). The music is in 6/8 meter and consists of two phrases, each marked with an asterisk (*) to indicate essential notes.

"La strepa fana," No. 13, is the most symmetrically constructed piece of this group. It consists of only two four-measure phrases, but each has a varied repetition, and the two cadence measures of each phrase are repeated.



There is much repetition of cadence formulas. For example, the formula IV V I, in either of the two forms here quoted occurs over and over in these pieces—eight times in No. 6 alone. It also occurs in the saltarellos, Nos. 5 and 21, and with rhythmic adjustment to the 4/4 meter, in the pavanés, Nos. 4 and 20.

Example 41. Cadence formulas.



Concerning the pieces in this manuscript written by other than the principal hand, the shortcomings of the tablature in definiteness and accuracy have already been mentioned. The only one of this group included among the transcriptions in Part II is the "Rezercar Domine & Pater," No. 3. As well as it can be reconstructed, it is a melody in G minor, with a somewhat flowing harmonization in three voices for the most part, but four toward the end. There is no imitative counterpoint. The whole consists of three four-measure phrases, the first two cadencing on the dominant and the last on the tonic. The character of the piece seems to suggest sacred rather than secular music. The use of the secondary dominant (II#) preceding the dominant in the cadences in measures 3-4 and 7-8 shows a more advanced harmonic sense than is generally attributed to music of this time and place, by those who like to think of music of this period as predominantly polyphonic and diatonic. However, the use of

such secondary dominants occurs frequently enough in the music examined here to warrant its being regarded as a normal part of of generally accepted harmonic practice.

This discussion has covered most of the music in the manuscript, and is sufficient to characterize its general style. The remainder consists of pieces whose notation is too inaccurate or ambiguous for exact transcription. A partial attempt at transcription of these has not indicated that their reconstruction, were it possible, would add anything of a character not already represented in the main body of the music, which is included with the transcriptions in Part II.

In conclusion, it is seen that, by the use of Italian ground basses and other common characteristics, all the dances, as well as the titled pieces, in this manuscript show stylistic features that are definitely Italian.

Thomas Dallis' Lute Book, Trinity College, Dublin

Thomas' Dallis' Lute Book is among the manuscripts preserved in the Library of Trinity College, Dublin.¹ Little seems to be known of Dallis himself, except that he had some connection with Cambridge. The book is a small oblong volume, five by seven inches, containing 338 pages, which have been numbered with a modern stamping machine. On page 12 appear the words, "Incepti Nonis Augusti praeceptore M^{ro} Thoma Dallis. Cantabrigia Anno 1583." It is apparent that the book was begun as an instruction book, since it starts with instructions in Latin for tuning the lute, the manner of holding the instrument, and a number of pieces which make very modest technical demands on the player. It is significant that among these first pieces are several which are found on the passamezzo antico, the passamezzo moderno, and the romanesca, and also the Italian song "Chi passa." This is definite evidence of the prominent place

¹Abbott, Catalogue of the Manuscripts in the Library of Trinity College, Dublin, p. 63. The MS is here listed as No. 410, dated 1583, but with no table of contents. Wooldridge, in Chappell, Old English Popular Music (2d ed., 1893), calls this MS "Thomas Dallis' Pupil's Lute Book," and dates it 1585, citing no authority.

these musical patterns, whose Italian origin is well established, occupied in the popular repertory of English lutenists, both amateur and professional.

The tablatures in the book were seemingly written over a considerable period of time and by several hands. The writing is sometimes quite clear, but it is often quite untidy, with many parts crossed out and corrected, making accurate transcription difficult. There is in this tablature one unusual manner of notating the metrical value of shorter notes. For a group of notes, for example, of the value $\text{F} = \text{J}$, instead of the usual signs, F or P , at the beginning of the group, or the sign F over the whole group, there is the sign P extended over the group.

Since there seems to be no published listing of the music in this manuscript,¹ it will be well to include a complete list here.² Brief descriptive matter is added in some cases. Transcriptions of compositions marked with a * are included in Part II,

- Unnamed piece. A few illegible words here and there. p. 1.
- Unnamed piece. p. 2.
- "Galliard chi passa." p. 3.
- *Unnamed piece. Passamezzo antico. p. 3.
- Unnamed piece. p. 4.
- Song. Title and a few words of text not legible. p. 5.
- Lute piece. Title in margin partially cut off, the rest illegible. p. 5.
- Unnamed piece. A pavane on the passamezzo moderno. p. 7.
- Pp. 8-11 missing.
- Latin notation quoted on previous page. p. 12.
- Instructions for tuning the lute, showing G tuning, and a table of symbols for metrical note values. p. 13.
- "Bandala shote galyarde." p. 14.
- Latin instructions for the lute. p. 15.
- "Grounde." p. 16.
- "Pavan." Romanesca. p. 16.
- "O what it is to love." p. 17.
- "Quadro pavin galliard." Passamezzo moderno. p. 17.
- "Le passe Meze de pauana." Passamezzo antico. p. 18.
- "The passa Meze galliard." Passamezzo antico. p. 19.
- *"Rogerio." p. 20.
- "Wigorns gayliarde." p. 20.

¹A listing of a small selection from the contents of this and the Ballet Lute Book is found in H. Macaulay FitzGibbon, "The Lute Books of Ballet and Dallis," Music & Letters, IX/1 (1930), 71-77.

²In this listing the pieces are not numbered, but listed by page only. Here and there the writing is illegible or effaced. In such cases as much of the title as possible is given.

- *"The division of Rogero before." p. 21.
 Unnamed piece. pp. 22-23.
 "Quadro Pauane. J. B." Passamezzo moderno. pp. 24-26.
 *"All a green willowe. T. Dallis." In left margin by another hand:
 "gailiard." Related to folia. p. 26.
 "P L. T. Dallis fansye." p. 27.
 "Quadran. F. C." Pavane on the passamezzo moderno. pp. 28-29.
 Unnamed piece. p. 29.
 "Sounalne toy." (?) p. 30.
 Unnamed piece. "Jo Jhonsis." p. 31.
 "Goubs. R. ranke." (?) p. 31.
 Song with lute: "O passi sparsi." By Sebastiano Festa.¹ pp. 32-34.
 Short song without text. p. 35.
 Short lute piece, unnamed and seemingly incomplete. p. 35.
 "A Gailliard." p. 36.
 "Leve Le coeur." pp. 36-37.
 Unnamed piece, partly scratched over and seemingly incomplete. p. 37.
 "A Pauin." pp. 38-39.
 "Passa Detat" (?) Passamezzo moderno. f. 39.
 "The division of the Frenche gayliarde by Jhonson." pp. 40-41.
 *"The Schotche gayliarde." p. 41.
 "A gayliarde." p. 42.
 "Melyne gayliarde." (?) p. 43.
 Unnamed piece, seemingly incomplete. p. 43.
 "Scotche gayliarde." pp. 44-45.
 Unnamed piece. A pavane, followed by fragment of a galliard. pp. 46-47.
 "The queenes almayne." p. 47.
 Title illegible. Passamezzo antico. pp. 48-49.
 Song with lute: "Fortune is now my fo." Text lacking. pp. 49-50.
 "My poore perse." For lute. pp. 50-51.
 Song with lute. No title or text. p. 52.
 "Medlie." pp. 52-53.
 "Quadran pavin." Passamezzo moderno. pp. 54-55.
 "The quadren pauion." Passamezzo moderno. pp. 55-56-59.
 "Quadran gailiard." Passamezzo moderno. p. 59.
 "Pauen." pp. 60-67.
 *"Pauane de La Bataille." pp. 68-69.
 Unnamed piece. p. 69.
 "Passememo La doulce." p. 70.
 "Reprise." p. 70.
 "Passamezo d'Angleterre." p. 71.
 "A girase." (?) Not quite legible. p. 71.
 "The quadro pauion." Passamezzo moderno. pp. 72-73.
 "Pass Le Duc laund." Passamezzo moderno. Partly illegible. f. 73.
 "Mr. Lanozo gailiarde." pp. 74-75.
 "Si porti guardo. L. E." Madrigal by Donato. pp. 76-77.
 "The hay." p. 77.
 "On ne peulta Orlande a 4." pp. 78-79.
 "Dysons nous." p. 79.
 "Pass land." Passamezzo moderno. p. 80.
 "Pass land." Passamezzo moderno. p. 80.
 "In nomine pauan. Strogers basso." p. 81.
 "Philips pauin treble." p. 82.
 "Bassus Philips pavin." p. 83.
 "Eradi di maggio tenor." p. 83.

¹Einstein, The Italian Madrigal, I, 141.

- "Delight pauane. J. Jhonson." pp. 84-85.
 "Laveche pauan." p. 85.
 "Eradi magio. L. E." p. 85.
 "Quadro pauane. J. Jhonson." Passamezzo moderno. pp. 86-88.
 "Eradi maggio." p. 88.
 "The Earle of Oxfords gailiard." p. 89.
 "Mr. William Birds pauane." pp. 90-91.
 "Jhonsons flatt pauin." p. 92.
 *"Rogo to the grounde." p. 92.
 "Strogers in nomine gailiard." p. 93.
 "In nomine gailiard Bassus." p. 94.
 "Pass tenor Dou Land." (?) Pavane to the passamezzo moderno. pp. 94-95.
 "Gailiard Jhonsins." p. 95.
 "A pauin." pp. 96-97.
 "B Pauan bataille." pp. 97-98.
 Unnamed piece. pp. 98-99.
 "Fancy." (?) p. 99.
 "Say to me." (?) pp. 100-101.
 "Recercare." pp. 102-103.
 "Passa mezo." p. 103.
 "A pauan of Brennthers makinge." p. 104.
 "Si purti guardo." Donato. p. 105.
 "Le content est riche." pp. 106-107.
 "Pass land." Passamezzo antico. p. 107.
 "Fantasye of M. Antonio." pp. 107-109.
 "Passelaund." (?) Passamezzo antico. p. 109.
 "Doulcie memoire." pp. 110-111.
 "Je suis deshérité." Chanson, Pierre Cadéac (Paris, 1539).¹ pp. 112-113.
 "Passland." (?) Passamezzo antico. p. 113.
 "Quando io pense al martire." Arcadelt. pp. 114-115.
 "Ni sidale." (?) pp. 116-117.
 "Passdai" Passamezzo antico. p. 117.
 "Pass'e mezo dito il Gorzanis." pp. 118-119.
 "Leve le coeur." p. 119.
 "Leve le coeur ouvre." p. 120.
 "Ps alm 4." p. 121.
 Unnamed piece. Passamezzo moderno. pp. 122-123.
 "Philips p avane . . ." pp. 124-125.
 "Passe Philips gailiard. Per Thomas Woudd." (?) pp. 126-127.
 "Battel." pp. 128-129.
 "Parsons in nomine set forth by I R." pp. 130-131.
 "Passamezzo antico set quarto ton." p. 132.
 Five settings of passamezzo antico bass in different keys. p. 133.
 "Pauin pass." Passamezzo moderno. pp. 134-135.
 Unnamed piece. Passamezzo antico. p. 135.
 Unnamed piece. Pavane on the passamezzo antico. p. 136.
 "Galiarde to pass Rep." Passamezzo antico. pp. 136-137.
 "Pass" Passamezzo antico. p. 137.
 "Susanne ung iour." Orlando di Lasso. pp. 138-139.
 "Passland." (?) Passamezzo antico. p. 139.
 "Quadro pauine." Passamezzo moderno. pp. 140-141.
 "Pass mez pauen." Passamezzo antico. pp. 142-147.
 "Pauana." Passamezzo moderno. pp. 148-149.

¹ Schering, Geschichte der Musik in Beispielen, p. 115.

- Unnamed piece. Pavane on the passamezzo moderno. p. 150.
 Unnamed piece. p. 150.
 "Passo mezo bellissimo di Gorzanis." p. 151.
 "Galliard Bataill." p. 152.
 "Passamezzo sopra il Soprani di Gorzanis." p. 153.
 Unnamed piece. Pavane on the passamezzo antico. pp. 154-155.
 "Psalm 23." p. 156.
 "Psalm 27." p. 157.
 Unnamed piece. p. 158.
 "Psalm 15." p. 159.
 Unnamed piece. Same style as psalms. p. 159.
 "Psalm 5." p. 160.
 "Passamezzo Autore D. Gorzanoni." p. 161.
 "Spanish pavane." p. 162.
 "Passa mezo moderno." Passamezzo moderno. p. 163.
 "Psalm 42." p. 164.
 "Psalm 81." p. 165.
 "Psalm 113. Languir me faites." pp. 166-167.
 "Coment peult avoir ioye. Francesca Spinakino." pp. 168-169.
 "Canson englesa." p. 170.
 "Altra canson Englesa." p. 170.
 "Saltarello Englesa." p. 171.
 Song with lute. No text, and title not legible. pp. 172-173.
 "Eradi magio." p. 174.
 "Caracosa." p. 175.
 "Chi in Domino. Giacomo Gorzanis." Canzone with lute. p. 176.
 "Blessed, Psalmus Anglicus 128." Song with lute. p. 177.
 Unnamed song with lute. pp. 178-179.
 Unnamed song with lute. pp. 180-181.
 "Pass . . . land." (?) Passamezzo antico. p. 181.
 Unnamed song with lute. pp. 182-183.
 "Pass in B L Sup Dance." (?) Passamezzo antico. p. 183.
 Unnamed song with lute. p. 184.
 Unnamed song with lute. pp. 185-186.
 Unnamed song with lute. pp. 186-187.
 Lute piece: "O s'io potessa." Berchem. p. 188.
 Unnamed piece. Passamezzo antico. pp. 188-189.
 "The passe Meze pauin." Passamezzo antico. p. 189.
 Unnamed piece. Pavane on the passamezzo antico. pp. 190-191.
 Unnamed piece. Passamezzo antico. A version of "Queen Marie's Dump."
 pp. 192-193.
 Unnamed piece. Much of writing crossed out and corrected. pp. 194-195.
 Lute piece. Title partially erased, remainder illegible. pp. 196-198.
 Unnamed piece. Pavane on the passamezzo antico. pp. 198-199.
 "Galiardo of Newman." pp. 200-201.
 *"O heavenly God, o savior dear." Song with lute. pp. 202-203.
 "Pass and." Passamezzo antico. p. 203.
 "In youthfull yeres. Mr. Parsons." Song with lute. pp. 204-207.
 Short unnamed lute piece. p. 207.
 "The man is blest." Song with lute. p. 208.
 "Fortune is fickle." Song with lute. p. 209.
 "Cur mundus militat." Song with lute. p. 210.
 "Cur mundus militat." Lute piece. p. 211.
 "O heavenly God, O father deare." p. 212. Same as on p. 202.
 "The Kinge of Hoseiea." Lute piece. p. 213.
 "Galliard." p. 213.
 "Galliard." p. 214.
 "Psalm 73." p. 214.

- "Psalmus 3. Mr. Dallis." p. 215.
 "Psalmus 5. Mr. Dallis." p. 215.
 Unnamed song with lute. p. 216.
 "Leve le coeur." p. 217.
 Series of dances: "Almande, quatro measure, Schotches, Quatro," and others. pp. 218-220.
 Unnamed piece. pp. 220-221.
 Unnamed piece. Different hand, quite untidy. p. 222.
 Lute piece. Title illegible. p. 222.
 "Tintnell." p. 223.
 *"Rogo." p. 223.
 "Quenes almande." p. 223.
 "Quadro pavion Pandore." Passamezzo moderno. p. 224.
 "Quadro gailliard Pandora." Passamezzo moderno. p. 225.
 "Passemasures pavion pandore." Passamezzo antico. p. 226.
 "Gailliard passa pandore." Passamezzo antico. p. 227.
 Unnamed piece. Passamezzo antico. pp. 228-232.
 "Fortune is fickle." Three stanzas of text in center of page, lute tablature around the four sides. p. 233.
 Fourth stanza of the same. p. 234.
 Lute piece. Title illegible. p. 235.
 Lute piece. Title illegible. p. 236.
 Unnamed piece. p. 237.
 "Bataille superus." pp. 238-239.
 "La Bataille Bassus." pp. 239-240.
 "Pass de bataille." pp. 240-242.
 P. 243 blank.
 "O Lenridary Fuorze." Passamezzo moderno. pp. 244-245.
 "Sans tranes." (?) pp. 246-247.
 "Le rossignol en Dueil." p. 247.
 "Un gay berger." pp. 248-249.
 "Pass de la roca Al fuzo." pp. 250-251.
 Lute piece. Title illegible. pp. 251-253.
 "Pauana del Petre Philipps." pp. 254-255.
 Pp. 256-257 missing.
 Three unnamed pieces. Very untidy writing. p. 258.
 Pp. 259-261 missing.
 Garbled fragments. pp. 262-263.
 Fragment in staff notation. p. 264.
 Torn pages with bits of writing. Pp. 265, 267, 270, 271.
 Keyboard pieces in staff notation, with no titles. Ink folio numbers at top of pages, stamped page numbers at bottom. Possibly this was originally another book, which was later bound together with the lute book. pp. 273-338.

The earlier manuscripts have been considered somewhat in detail in order to show the definite penetration of significant stylistic idioms of Italian origin, as well as actual Italian musical compositions, into the popular music of England at least as early as the middle third of the sixteenth century. With the Dallis Lute Book the primary concern is to see to what extent these elements are present in the popular repertory toward the end of the century. This manuscript will therefore be treated in summary rather than in detail.

[D.V.M.]

An altogether accurate numbering of the compositions in the book is hardly possible without a complete transcription, because in the tablature the beginnings and endings of some of the untitled anonymous compositions are not perfectly clear. The present writer has transcribed a representative selection. Of the remainder, those works whose harmonic scheme is based on any of the common Italian grounds have been identified from the tablature. While the figures given in this summary may be subject to revision, they are quite close, and the question here is one of general proportions rather than exact statistics or percentages, which are not possible criteria in matters of this kind.

The manuscript includes a total of 215 compositions. Of these there are 28 with the passamezzo antico bass, 23 with the passamezzo moderno bass, one on the romanesca bass, and two which show variant forms of the folia. This makes a total of 54 compositions on these ground basses. The popular English tune "Rogerö" occurs four times in the Dallis book, sometimes called "Rogo." It is a pleasant lilting tune obviously based on the Italian ground Ruggiero.¹ There are in addition intabulations of about eight Italian songs or madrigals. This brings to about 66 the number of occurrences of compositions with definite Italian connections, which makes the proportion just about three-tenths of the whole book.

Included in the Dallis book are seven intabulations of "battle" pieces, the titles being "La Bataille," with some variation of wording. The chanson "La Bataille de Marignan," published in 1529 by Pierre Attaingnant in a book of chansons by Clement Janequin,² was soon transcribed by the Italian lute and harpsichord virtuosi, and its popularity in this form spread all over Europe. Among early published intabulations are "La bataglia" in Antonio Casteliono's Intabulatura de Levto (Milano, 1536) and "Pass'e mezo della Battaia" in

¹Cf. supra, pp. 15-16; and infra, pp. 184-185.

²Henry Expert, Les Maitres Musiciens de la Renaissance Française, XVII (1898), 31.

Melchior de Barberiis' Intavolatura di Lauto Libro IX (Venice, 1549). It was also published in German lute tablature as early as 1544 under the title "Sula Bataglia" in Hans Newsidler's Ein new künstlich Lautten Buch.¹ The versions in the Dallis book would seem to stem from the Italian lute transcriptions rather than directly from the vocal chanson.

Among the other miscellaneous compositions in the book are about twelve chansons with French titles, eleven Psalms, two of which are signed "Mr. Dallis," at least sixteen popular ballad tunes, and a great many dance pieces. While there is more French music represented in this manuscript than in the earlier sources examined, the amount is much less than that of the music of Italian origin or style.

The two versions of "O heavenly God," on pages 202 and 212 of the Dallis book, are identical except for a minor error or two in one copy, which may be corrected from the other. Both give the vocal line in staff notation and the lute accompaniment in tablature in score, but the full stanza of text is found only with the first. It is much more accurately given here than in the lute arrangement in the Folger manuscript,² and it is this version that has been transcribed and included in Part II of this study.³

The musical setting of the verse form is quite interesting and effective. Each line of seven iambic feet is set with an intermediate feminine cadence and a closing masculine cadence. The meter is 2/4, but with one 3/4 measure at the feminine cadence. The symmetry can best be shown in the rhythmical notation: 2/4 ♩ | ♩ ♩ ♩ ♩ | 3/4 ♩ ♩ ♩ ' ♩ | 2/4 ♩ ♩ ♩ ♩ | ♩

¹Transcription by Adolf Kocirz in Denkmäler der Tonkunst in Oesterreich, XVII/2 (1911), 56-58. In his notes, pp. 123-124, Kocirz gives the date of Attaignant's publication of this chanson in one place as 1529? and in another, 1545.

²Supra, pp. 59-61.

³Infra, p. 188.

William Ballet's Lute Book, Trinity College, Dublin

The manuscript known as "William Ballet's Lute Book" is preserved in the Library of Trinity College, Dublin, under the number D. 1. 21. The date of this manuscript has been given in Abbott's catalogue¹ as circa 1600, and by Philip Heseltine² as 1594, without, however, citing any evidence to support the specific date. The writing shows evidence of being by several hands, and the music probably was compiled over a period of years. Some of the music dates from the middle of the century or earlier—for example, "Queene Maries dump," the theme of which is already found in British Museum Manuscript, Royal Appendix 58.³ The presence of works by such composers as Daniell Batcheler, John Dowland, and Alfonso Ferrabosco the younger would seem to date the manuscript late in the century. The title of a piece on page 6 of the manuscript, "Master Mathias his Galiard," may refer to a Mr. Mathias who is mentioned in the accounts of the Lord Chamberlain in connection with disbursements for the funeral of Queen Elizabeth in 1603. The entry reads, "Allowance for mourning livery for Mr. Mathias, lute of the privie chamber."⁴ This is the only time the name appears in the records.

The contents of the volume are listed here, with occasional descriptive matter.⁵ The manuscript is numbered in ink, by page rather than by folio. While most of the music is for the lute, a considerable portion is for the lyra viol. Transcriptions of compositions marked * are included in Part II of this study.

¹Abbott, op. cit., p. 63. Catalogue No. 408.

²Peter Warlock (pseud. for Philip Heseltine), The English Ayre (London: Oxford University Press, 1926), p. 129.

³Supra, pp. 49-50.

⁴De Lafontaine, The King's Musick, p. 46.

⁵As in the case of the Dallis manuscript, the compositions are not numbered, but simply listed in consecutive order.

- Title page: "William ballet / his booke wittns / william vines." Below,
in later hands: "Jo. Jones, B 32. D--1--21. Calf." p. 1.
Scribbling by various hands. p. 2.
Unnamed piece. At the end: "Wms. Robert." p. 3.
*"Queene Maries dump." Passamezzo antico. pp. 4-5.
"Passing measures Pavin." Passamezzo antico. p. 5.
*"Master Mathias his Galiard." p. 6.
Unnamed piece. p. 7.
"The quadren paven." Passamezzo moderno. pp. 8-9.
"Galyard to the quadren paven." Passamezzo moderno. pp. 10-11.
"Lost is my lyberty." p. 11.
*"The Horne Pipe." Bergamasca. pp. 12-13.
"Fortune my foe to the consort." Related to passamezzo antico. p. 14.
"Squires Galliard." p. 15.
Unnamed piece. p. 16.
"A Galliard by Daniell Batcheler." p. 17.
"The flat pauen." p. 18.
"The flat paven galliard." p. 19.
Pp. 20-25 blank.
"Peg a Ramsey." p. 26.
*"Robin Reddock." p. 26.
"Bonnie Sweet Robin." p. 27.
P. 28 blank.
"For the viol way." p. 29. Lyra viol tablatures from here to p. 43.
"Barrow Fosters dreame." p. 29.
"A toy. Allfonsoe." p. 29.
"Allfonsoe way." p. 30.
Unnamed piece, "Allfonsoe." p. 31.
Unnamed piece, "Allfonsoe." p. 31.
Unnamed piece, "Allfonsoe." p. 32.
"A gig. Allfonsoe way." p. 32.
"Killken Leerow." pp. 32-33.
"The high waye. Allfonsoe." p. 33.
Unnamed piece, "Allfonsoe." p. 33.
"A Pauen Mr. Sherly. Allfonsoe way." p. 34.
"The galliard to the pauen. Allfonsoe way." pp. 34-35.
"A pauen. Leerow way." p. 36.
"A galliard. Lute way." pp. 36-37.
"My Ladie Richis galliard." p. 37.
Unnamed piece, with directions: "The two hier strings violll way and the
rest in 8vo to them. Thomas Paye." p. 38.
"Leerow Lesson." p. 39.
"For the Leereowe violle." p. 40.
P. 41 blank.
"Lachrima by Mr. Dowland." Added by different hand: "in eighte. Lyra
viol." pp. 42-43.
"Thou sent'st to me a hart." Song with text, bass line in staff notation.
p. 44.
Some pages probably missing between present pp. 44 and 45.
"Laveche for two Lutes." One part only, upside down on page. Part for
the other lute lacking. p. 45.
"A galliard for two Lutes after Laveche." Lower part. p. 46.
The same. Treble part, upside down on page. p. 47.
"A ffancey for two Lutes." p. 48.
The same. Other part, upside down on page. p. 49.
P. 50 blank.
"For a Louinge constant harte." Song fragment, vocal line and text only.
p. 51.

Pp. 52-53. blank.

Unnamed piece, with directions: "For two violles higher strings as the violll, other in 8 to them." p. 54.

Fragment of other part to the same. Rest of page blank. p. 55.

"For the Leero." p. 56. Lyra viol tablatures from here to p. 81.

"All in a garden grene." p. 56.

Unnamed piece. p. 56.

"A toye." p. 56.

"A toye." p. 57.

Unnamed piece. p. 57.

Unnamed piece. p. 57.

Tablature showing tuning for the "Leerow." p. 57.

"A gige." p. 58.

"Sir John Paulets toye." p. 58.

Unnamed piece. p. 58.

Unnamed piece. p. 59.

Unnamed piece. p. 59.

"A maske." p. 59.

"A Jigg." p. 59.

"A toye." p. 60.

"Preludium." p. 61.

Unnamed piece. p. 61.

"Coronto." p. 62.

"A galliard. Allfonsoe." p. 62.

Unnamed piece. p. 63.

Unnamed piece. p. 63.

Unnamed piece. p. 64.

"The witches dawnce." p. 65.

Unnamed piece, "Mr. Taylor." p. 65.

"Durette." p. 66.

"A coranto." p. 67.

"A toye." p. 67.

"Couranto. Allfonsoe." p. 68.

Unnamed piece. p. 68.

Note at bottom of page: "For the back of the bow Allfonsoe way onely the treble set one note loer." p. 68.

"Coranto. Allfonsoe." p. 69.

"Coranto. Allfonsoe." p. 69.

"An Allmand. Allfonsoe." p. 70.

Unnamed piece. p. 70.

"A toye. Leerow." p. 71.

Unnamed piece. "Leerow." p. 71.

Unnamed piece. "Allfonsoe." p. 71.

"A Carento. Allfonsoe." p. 72.

"Allfonsoe Eyghte." (?) p. 72.

Unnamed piece. "Leerow." p. 72.

"In fiuffs (?)". Allfonsoe." p. 73.

"A Caranto. Allfonsoe." p. 73.

"A toy of Chamberlaine. Allfonsoe." p. 74.

Unnamed piece. "Allfonsoe." p. 74.

Unnamed piece. p. 74.

P. 75 blank.

*"Sweet was the Sounge the Vergin sang." Song with text, with single line bass part in tablature for lyra viol. pp. 76-77.

Pp. 78-81 missing.

P. 82 blank.

"A scottis gig." p. 83. Lute tablatures from here on.

*"The owlde man." Passamezzo moderno. p. 83.

- "Lusty gallant." p. 83.
 "Farle become." (?) p. 83.
 * Unnamed piece. First period of "Will you walk the woods so wild?" p. 83.
 "Hit." (?) p. 84.
 "The blacksmith." p. 84.
 * "The woods." Second period of "Will you walk the woods so wild?" p. 84.
 Piece with illegible title. Passamezzo antico. p. 84.
 "The shakinge of the sheetes." p. 84.
 "The h" p. 84.
 "Calleno." p. 85.
 "The ground to passing measures pavin." Passamezzo antico. p. 85.
 "A N" Remainder of title lost in cut of margin. Passamezzo antico. pp. 85-86.
 "Qui passa." pp. 86-87.
 * "The quadran paven." Passamezzo moderno. p. 88.
 * "The quadran galliard." Passamezzo moderno. p. 89.
 "Omnino galliard." p. 90.
 Beginning of a galliard in F major, not named. p. 90.
 Some pages evidently missing between present pp. 90 and 91.
 Conclusion of a piece. At end: "Rogerio qd Jo Jonnson." p. 91.
 "Turkeylony." p. 91.
 "Staynes moris." p. 91.
 "Delight paven. Jo Jonson." pp. 92-94.
 "The Quenes galliarde. E. Perse." pp. 94-95.
 * "The sinck a pace galliarde." Music is same as "Venetian Galliard."
 Cf. British Museum MS Additional 30,513, ff. 126v-127. p. 95.
 "A march." p. 95.
 Unnamed piece. A galliard on the passamezzo moderno. p. 96.
 "A galliard called 'e lume alta.'" p. 97.
 "A galliard. Edward Perse." pp. 98-99.
 "A pauin of John Jhonsons." p. 99.
 "A pauin of Jhon Jhonsons." p. 100.
 "Mommers galliard." p. 100.
 "Robinsons toye." pp. 100-101.
 "Mary Thorny's galliard." p. 101.
 Unnamed piece, seemingly incomplete. A pavane. pp. 101-102.
 Some pages evidently missing between present pp. 102 and 103.
 "Sellingers rownde." p. 103.
 "Lightlie loue ladyes." p. 103.
 "La rouse." p. 103.
 "All floures in brome." p. 103.
 * "Greene sleves." Passamezzo antico. p. 104.
 * "Trike my Wheele." Passamezzo antico variant. p. 104.
 Unnamed piece. "The Hunt is up." p. 104.
 * "Buffons." Passamezzo moderno. p. 104.
 "The nigites." p. 104.
 "Frollad." (?) p. 104.
 Some pages evidently missing between present pp. 104 and 105.
 Seemingly, last part of a pavane. p. 105.
 "A galliard." p. 105.
 "A galliard caled nusquam." pp. 106-107.
 "A pavin." pp. 107-108.
 "A galliard caled Philida." pp. 108-109.
 * "Mr. Numans paven." p. 110.
 * "Fortune." Passamezzo antico variant. p. 111.
 "Orlando." p. 111.
 "Baloo." p. 111.
 "The Earle of Darbyes Caraunta." p. 111.

- Unnamed piece. p. 111.
 *"The Spanish pavin." p. 112.
 "Wilson's wile." p. 112.
 *"Wigmores galliarde." Related to folia. p. 112.
 "Wilson soave." p. 112.
 "The voice of the Earth." p. 113.
 "Robin Hood is to the greenwood gone." p. 113.

As compared with the repertory included in the Dallis book that of the Ballet book has a much larger representation of popular English tunes. This proportion amounts to about 36 of the total number of 157 compositions. While the proportion of pieces showing Italian ground bass patterns is smaller than that in the Dallis book, there still are 18, of which nine are on the passamezzo antico, seven on the passamezzo moderno, one on the bergamasca, and one related to the folia. Other pieces show relationship to these patterns in some phrases. To these must be added "Qui passa," which by the time of this manuscript had long become naturalized as a popular English ballad tune.¹

Considering first the music based on or related to the Italian grounds, several of the dances are similar to those already described. Therefore only a few of this number which are of individual interest will be pointed out. The version of "Queene Maries Dump" in this manuscript seems to be the most complete and fully worked out of all that have thus far been brought to light.² The Ballet version consists of four eight-measure periods on the passamezzo antico bass, in the form of variations, or divisions, some of which show considerable motivic development. The version in the Dallis book is similar, but it has only a single four-measure phrase in place of the third eight-measure period of the Ballet version. The version in British Museum Manuscript, Royal Appendix 58, mentioned before,³ consists of only the first period.

¹Supra, p. 73.

²John Ward, "The 'Dolfull Dumps,'" Journal of the American Musicological Society, IV (1951), 112-113. To the versions listed by Ward should be added that in the Dallis Lute Book, pp. 192-193.

³Supra, p. 49. The versions of the British Museum Manuscript, Royal Appendix 58 and the Ballet lute book are both included in the transcriptions in Part II of this study.

There are also several pavaues and galliards on the passamezzo grounds. Those on the passamezzo moderno bass often bear the name "The Quadran Pavane" and "The Quadran Galliard."¹ The melodic figuration over an established bass pattern can by long usage become repetitive and mechanical, so that it is no wonder that there is often a great deal of similarity between one quadran pavane and another. It is evidently such perfunctory and mechanically contrived music that Thomas Morley refers to scornfully in A Plain and Easy Introduction to Music (1597), where he says the tune called the "Quadrant Pavan" was nick-named "Gregory Walker," "because it walketh 'mongst barbars and fiddlers more common than any other. . . . Nay, you sing you know not what; it should seeme you came latelie from a barber's shop, where you had 'Gregory Walker,' or a Coranto, plaide in the newe proportions by them latelie found out."² "The Quadran Paven" and "The Quadran Galliard" from the Ballet book which are included in Part II of this study are typical of the genre.

"The Horne Pipe" is the most large-scale composition on the bergamasca bass encountered thus far in the manuscripts studied. A continuous variation technique is employed over the four-measure bass pattern throughout the 108 measures of the composition. Interesting melodic and rhythmic motives are introduced and developed, sometimes through a pair of variations.

"Buffons" appears as an eight-measure period in duple meter on the passamezzo moderno bass. The melody of "Bouffons," in essence the same though simpler in detail, also appears in Arbeau's Orchesography (1588).³ In Arbeau's book it is notated in 4/4 time instead of 2/4, the full bass pattern being completed in four measures. Another four measures is added to the melody on the same bass pattern.

¹Supra, p. 38.

²Thomas Morley, A Plaine and Easy Introduction to Practicall Musicke (London, 1597) ("Shakespeare Association Facsimiles," No. 14; London: Oxford University Press, 1937), p. 120.

³Thoinot Arbeau (pseud. for Jehan Tabourot), Orchesography (1588), tr. Cyril W. Beaumont (London: C. W. Beaumont, 1925), p. 156.

As observed before, the repertory contained in the Ballet lute book has a larger proportionate representation of popular English tunes than the other manuscripts thus far examined. That the popular tunes in this manuscript are really representative of those which were most well known at the time may be inferred from the tunes named by Thomas Nashe (1567-1601) in the following passage from Have with you to Saffron Walden (1596):

Or doo as Dick Harvey did, that having preacht and beat downe three pulpits in inveighing against dauncing, one Sunday evening, when his wench or friskin was footing it aloft on the greene, with foote out and foote in, and as busie as might be at Rogero, Basilino, Turkelory, All the flowers of the broom, Pepper is black, Greene Sleeves, Peggie Ramsey, he came sneaking behind a tree, and lookt on; and though hee was loth to be seene to countenance the sport, having laid God's word against it so dreadfully; yet to shew his good will to it in heart, hee sent her eighteen pence in hugger-mugger (i.e., in secret), to pay the fiddlers.¹

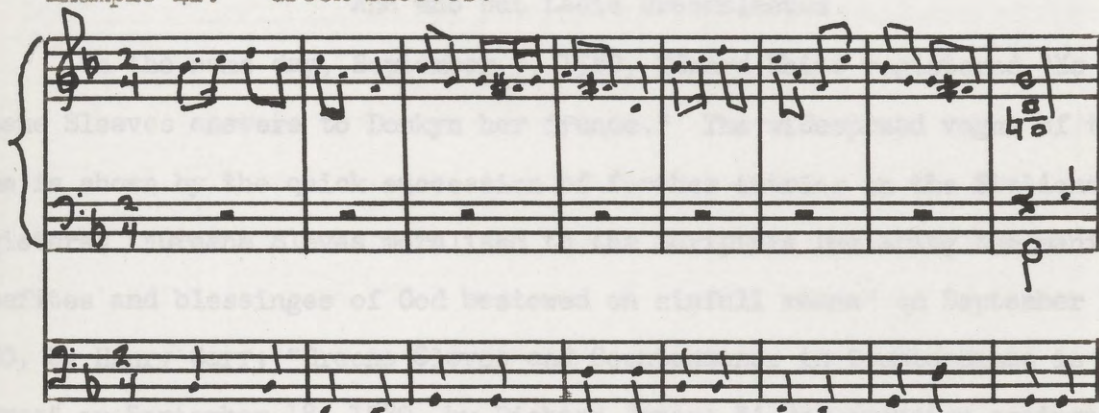
In the context it seems that Nashe names the seven popular tunes at random from those best known to his readers and regarded as typical. Of these seven all except "Basilino" and "Pepper is black" are to be found in the Ballet book, and the possibility that one or the other of these may be present among the untitled pieces, or under another name, cannot be ruled out.

The most interesting fact about these popular tunes, from the point of view of this study, is that here also is found evidence of Italian style characteristics, specifically, that the structural harmonic basis on which several of these melodies rest, wholly or in part, is to be found among the common Italian ground patterns. In the lute arrangement of "Green Sleeves" in the Ballet book the harmonic scheme is that of the passamezzo antico, and the meter is 6/8. In other sources it is sometimes harmonized on the pattern of the romanesca bass--that is, beginning with the harmony of the tonic of the relative major instead of on the tonic of the minor, as in the passamezzo antico. The tune is also to be found in simple duple meter, 2/4, instead of in 6/8. Such a version is found in an incomplete set of parts for a "broken consort" in the

¹Quoted in William Chappell, Popular Music of the Olden Time (1st ed.; 2 vols.; London, Cramer, Beale & Chappell, 1859), I, 116.

Cambridge University Library manuscripts.¹ The bass viol part, from Manuscript Dd. 5. 20, together with the beginning of the lute part from Manuscript Dd. 3. 18, is quoted here:²

Example 42. "Green Sleeves."



Only this much is written for the bass viol part, which evidently was to be repeated as many times as needed, possibly with some improvised ornamentation. A series of variations is written out in the lute part.

The first mention of the tune "Green Sleeves" in the Stationers' Registers is on September 3, 1580, when "A newe northern Dittye of ye Ladye Greene Sleves" was registered by Richard Jones. Hyder Rollins believes this to be identical with "A new Courtly Sonet, of the Lady Green sleeues. To the new tune of Greensleeues," which was published in A Handful of Pleasant Delights (1584) by Clement Robinson and others.³ The ballad is in eighteen four-line stanzas, after each of which is sung a four-line refrain. The first stanza and the refrain run thus:

¹Richard Newton, "English Lute Music of the Golden Age," Proceedings of the Musical Association, 65th Session (Leeds: Whitehead & Miller, 1939), 72-73.

²The recorder part in University of Cambridge Library Manuscript Dd. 5. 21 is not quoted here. Part books for other instruments in this "broken consort" seem to have been lost.

³Clement Robinson and Divers Others, A Handful of Pleasant Delights (1584), ed. Hyder E. Rollins (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1924), pp. 19-22, 90.

Alas my loue, ye do me wrong,
 to cast me off discourteously:
 And I haue loued you so long,
 Delighting in your companie.
 Greensleeues was all my ioy,
 Greensleeues was my delight:
 Greensleeues was my heart of gold,
 And who but Ladie Greensleeues.

On the same day, September 3, 1580, Edward White registered "Ye Ladie Greene Sleeues answere to Donkyn her frende." The widespread vogue of this tune is shown by the quick succession of further entries in the Stationers' Registers: "Greene Sleeves moralised to the Scripture Declaring the manifold benefites and blessinges of God bestowed on sinfull manne" on September 15, 1580, by Henry Carr; "Greene Sleeves and Countenaunce in Countenaunce is Greene Sleeves" on September 18, 1580, by Richard Jones; "A Reprehension againste Greene Sleeves by William Elderton" on February 13, 1581, by Richard Jones; and "Greene Sleeves is worne awaie" on August 24, 1581, by Edward White.¹

Even serious poets were attracted to some of the popular ballad and dance tunes. Sir Philip Sidney (1554-1586) did not disdain to write a song to the tune of "Green Sleeves." The first stanza and refrain run:

The Tyme hath beene that a Taundry Lace
 Or a Bonnet for my Ladyes grace
 a Ring of a Rish or Needles case
 Would make any Lady to love me.
 Fye, fye upon honestie Fye
 Your head is full of Jelouzie.
 There is no fault in my Ladye
 For to suspect the contrarye.²

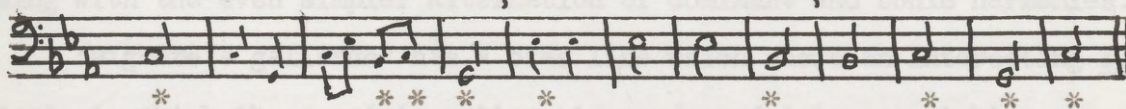
Another popular ballad tune related to the passamezzo antico bass is "Fortune my foe," lute arrangements of which appear on pages 114 and 111 of the Ballet lute book, the second of which is included among the transcriptions in Part II of this study. The relation to the passamezzo antico can best be shown

¹Rollins, Index to Ballad-Entries, Nos. 1892, 1390, 1051, 1742, 2276, and 1050.

²Sir Philip Sidney, Complete Works, ed. Albert Feuillerat (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1922), II, 342.

by quoting the bass line of the piece and marking * the significant notes of the passamezzo antico bass pattern:

Example 43. Bass of "Fortune my foe."



The Stationers' Registers show a ballad "of one complaynyng of the mutabilite of fortune," licensed to John Cherlewood in 1565-66, the oldest registered ballad that seems to have been sung to the tune "Fortune my foe."¹ The oldest surviving text which was sung to the tune seems to be "A sweet sonnet, wherein the lover exclaimeth against Fortune for the loss of his lady's favour, almost past hope to get it again, and in the end receives a comfortable answer, and attains his desire, as may here appear: to the tune of Fortune my foe." A black-letter copy of this ballad is in the Bagford Collection of Ballads (643 m., British Museum). The first of the twenty-two four-line stanzas runs thus:

Fortune my foe, why dost thou frown on me?
And wilt thy favours never greater be?
Wilt thou, I say, for ever breed me pain,
And wilt thou not restore my joys again?²

The direction that the ballad is to be sung "to the tune of Fortune my foe" implies that the tune was one already familiar, and associated with an earlier text which has been lost. The tune must, therefore, be as early as about the middle of the century. Its obvious harmonic dependence on the passamezzo antico bass shows that this Italian ground bass pattern had already become assimilated and naturalized in the popular music practiced in England at that time.

"Trike my whele" is also built on the passamezzo antico harmonic pattern, with a slight variant in the last half. No text specifically connected

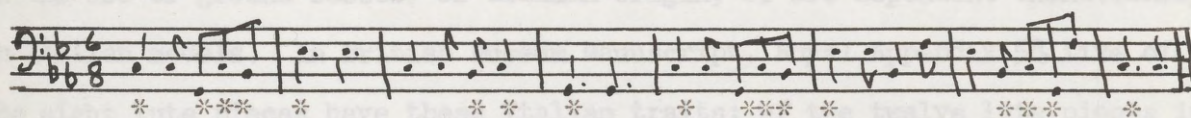
¹Rollins, Index to Ballad-Entries, Nos. 2018, 2569.

²Chappell, Popular Music of the Olden Time (1st ed., 1859), I, 162.

with this tune seems to be known. The passamezzo moderno bass pattern is found in the tune entitled "The owlde man," another tune for which no text seems now to be known. "Robin Reddocke" is built on the bergamasca formula, closing with the even simpler alternation of dominant and tonic harmonies.

"Wigmore's galiarde" has a bass line which shows an interesting folia variant, in which the complete pattern is condensed into one eight-measure period. Chappell says that there are many ballads to this tune, among which

Example 44. Bass of "Wigmore's galiarde."



he mentions "A most excellent new Dittie, wherein is shewed the wise sayings and sentences of Solomon, wherein each estate is taught his dutie, with singular counsell to his comfort and consolation," and "A most famous Dittie of the joyful receiving of the Queen's most excellent Majestie by the worthie citizens of London, the 12th day of November, 1584, at her Grace's coming to St. James'," both of which are preserved in copies in privately owned collections.¹ Neither of these ballads is listed in the Stationers' Registers.

In addition to the above examples many instances appear of the partial and incidental use of Italian grounds in other compositions in the Ballet book. Typical of these is the song "Sweet was the Sounge the Vergin Sange," in which the bass line in several phrases assumes patterns from the folia.

The field of ballad literature and ballad tunes is too vast to make more than this tentative excursion into it within the scope of the present investigation. The examples mentioned, however, are sufficient to show that in the repertory of popular English ballad tunes in the sixteenth century there is a significant number, including some of the most popular, with style characteristics that are without doubt Italian in origin. The point to be

¹Ibid., I, 242.

emphasized is that these characteristics are here assimilated and have become an integral part of the style of English popular music.

Summary

In summarizing the findings in the manuscript sources examined let us look first at the group of manuscripts which date from approximately the third quarter of the sixteenth century and recapitulate briefly the proportion of the compositions which either show definite style characteristics, particularly in the use of ground basses, of Italian origin, or are dependent thematically on Italian models. In British Museum Manuscript, Royal Appendix 58, five of the eight lute pieces have these Italian traits; of the twelve lute pieces in British Museum Manuscript, Stowe 389, nine make use of Italian ground basses; of the 38 pieces in the Folger Shakespeare Library Manuscript 448.16, twelve make use of Italian grounds; of the eleven cittern and gittern pieces in British Museum Additional Manuscript 30,513 (the Mulliner manuscript), nine are either based on Italian grounds or based directly on Italian models; all of the 26 lute pieces in British Museum Additional Manuscript 31,389 must, on the basis of stylistic analysis, be regarded as Italian in character.

Of the total number of 95 compositions in this group of manuscripts 61 show Italian influence as described. If the 26 pieces of British Museum Additional Manuscript 31,389 are excluded, since they may all be said to be Italian in character, the proportion is 35 out of 69. While it is recognized that questions of this sort cannot be resolved on the basis of exact statistical data and percentages, the demonstrated presence of Italian style characteristics in from one-half to two-thirds of the music shows that these elements of musical construction constituted an important part of the available and commonly used musical resources of the time and place.

The larger collections preserved in the Dallis and Ballet lute books may be taken as representative of the popular music current toward the end of the sixteenth century. Of the approximately 215 compositions in the Dallis

book no less than 67 compositions show Italian derivation or the use of Italian grounds. The proportion in the Ballet book is at least 19 out of a total of 157 compositions. For the two books together the totals would be 86 out of 372 compositions, or 23 per cent. Obviously, the proportion of English popular music either stylistically or directly showing traits of Italian origin cannot be reduced to exact figures and percentages, but the figures do show that this class of compositions did form a significant part of the repertory. And when the immense popularity of such tunes as "Fortune my foe," "Green Sleeves," and "Roger" is considered, both as ballad and dance tunes, which have rightfully been regarded as popular English tunes, one must conclude that the Italian harmonic patterns on which they rest had become completely naturalized.

In conclusion, the material investigated in this chapter shows definitely that the use of Italian ground basses as a harmonic foundation for composition--and improvisation--was well established in England at least by the middle of the sixteenth century and continued in use to the end of the century. The usefulness and adaptability of these harmonic schemes is attested by their presence in countless examples of dance music and popular song. They also are found in the music for the poetry of serious writers from Wyatt and Surrey to Sidney. Actual Italian compositions were similarly adopted and naturalized, as seen in numerous examples.

The vitality of these harmonic patterns is further shown in the fact that they occur in countless variant and partial forms, sometimes with more or less free continuation or development, but still preserving their fundamental character. Since most of the music is anonymous, it is not possible to look for characteristics of style in regard to individual composers. On the other hand, the music contained in these collections can reasonably be held to be fairly representative of the popular repertory of the period. The music which has been demonstrated as showing elements of style of Italian origin must have been in such general circulation that the English people played and sang it as

their own music, and not as something exotic. Thus, the popular music of England in the sixteenth century included in its style significant elements of Italian origin, but thoroughly assimilated.

It is not to be inferred from these conclusions that the Italian was the only influence from the continent on English popular music, but in the music here investigated it is proportionately far greater than the French, German, or Spanish. To assess these currents also would be beyond the scope of the present study.

A complete study of the problem would have to wait until all the music in this category which survives in manuscript or in printed tablatures is transcribed and made generally accessible. However, the music here examined may be regarded as a representative and fair sampling, and it is reasonable to believe that a study of a greater amount of the music would furnish additional evidence supporting the conclusions reached.

Since the Italian influence on English poetry in some ways presents a parallel to that on English music, it will be pertinent to point out some of the comparable currents in English poetry. Because of the unsettled conditions prevailing in England during the century preceding the accession of the Tudors, there flourished no poetry comparable to that of Chaucer in the previous period or to that which was to come in the time of Elizabeth.

As courtiers at the early Tudor courts became aware of the poetry which was cultivated at the various courts in Italy it was not unnatural that the desire should arise in them to emulate the Italian poet-courtiers. These Italian poets had a great example in the Italian Rings of Petrarch, which they

¹These subjects are surveyed in Lewis Elstein, The Italian Renaissance in England (New York: Columbia University Press, 1902).

CHAPTER V

A PARALLEL IN THE ITALIAN INFLUENCE ON ENGLISH POETRY

The dissemination of Italian music and musical practices into England in the sixteenth century, which has been the subject of the previous chapters, was not an isolated phenomenon, but only one phase of the influence of the Italian Renaissance on English culture. This influence was many-sided, and most of its other aspects are beyond the scope of this study. Among these are the cultivation of humanistic scholarship in the universities, the ideal of the perfect courtier, the travels of Englishmen in Italy and of Italians in England, the flourishing trade between England and the Italian states, the influence of Italian political and historical ideas, the presence of Italian churchmen, artists, physicians, merchants, and bankers in England, and the Italian influence on English poetry.¹

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¹These subjects are surveyed in Lewis Einstein, The Italian Renaissance in England (New York: Columbia University Press, 1902).

imitated to such a great extent that the character of their work has come to be known as Petrarchism. The English poets, on the other hand, had no immediate literary models for graceful and elegant lyric poetry. In the course of the past century English pronunciation had changed so much that the fine rhythm of Chaucer's poetry was no longer understood. The alliterative verse of John Skelton (1460?-1529), who was tutor to Henry VIII, for all its "fine, headlong, masterful clatter,"¹ could not be said to possess grace or elegance. There was, however, a tradition of lyric measures from medieval England which is still found in many of the English carols in the fifteenth century.

The history of Petrarchism is far too large and complex for discussion here, but two phases of the movement need brief mention, since they have a bearing on two different phases of the Italian influence on English poetry.² The first is concerned with a large number of fifteenth-century writers who, to fulfill the demands of the various Italian courts for short complimentary poems, lyrics to be set to music, and the like, turned to the poetry of Petrarch as a model. Typical of these poets is Serafino De'Ciminelli, called Aquilano, from his birthplace Aquila. Serafino (1466-1500) composed much highly polished, musical, and even charming verse, imitating Petrarch both in style and subject matter. The imitation is applied to individual poems of Petrarch, rather than to Petrarch's Rime as a cycle, and especially to mannered figures of speech which are easily imitable. Thus there is in these poems an exaggeration of conceits, metaphors, and antitheses, and a general superficiality. As Berdan remarks of Serafino's poems, "they need the music to make us forget how little is said, to justify the constant repetition, to eke out the sense by the sound."³

¹E. M. W. Tillyard, The Poetry of Sir Thomas Wyatt (London: Chatto & Windus, 1929), p. 20.

²John M. Berdan, Early Tudor Poetry (New York: The MacMillan Co., 1920), pp. 460 ff.

³Ibid., p. 475.

It should be pointed out that Serafino was thoroughly trained in music, and he was probably the most accomplished of the musician-poets of his time, who both sang and accompanied their own verses. Such virtuosi were much in demand at the various Italian courts, and Serafino was for a time at Rome in the service of Cardinal Ascanio Sforza, who also employed Josquin des Pres.¹ That such performance was widely imitated is shown by the fact that the books of frottole published by Petrucci from 1504 to 1514 already contain music to be used for the singing of any given verse form.

The other phase of Petrarchism, in Italy, is to be found in a group of poets under the leadership of Cardinal Bembo. While this group continued the artificial practices of the older Petrarchists, they did not confine themselves to imitation of individual sonnets, but composed cycles of love-poems to an imaginary mistress, as the Petrarchan Rime tell of the poet's ideal love for Laura, lasting for twenty years during her life and ten years after her death. This is the Petrarchan tradition followed toward the end of the century in the English sonnet cycles, such as those of Sir Philip Sidney and Edmund Spenser.

The failure to distinguish the two phases of Petrarchism has led commentators into unwarranted speculation in regard to the sonnets of Wyatt. George F. Nott, for example, in his edition of Wyatt in 1816, on the assumption that Wyatt was influenced by the later phase of Petrarchism, built up a romantic theory that Wyatt's love sonnets are the expression of a beautiful, but hopeless, passion for Anne Boleyn. Although based on pure conjecture, this view persisted until it was critically examined by twentieth-century scholars.² There is no conclusive proof as to whether or not some of the poems may refer to Anne Boleyn, but even though certain passages in some of the sonnets can be construed as having reference to her, there can be no question that the sonnets in question have their sources in certain sonnets of Petrarch, selected by Wyatt

¹Walter H. Rubsamen, Literary Sources of Secular Music in Italy (ca. 1500) ("University of California Publications in Music," I/1; Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1943), pp. 12 ff.

²Berdan, op. cit., pp. 461 ff.

on an individual basis, with no thought of their forming a related cycle. Thus, Wyatt should be considered as following the earlier of the two phases of Petrarchism.

In Italy it was considered one of the most admired accomplishments of a courtier to be able to write poetry in his own language rather than in Latin. It may be that through his visit to Italy in 1527 Wyatt was moved to attempt the same in English. Further, to write English verse in the popular Italian forms would show that an English poet could write poetry which could compete with his foreign models. In the choice of direct models it was quite natural that Wyatt should fall in with the popular fashion and imitate Petrarch.¹ To succeed in such an attempt would be a reason for justifiable patriotic pride.

Historically, one of the most important achievements of Wyatt was the introduction of the sonnet as an English verse form. Of Wyatt's thirty-one sonnets seventeen are translations from Petrarch, and there are one each from Sannazaro, Filosseno, and Serafino.² The translation is in some cases almost literal, in some more free, and in a few cases only the beginning is a translation, with the continuation being a free development of the idea. In his selection Wyatt tended to confine himself to the sonnets with striking figures of speech and conceits, thus not attempting some of the most beautiful of the Petrarchan sonnets.

The form of the Petrarchan sonnet consists of an octave with rising intensity of the thought, followed by a sestet with resolution of the thought. The rhyme scheme of the octave is a b b a, a b b a. That of the sestet may vary, but the form of the sestet is always that of two tercets with several possible rhyme schemes--e. g., c d c, d c d; c d c, c d c; c d e, c d e; c d e, d c e. It cannot be said that Wyatt ever became completely at ease in handling the sonnet form. In most of his sonnets he preserves the octave

¹Tillyard, *op. cit.*, pp. 22-23.

²A. K. Foxwell, *A Study of Sir Thomas Wyatt's Poems* (London: University of London Press, 1911), pp. 81 ff.

plus sestet pattern, but with the latter usually rhymed c d d, c e e.¹ In one sonnet, "Such is the course," Wyatt anticipates the form of the later so-called Shakespearean sonnet in three quatrains and a concluding couplet.² Here the rhyme scheme is a b a b, a b a b, a b a b, c c.

In his epigrams Wyatt adopted the form of the Italian ottava rima with the rhyme pattern a b a b a b c c. This is the form of the strambotto cultivated pre-eminently by Serafino. Of Wyatt's thirty-one epigrams Italian sources have been found for nine--five from Serafino, and two each from Ariosto and Petrarch.³ This form is not so difficult to manage as the sonnet, and here Wyatt achieved often quite successful results. Here also the subject matter is in the form of a conceit.

The form of Wyatt's three satires is the terza rima (a b a, b c b, c d c, etc.), which is the form of the satires in the Opere Toscane, published in 1532-1533 by the Florentine humanist poet Luigi Alamanni. In 1527 Alamanni was living as an exile in Lyons, and it is possible that Wyatt may have met him there as he passed through on his way to Italy.⁴

One of Wyatt's satires is a translation from Alamanni, with some adaptations of an autobiographical nature and referring to the English scene. The other two satires are rather free translations from Horace. These works must be regarded as experimental, for although they contain some effective passages, Wyatt was never at home in the form.⁵

Pietro Aretino's "Sette Salmi della Penitentie" (1534) in Italian prose provided Wyatt with a model for his "Penitential Psalms." Each Psalm

¹Foxwell, A Study of Sir Thomas Wyatt's Poems, pp. 81 ff.

²A. K. Foxwell, The Poems of Sir Thomas Wyatt (London: University of London Press, 1913), I, 42; II, 53-54.

³Foxwell, A Study of Sir Thomas Wyatt's Poems, pp. 77-78.

⁴Berdan, op. cit., pp. 476 ff.

⁵Tillyard, op. cit., pp. 44 ff.

is preceded by a prologue, for which Wyatt employs a somewhat heavy ottava rima, while the actual Psalms are cast in terza rima. As in the satires the effect is rather plodding and ponderous. The tercets run together, or are broken, to such an extent that the effect often becomes that of a somewhat uncertainly rhymed iambic pentameter, the form of which is obscured.

Summarizing the Italian influence as found in the works of Wyatt, this influence is apparent in the introduction into English poetry of the verse forms of the sonnet, the ottava rima, and the terza rima. In addition to the verse forms there are the actual Italian sources which served as models, of which the English poems are direct translations, paraphrases, or subjects for more or less free embellishment. These sources have been traced in fifty-three of Wyatt's poems, as listed in Foxwell's study.¹ This amounts to approximately one-fourth of Wyatt's authenticated poems. Italian verse forms are used in at least one-third of all the poems.

This study makes no attempt at literary criticism. The facts just cited have been introduced to show the parallel between currents of Italian influence on English poetry and English music of the period. In both cases it has been shown that this influence is apparent in the introduction of Italian subject matter and Italian forms and technical devices. This influence is found to be present in a significant proportion of both the poetry and music considered. It is not contended here that this part of the music or poetry is that with the most value as art, but simply that it constitutes a significant portion. Indeed, among Wyatt's other poems--those showing no direct Italian influence--are to be found some of his finest lyrical verse and a great variety of attractive verse forms.

Following the work of Wyatt, Henry Howard, Earl of Surrey (1517?-1547), continued working with the same problems. Surrey also translated a number of Petrarch's sonnets, including several of those translated by Wyatt. While Wyatt

¹Foxwell, A Study of Sir Thomas Wyatt's Poems, pp. 76-78.

usually tried to preserve the Petrarchan practice of thought division into the octave plus a sestet, Surrey employed several different arrangement, preferring finally the division into four quatrains and a concluding couplet with the rhyme scheme a b a b, c d c d, e f e f, g g,¹ which will be recognized as the Shakespearean form. Surrey also made use of the ottava rima and the terza rima. Although Surrey's verse often has a greater smoothness than Wyatt's, it must be admitted that it sometimes has less strength of expression.

For the translation of the second and fourth books of Vergil's Aeneid Surrey owed his stimulus to an Italian version of the fourth book which appeared in 1540. Following his Italian models, Surrey employed the medium of blank verse, which he handled with considerable flexibility. As to the significance of Surrey's use of this form Padelford says, "For this one innovation of blank verse, English poetry owes Surrey a debt quite incalculable, though it is an open question to what extent he was responsible for the Elizabethan use of this measure."²

Another aspect of Italian influence on English poetry is to be observed in its relation to music. The highly musical quality of the best of Wyatt's lyrical verse has often been remarked upon, and Wyatt's reference to the lute may well be based on his own skill with the instrument.³ Although singing to the lute had long been a practice in England, it is evident from the music examined in the previous chapter that here also at this period the Italian manner of performance was known and practiced in England. The fact that the the music for Wyatt's lyric poem "Blame not my lute" is the "Cara cosa" shows this to be the case.⁴ The music for Surrey's "In wynter's just returne" was

¹Frederick Morgan Padelford, The Poems of Henry Howard, Earl of Surrey (2d ed., Seattle: University of Washington Press, 1928), p. 51.

²Ibid.

³Tillyard, op. cit., pp. 15-16; also, Foxwell, A Study of Sir Thomas Wyatt's Poems, p. 105.

⁴Supra, pp. 58-59.

found to be built on a bass pattern related to the passamezzo antico.¹ That the music for Wyatt's "Heven and erth" proves to be a "Pavane d'Angleterre," which was published in an arrangement by Claude Gervaise by Attaignant (Paris, 1555), shows that any convenient familiar music might be drawn on for the purpose.² In this case the music proves to be an English-French variant of a dance form whose origin was Italian. It seems reasonable to infer that these instances are typical of a common practice rather than special cases. That it was a common popular usage seems to be indicated by the case of the "Willow" ballads sung to music related to the folia.³

It will be noted that much of the music just mentioned is dance music of well-defined rhythmic character. The music may have been chosen because the meter fitted that of the verse, or it may be even more likely that the verse was composed with the music already in mind.

There is evidence that Italian music continued in popularity for the singing of English verse throughout the century. Sir Philip Sidney (1554-1586) wrote two lyrics, "The fire to see my wrongs" and "The Nightingale," to the tune of "Non credo gia che piu infelice amante"; "No, no, no, no, I cannot hate my foe," to be sung "to the tune of a Neapolitan song, which beginneth: 'No, no, no, no, no';" and "Al my sense thy sweetnesse gained," to be sung "to the tune of a Neapolitan Villanell." These Italian tunes do not seem to have been identified.⁴ "Basciami vita mia," however, to the tune of which Sidney wrote "Sleepe Babie mine," was printed in Il Secundo Libro de li Madrigali de diversi Autori by Gardano in Venice in 1543.⁵ The same title appears no less than eight times in collections printed from that date until 1585. In most cases

¹Supra, pp. 47-48.

²Supra, p. 49.

³Supra, pp. 65 ff.

⁴Bruce Pattison, Music and Poetry of the English Renaissance (London: Methuen & Co., 1948), pp. 179-180.

⁵Emil Vogel, rev. Alfred Einstein, "Bibliography of Italian Secular Vocal Music printed between the years 1500-1700," Music Library Association Notes, III/1 (1945-1946), 52.

the music is anonymous, but versions printed in 1554 and 1569 are ascribed to [Domenico] Ferabosco.¹ Sidney also wrote a lyric beginning "The Tyme hath beene that a Taundry Lace" to the tune of "Green Sleeves,"² which has been found to be based on the harmonic pattern of the passamezzo antico.³

Evidence of a greater international exchange of music in the late sixteenth century is seen in the fact that Sidney also wrote verse to foreign tunes other than Italian. "O Faire, o sweet, when I do look on thee" was to be sung to the tune of the Spanish song, "Se tu señora no dueles de me"; and "Who hath his fancie pleased," to the tune of "Wilhelmus van Nassaw," which was later to become the tune of the Dutch national anthem.⁴

In conclusion, while the subject has been treated briefly, enough evidence has been presented to show that Italian influence on English poetry, both in verse forms and in subject matter, was well established in the second quarter of the sixteenth century and continued throughout the century. This may be regarded as parallel to the dissemination of Italian music and musical practices, which has been discussed at length in the previous chapter. Finally, it has been shown that the two currents are closely related and interdependent.

¹Ibid., III-IV (1945-1947), passim.

²Pattison, op. cit., pp. 174-175.

³Supra, pp. 105 ff.

⁴Albert Feuillerat (ed.), The Complete Works of Sir Philip Sidney (3 vols.; "Cambridge English Classics"; Cambridge: at the University Press, 1922), II, 302-305, 314-319.

CHAPTER VI

CONCLUSIONS

This study has been an attempt to investigate one phase of the influence of the Italian Renaissance on English music in the sixteenth century. The indebtedness of the English madrigal composers, who flourished at the end of the century, to the Italian madrigalists has been recognized, but this is a late manifestation and may be taken as an end product. In fact, by that time many features characteristic of the baroque are already in evidence.

Since Italian musicians resident in England were active in the musical life of the country throughout the century, much Italian music was brought into the repertory of music commonly practiced and became, as it were, naturalized. As a consequence elements of style characteristic of this music became a part of the resources available to English musicians. The penetration of these Italian elements into the style of the popular music of England becomes apparent as one begins to examine examples from sixteenth-century sources.

A complete study of this influence would involve a detailed investigation of Italian musical style in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, a similar investigation of English musical style, and a comparative study of the results of their meeting. This is obviously a task of great magnitude. Further, the musical problem is only one part, though an important part, of a large cultural complex. In the whole complex the cultural interchange with other countries would also have to be taken into account.

A particular feature of musical style that is common to a large body of music throughout western Europe, but which can be established definitely as Italian in origin would provide a tangible point of approach to the problem.

The practice of improvisation and composition of predominantly homophonic music on a basso ostinato, or ground bass, meets this requirement admirably. It is to be found in countless examples of music from sixteenth-century sources from Italy, Spain, France, Germany, and England. Further, the most important and widely cultivated family of ground basses has been identified, their inter-relationships technically and historically defined, and their Italian origin established by the researches of Otto Gombosi.

The music with which the present study is principally concerned is that for the lute and related instruments, whose place in the music of the sixteenth century may be compared to that of the piano today. This repertory then can be taken as representative of the music in popular circulation and the sort most generally known and practiced. Printed sources for this music date from as early as 1507 in Italy, and a plentiful repertory of continental lute music is preserved in printed books as well as in manuscript. In England, however, there was no printing of lute music until late in the century, and the English sources investigated for this study are in manuscript, dating from about the middle to the close of the century.

The investigation has been fruitful in showing that the practice of the techniques of composition on Italian ground bass patterns had become well established in England by the middle of the century, and from then on continued as an integral part of common English musical usage. This is found in both instrumental and vocal forms.

In instrumental compositions Italian ground basses are found particularly in dance pieces. Among the principal dance forms the pavane and the galliard are themselves of Italian origin. The history of these dance forms is itself a very involved study, which has not been attempted here.

In vocal music it was found that not only was English poetry sung to the lute in a manner comparable to the Italian, but that the actual music to which certain poems of Wyatt and Surrey were sung was based on Italian ground

bass patterns. While the singer could improvise melody appropriate to the text of the poem, the constantly recurring harmonic pattern of the accompaniment provided a unifying element. The same technique applied to purely instrumental music is the basis for the variation form so assiduously cultivated by the English virginalists in the years around the turn of the seventeenth century.

Since music and poetry are here so closely related, some specific parallels between the Italian influence on English music and the Italian influence on English poetry were pointed out. In the poetry were found translations, both fairly literal and paraphrased, of Italian poetry, and verse forms which were adopted from Italian models.

In conclusion, it has been shown that the Italian current in English popular music in the sixteenth century is the predominant continental influence in that period of history. To a lesser degree influence from other countries is also apparent. Thus, important elements of musical style which had their origin in Italy were assimilated and became an integral part of English musical style. This is a typical example of the process of musical interchange between different countries which is continuous. In this case it is one phase, and an important phase, of the influence of the Italian Renaissance on the life and culture of England.

This is not intended to imply that the Italian is the only continental influence on English music during the sixteenth century, because German, French, and Spanish influence is also present, and a complete account of the musical situation would have to include all of this. The influence of other music, the French for example, would be well worth investigating.

PART II

MUSIC TRANSCRIBED FROM THE MANUSCRIPT SOURCES

British Museum MS Royal Appendix 58.

No. 1. "The Duke of Somerset's dompe."

Handwritten musical score for "The Duke of Somerset's dompe." The score is written on five systems of staves, each with a treble and bass clef. The key signature is one flat (B-flat). The time signature is 2/4. The notation includes various musical symbols such as notes, rests, and accidentals. The score is numbered 8, 15, 21, and 27 at the beginning of the fourth, fifth, sixth, and seventh systems respectively. The handwriting is in ink and appears to be a transcription of a manuscript.

Handwritten musical notation, measures 32-37. Treble and bass staves. Treble clef, key signature of one flat (B-flat). Measure numbers 32, 33, 34, 35, 36, 37 are indicated on the left. The notation includes various rhythmic patterns, including eighth and sixteenth notes, and rests.

Handwritten musical notation, measures 38-43. Treble and bass staves. Treble clef, key signature of one flat (B-flat). Measure numbers 38, 39, 40, 41, 42, 43 are indicated on the left. The notation includes various rhythmic patterns, including eighth and sixteenth notes, and rests.

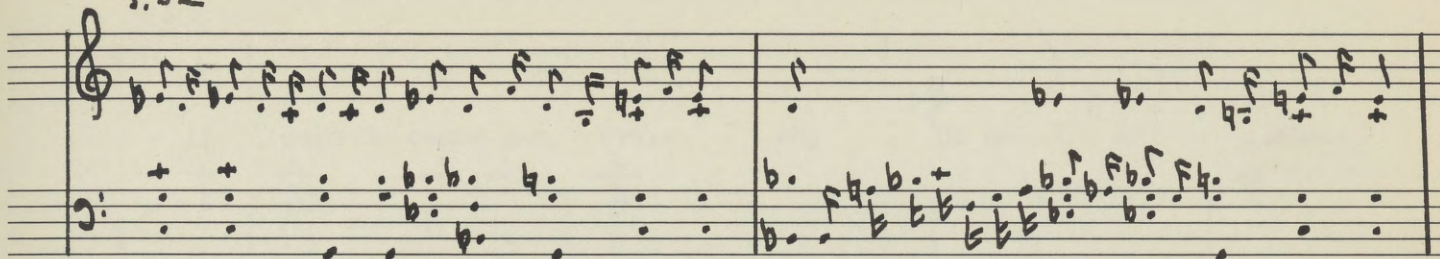
Handwritten musical notation, measures 44-49. Treble and bass staves. Treble clef, key signature of one flat (B-flat). Measure numbers 44, 45, 46, 47, 48, 49 are indicated on the left. The notation includes various rhythmic patterns, including eighth and sixteenth notes, and rests.

Handwritten musical notation, measures 50-54. Treble and bass staves. Treble clef, key signature of one flat (B-flat). Measure numbers 50, 51, 52, 53, 54 are indicated on the left. The notation includes various rhythmic patterns, including eighth and sixteenth notes, and rests.

Handwritten musical notation, measures 55-59. Treble and bass staves. Treble clef, key signature of one flat (B-flat). Measure numbers 55, 56, 57, 58, 59 are indicated on the left. The notation includes various rhythmic patterns, including eighth and sixteenth notes, and rests.

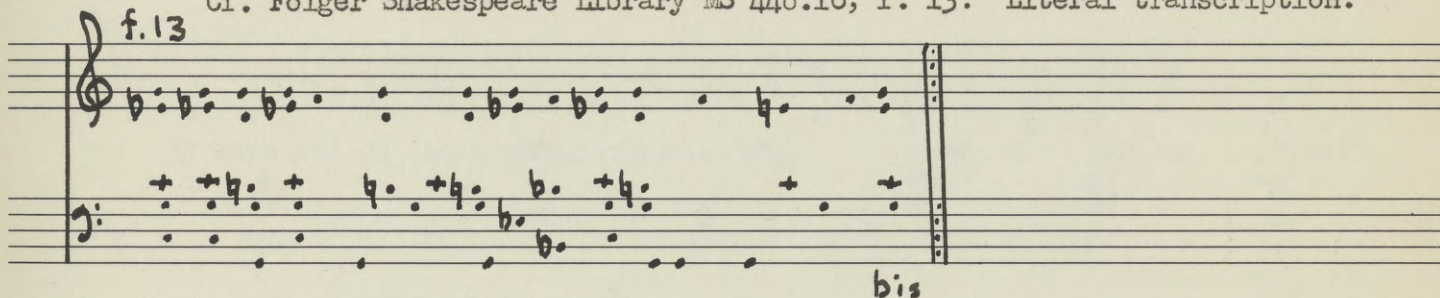
No. 2. "In wynter's just returne." Literal transcription.

f. 52

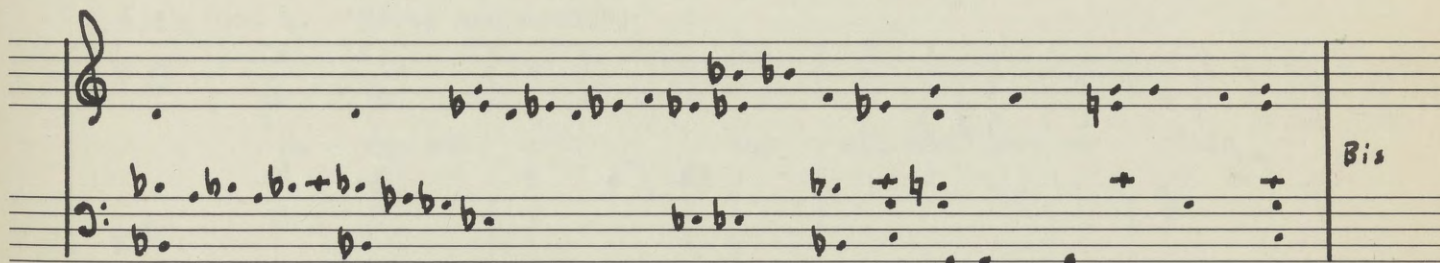


Cf. Folger Shakespeare Library MS 448.16, f. 13. Literal transcription.

f. 13

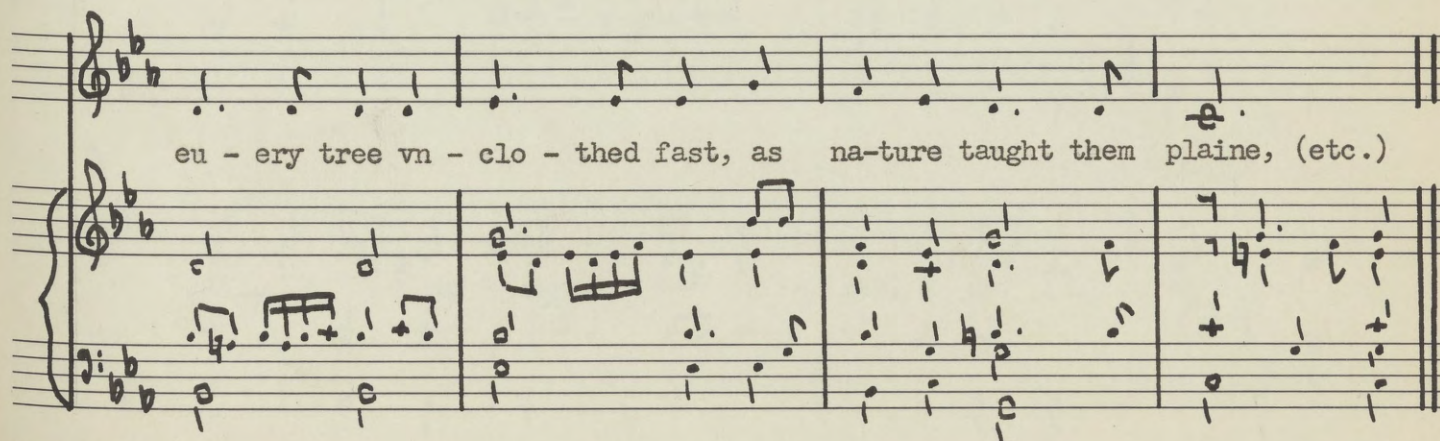
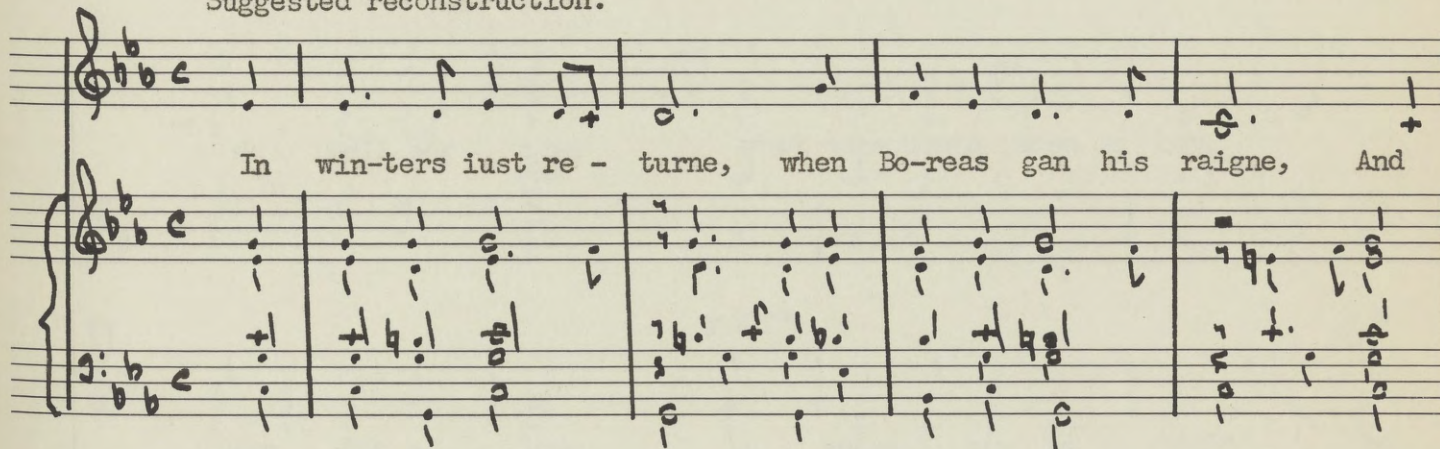


bis



Bis

Suggested reconstruction.



No. 3. "Yf care cause men to cry."

f. 52

If care do cause men cry, why do not I com - plaine?

If eche man do be - waile his wo, why shew I not my paine?

f. 52 No. 4. "Heven and erth."

He - vyn and erth and all that here me plain

Do well per - ceve what care doeth cause me cry

f. 55^v

Save you a - - lone to whome I cry in (vain: Mer -

cy, ma - dame, a - las, I dy, I dy!

No. 5. Unnamed piece. = Theme of "Queen Marie's Dump." Passamezzo antico.

f. 54^v

No. 6. "Warda mus" (?) Title not legible.

f. 54^v

1)

1) Edge of MS here frayed; possibly something missing.

No. 7. "Pastyme." By Henry VIII.

Handwritten musical score for No. 7, "Pastyme." by Henry VIII. The score is written on two staves (treble and bass clef) with a key signature of one flat (Bb). The time signature is 4/4. The score includes various musical notations such as notes, rests, and accidentals. There are handwritten annotations: "f. 55" in the first measure, "8" and "8a" in the eighth measure, and "1)" in the thirteenth measure. The score is divided into measures by vertical bar lines.

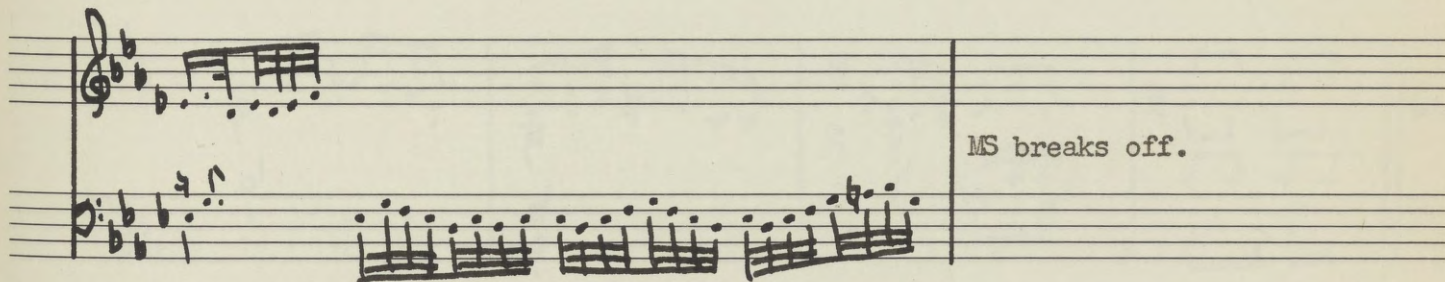
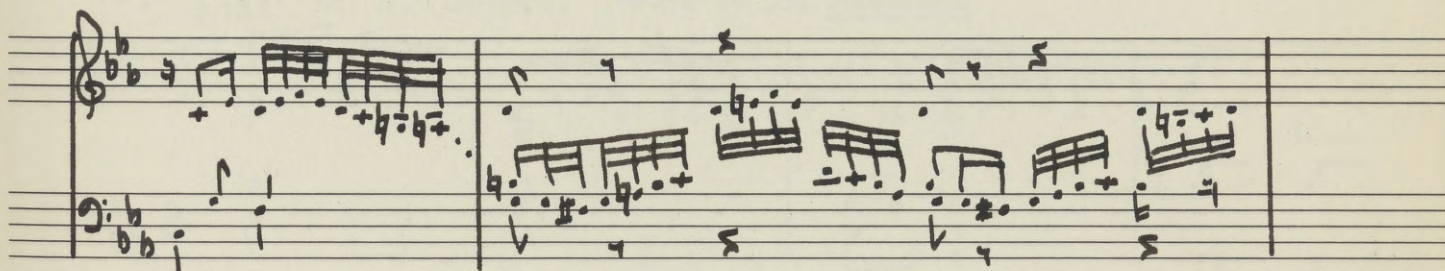
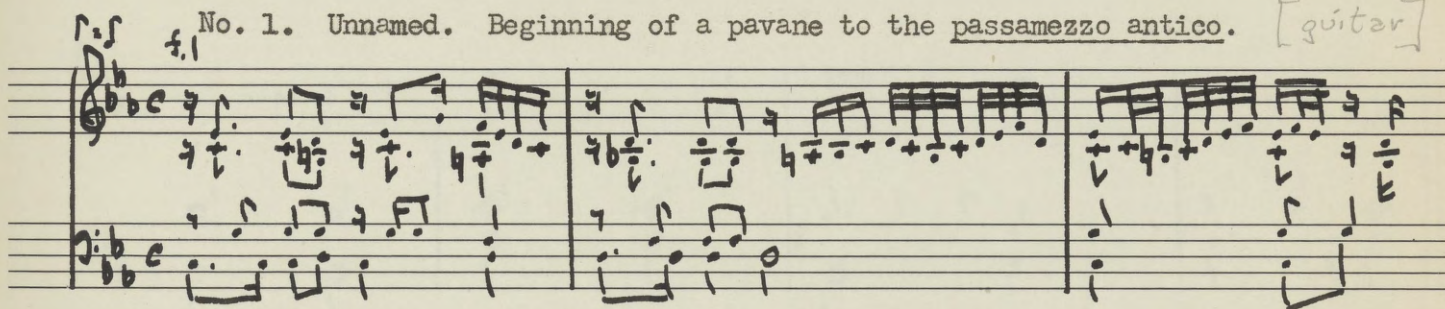
No. 8. "Pover man's dompe."

Handwritten musical score for No. 8, "Pover man's dompe." The score is written on two staves (treble and bass clef) with a key signature of one flat (Bb). The time signature is 4/4. The score includes various musical notations such as notes, rests, and accidentals. There are handwritten annotations: "1)" in the first measure of the second system and "2)" in the second measure of the third system. The score is divided into measures by vertical bar lines.

1) MS: Bb instead of Eb. 2) MS: possibly something missing in this passage.

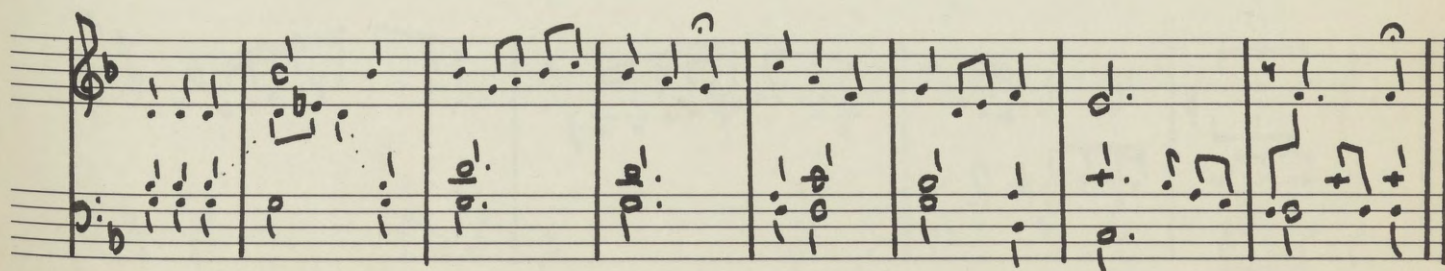
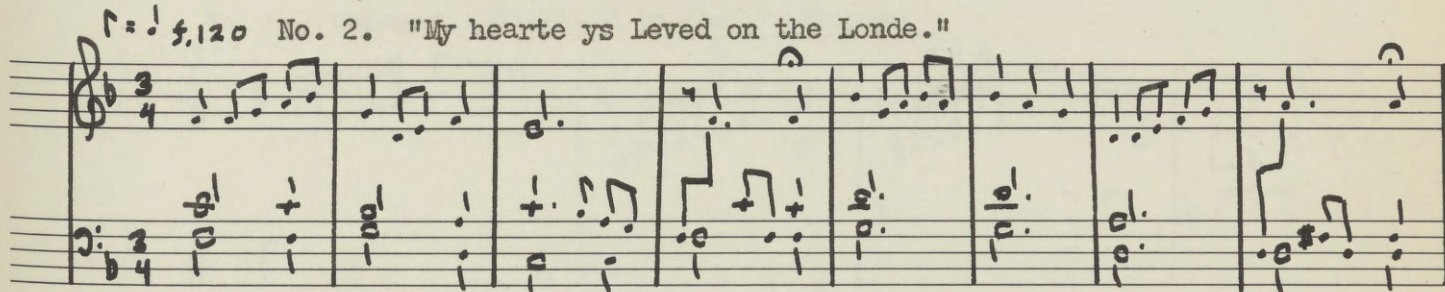
British Museum MS Stowe 389.

No. 1. Unnamed. Beginning of a pavane to the passamezzo antico. [guitar]



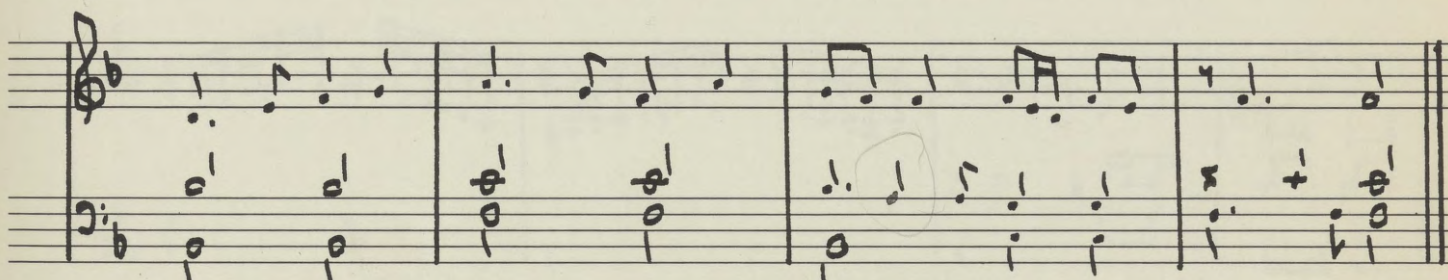
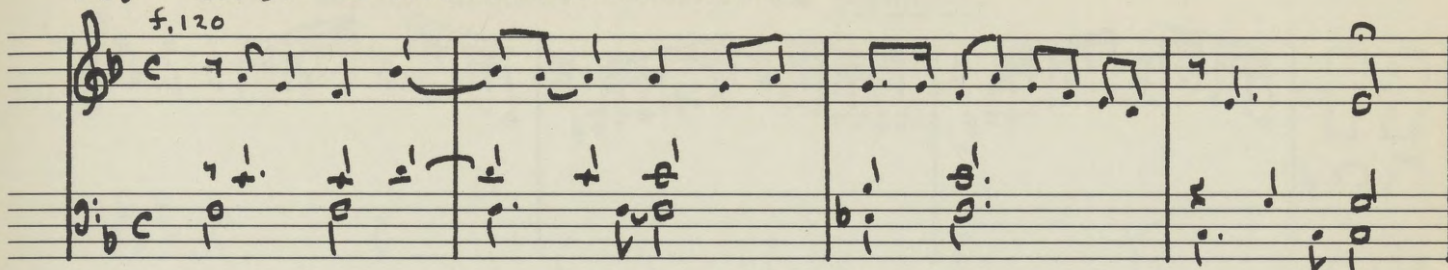
MS breaks off.

No. 2. "My hearte ys Leved on the Londe."

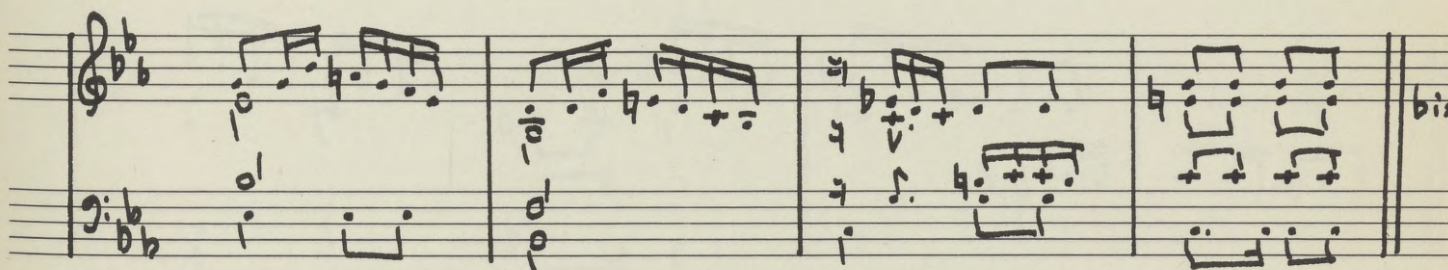
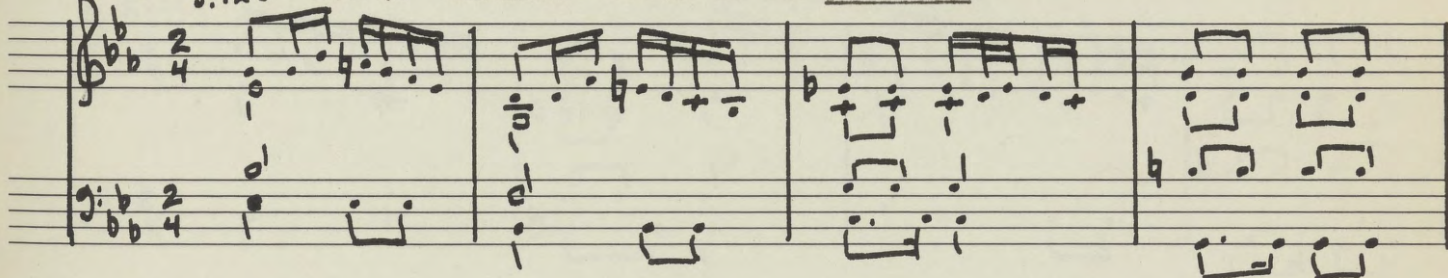


$\text{f} = \text{!}$ No. 3. "Yf care doe cause men crie."

$\text{f}, 120$

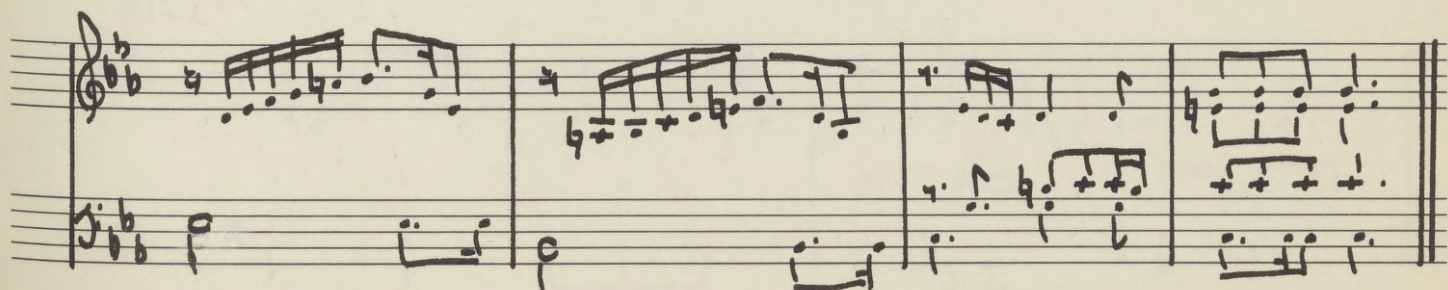
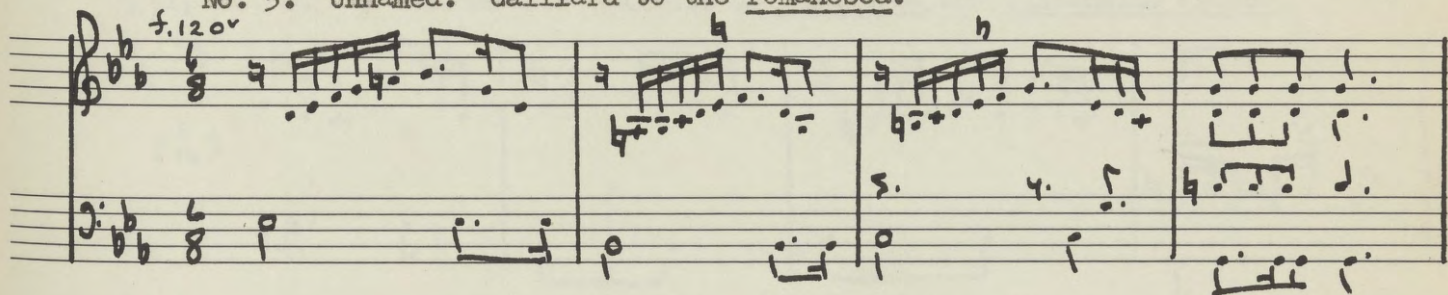


$\text{f} = \text{!}$ $\text{f}, 120$ No. 4. Unnamed. Pavane to the romanesca.

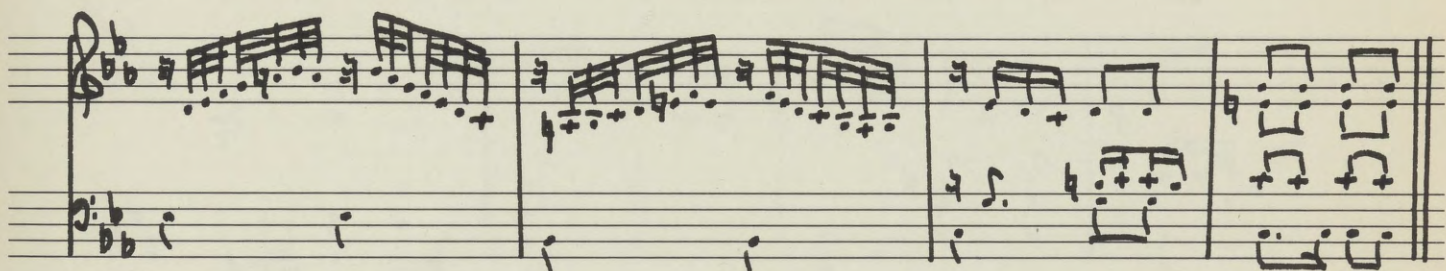
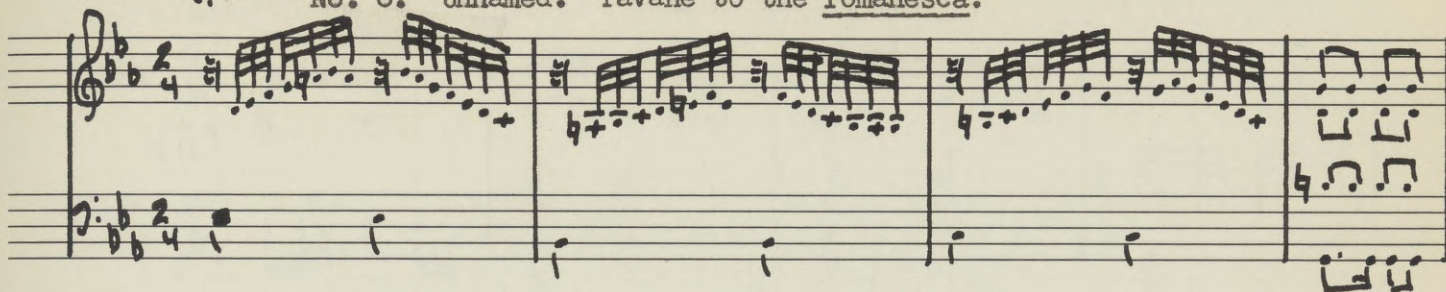


No. 5. Unnamed. Galliard to the romanesca.

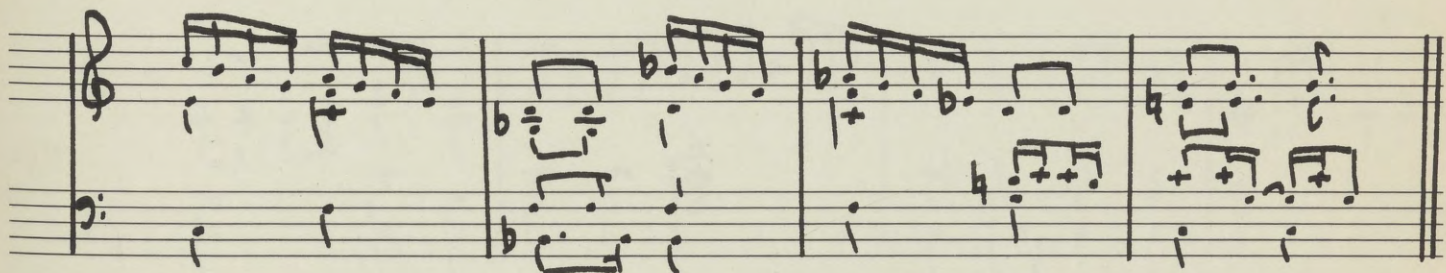
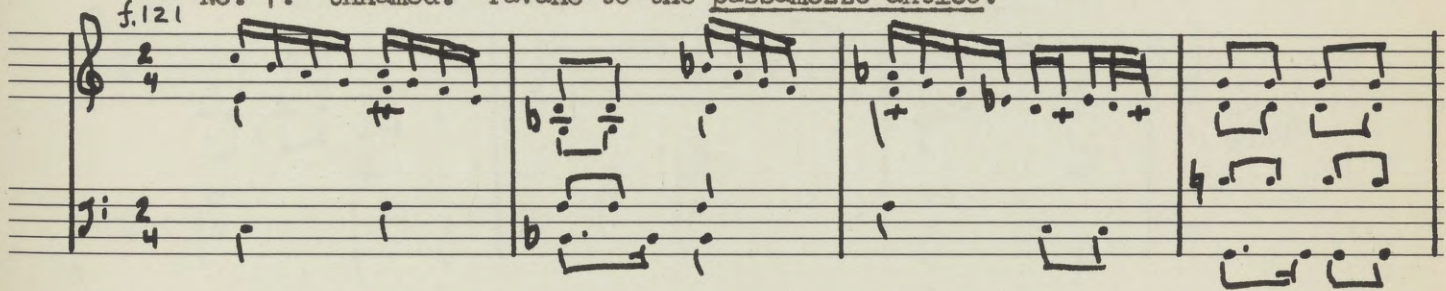
$\text{f}, 120$



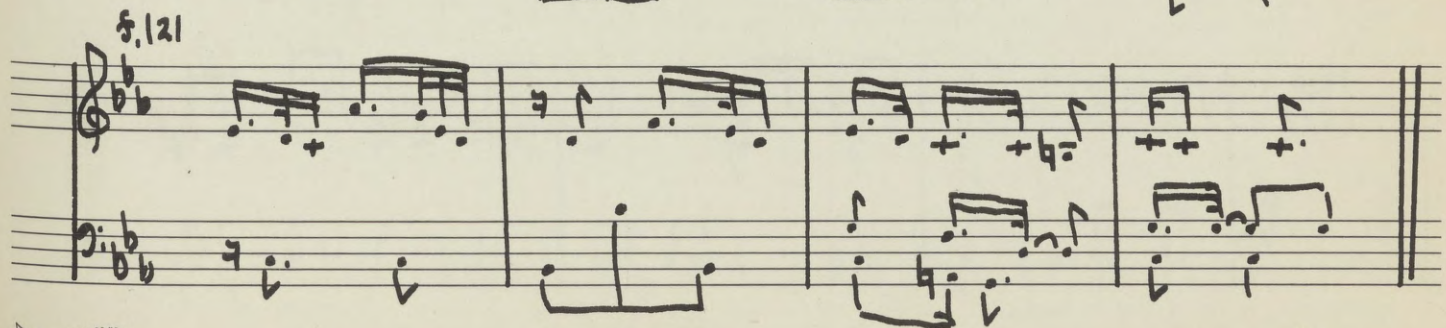
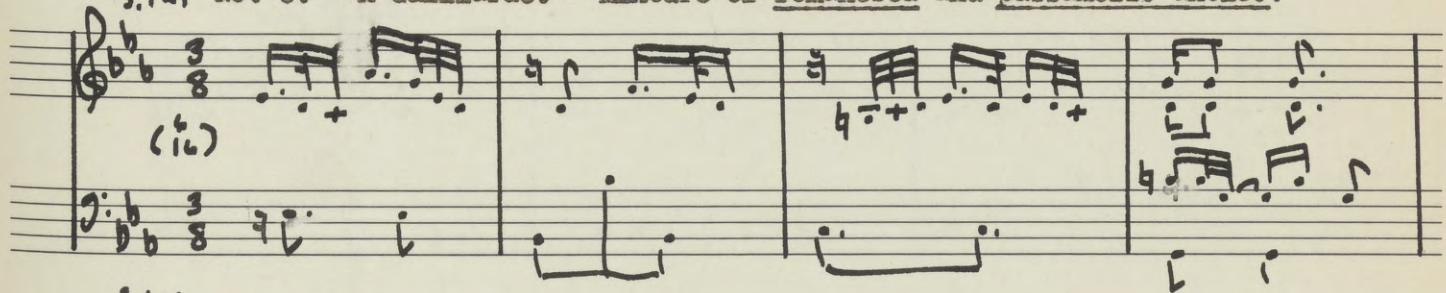
$f. 121$ No. 6. Unnamed. Pavane to the romanesca.



$f. 121$ No. 7. Unnamed. Pavane to the passamezzo antico.



$f. 121$ No. 8. "A Galliarde." Mixture of romanesca and passamezzo antico.



$\text{f. } 121 \text{ v}$ No. 9. "A Galliarde." Passamezzo antico.

Handwritten musical score for No. 9, "A Galliarde." The score is written on two staves (treble and bass clef) in G major (one sharp) and 3/4 time. It consists of four measures. The first measure has a tempo marking $\text{f. } 121 \text{ v}$ and a dynamic marking (16) . The notation includes various rhythmic values and accidentals.

$\text{f. } 121 \text{ v}$ No. 10. "The Kynges pawvion." Passamezzo moderno half-form at beginning.

Handwritten musical score for No. 10, "The Kynges pawvion." The score is written on two staves (treble and bass clef) in C major (no sharps or flats) and 3/4 time. It consists of four measures. The notation includes various rhythmic values and accidentals.

Handwritten musical score for No. 10, "The Kynges pawvion." This block shows the continuation of the piece on two staves (treble and bass clef) in C major and 3/4 time. It consists of four measures, ending with a double bar line and the word "bis" above the final measure.

Handwritten musical score for No. 10, "The Kynges pawvion." This block shows the continuation of the piece on two staves (treble and bass clef) in C major and 3/4 time. It consists of four measures, starting with a tempo marking $\text{f. } 122$.

Handwritten musical score for No. 10, "The Kynges pawvion." This block shows the continuation of the piece on two staves (treble and bass clef) in C major and 3/4 time. It consists of four measures, ending with a double bar line.

f. 122

No. 11. "The princis pavion."

Handwritten musical notation for No. 11, "The princis pavion." The score is written on two staves in G major (one sharp) and common time. The notation is somewhat messy, with some notes and rests appearing to be added or corrected. The piece ends with a double bar line.

Remainder of
MS too full
of inaccur-
acies.

f. 123 No. 12. Unnamed. Beginning of a pavane to the passamezzo antico.

Handwritten musical notation for No. 12, Unnamed. Beginning of a pavane to the passamezzo antico. The score is written on two staves in G major and common time. The notation is somewhat messy, with some notes and rests appearing to be added or corrected. The piece ends with a double bar line.

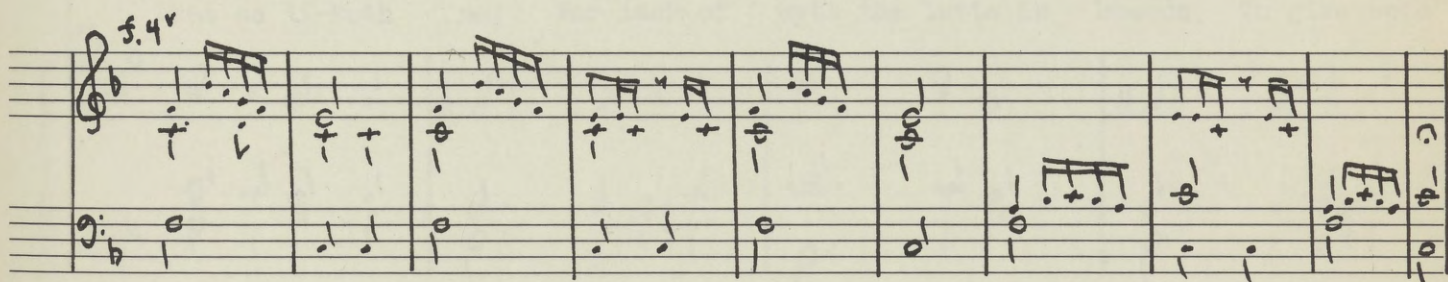
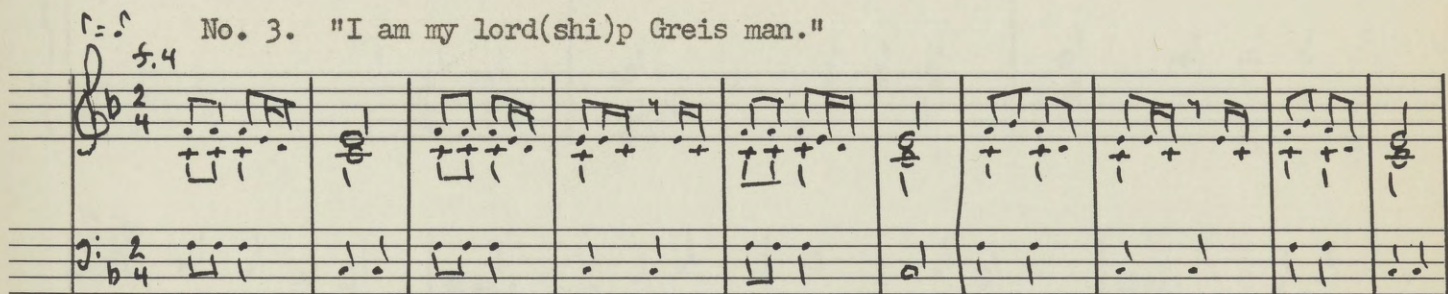
Handwritten musical notation for No. 12, Unnamed. Beginning of a pavane to the passamezzo antico. The score is written on two staves in G major and common time. The notation is somewhat messy, with some notes and rests appearing to be added or corrected. The piece ends with a double bar line.

Handwritten musical notation for No. 12, Unnamed. Beginning of a pavane to the passamezzo antico. The score is written on two staves in G major and common time. The notation is somewhat messy, with some notes and rests appearing to be added or corrected. The piece ends with a double bar line.

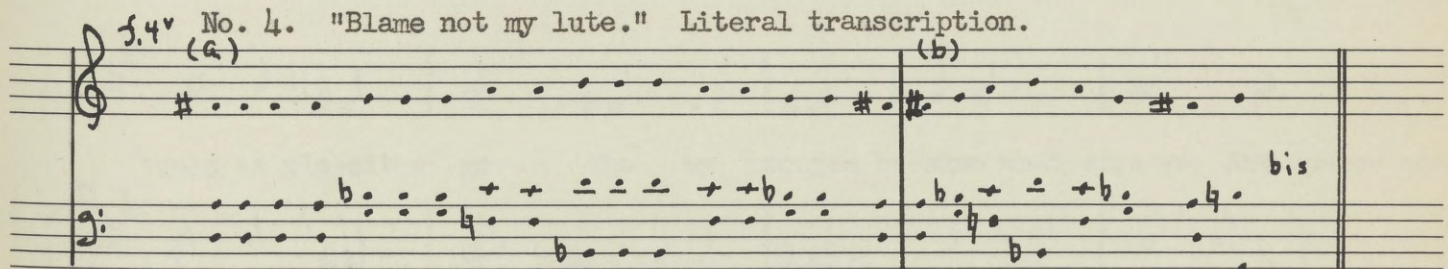
MS becomes more and more
full of errors, and finally
breaks off.

Folger Shakespeare Library MS 448.16.

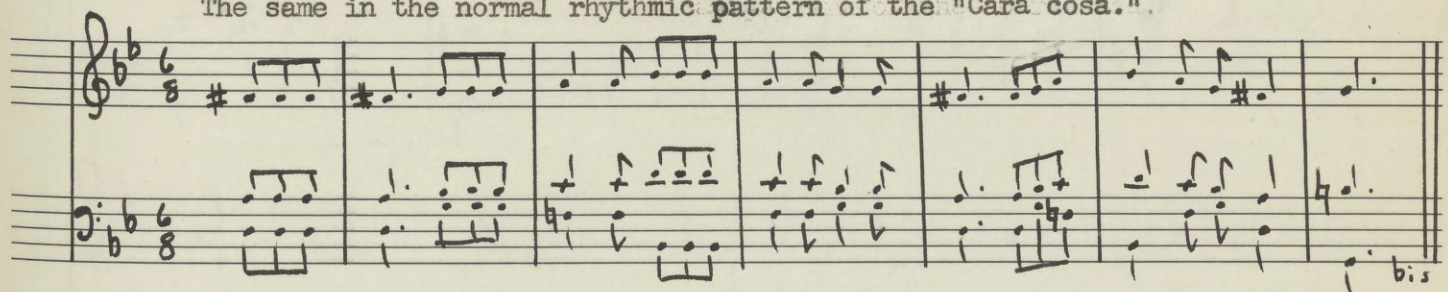
No. 3. "I am my lord(shi)p Greis man."



No. 4. "Blame not my lute." Literal transcription.



The same in the normal rhythmic pattern of the "Cara cosa."



No. 4. "Blame not my lute." Suggested reconstruction.

5.4^v

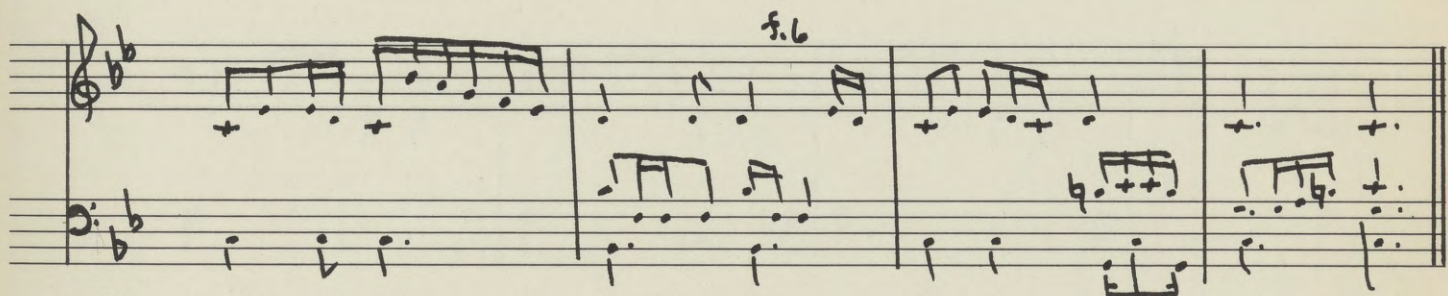
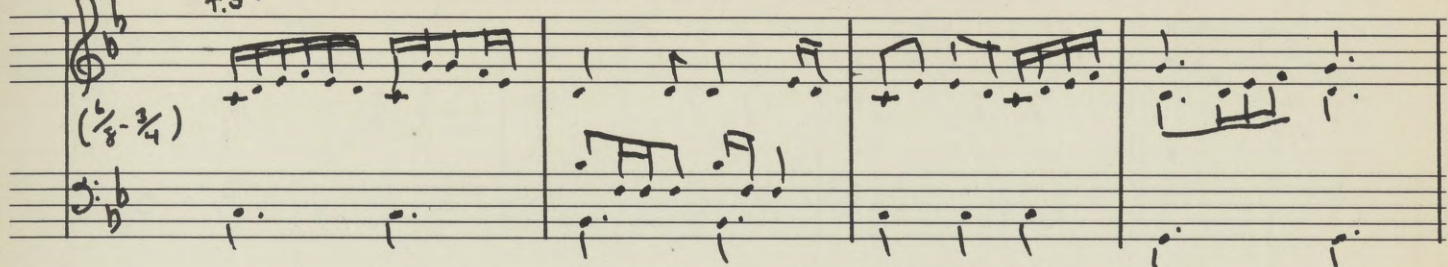
Blame not my lute for he must sownde Of thes or

that as li-keth me; For lack of wytt the lutte is bownde To give such

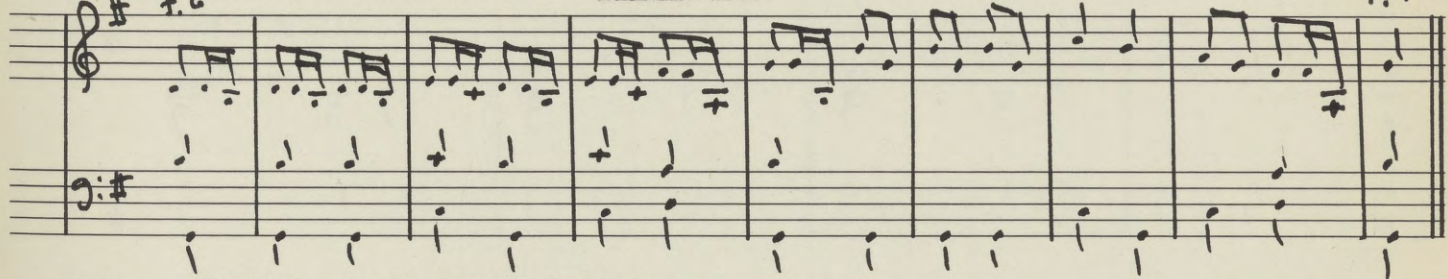
tunes as ple-sithe me: Tho my songes be sume what strange, And spekes suche

wordes as toche thy change, Blame not my lutte, blame not my lutte.

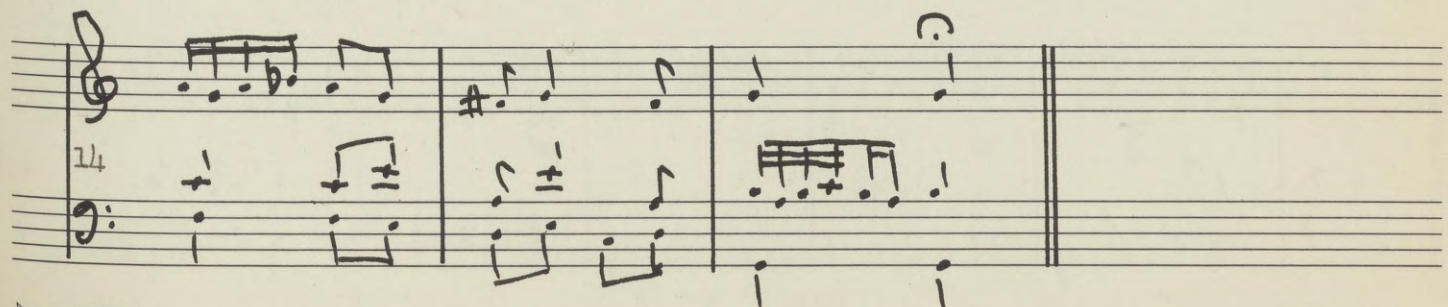
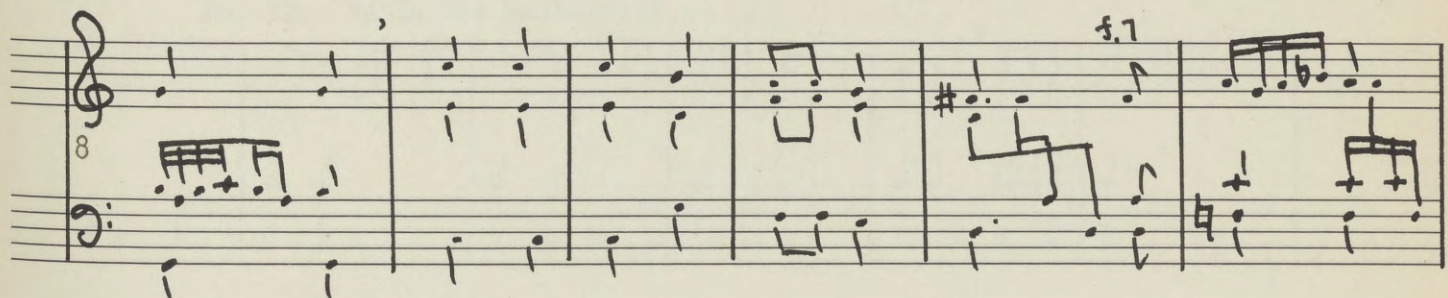
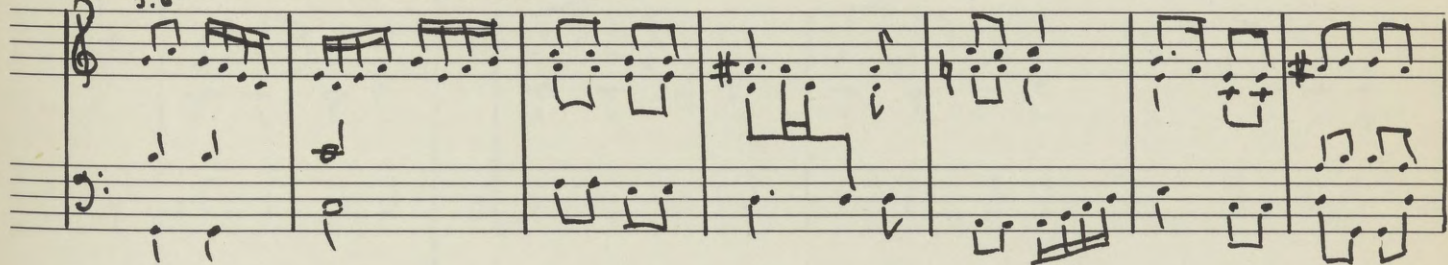
$F = \text{♩}$ No. 7. "Passamesure galiarde." Passamezzo antico.
f. 5^v

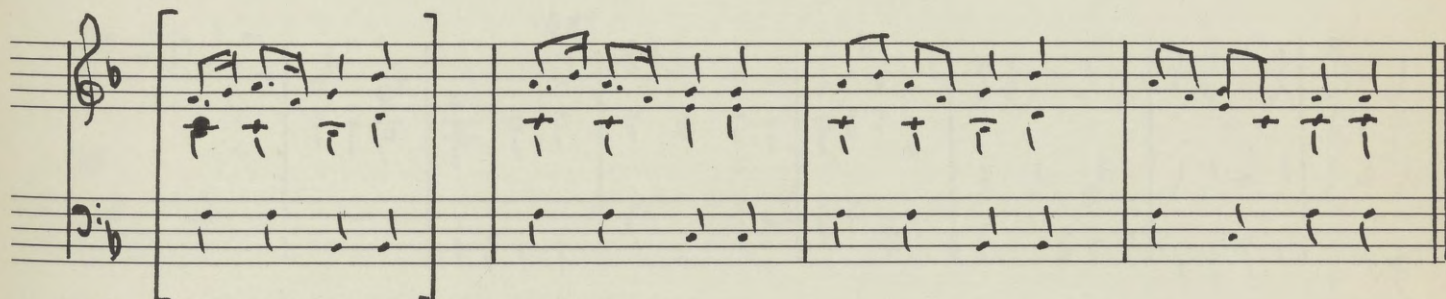
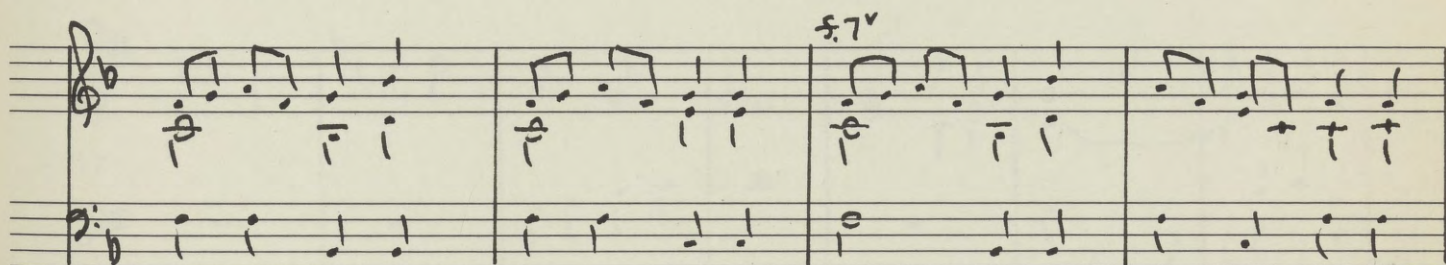
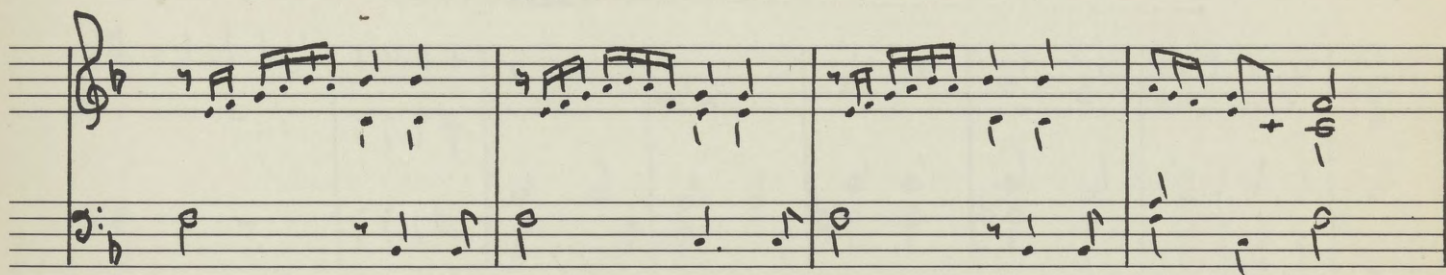
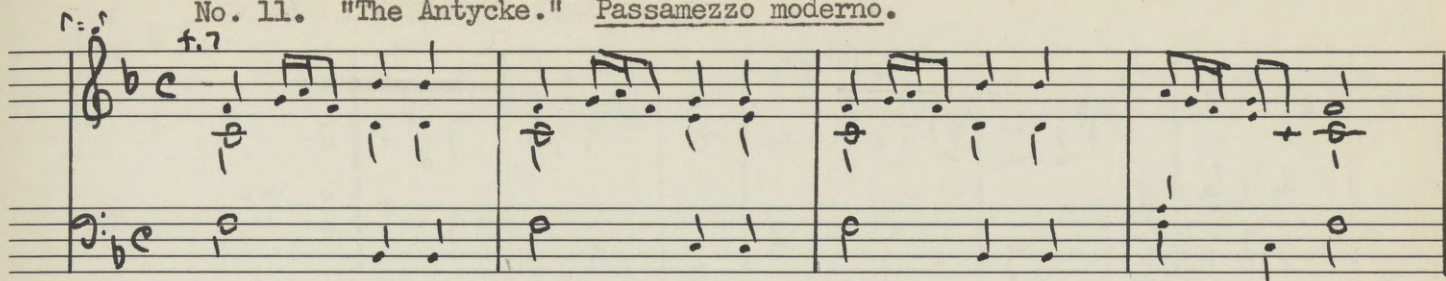


$F = \text{♩}$ f. 6 No. 9. "The motlye." Bergamasca.

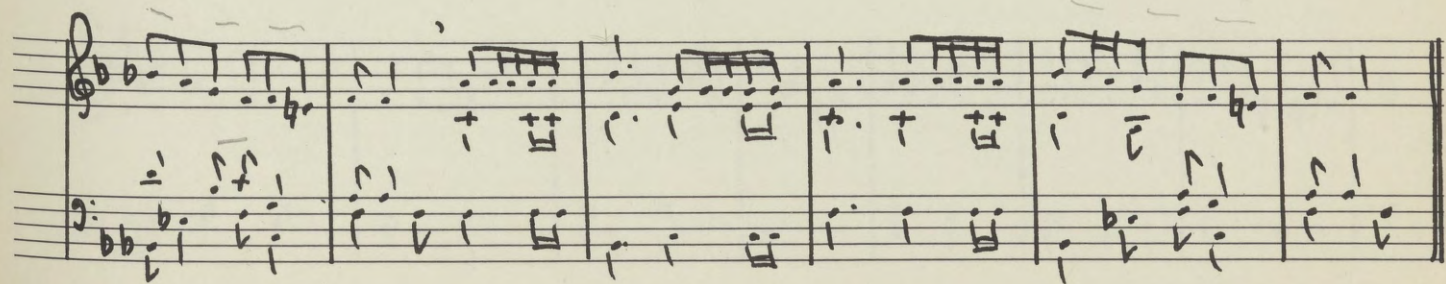
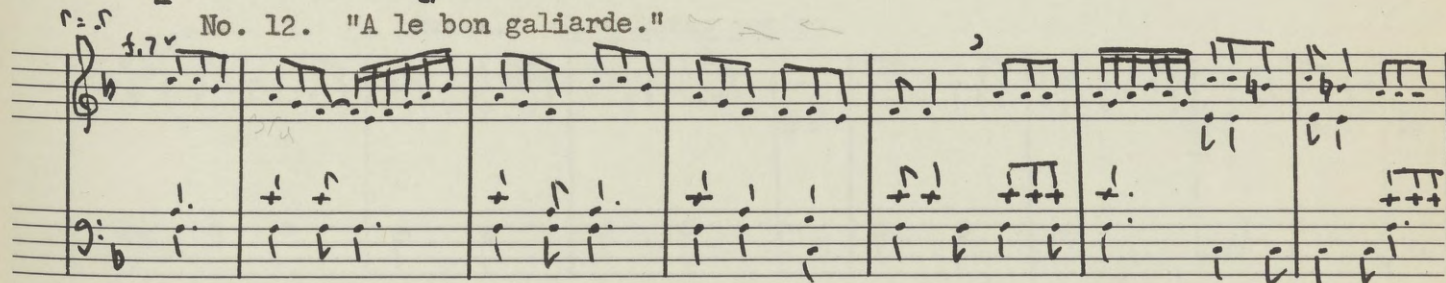


$F = \text{♩}$ f. 6 No. 10. "A flatte pavione."

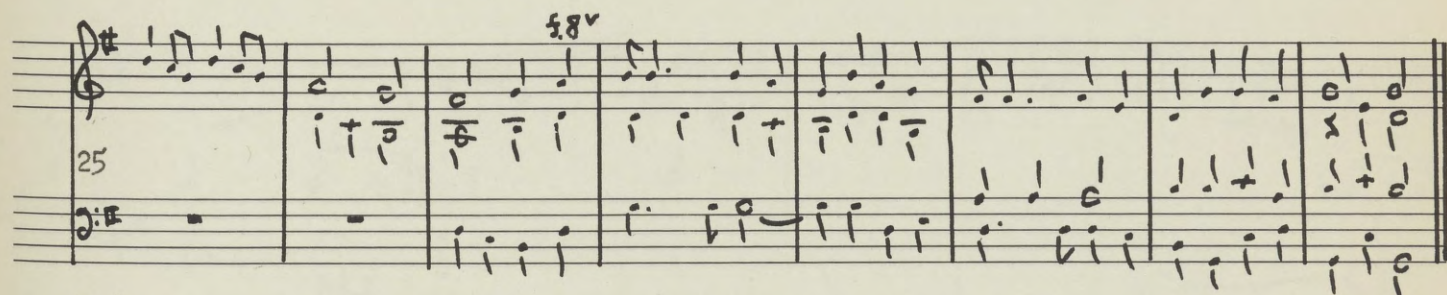
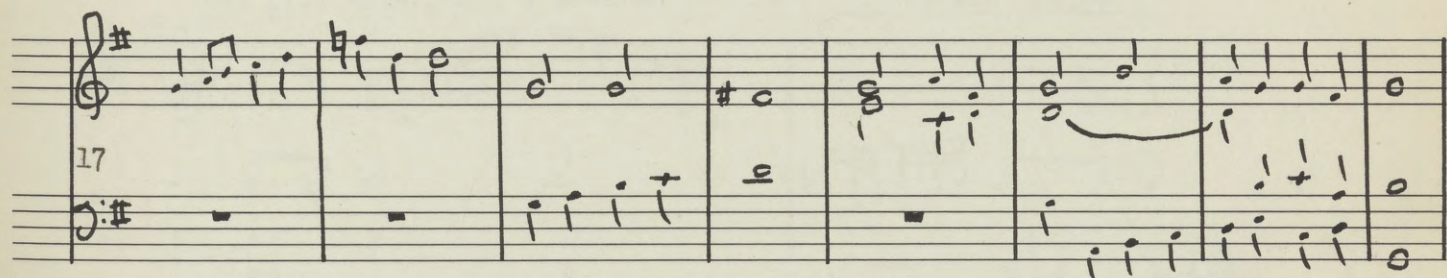
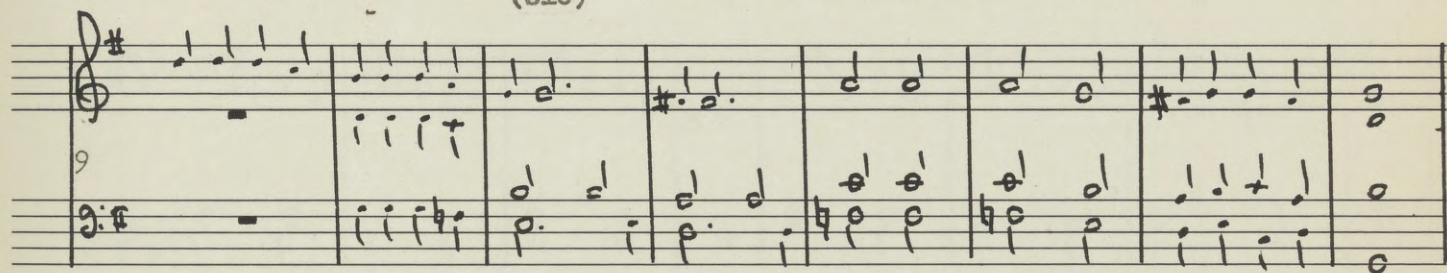
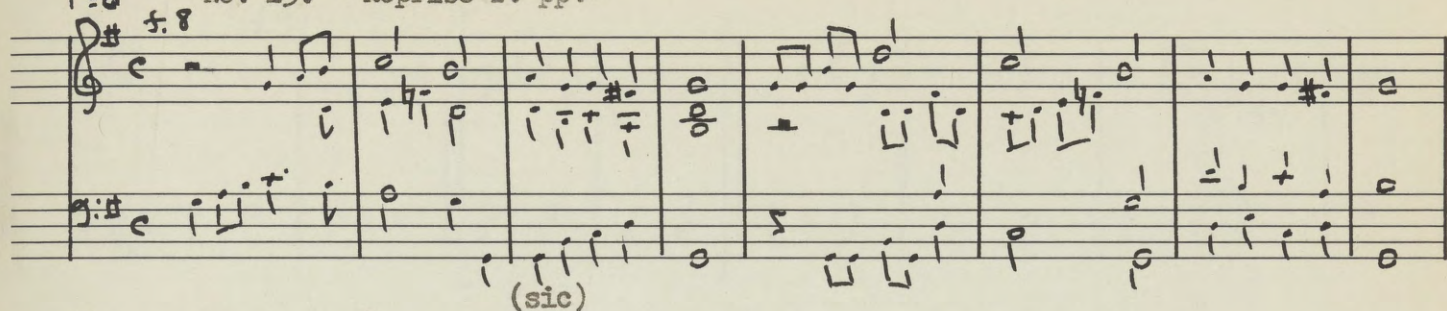
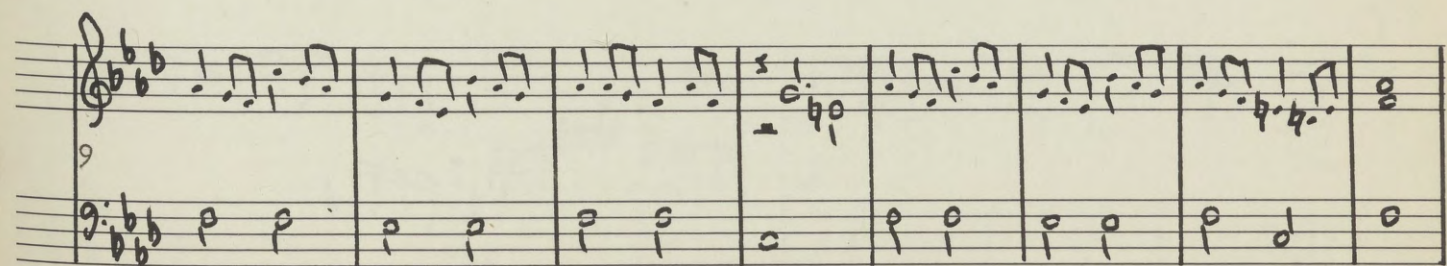
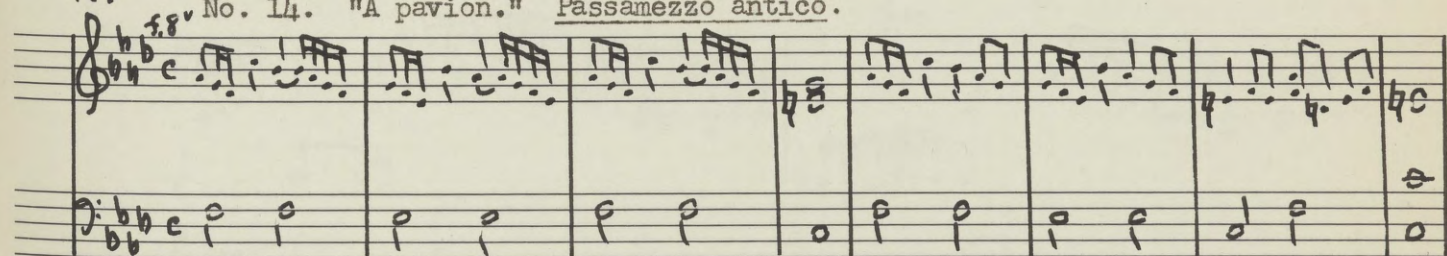


No. 11. "The Antycke." Passamezzo moderno.

No. 12. "A le bon galiarde."



No. 13. "Reprise f. pp."

No. 14. "A pavion." Passamezzo antico.

Handwritten musical score for measures 17-24. The key signature is B-flat major (two flats). The tempo/mood is marked *f.9*. The music is written for piano on a grand staff. Measure 17 is indicated by the number '17' in the left margin.

Handwritten musical score for measures 25-32. The key signature is B-flat major. The music continues on a grand staff. Measure 25 is indicated by the number '25' in the left margin.

No. 17. "The passe a mesures pavion." Passamezzo antico.

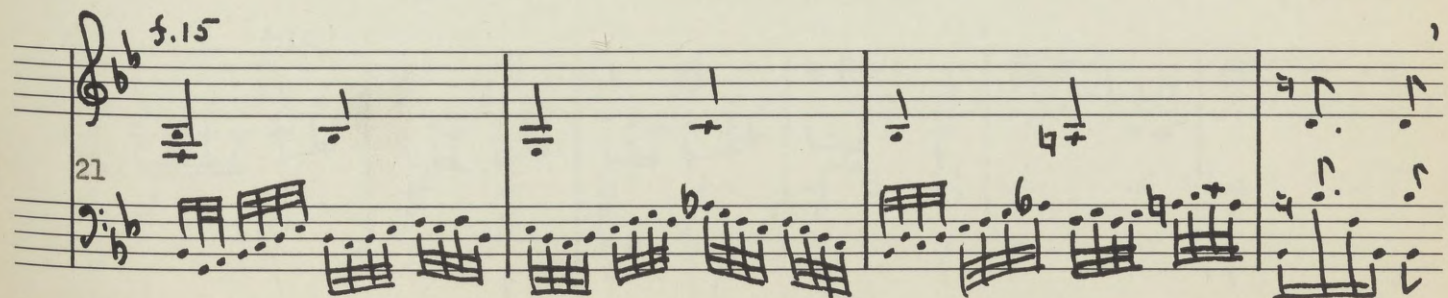
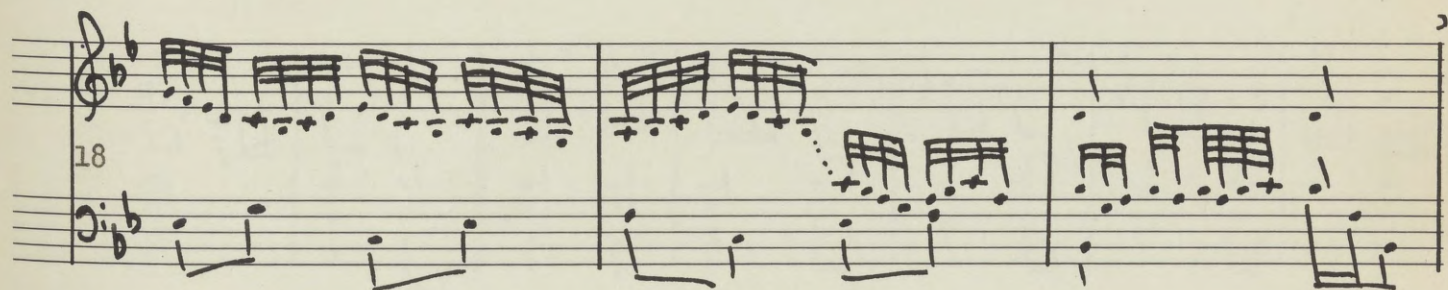
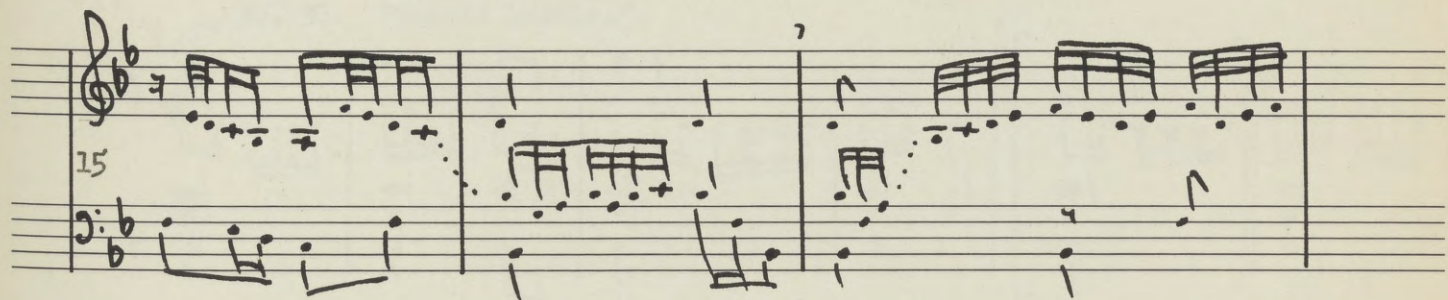
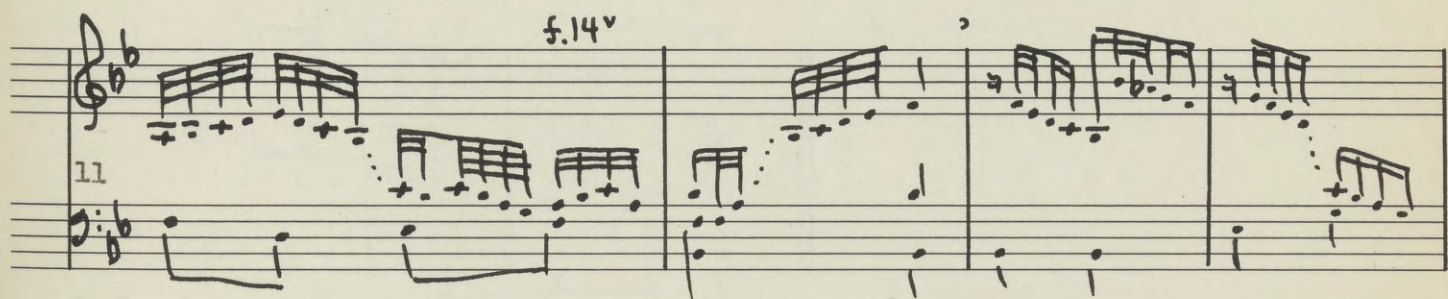
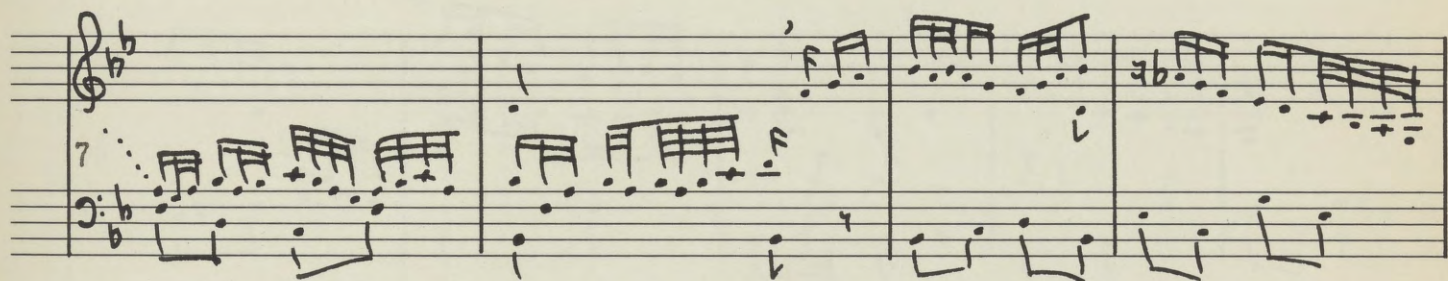
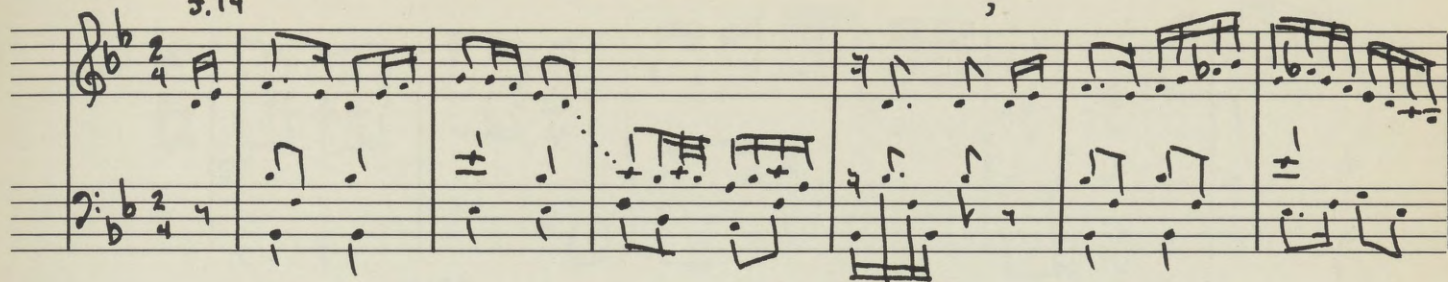
Handwritten musical score for measures 33-40. The key signature is B-flat major. The tempo/mood is marked *f.9v*. The music is written for piano on a grand staff. Measure 33 is indicated by the number '33' in the left margin.

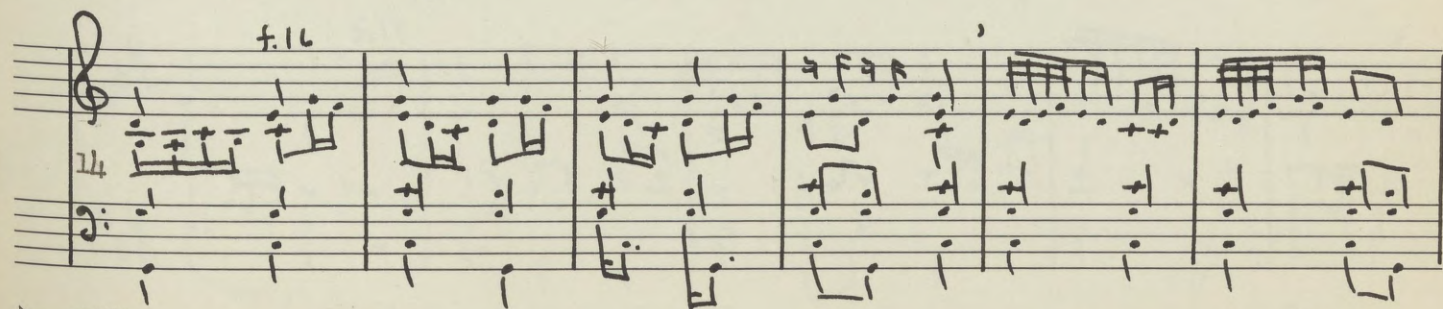
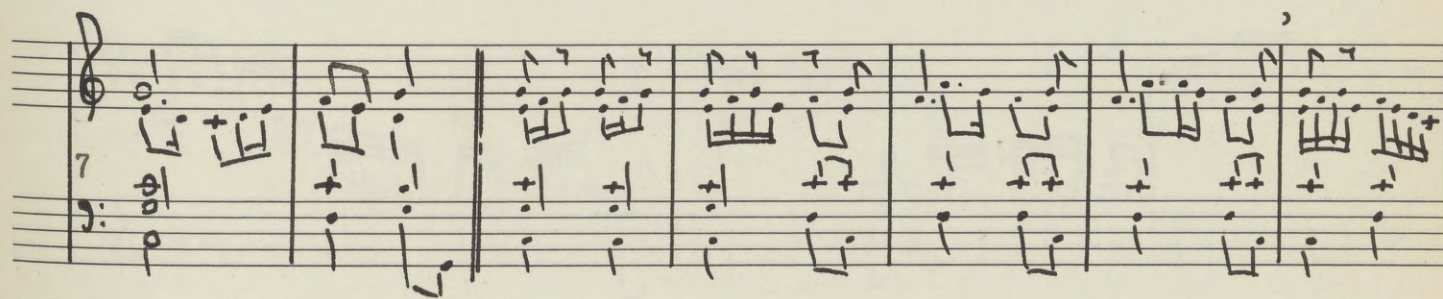
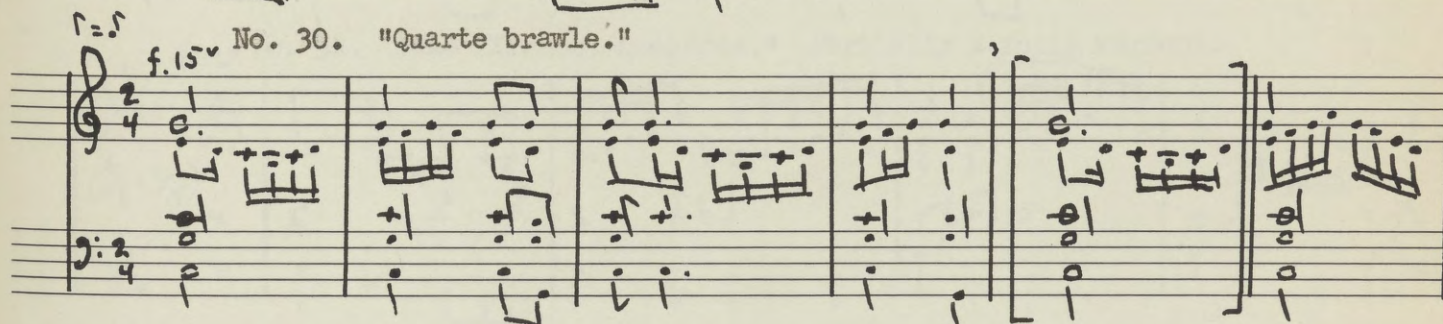
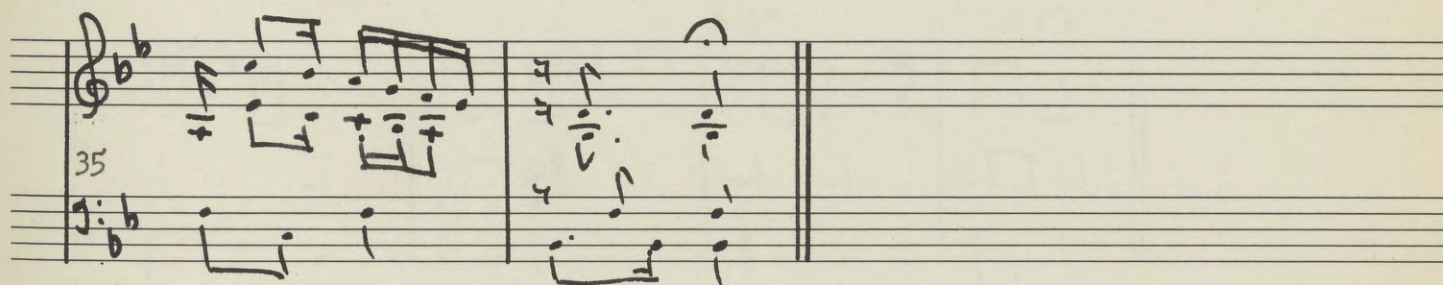
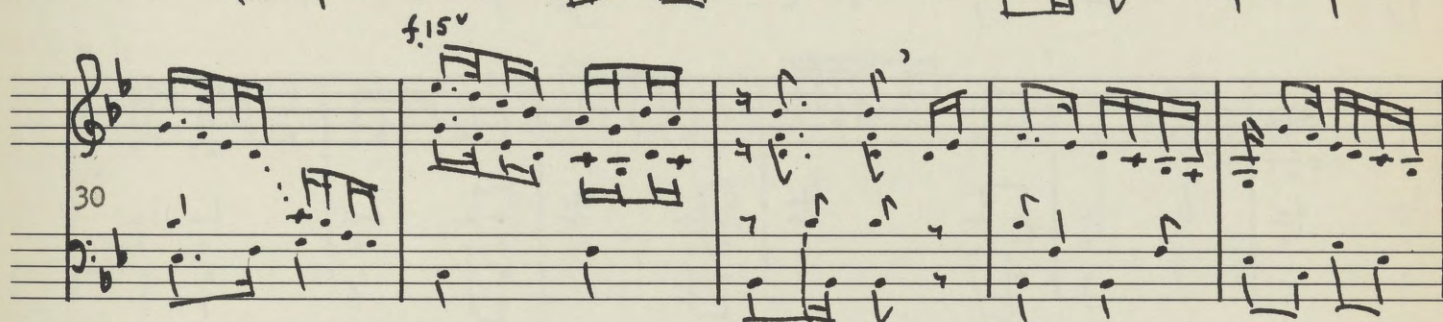
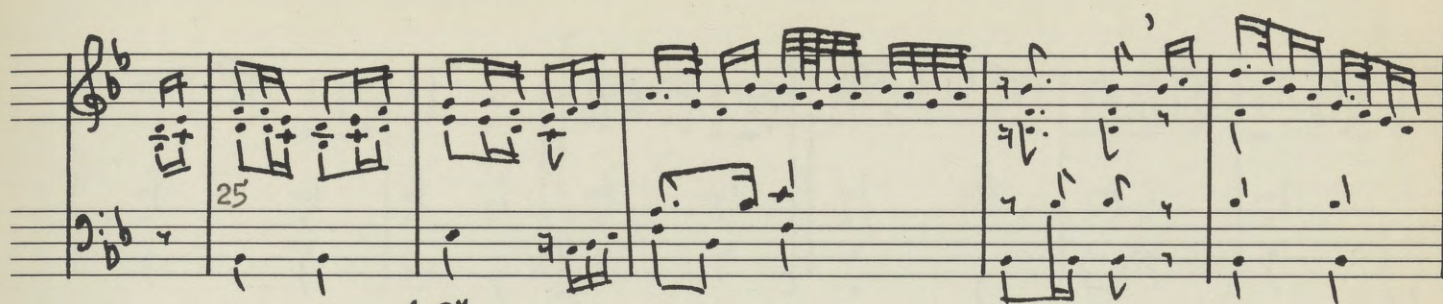
Handwritten musical score for measures 41-48. The key signature is B-flat major. The music is written for piano on a grand staff.

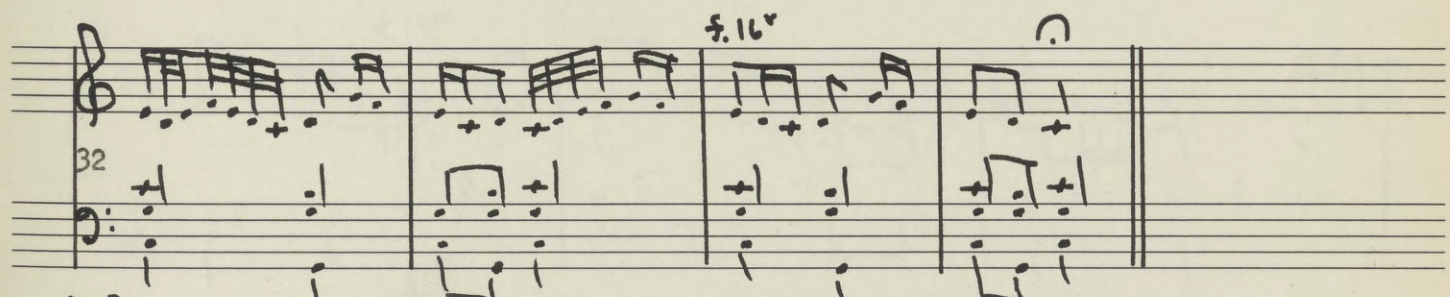
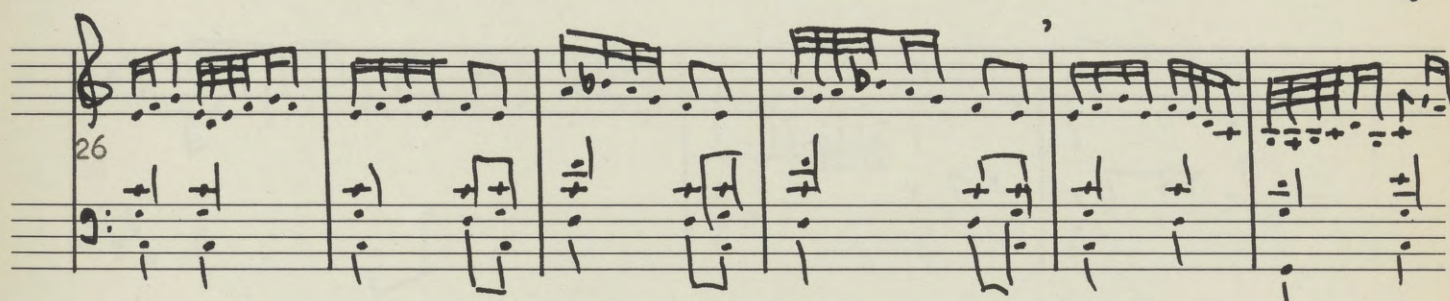
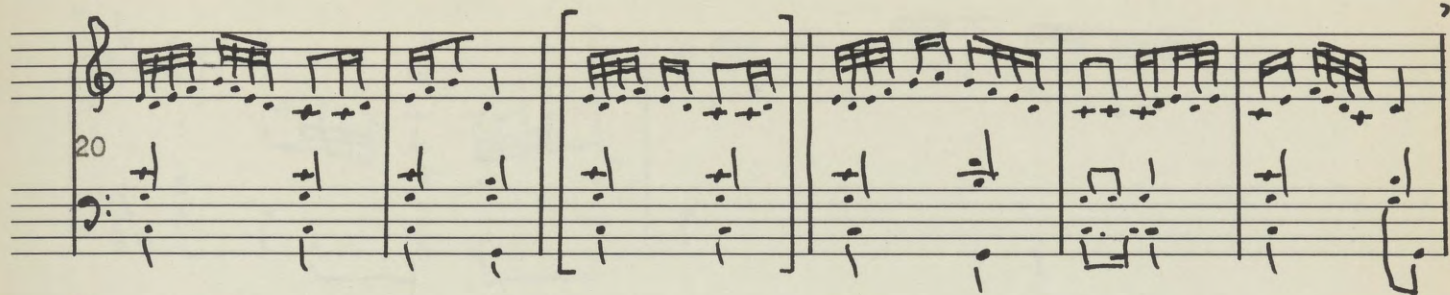
Handwritten musical score for measures 49-56. The key signature is B-flat major. The tempo/mood is marked *f.10*. The music is written for piano on a grand staff.

Handwritten musical score for measures 57-64. The key signature is B-flat major. The music is written for piano on a grand staff.

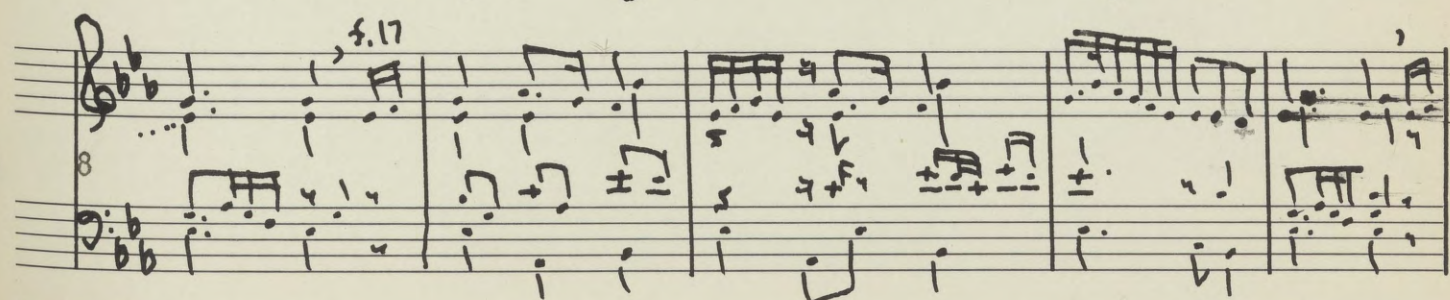
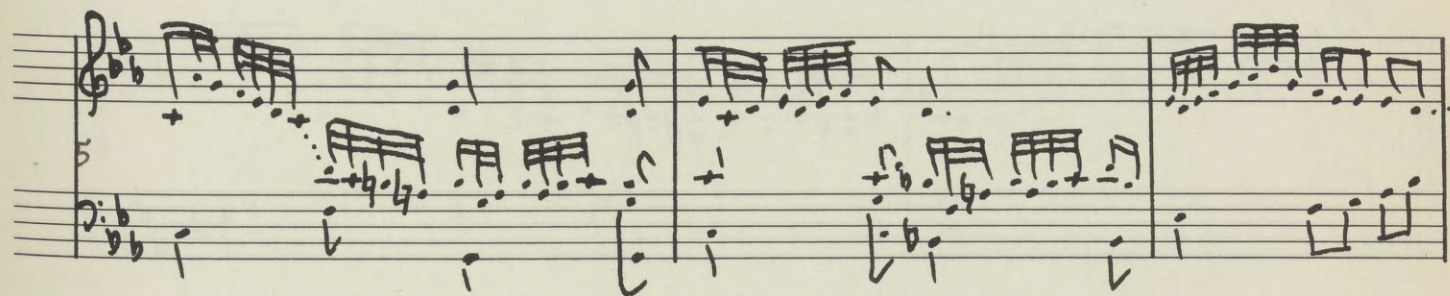
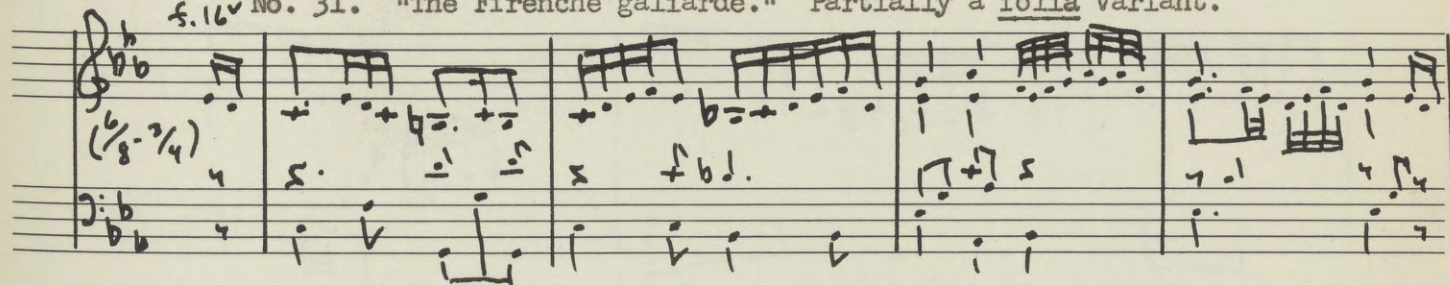
No. 29. "A Dumpe." Bergamasca.







$r = 5$ f. 16^v No. 31. "The Ffrenche galiarde." Partially a folia variant.



Handwritten musical notation for measures 13 and 14. The key signature is B-flat major (two flats). The notation is written on a grand staff (treble and bass clefs). Measure 13 starts with a treble clef and a bass clef. Measure 14 continues the melody in the treble clef.

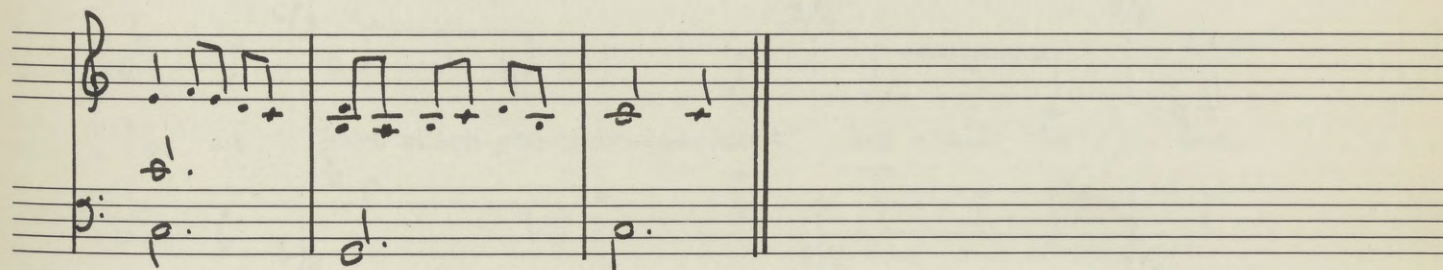
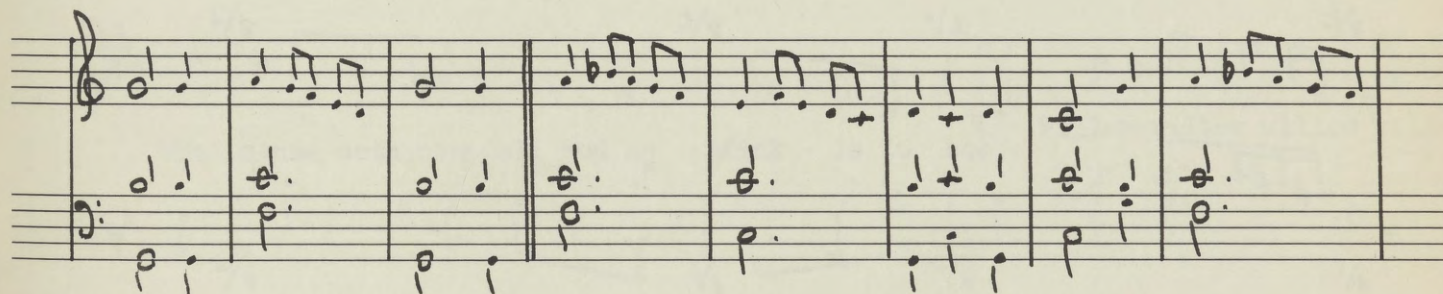
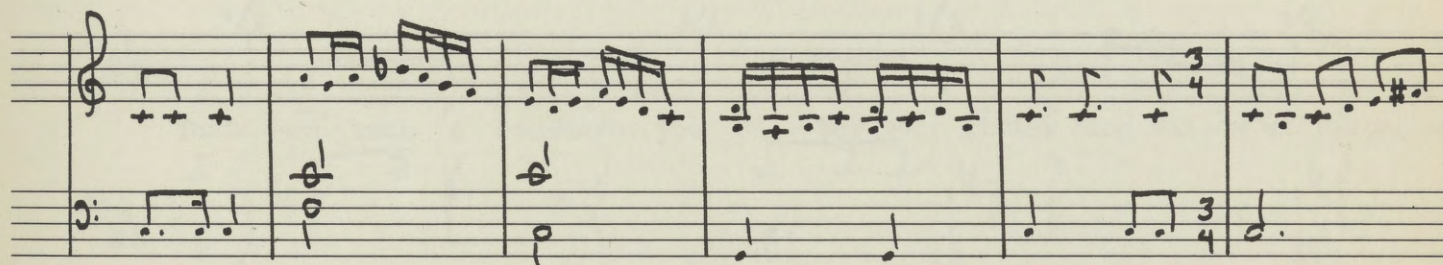
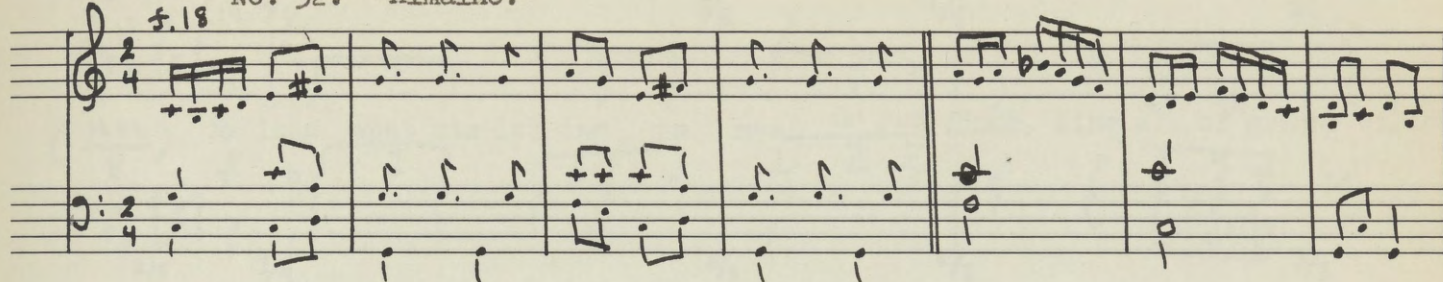
Handwritten musical notation for measures 15 and 16. The key signature is B-flat major. The notation is written on a grand staff. Measure 15 starts with a treble clef and a bass clef. Measure 16 continues the melody in the treble clef.

Handwritten musical notation for measures 17 and 18. The key signature is B-flat major. The notation is written on a grand staff. Measure 17 starts with a treble clef and a bass clef. Measure 18 continues the melody in the treble clef.

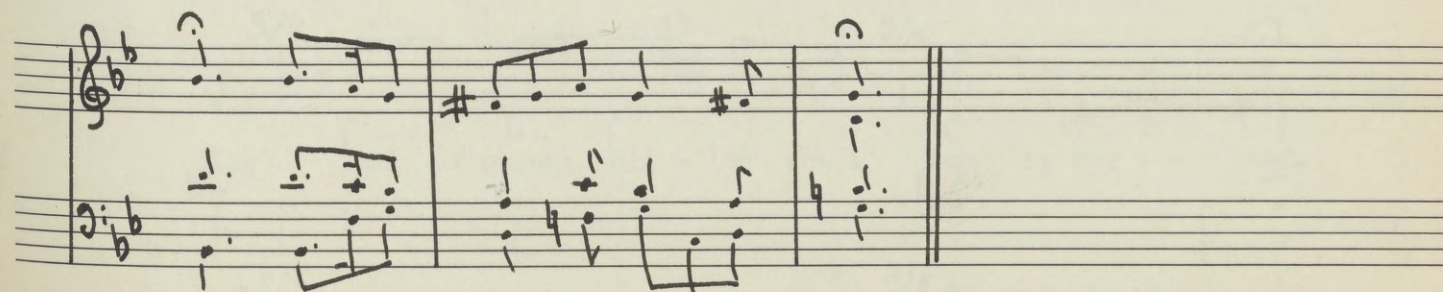
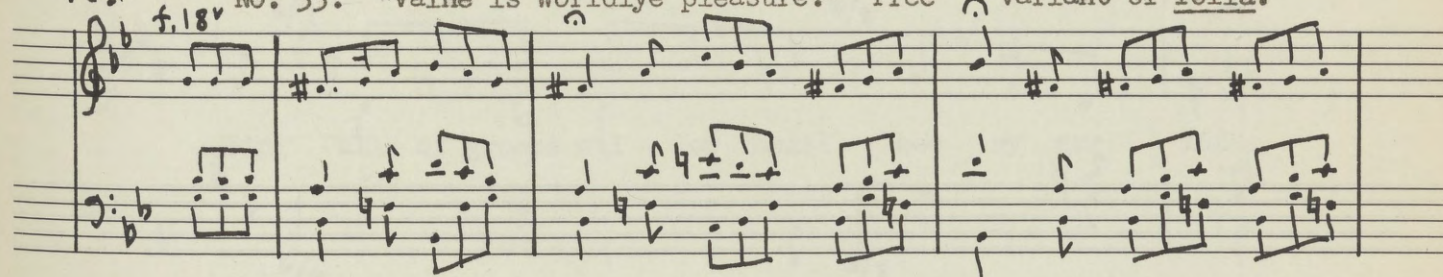
Handwritten musical notation for measures 19 and 20. The key signature is B-flat major. The notation is written on a grand staff. Measure 19 starts with a treble clef and a bass clef. Measure 20 continues the melody in the treble clef.

Handwritten musical notation for measures 21 and 22. The key signature is B-flat major. The notation is written on a grand staff. Measure 21 starts with a treble clef and a bass clef. Measure 22 continues the melody in the treble clef.

$\tau = 1$ No. 32. "Almaine."



$\tau = 1$ No. 33. "Vaine is worldlye pleasure." Free variant of folia.



No. 35. "All of grene willowe."

My loue what mis-lyk-ing in mee do you finde, Sing all of greene willow:

That on such a sod-dayn, you al-ter your minde, Sing willow willow willow:

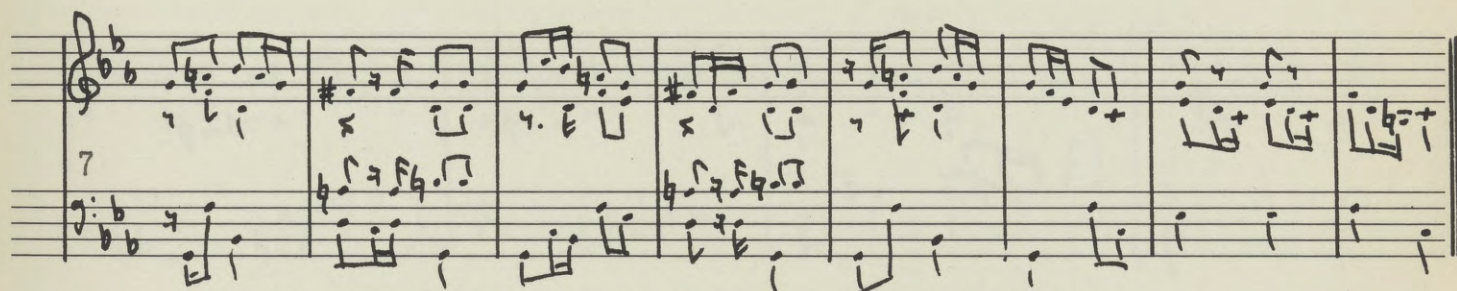
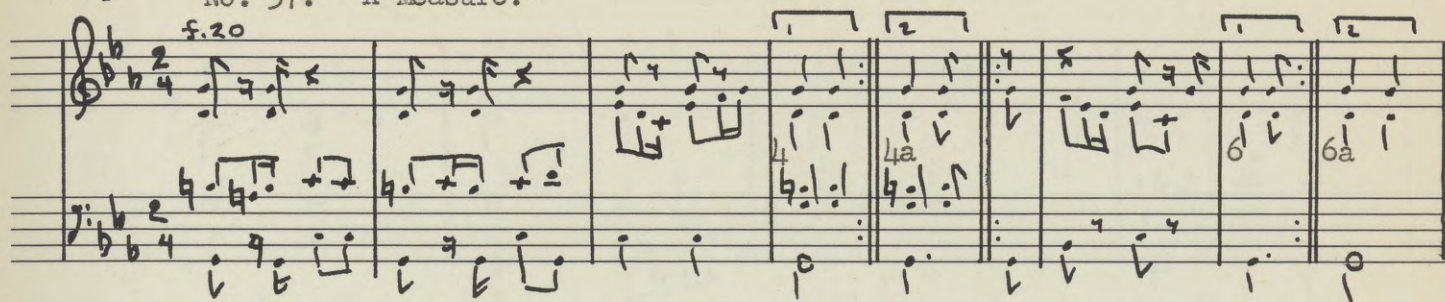
What cause doth com-pell you so fick-le to bee? Willow willow willow willow

(12/8) In hart which you plighted, most mloy-lall-ato mee,

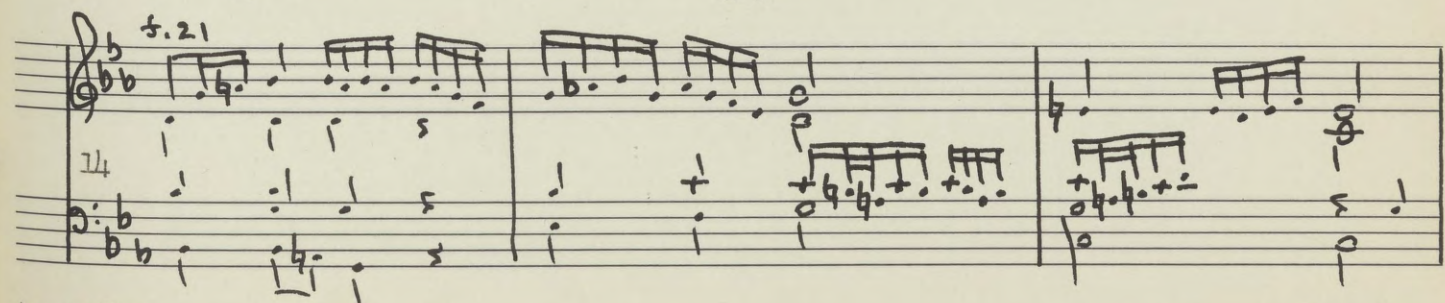
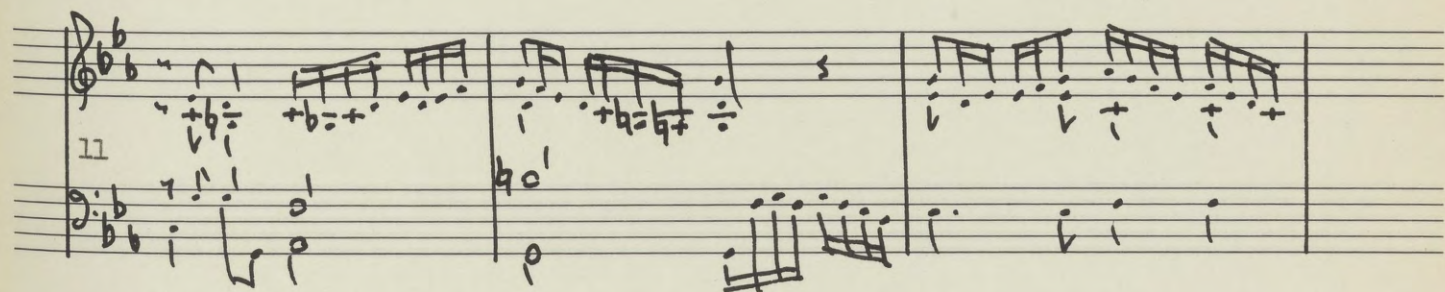
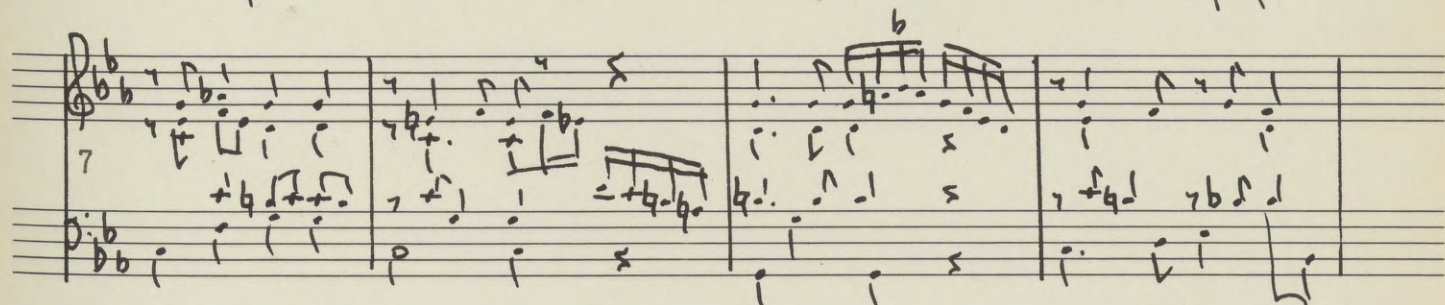
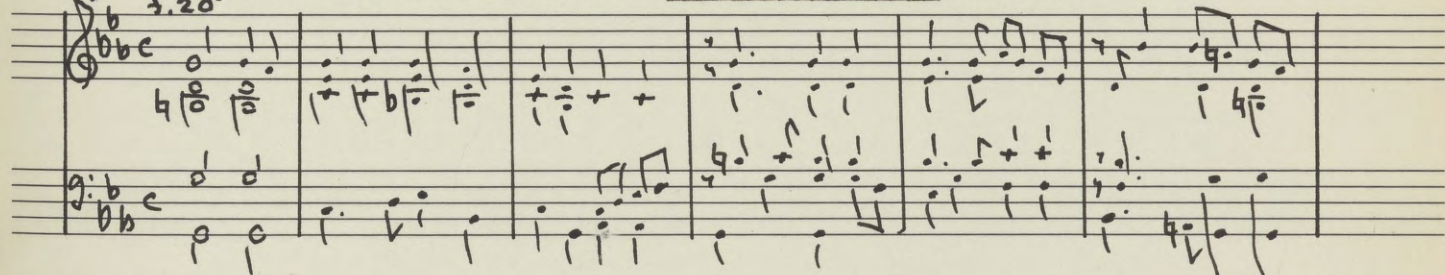
Sing all of greene wil-low shall bee my gar-land.

Sing all of greene wil-low shall bee my gar-land.

r = f No. 37. "A Measure."



r = f No. 38. "Westones pavion." Passamezzo antico variant.

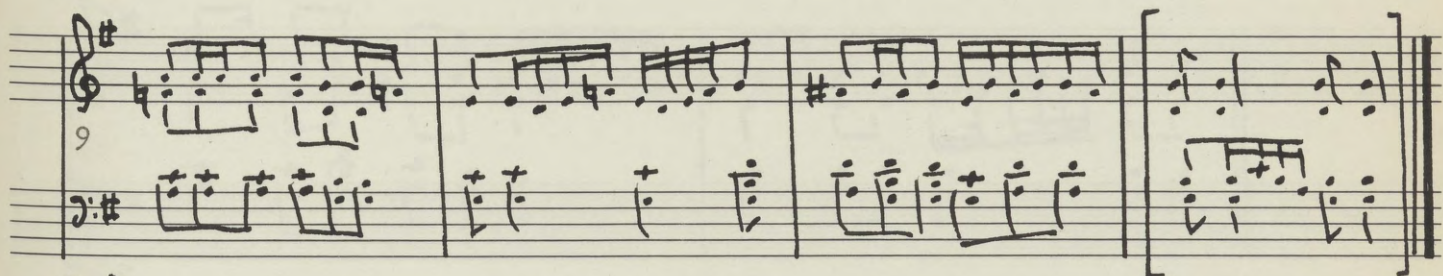
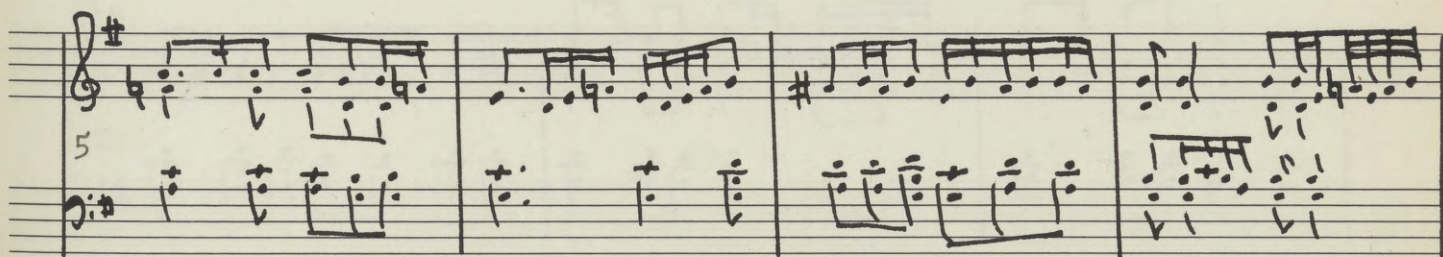
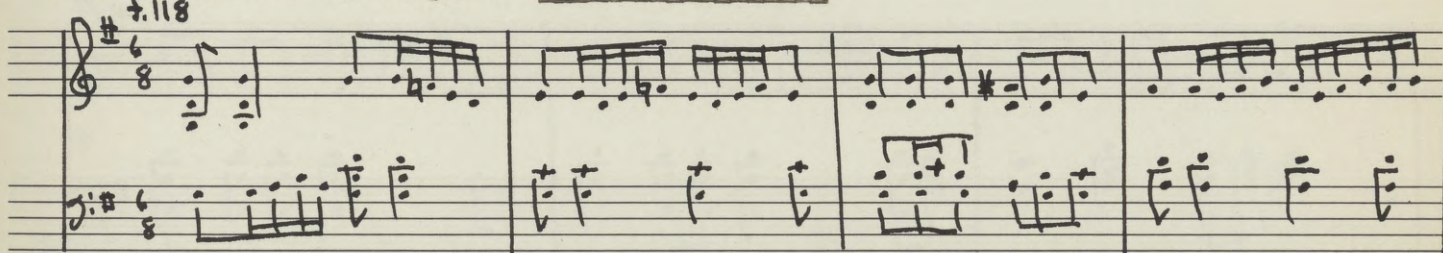


Handwritten musical notation on a grand staff (treble and bass clefs). The key signature is B-flat major (two flats). The notation includes various notes, rests, and accidentals. The number 17 is written in the left margin.

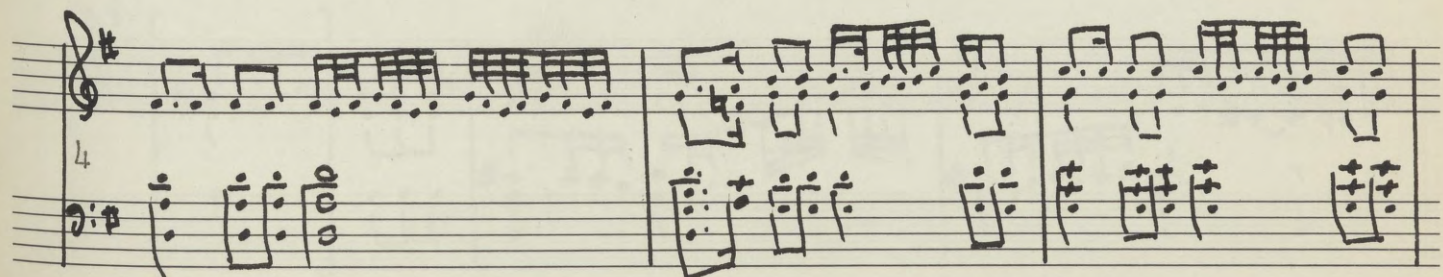
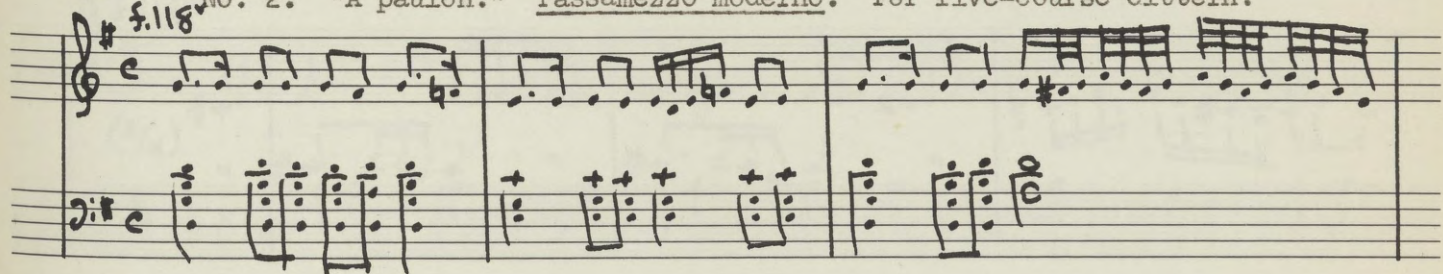
Handwritten musical notation on a grand staff (treble and bass clefs). The key signature is B-flat major (two flats). The notation includes various notes, rests, and accidentals. The number 21 is written in the left margin.

British Museum, Additional MS 30,513. "The Mulliner Book."

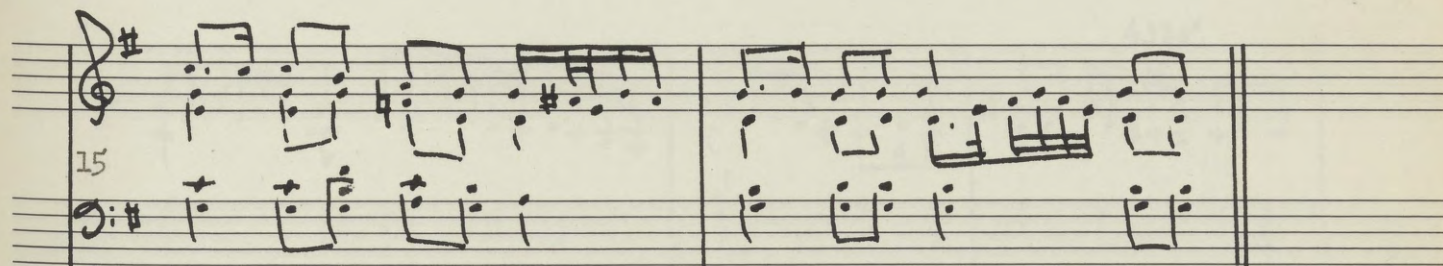
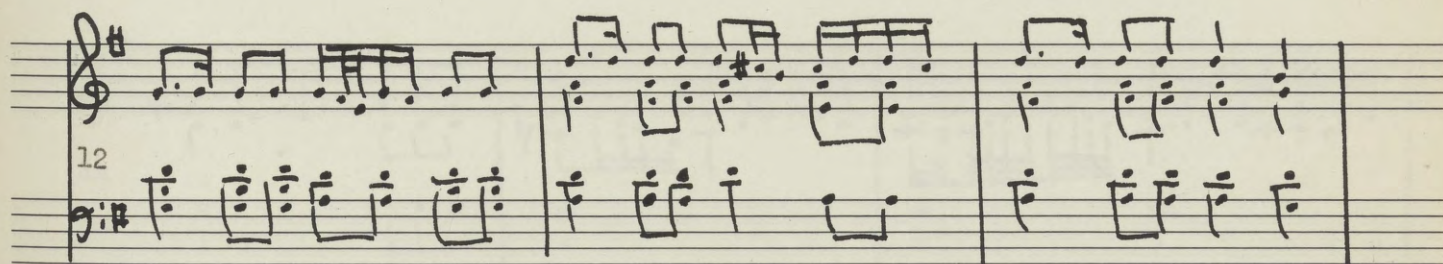
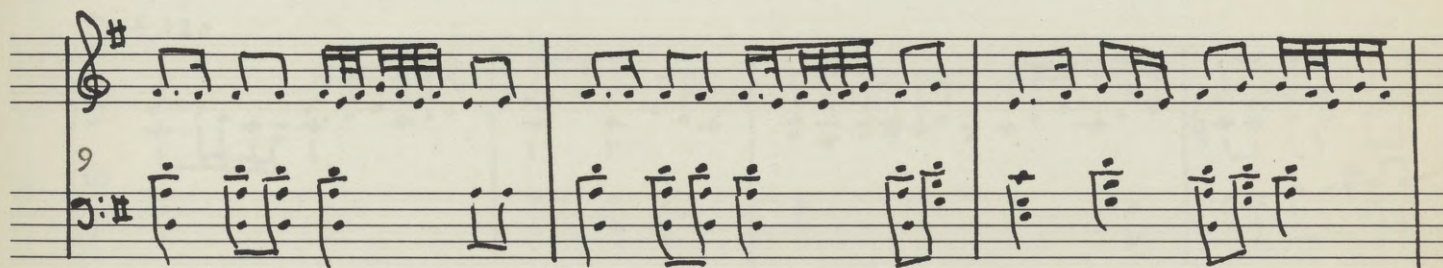
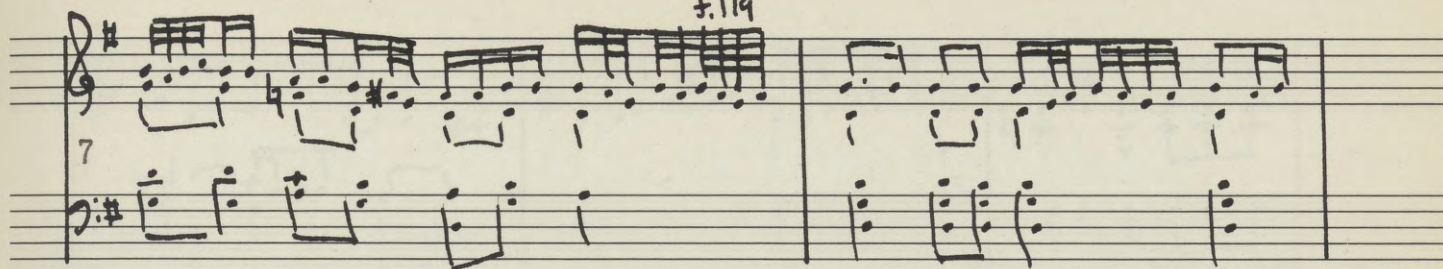
No. 1. "A songue." Passamezzo moderno.



No. 2. "A pauion." Passamezzo moderno. For five-course cittern.

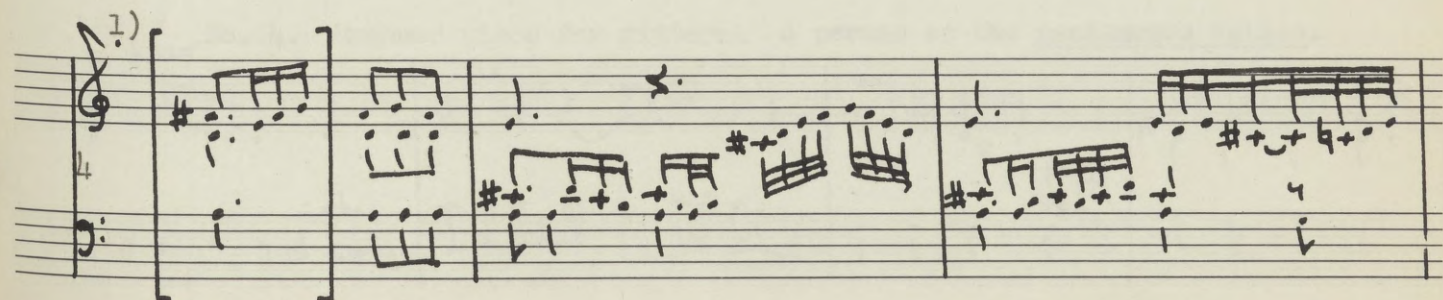
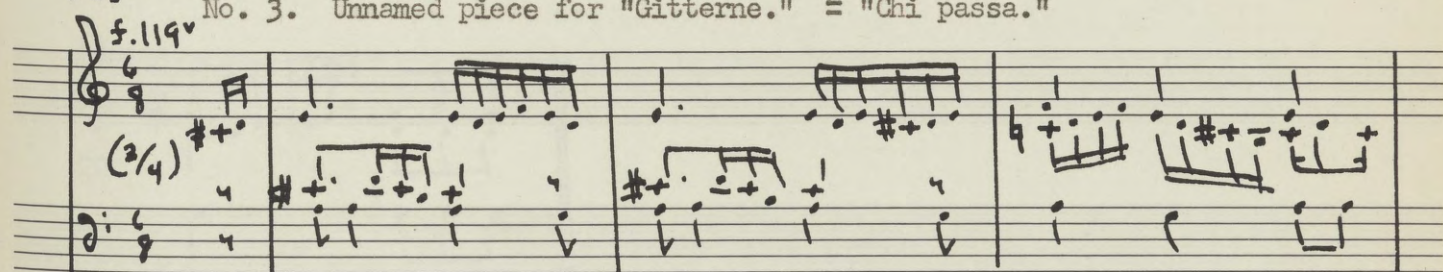


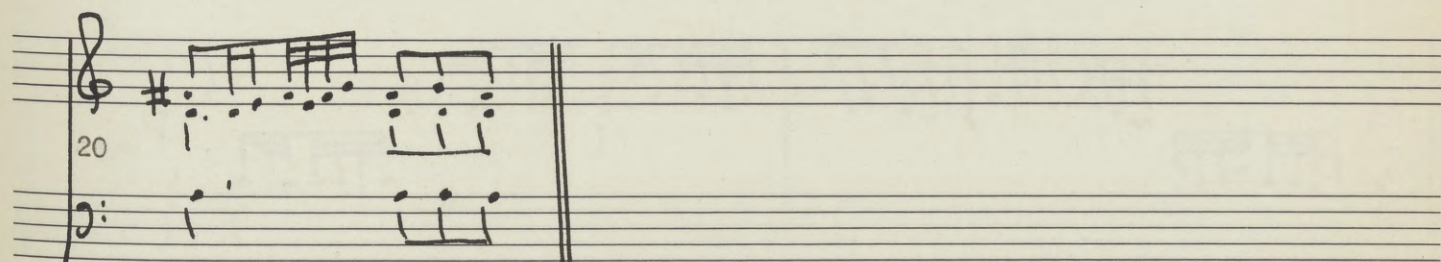
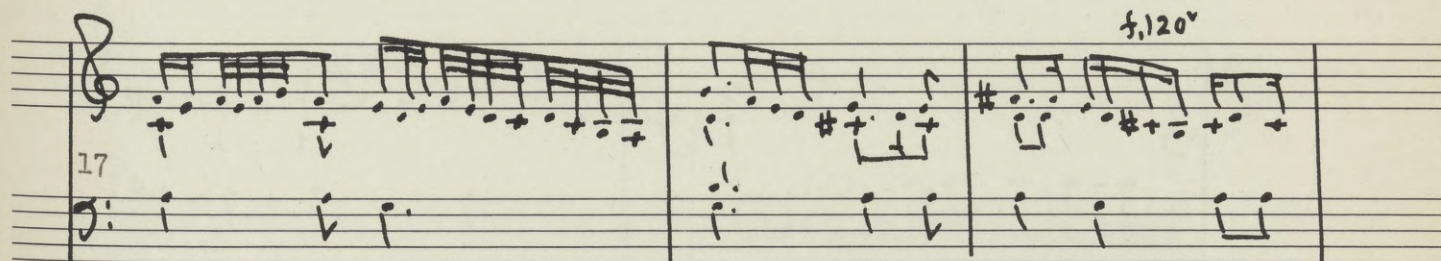
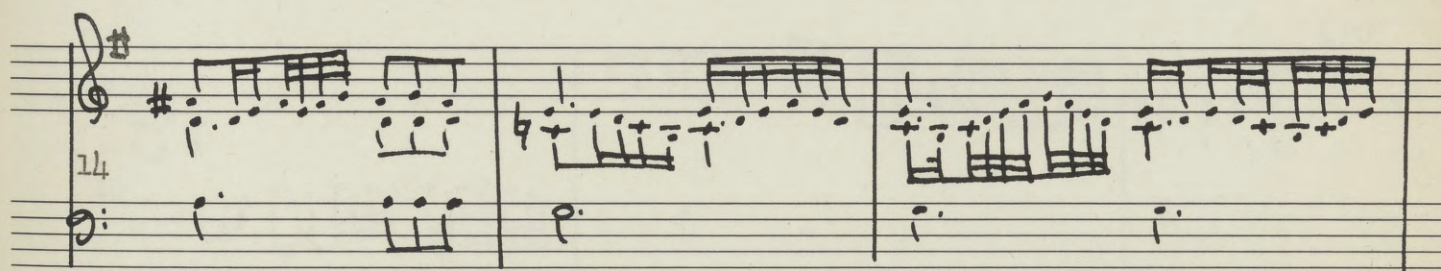
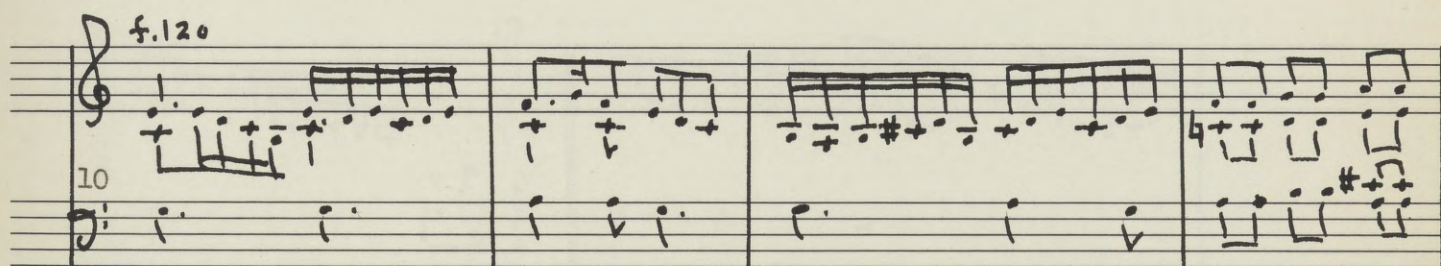
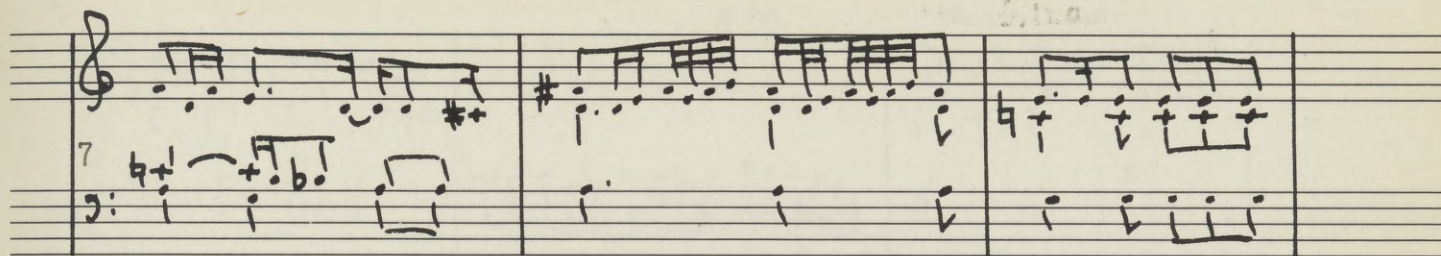
f. 119



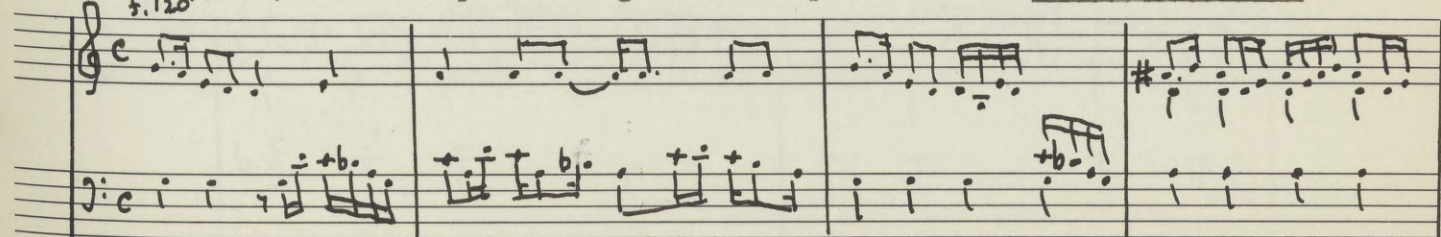
f. 119

No. 3. Unnamed piece for "Gitterne." = "Chi passa."

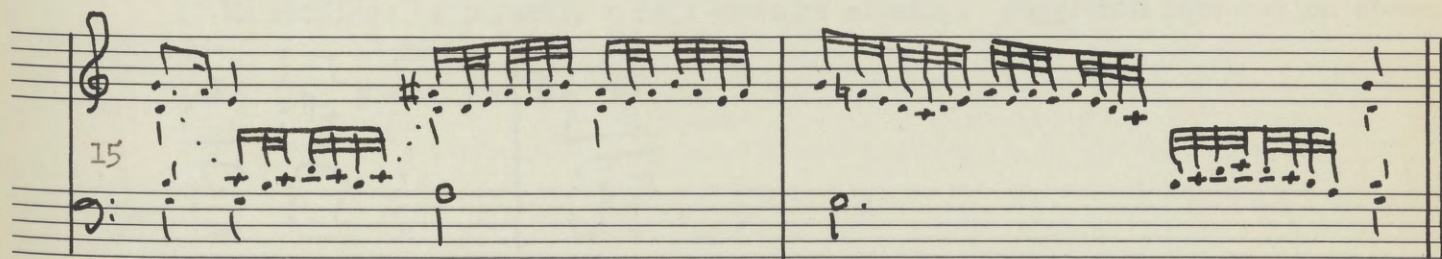
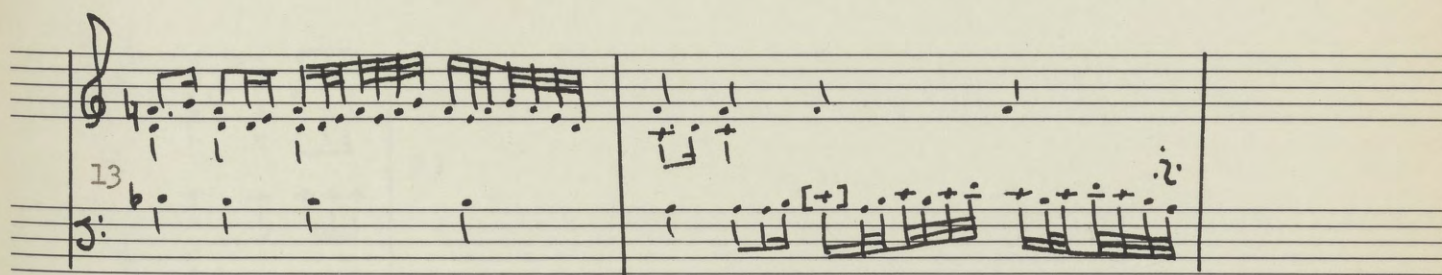
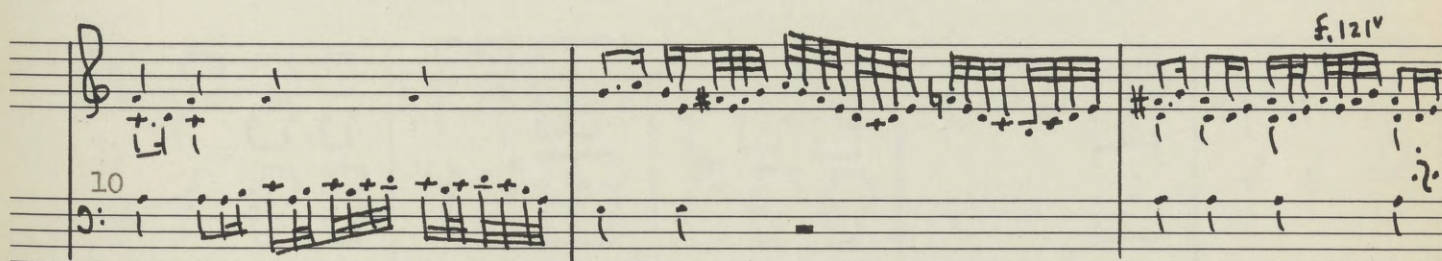
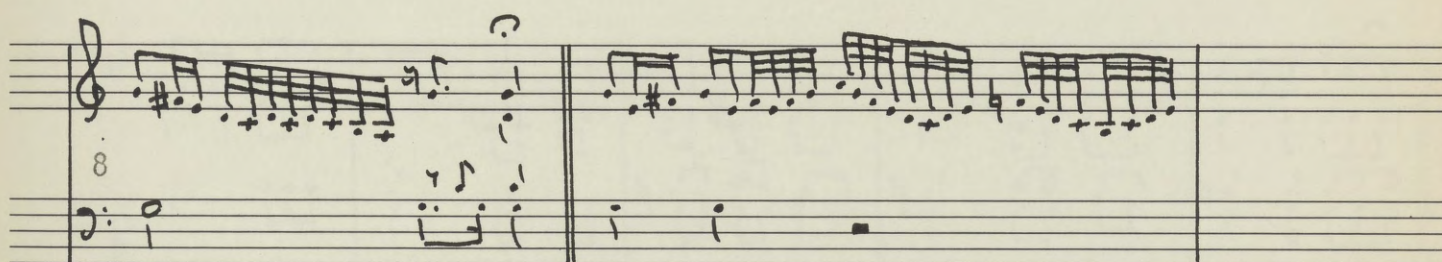
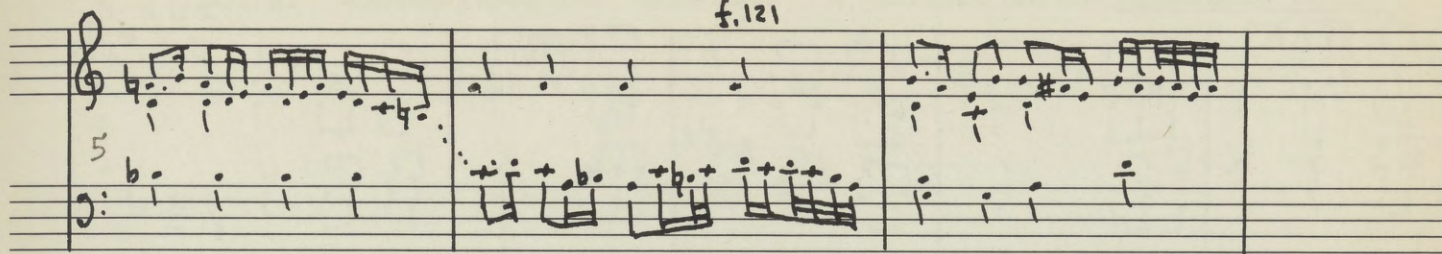




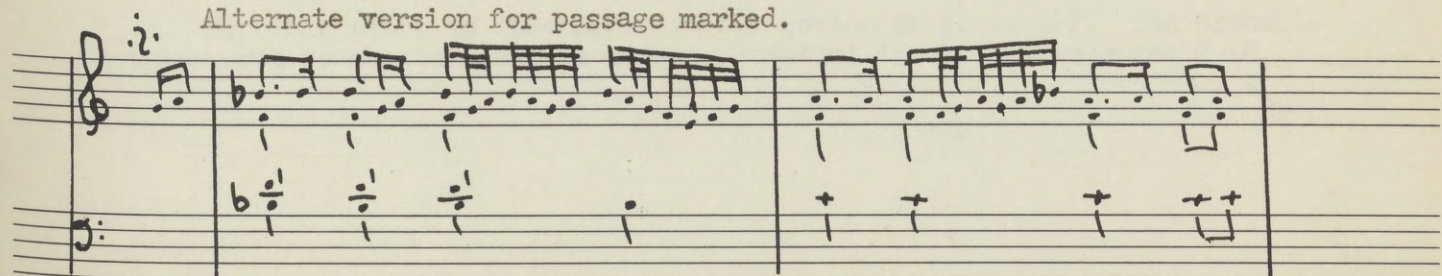
$r = f$ f. 120 No. 14. Unnamed piece for gittern. A pavane on the passamezzo antico.



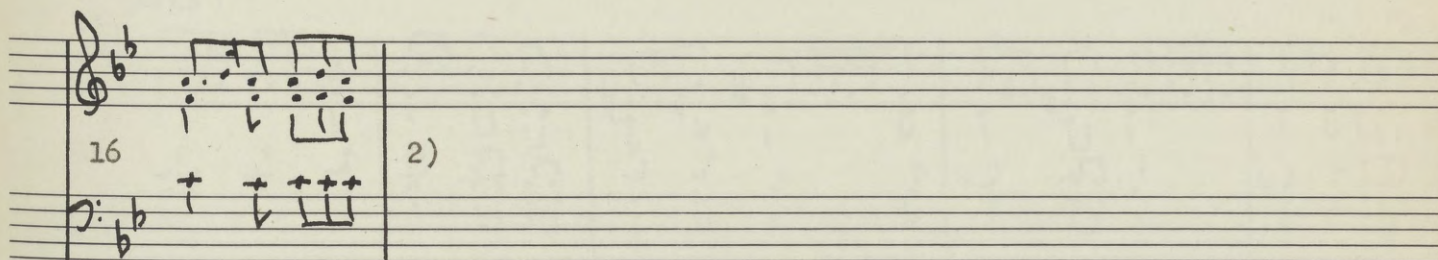
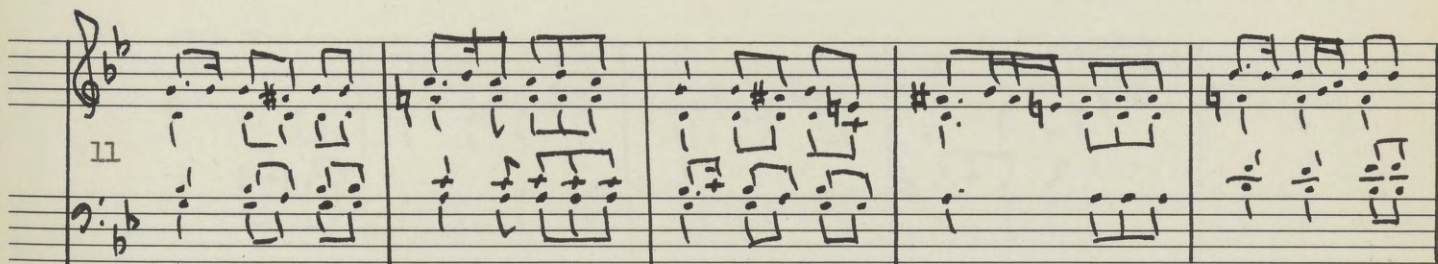
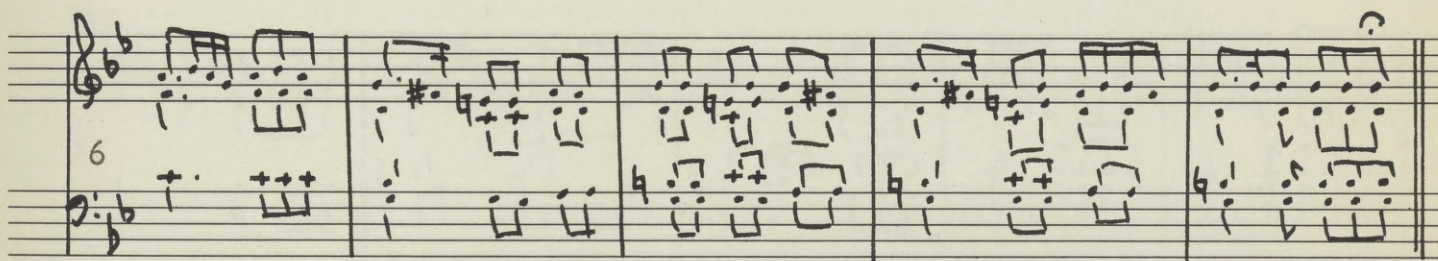
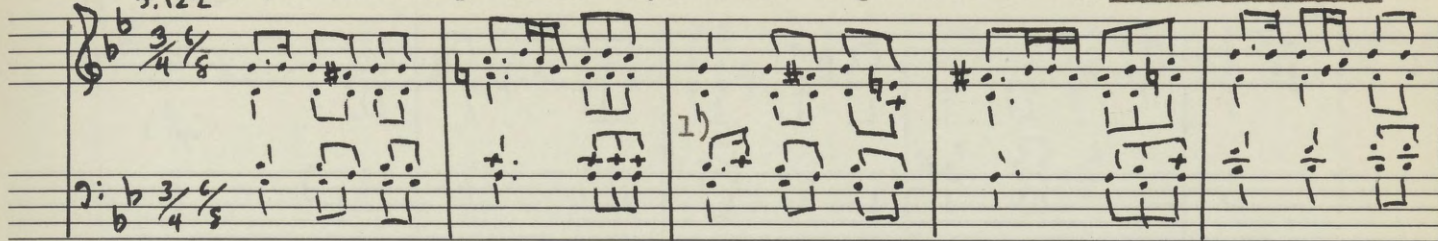
f. 121



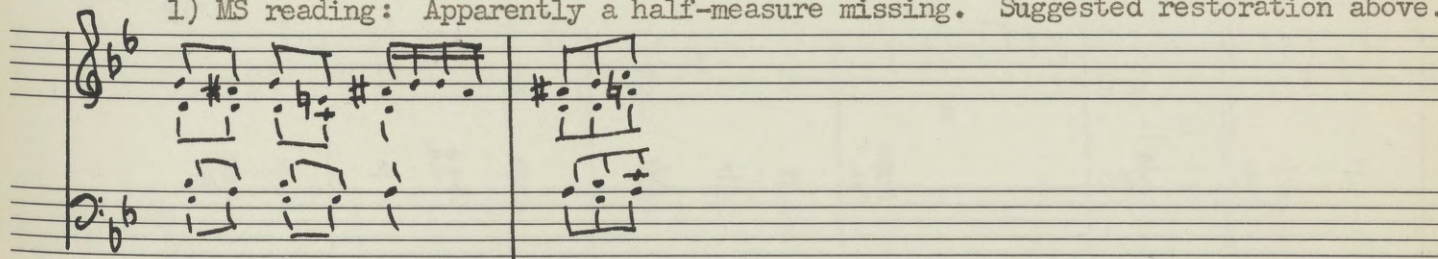
Alternate version for passage marked.



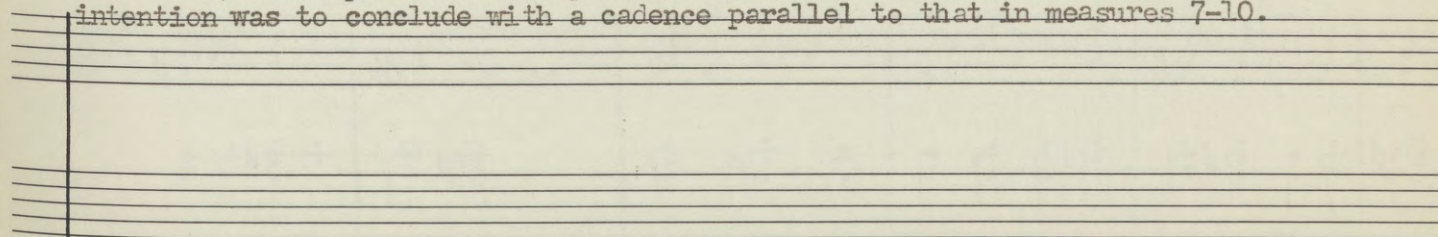
No. 5. Unnamed piece for "Cytherne." A galliard on the passamezzo antico.



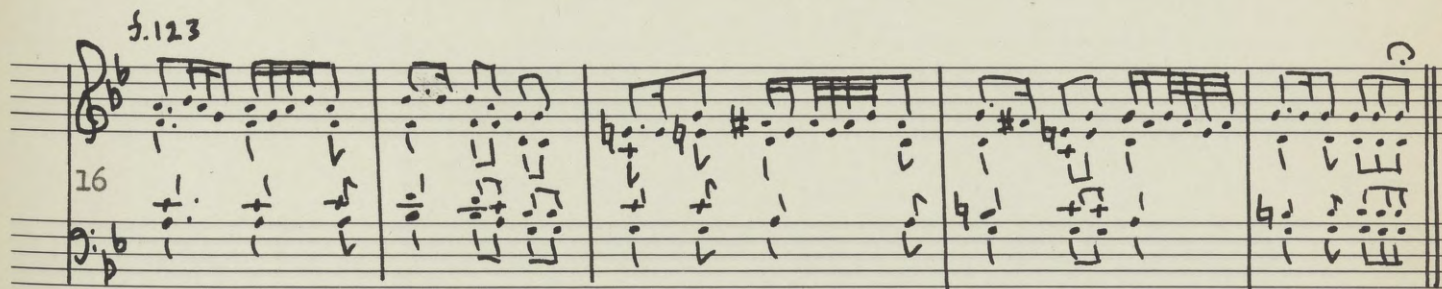
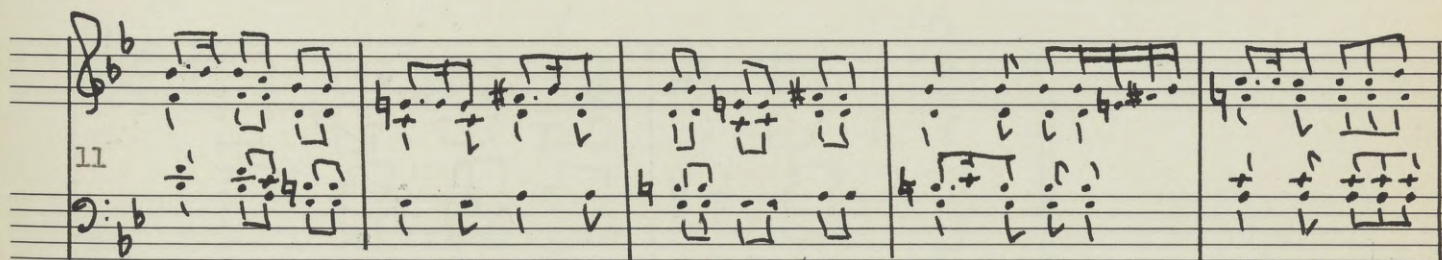
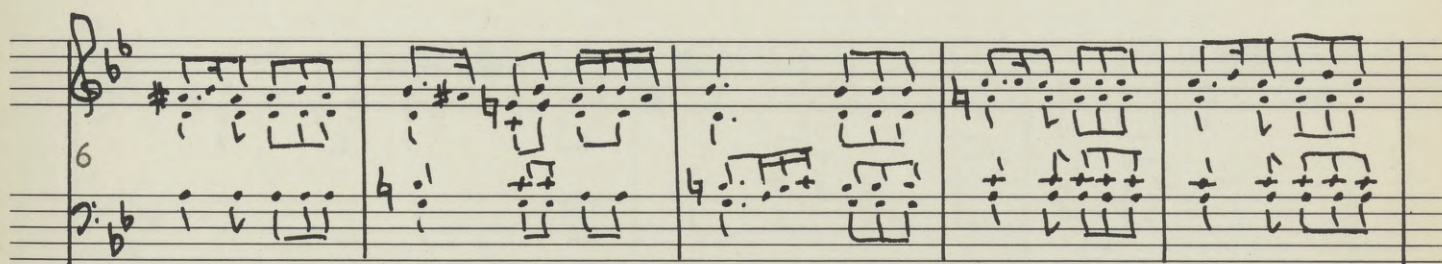
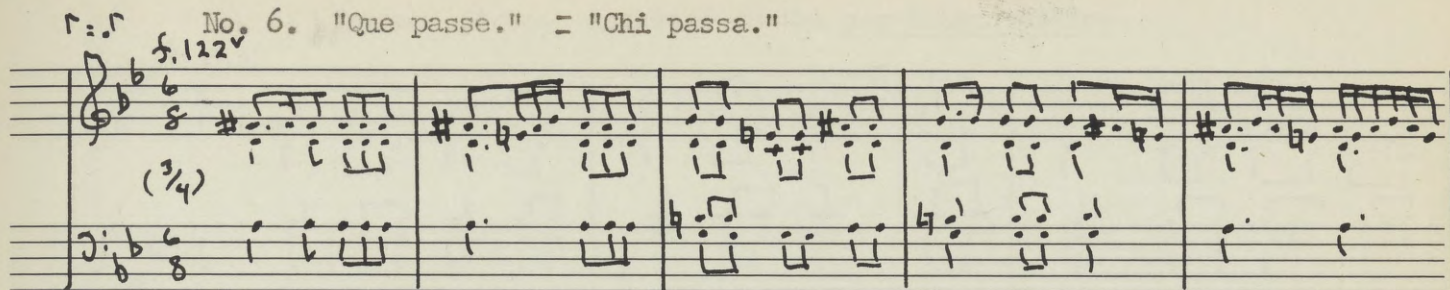
1) MS reading: Apparently a half-measure missing. Suggested restoration above.



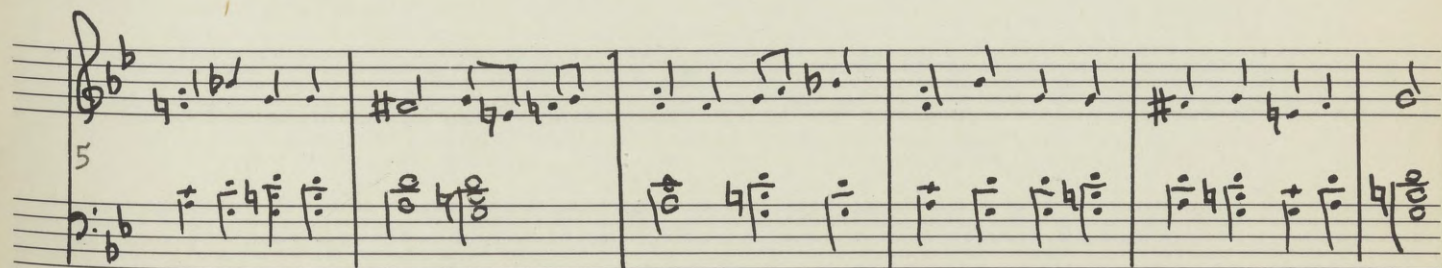
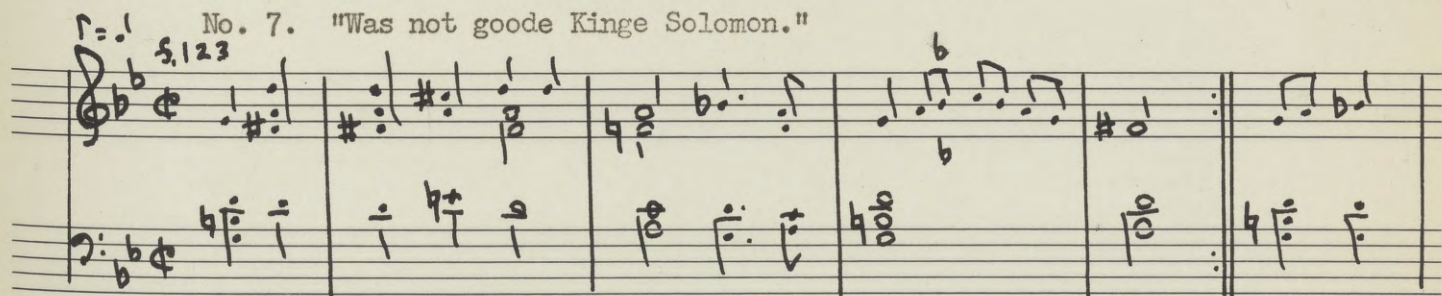
2) This piece is incomplete at the bottom of folio 122. The probable intention was to conclude with a cadence parallel to that in measures 7-10.

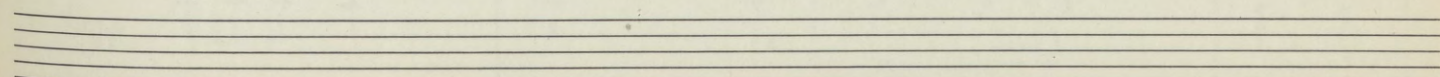
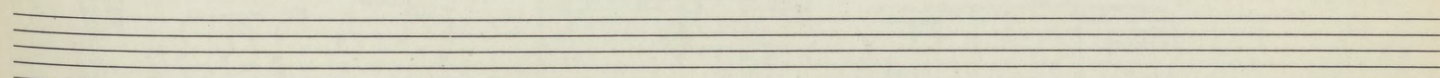
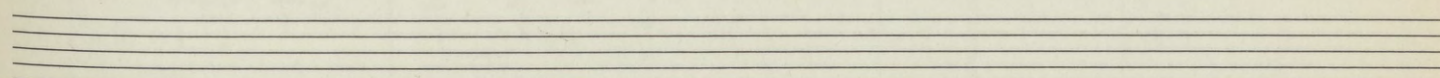
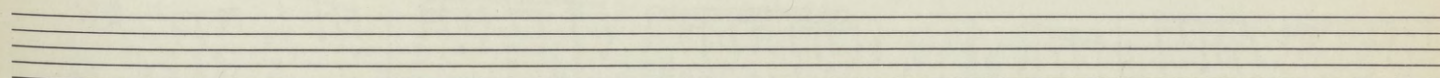
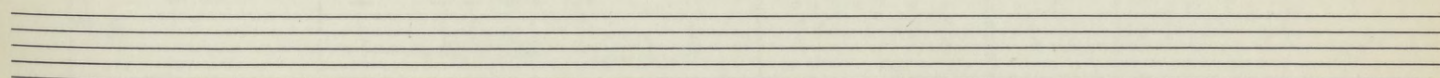
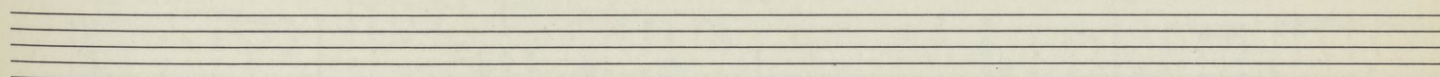
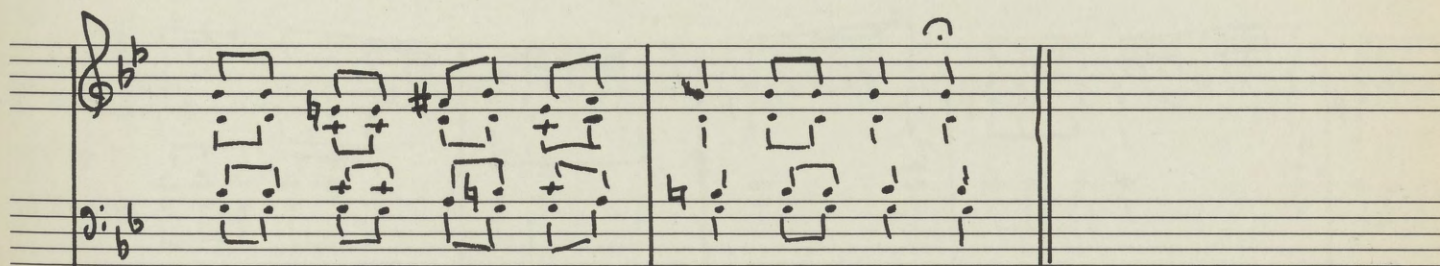
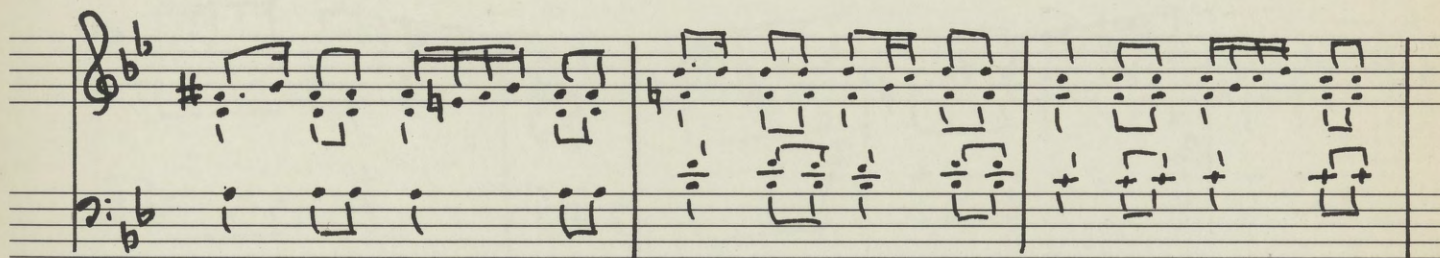
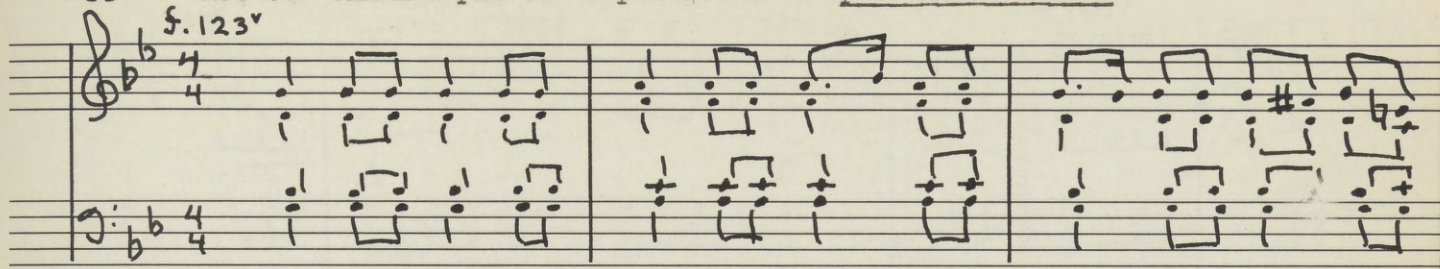


No. 6. "Que passe." = "Chi passa."



No. 7. "Was not goode Kinge Solomon."



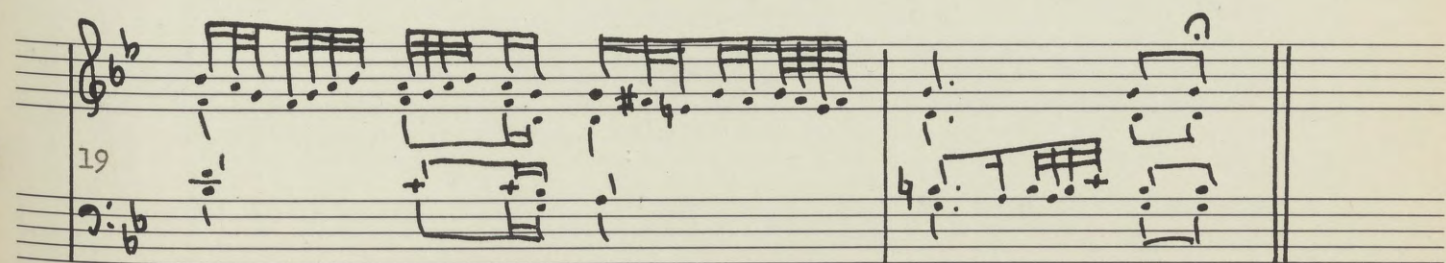
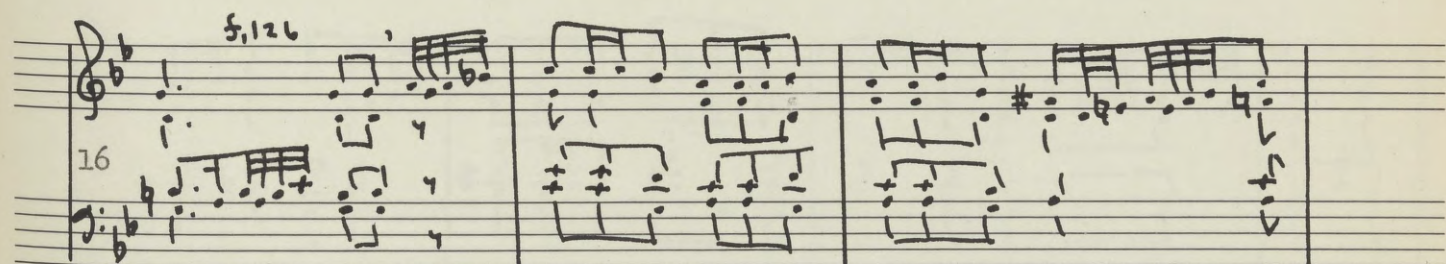
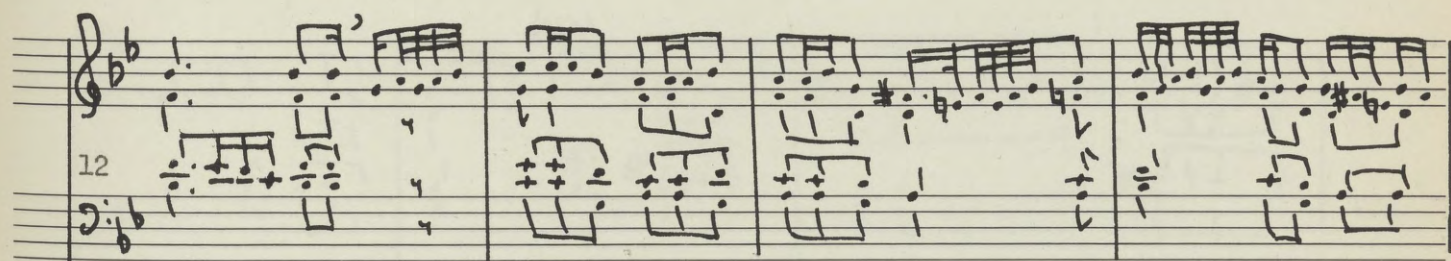
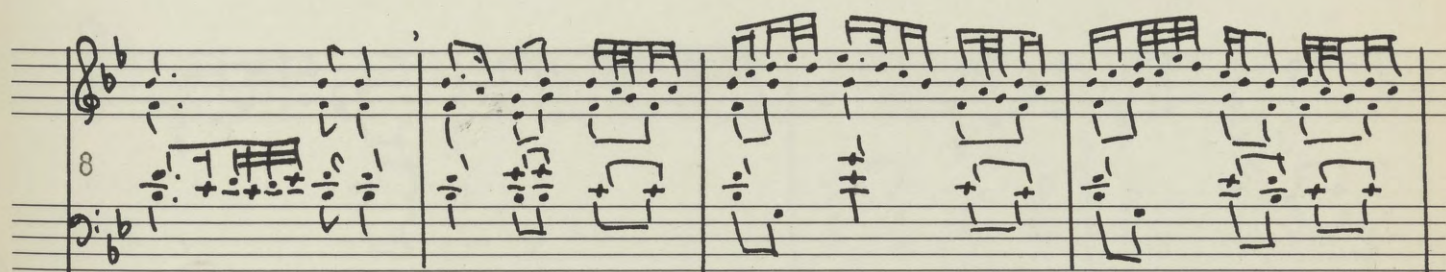
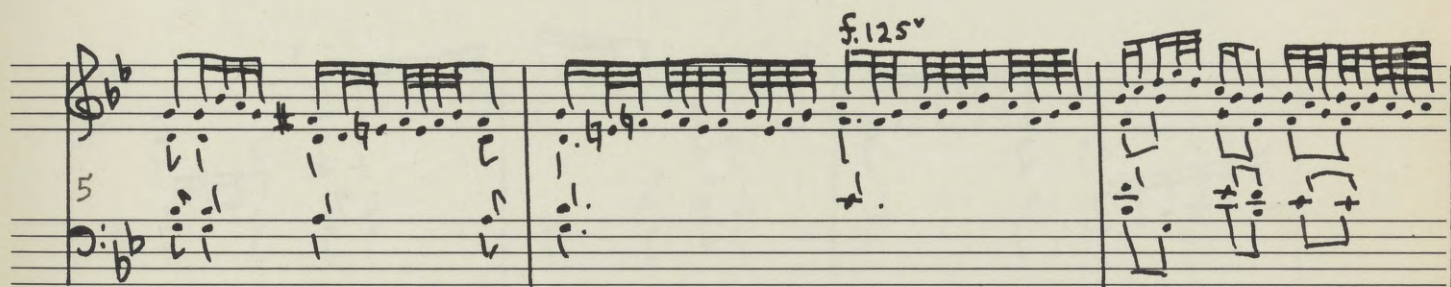
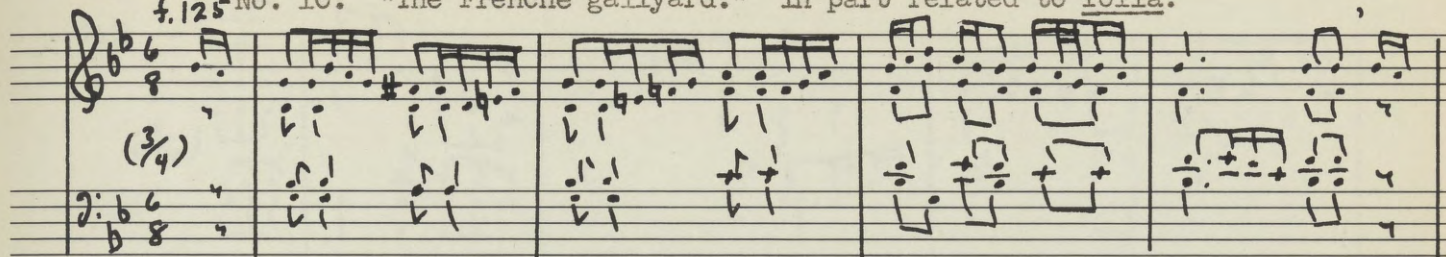
No. 8. Unnamed piece. A pavane on the passamezzo antico.

No. 9. "The Queene of Scotts gallyard to y^e Sitherne."

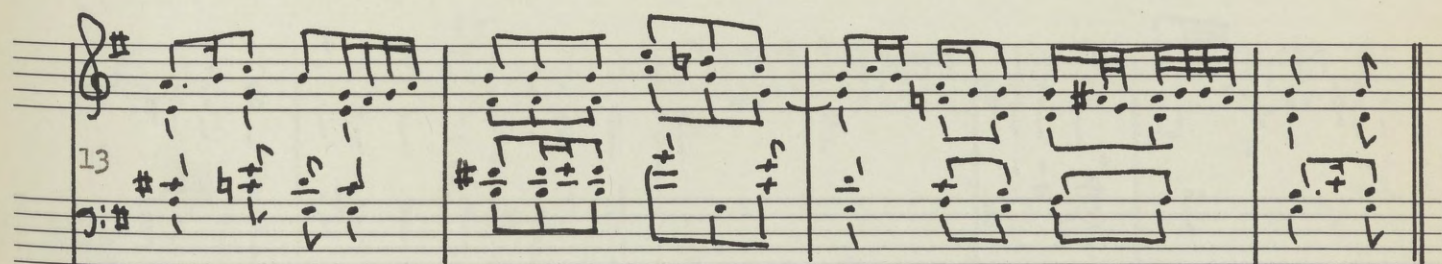
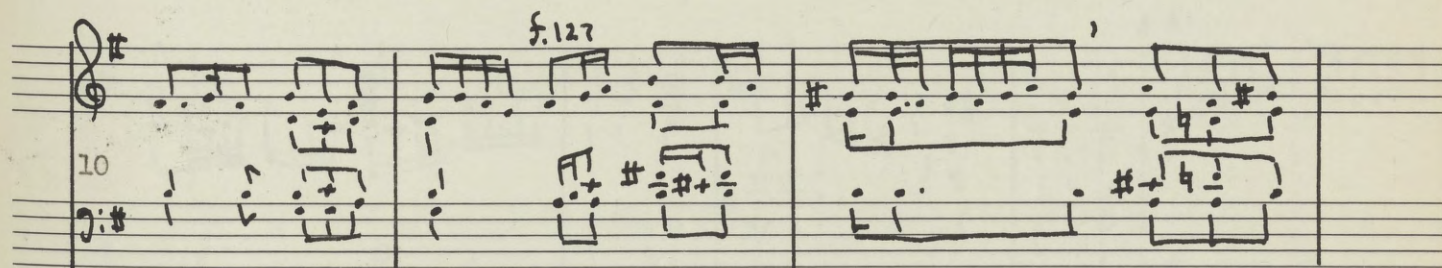
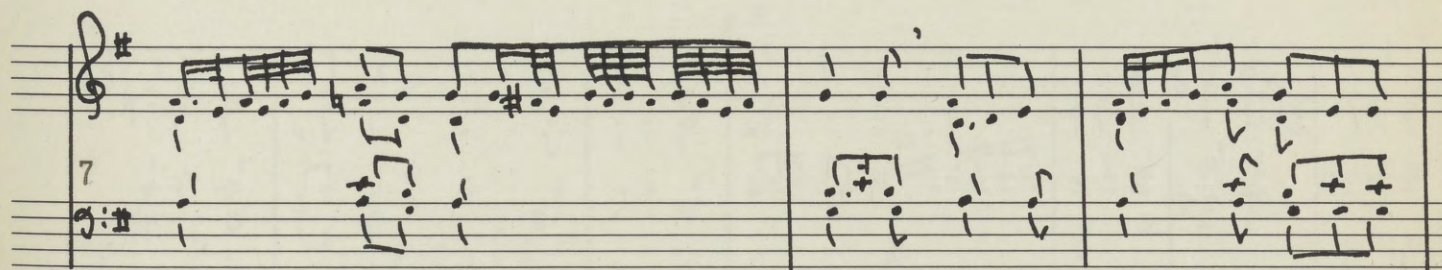
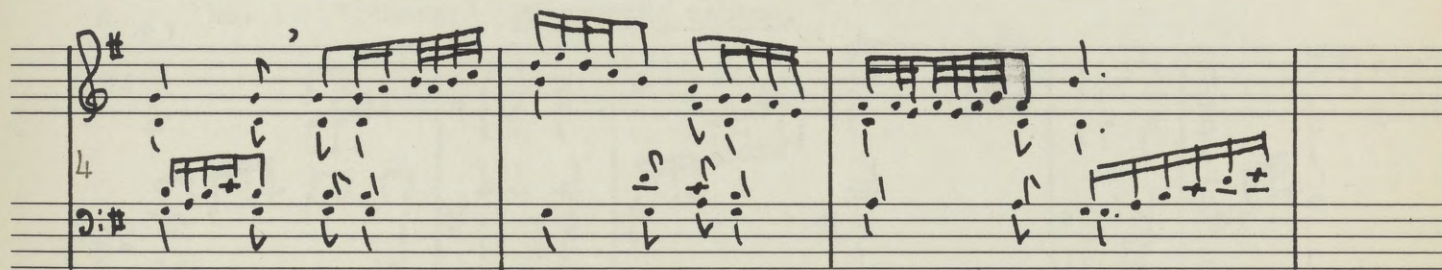
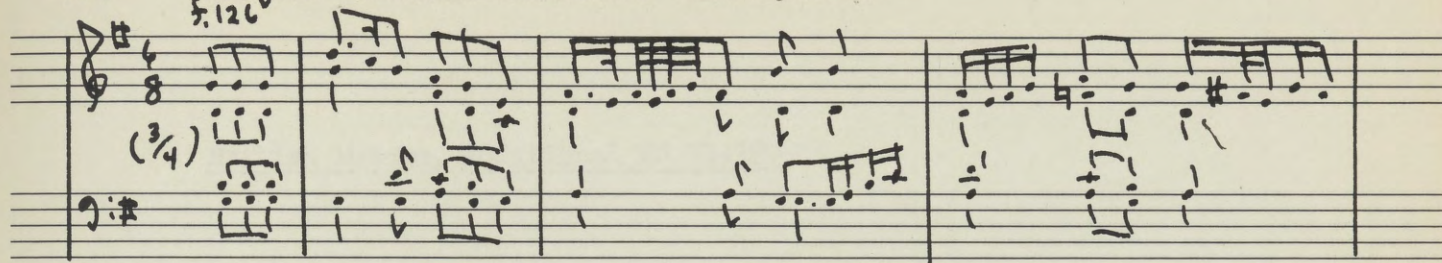
Handwritten musical score for No. 9, "The Queene of Scotts gallyard to y^e Sitherne." The score is written on six systems of two staves each (treble and bass clef). The key signature is one sharp (F#). The time signature is 6/8.

Measure numbers are indicated in the left margin of each system: 5, 9, 13, 16, 20. The score includes various musical notations such as notes, rests, and bar lines. There are also some handwritten annotations like "f. 123", "f. 124", and "f. 125" above the staves.

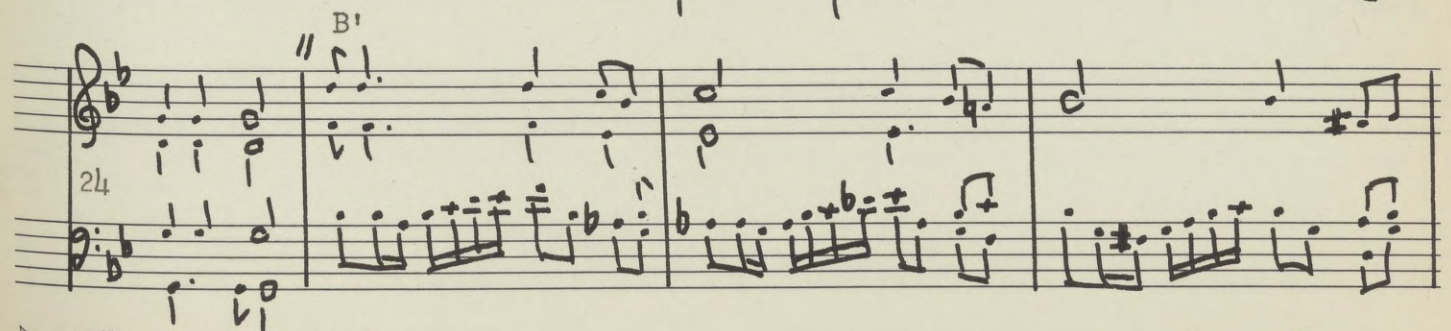
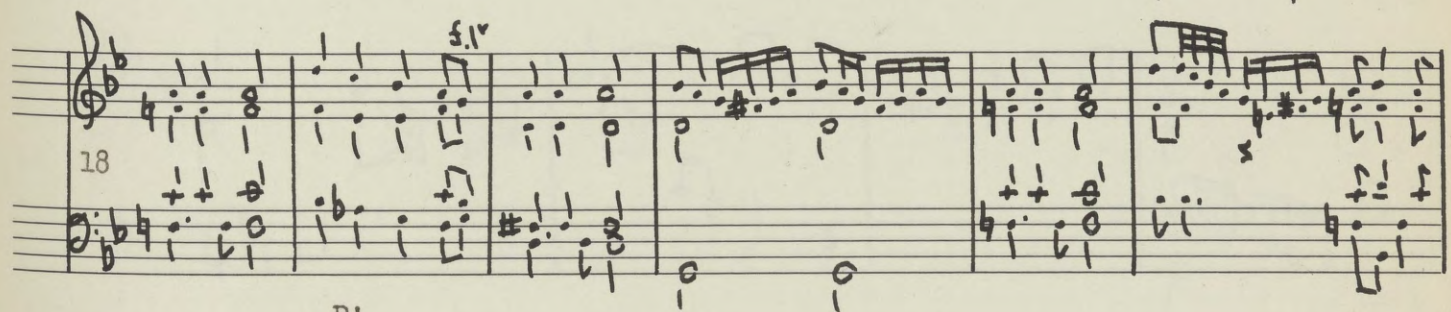
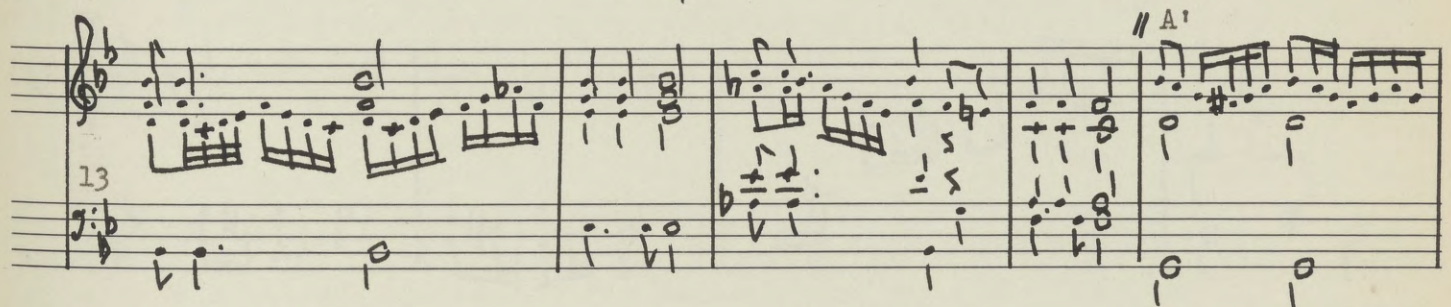
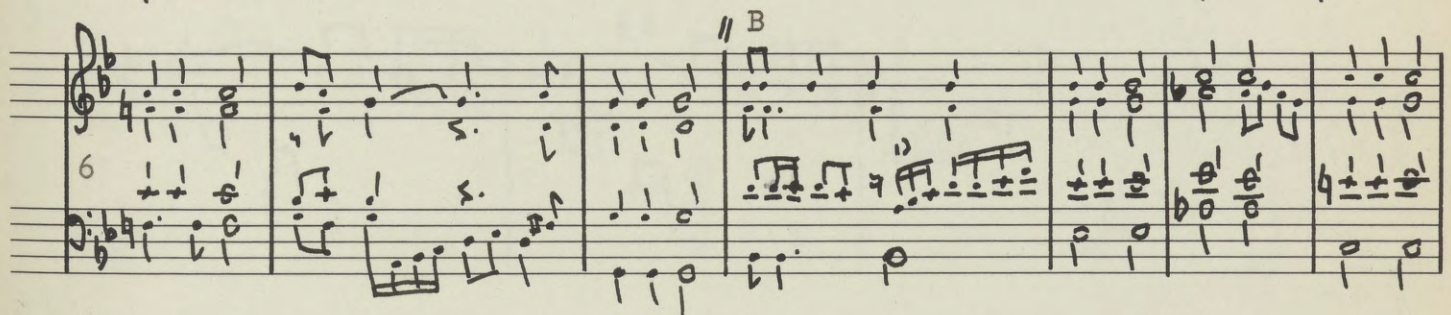
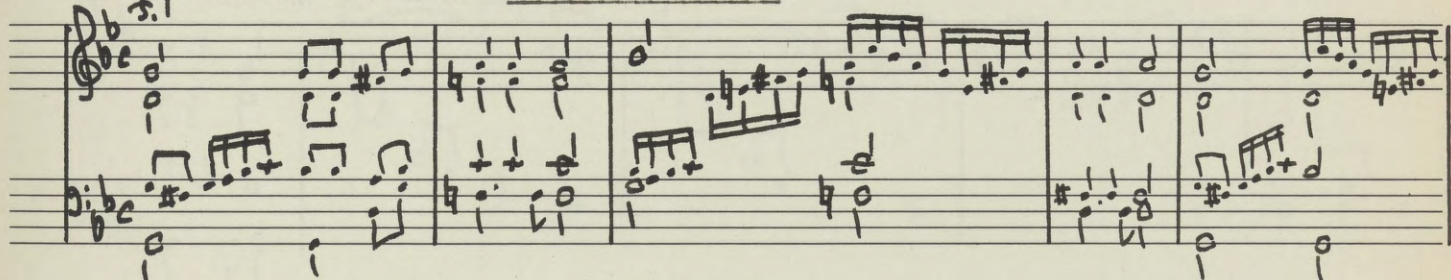
1. = 1
4.125 No. 10. "The Frenche gallyard." In part related to folia.

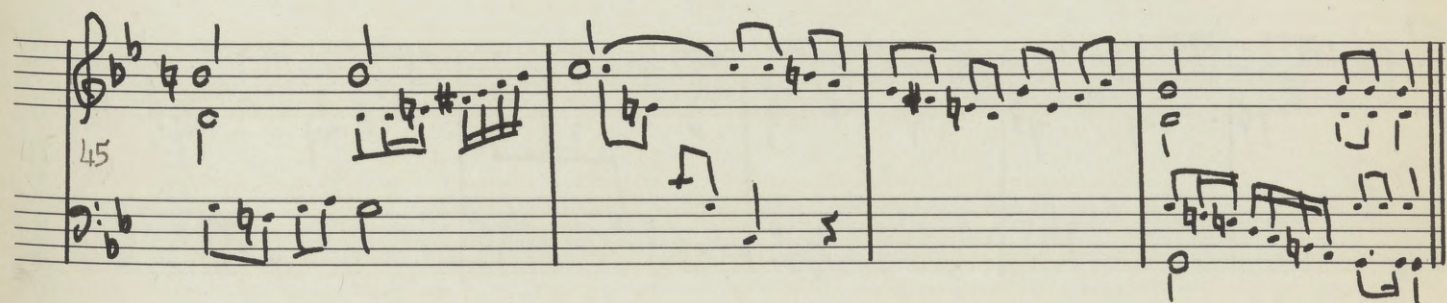
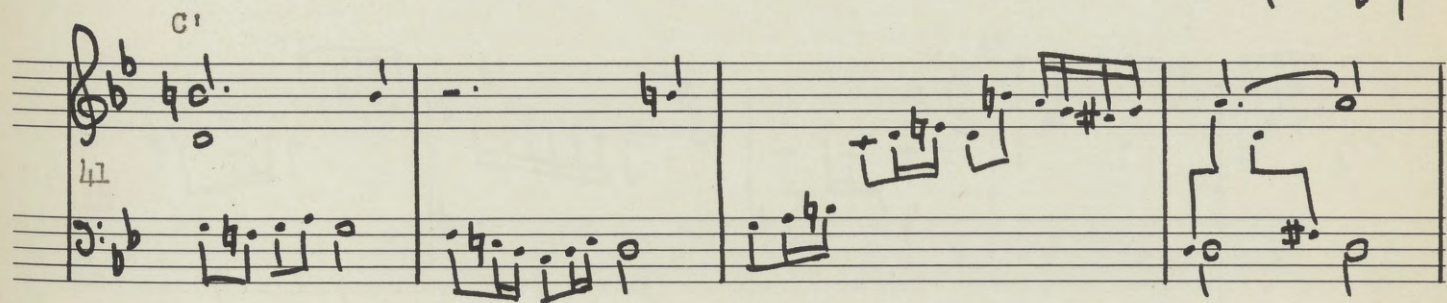
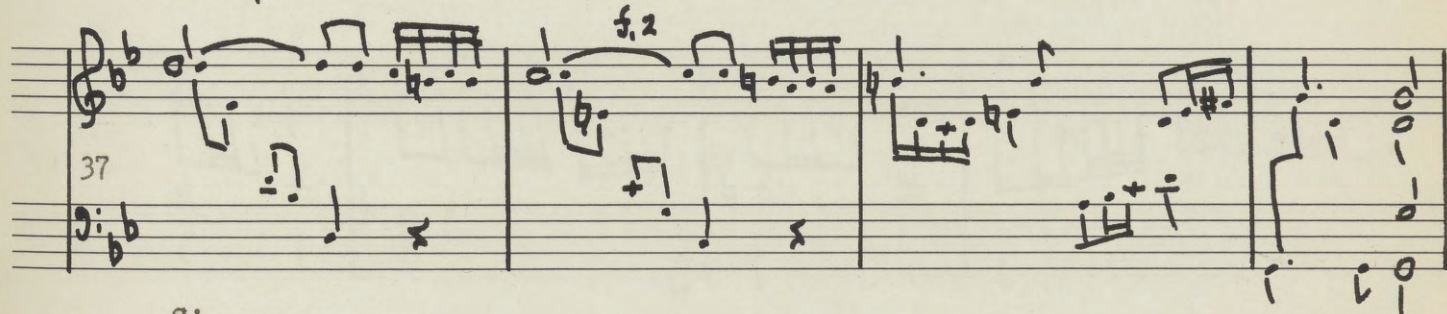
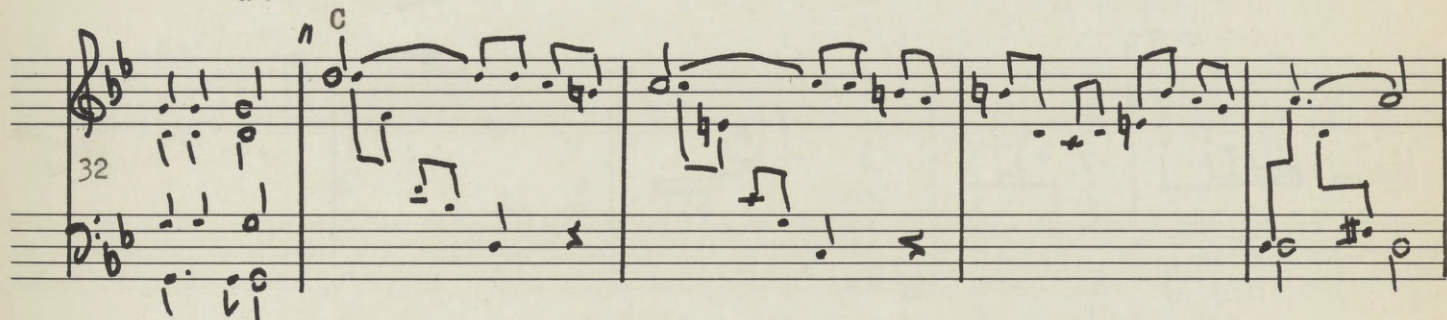
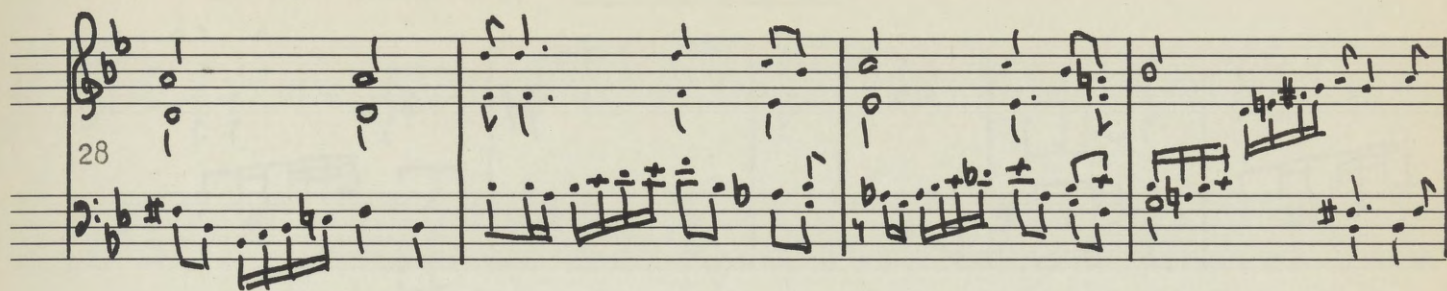


r = f No. 11. "Venetian Galliard. Churchyard."



British Museum, Additional MS 31,389.

A No. 1. "Pauana." Passamezzo antico.



No. 2. "Saltarello." Passamezzo antico.

4.2 A

Handwritten musical notation for measures 1-5. The key signature has two flats (B-flat and E-flat). The time signature is 6/8. Measure 1 is marked with '4.2 A'. The notation includes various note values, rests, and accidentals.

5.2v // B

Handwritten musical notation for measures 6-10. Measure 6 is marked with '5.2v'. Measure 10 is marked with '6'. A double bar line followed by 'B' indicates the start of a new section. The notation continues with various note values and accidentals.

10

Handwritten musical notation for measures 11-14. Measure 11 is marked with '10'. The notation includes various note values and accidentals.

14 // A³

Handwritten musical notation for measures 15-18. Measure 15 is marked with '14'. A double bar line followed by 'A³' indicates the start of a new section. The notation includes various note values and accidentals.

19 5.3

Handwritten musical notation for measures 19-23. Measure 19 is marked with '19'. Measure 23 is marked with '5.3'. The notation includes various note values and accidentals.

24 // B¹

Handwritten musical notation for measures 24-28. Measure 24 is marked with '24'. A double bar line followed by 'B¹' indicates the start of a new section. The notation includes various note values and accidentals.

Handwritten musical notation, measures 29-33. Treble and bass staves. Key signature: one flat (B-flat). Measure 29 starts with a treble clef and a bass clef. Measure 33 ends with a double bar line and a repeat sign.

Handwritten musical notation, measures 34-38. Treble and bass staves. Key signature: one flat (B-flat). Measure 34 starts with a treble clef and a bass clef. Measure 38 ends with a double bar line.

Handwritten musical notation, measures 39-40. Treble and bass staves. Key signature: one flat (B-flat). Measure 39 starts with a treble clef and a bass clef. Measure 40 ends with a double bar line.

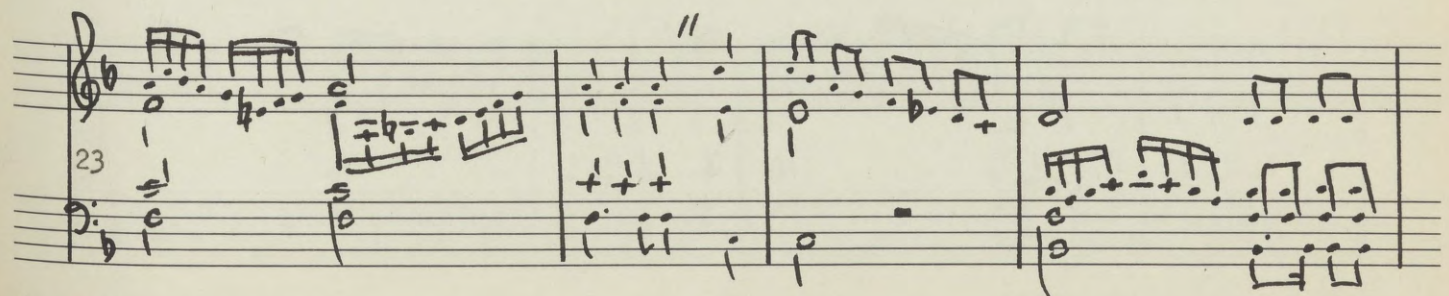
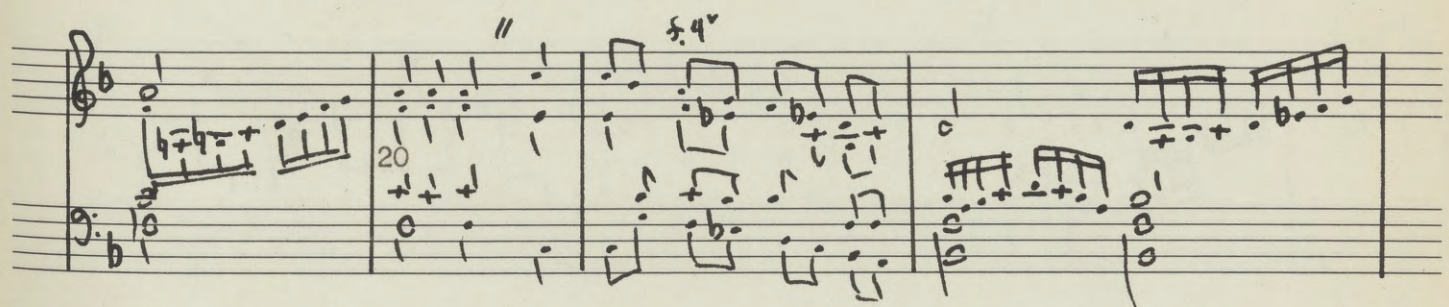
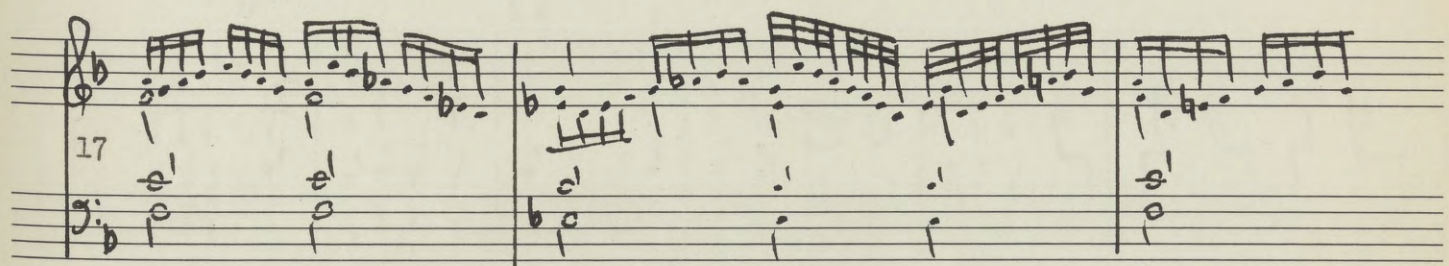
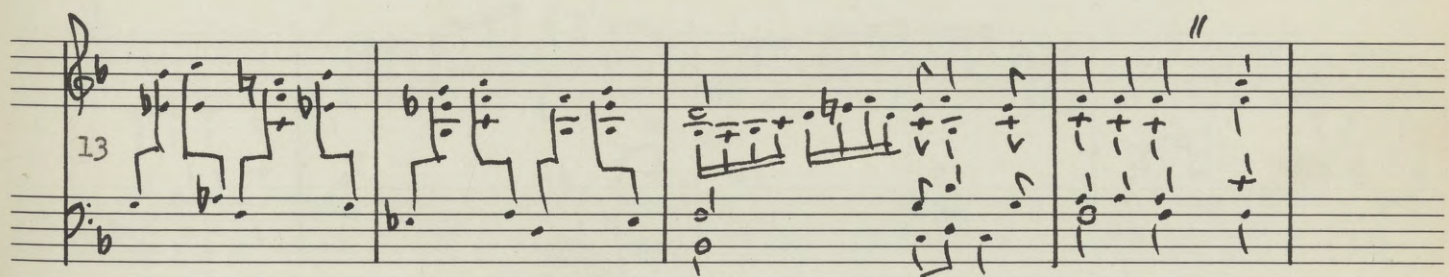
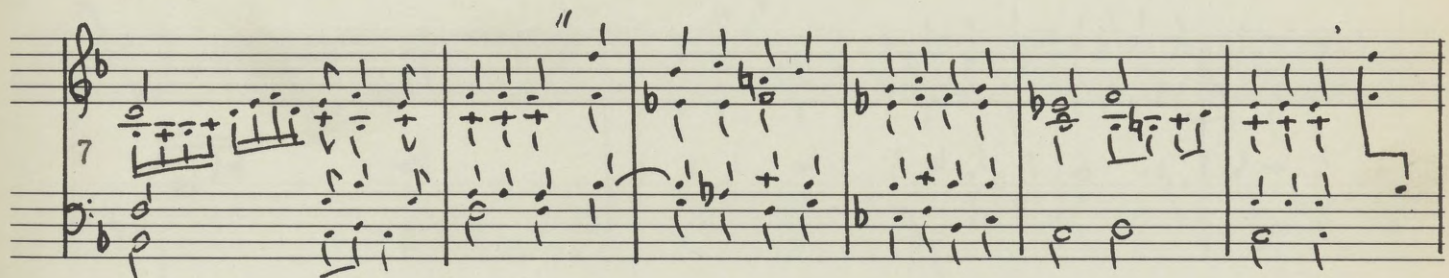
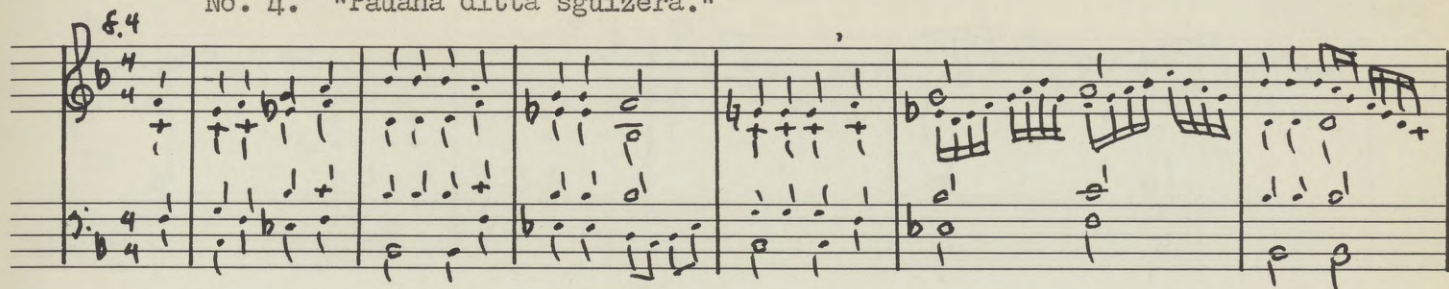
No. 3. "Rezercar Dom^o & Pater."

Handwritten musical notation, measures 41-44. Treble and bass staves. Key signature: one flat (B-flat). Measure 41 starts with a treble clef and a bass clef. Measure 44 ends with a double bar line.

Handwritten musical notation, measures 45-48. Treble and bass staves. Key signature: one flat (B-flat). Measure 45 starts with a treble clef and a bass clef. Measure 48 ends with a double bar line.

Handwritten musical notation, measures 49-52. Treble and bass staves. Key signature: one flat (B-flat). Measure 49 starts with a treble clef and a bass clef. Measure 52 ends with a double bar line.

No. 4. "Pauana ditta sguizera."



Handwritten musical notation, measures 27-30. The system includes a treble clef staff and a bass clef staff. Measure 27 is marked with the number 27. The notation features various notes, rests, and dynamic markings such as *f* and *p*.

Handwritten musical notation, measures 31-35. The system includes a treble clef staff and a bass clef staff. Measure 31 is marked with the number 31. The notation features various notes, rests, and dynamic markings such as *f* and *p*.

Handwritten musical notation, measures 36-40. The system includes a treble clef staff and a bass clef staff. Measure 36 is marked with the number 36. The notation features various notes, rests, and dynamic markings such as *f* and *p*.

Handwritten musical notation, measures 41-45. The system includes a treble clef staff and a bass clef staff. Measure 41 is marked with the number 40. The notation features various notes, rests, and dynamic markings such as *f* and *p*.

Handwritten musical notation, measures 46-50. The system includes a treble clef staff and a bass clef staff. Measure 46 is marked with the number 46. The notation features various notes, rests, and dynamic markings such as *f* and *p*.

Handwritten musical notation, measures 51-55. The system includes a treble clef staff and a bass clef staff. Measure 51 is marked with the number 51. The notation features various notes, rests, and dynamic markings such as *f* and *p*.

Handwritten musical notation for measures 55-58. The system consists of a treble and bass staff. Measure 55 starts with a treble staff containing eighth notes and a bass staff with a whole note. Measure 56 has a double bar line and a repeat sign. Measure 57 has a treble staff with eighth notes and a bass staff with a whole note. Measure 58 has a treble staff with eighth notes and a bass staff with a whole note.

Handwritten musical notation for measures 59-61. The system consists of a treble and bass staff. Measure 59 has a treble staff with eighth notes and a bass staff with a whole note. Measure 60 has a treble staff with eighth notes and a bass staff with a whole note. Measure 61 has a treble staff with eighth notes and a bass staff with a whole note.

Handwritten musical notation for measures 62-64. The system consists of a treble and bass staff. Measure 62 has a treble staff with eighth notes and a bass staff with a whole note. Measure 63 has a treble staff with eighth notes and a bass staff with a whole note. Measure 64 has a treble staff with eighth notes and a bass staff with a whole note.

Handwritten musical notation for measures 65-68. The system consists of a treble and bass staff. Measure 65 has a treble staff with eighth notes and a bass staff with a whole note. Measure 66 has a treble staff with eighth notes and a bass staff with a whole note. Measure 67 has a treble staff with eighth notes and a bass staff with a whole note. Measure 68 has a treble staff with eighth notes and a bass staff with a whole note.

Handwritten musical notation for measures 69-74. The system consists of a treble and bass staff. Measure 69 has a treble staff with eighth notes and a bass staff with a whole note. Measure 70 has a treble staff with eighth notes and a bass staff with a whole note. Measure 71 has a treble staff with eighth notes and a bass staff with a whole note. Measure 72 has a treble staff with eighth notes and a bass staff with a whole note. Measure 73 has a treble staff with eighth notes and a bass staff with a whole note. Measure 74 has a treble staff with eighth notes and a bass staff with a whole note.

Handwritten musical notation for measures 75-79. The system consists of a treble and bass staff. Measure 75 has a treble staff with eighth notes and a bass staff with a whole note. Measure 76 has a treble staff with eighth notes and a bass staff with a whole note. Measure 77 has a treble staff with eighth notes and a bass staff with a whole note. Measure 78 has a treble staff with eighth notes and a bass staff with a whole note. Measure 79 has a treble staff with eighth notes and a bass staff with a whole note.

81

86

90

94

No. 5. "Saltarello de la ditta Pauana."

f.l. f.l.v.

(3/4)

6

11

16

22

5.7

(sic)

27

32

38

(sic)

Handwritten musical score, measures 43-47. The score is written on two staves (treble and bass clef). Measure 43 is marked with a forte dynamic (f). Measure 47 contains a triplet of eighth notes marked with a forte dynamic (f) and a tempo marking of $f. 7^v$.

Handwritten musical score, measures 48-52. The score is written on two staves (treble and bass clef). Measure 48 is marked with a forte dynamic (f). Measure 52 contains a triplet of eighth notes marked with a forte dynamic (f).

Handwritten musical score, measures 53-56. The score is written on two staves (treble and bass clef). Measure 53 is marked with a forte dynamic (f). Measure 56 contains a triplet of eighth notes marked with a forte dynamic (f).

Handwritten musical score, measures 57-60. The score is written on two staves (treble and bass clef). Measure 57 is marked with a forte dynamic (f). Measure 60 contains a triplet of eighth notes marked with a forte dynamic (f).

No. 6. "Dismonta da Cavallo."

1) //

Handwritten musical score, measures 61-65. The score is written on two staves (treble and bass clef). Measure 61 is marked with a forte dynamic (f) and a tempo marking of $f. 7^v$. Measure 65 contains a triplet of eighth notes marked with a forte dynamic (f) and a tempo marking of $f. 8$.

Handwritten musical score, measures 66-70. The score is written on two staves (treble and bass clef). Measure 66 is marked with a forte dynamic (f). Measure 70 contains a triplet of eighth notes marked with a forte dynamic (f).

1) // = division lines in MS.
No. 1211

Handwritten musical score, measures 11-15. The music is written on two staves (treble and bass clef) in G major (one sharp). Measure 11 starts with a double bar line and a repeat sign. The melody in the treble clef features eighth and sixteenth notes, while the bass clef provides a simple harmonic accompaniment. Measure 15 ends with a double bar line and a repeat sign.

Handwritten musical score, measures 16-20. The music continues on two staves. Measure 16 begins with a new melodic phrase in the treble clef. Measure 20 concludes with a double bar line and a repeat sign.

Handwritten musical score, measures 21-25. The music is written on two staves. Measure 21 starts with a double bar line and a repeat sign. Measure 25 ends with a double bar line and a repeat sign.

Handwritten musical score, measures 26-31. The music continues on two staves. Measure 26 begins with a new melodic phrase in the treble clef. Measure 31 concludes with a double bar line and a repeat sign.

Handwritten musical score, measures 32-36. The music is written on two staves. Measure 32 starts with a double bar line and a repeat sign. Measure 36 ends with a double bar line and a repeat sign.

Handwritten musical score, measures 37-41. The music continues on two staves. Measure 37 begins with a double bar line and a repeat sign. Measure 41 concludes with a double bar line and a repeat sign.

Handwritten musical score for a piece, marked with a double bar line and the number 5.9. The score is written on two staves, with the upper staff in treble clef and the lower staff in bass clef. The key signature is one flat (B-flat). The time signature is 4/4. The notation includes various rhythmic values, including eighth and sixteenth notes, and rests. There are some handwritten annotations, such as "144" in the first measure of the upper staff.

Handwritten musical score for a piece, marked with a double bar line and the title "Dupliar" (?). The score is written on two staves, with the upper staff in treble clef and the lower staff in bass clef. The key signature is one flat (B-flat). The time signature is 4/4. The notation includes various rhythmic values, including eighth and sixteenth notes, and rests. There is a handwritten annotation "50" in the first measure of the upper staff.

No. 7. "Oselino de ramo in Ramo."

Handwritten musical score for a piece, marked with a double bar line and the number 5.9. The score is written on two staves, with the upper staff in treble clef and the lower staff in bass clef. The key signature is one flat (B-flat). The time signature is 3/4. The notation includes various rhythmic values, including eighth and sixteenth notes, and rests. There is a handwritten annotation "(3/4)" in the first measure of the upper staff.

Handwritten musical score for a piece, marked with a double bar line. The score is written on two staves, with the upper staff in treble clef and the lower staff in bass clef. The key signature is one flat (B-flat). The time signature is 4/4. The notation includes various rhythmic values, including eighth and sixteenth notes, and rests.

No. 8. "Cha la danza Zuan Piero." ("Fa la danza" ?)

Handwritten musical score for a piece, marked with a double bar line and the number 5.9. The score is written on two staves, with the upper staff in treble clef and the lower staff in bass clef. The key signature is one flat (B-flat). The time signature is 6/8. The notation includes various rhythmic values, including eighth and sixteenth notes, and rests.

Handwritten musical score for a piece, marked with a double bar line and the number 5.9. The score is written on two staves, with the upper staff in treble clef and the lower staff in bass clef. The key signature is one flat (B-flat). The time signature is 4/4. The notation includes various rhythmic values, including eighth and sixteenth notes, and rests.

Handwritten musical score for two staves. The first system includes a double bar line, a key signature change to B-flat major, and a measure marked with a question mark and (4). The second system continues the composition with various musical notations including notes, rests, and dynamic markings.

No. 9. "Ben si possiamo tutti lamentare."

Handwritten musical score for two staves. The first system includes a key signature change to B-flat major and a measure marked with (3/4). The second system continues the composition with various musical notations including notes, rests, and dynamic markings.

Handwritten musical score for two staves. The first system includes a measure marked with 6. The second system continues the composition with various musical notations including notes, rests, and dynamic markings.

Handwritten musical score for two staves. The first system includes a measure marked with 10 and a dynamic marking of *f*. The second system continues the composition with various musical notations including notes, rests, and dynamic markings.

Handwritten musical score for two staves. The first system includes a measure marked with 16. The second system continues the composition with various musical notations including notes, rests, and dynamic markings.

No. 10. "Partita che mi son."

Handwritten musical notation for measures 1-5. The key signature is one flat (B-flat). The time signature is 3/4. The notation includes treble and bass staves with various notes, rests, and dynamic markings such as *f* and *io*. A measure rest is indicated by a double bar line with a diagonal slash.

Handwritten musical notation for measures 6-10. The notation continues with treble and bass staves, featuring various notes, rests, and dynamic markings. A measure rest is indicated by a double bar line with a diagonal slash.

Handwritten musical notation for measures 11-14. The notation includes treble and bass staves with various notes, rests, and dynamic markings. A measure rest is indicated by a double bar line with a diagonal slash.

Handwritten musical notation for measures 15-18. The notation includes treble and bass staves with various notes, rests, and dynamic markings. A measure rest is indicated by a double bar line with a diagonal slash.

Handwritten musical notation for measures 19-22. The notation includes treble and bass staves with various notes, rests, and dynamic markings. A measure rest is indicated by a double bar line with a diagonal slash.

No. 11. "Caulca caual Baiardo."

Handwritten musical score for No. 11, "Caulca caual Baiardo." The score is written on five systems of two staves each (treble and bass clef). The key signature is one flat (B-flat). The time signature is 6/8. The score includes various musical notations such as notes, rests, and dynamic markings like *f* (forte) and *p* (piano). The first system is marked with a tempo of *f. 10v* and a measure rest of $(\frac{3}{4})$. The second system is marked with a measure rest of 6. The third system is marked with a measure rest of 10. The fourth system is marked with a measure rest of 15. The fifth system is marked with a measure rest of 10. The score concludes with a double bar line and repeat signs.

No. 12. "Tu dici che son fantino."

Handwritten musical score for No. 12, "Tu dici che son fantino." The score is written on two systems of two staves each (treble and bass clef). The key signature is one flat (B-flat). The time signature is 3/4. The score includes various musical notations such as notes, rests, and dynamic markings like *f* (forte) and *p* (piano). The first system is marked with a tempo of *f. 11.* and a measure rest of $(\frac{3}{4} - \frac{7}{8})$. The second system is marked with a measure rest of 7. The score concludes with a double bar line and repeat signs.

Handwritten musical notation, measures 12 to 16. The music is in G major (one sharp) and 4/4 time. Measure 12 is marked with a double bar line and a repeat sign. Measure 16 is marked with a double bar line and a repeat sign. The notation includes treble and bass staves with various notes, rests, and accidentals.

Handwritten musical notation, measures 17 to 21. The music continues in G major and 4/4 time. Measure 17 is marked with a double bar line and a repeat sign. Measure 21 is marked with a double bar line and a repeat sign. The notation includes treble and bass staves with various notes, rests, and accidentals.

No. 13. "La strepa fana"

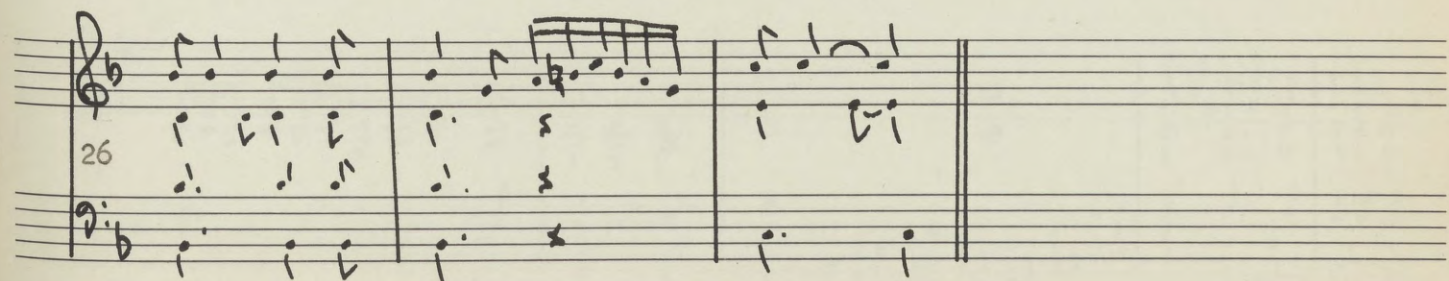
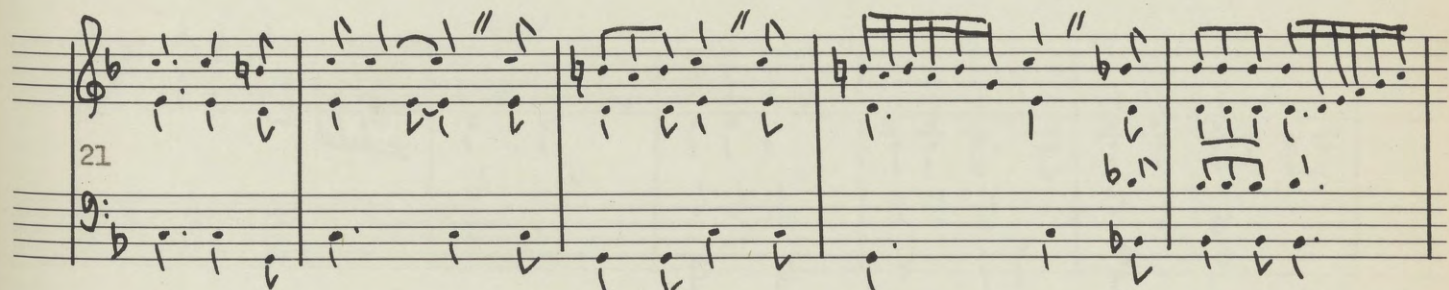
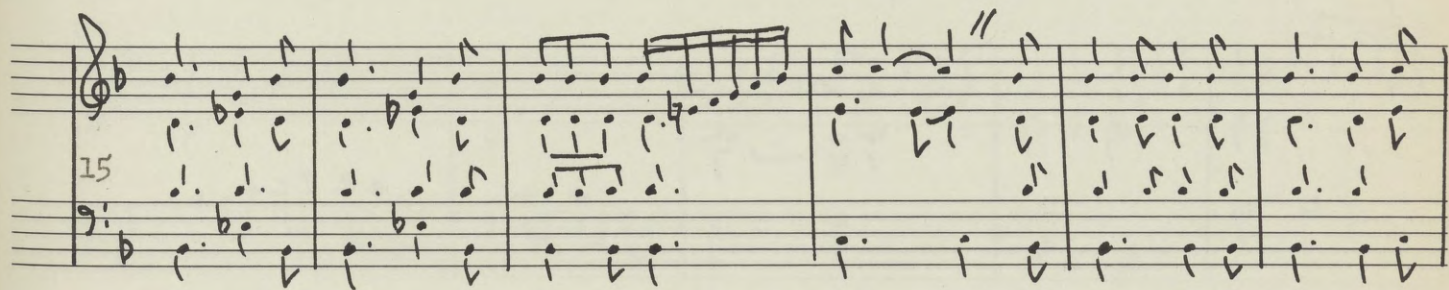
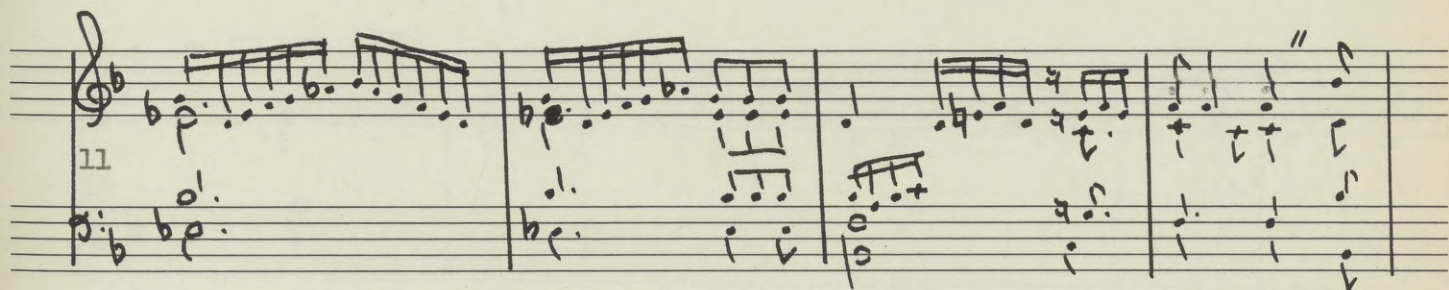
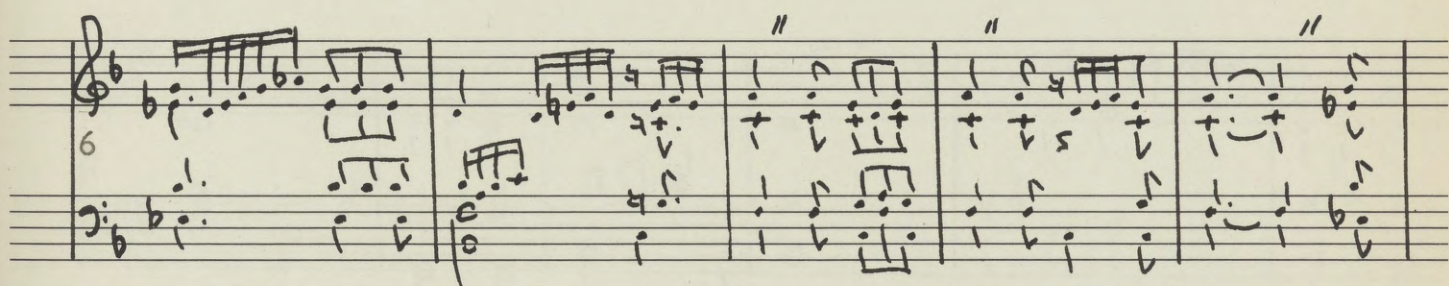
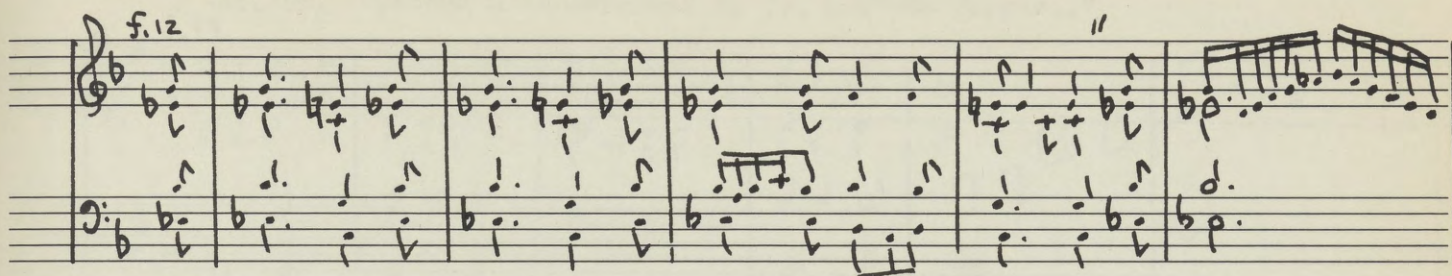
Handwritten musical notation, measures 22 to 26. The music is in G major and 4/4 time. Measure 22 is marked with a double bar line and a repeat sign. Measure 26 is marked with a double bar line and a repeat sign. The notation includes treble and bass staves with various notes, rests, and accidentals.

Handwritten musical notation, measures 27 to 31. The music continues in G major and 4/4 time. Measure 27 is marked with a double bar line and a repeat sign. Measure 31 is marked with a double bar line and a repeat sign. The notation includes treble and bass staves with various notes, rests, and accidentals.

Handwritten musical notation, measures 32 to 36. The music is in G major and 4/4 time. Measure 32 is marked with a double bar line and a repeat sign. Measure 36 is marked with a double bar line and a repeat sign. The notation includes treble and bass staves with various notes, rests, and accidentals.

Handwritten musical notation, measures 37 to 41. The music continues in G major and 4/4 time. Measure 37 is marked with a double bar line and a repeat sign. Measure 41 is marked with a double bar line and a repeat sign. The notation includes treble and bass staves with various notes, rests, and accidentals.

No. 14. "La gambeta."



No. 18. "Pauana a la Feraresa da Jo. Ant^o da Bergamo."

5.19

7

13

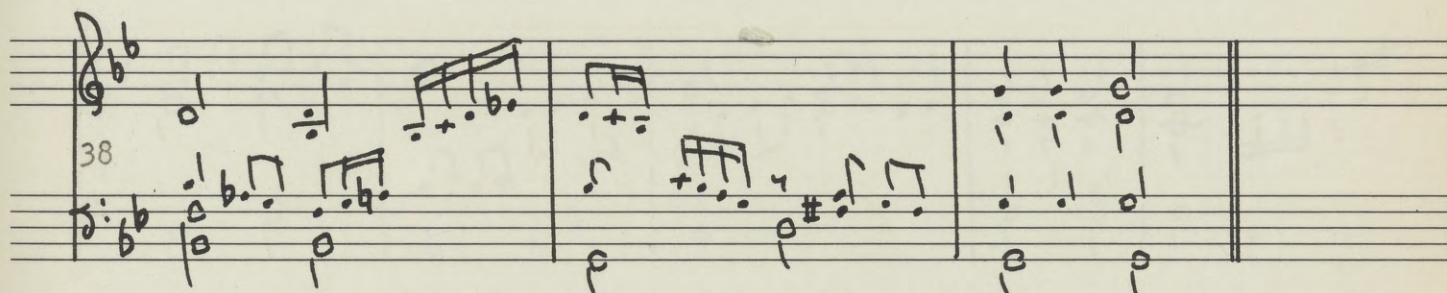
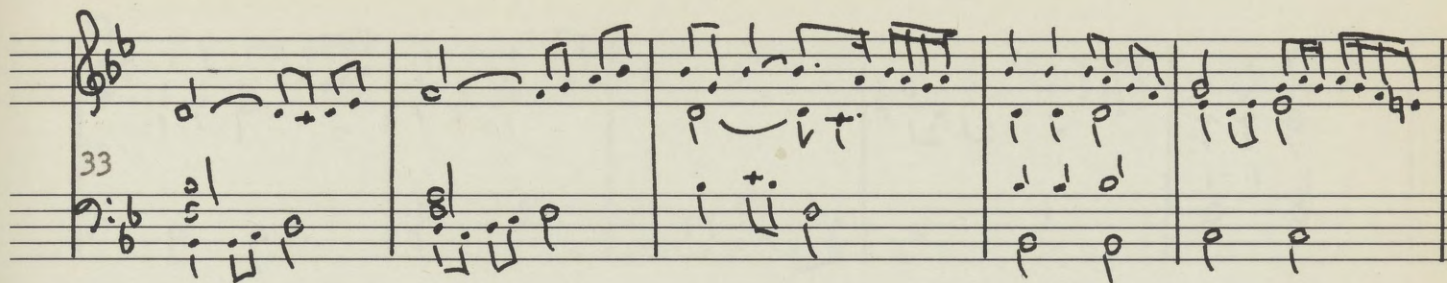
17

22

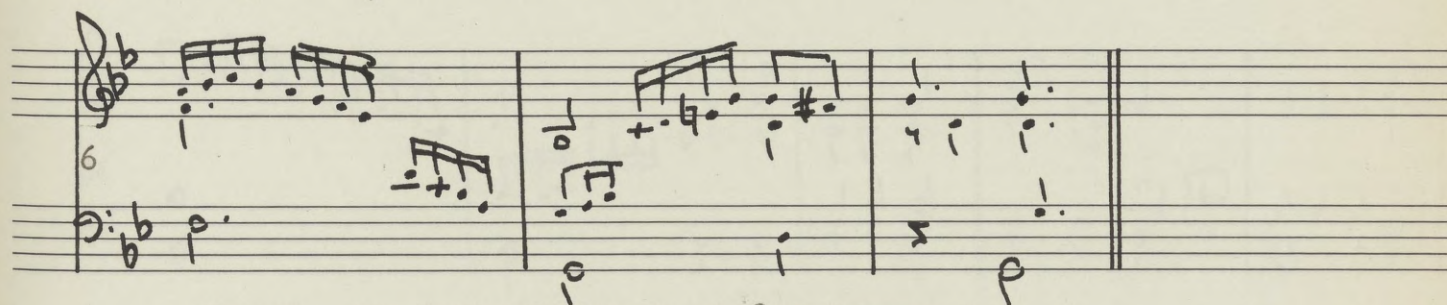
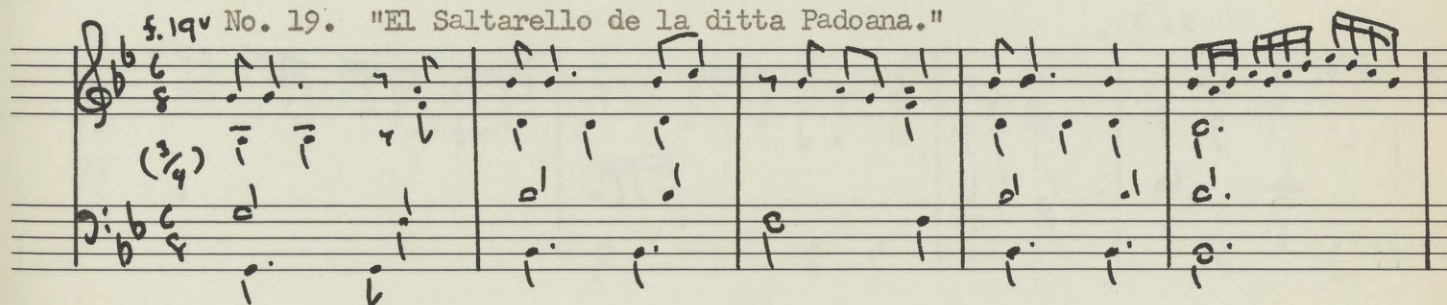
f.19v

27

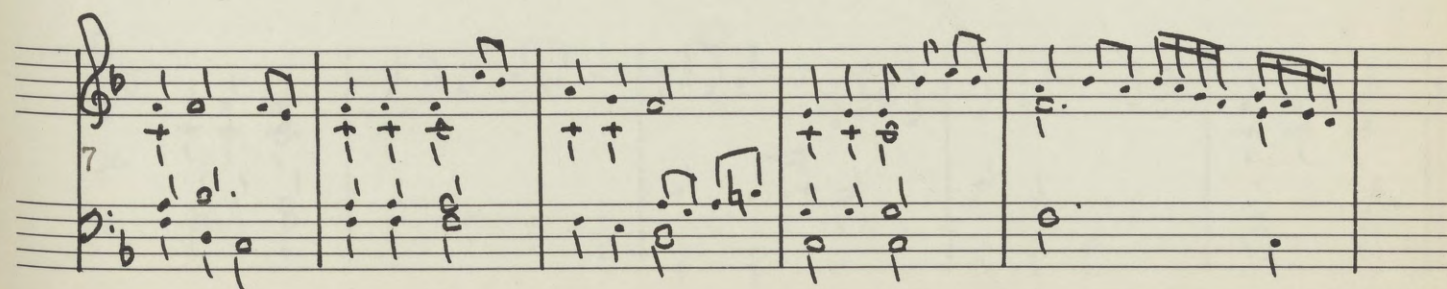
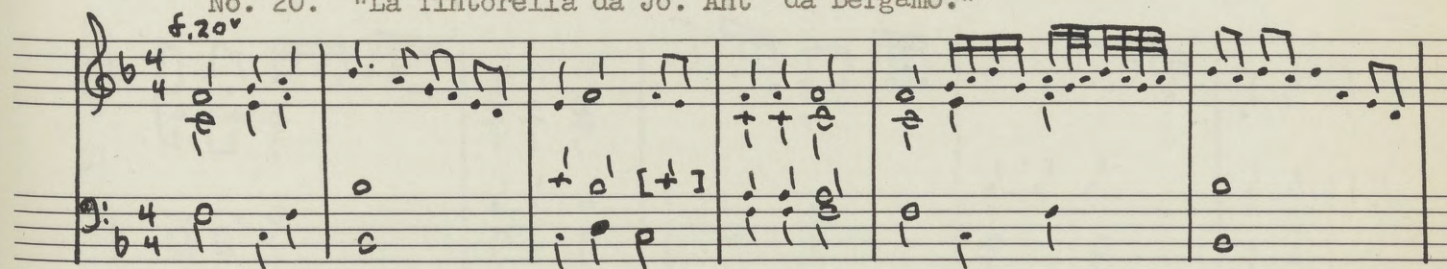
1) Suggested reading; MS questionable.



5.19v No. 19. "El Saltarello de la ditta Padoana."



No. 20. "La Tintorella da Jo. Ant^o da Bergamo."



12

17

22

, 5.21

26

31

36

No. 21. "El Saltarello de la ditta Tintorella."

5.21

(3/4)

Handwritten musical notation for measures 1-5. The music is in 3/4 time, key of B-flat major. The melody is in the treble clef, and the bass line is in the bass clef. The notation includes various note values, rests, and bar lines.

5.21^v

6

Handwritten musical notation for measures 6-10. The notation continues the melody and bass line from the previous system, with measures 6 through 10.

11

Handwritten musical notation for measures 11-15. The notation continues the melody and bass line, with measures 11 through 15.

16

Handwritten musical notation for measures 16-20. The notation continues the melody and bass line, with measures 16 through 20.

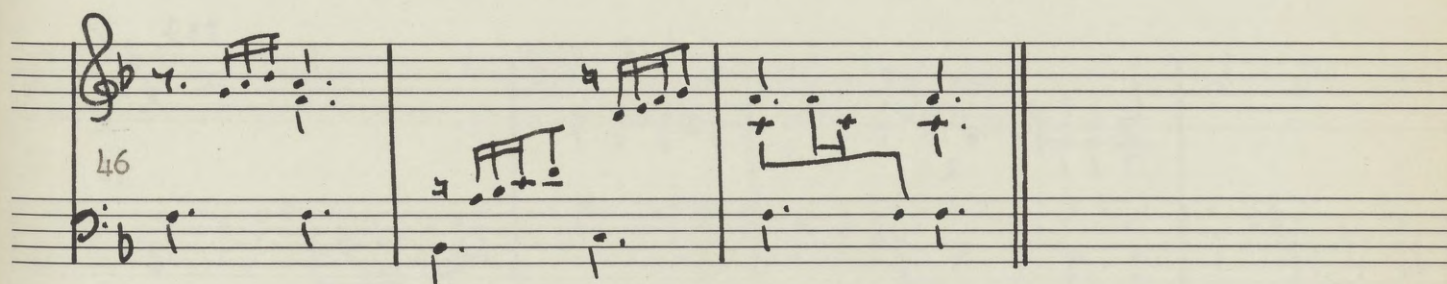
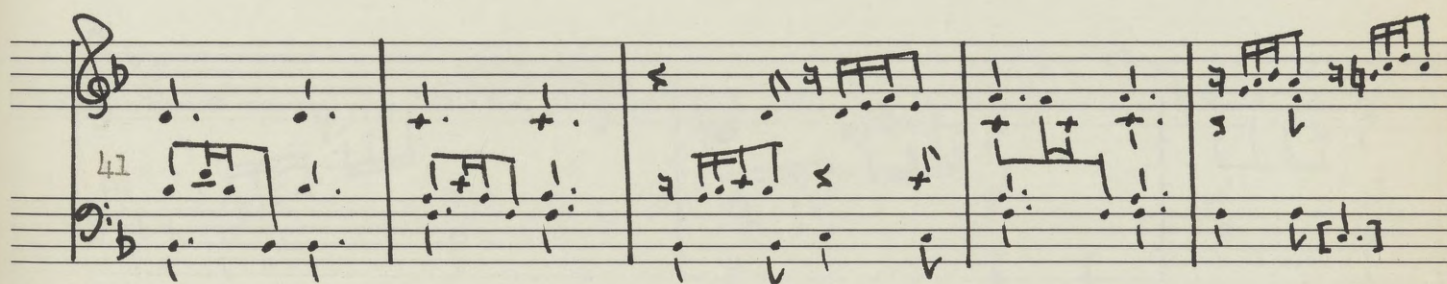
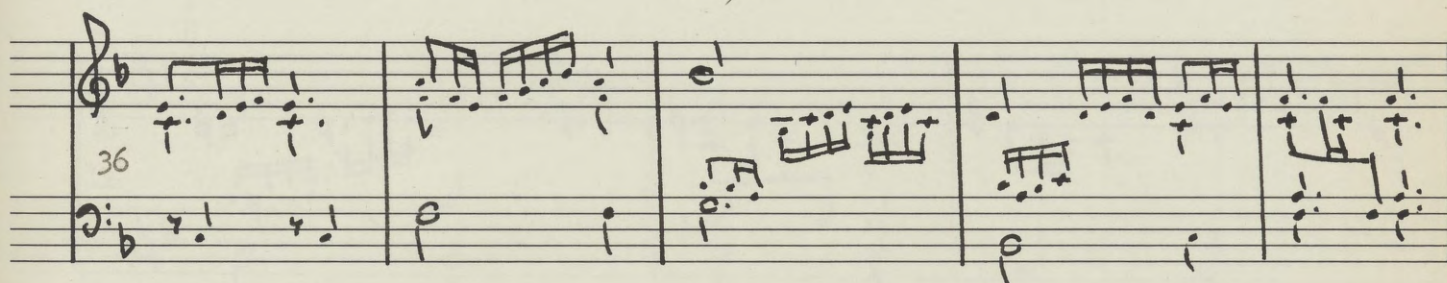
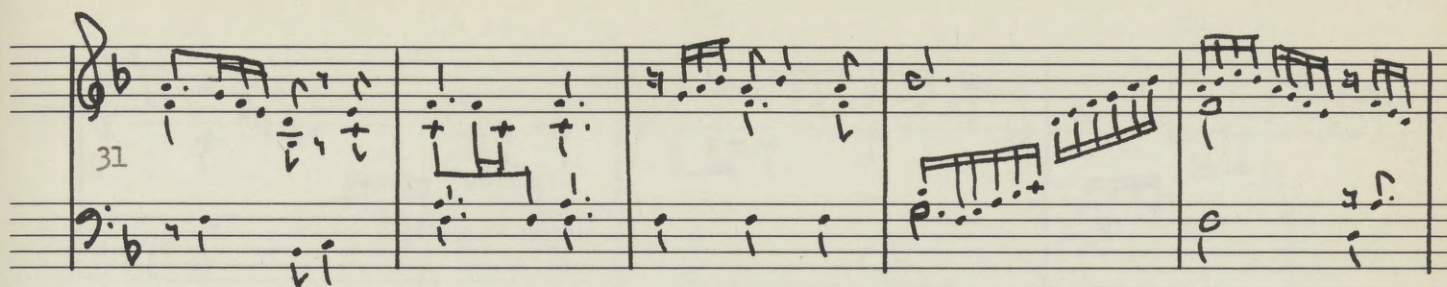
21

Handwritten musical notation for measures 21-25. The notation continues the melody and bass line, with measures 21 through 25.

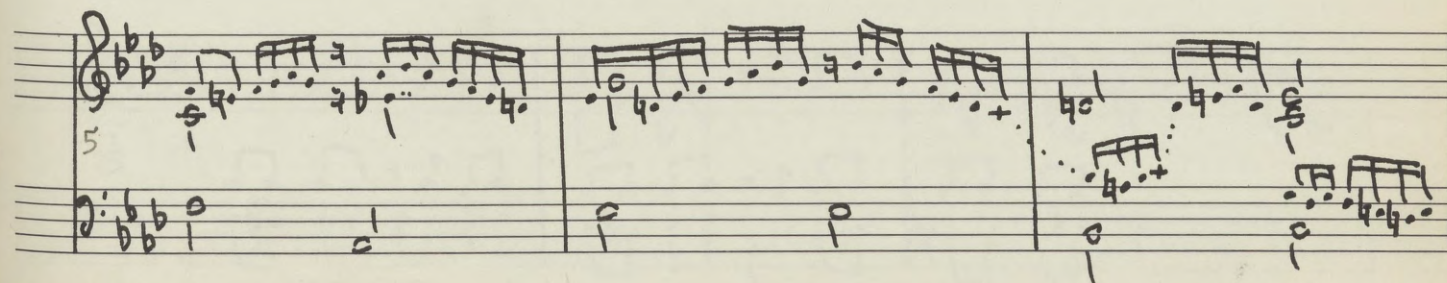
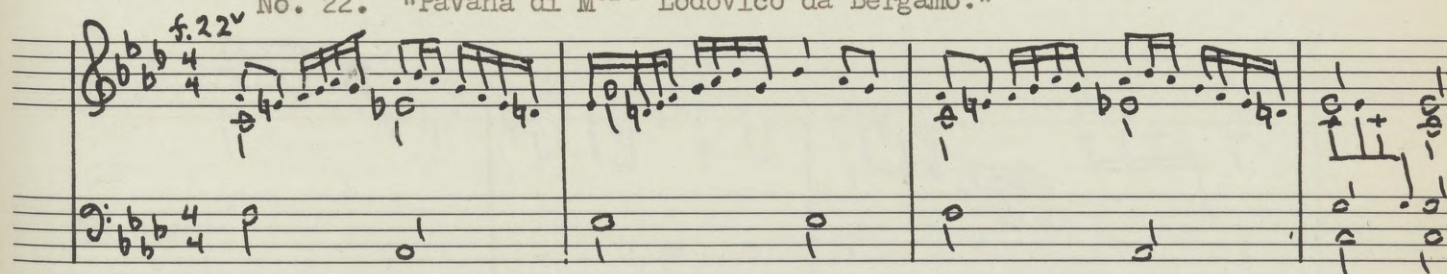
5.22

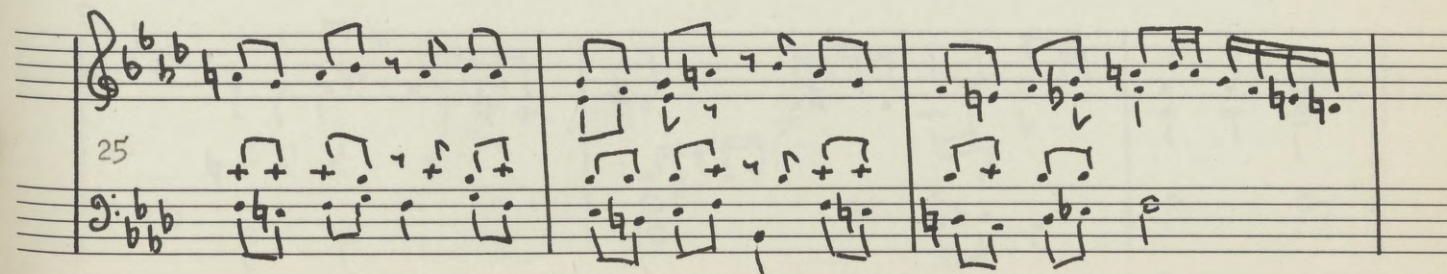
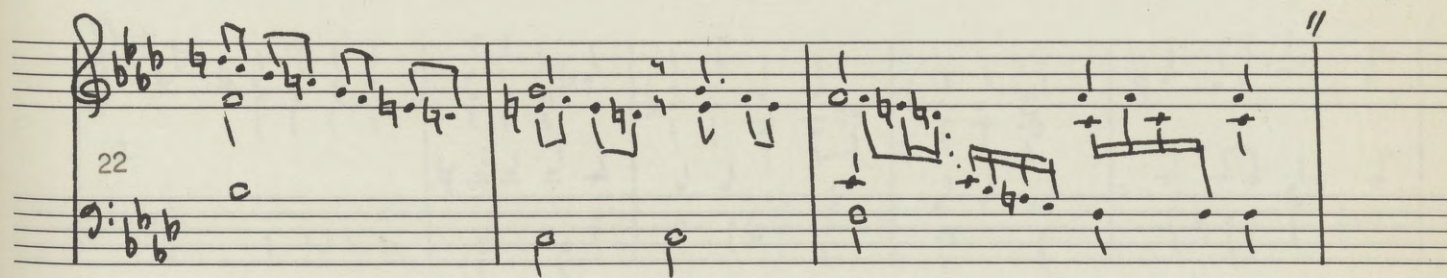
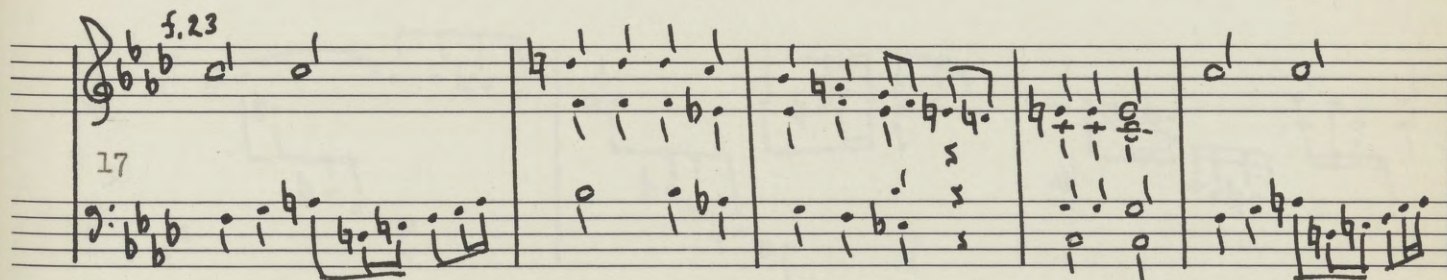
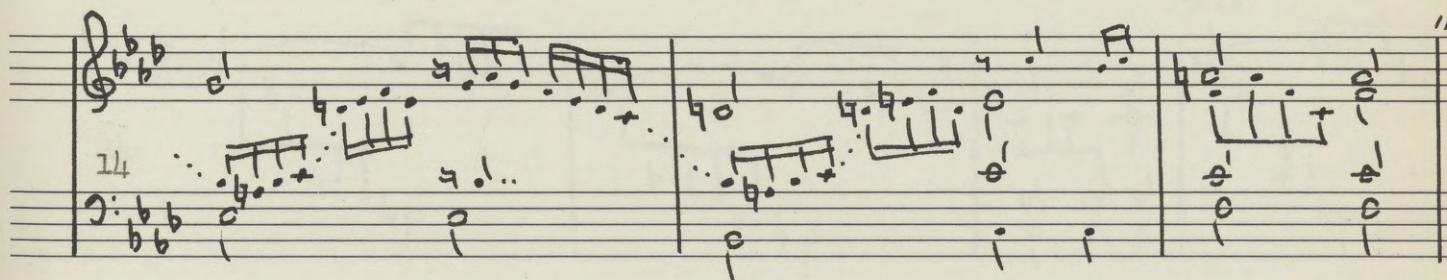
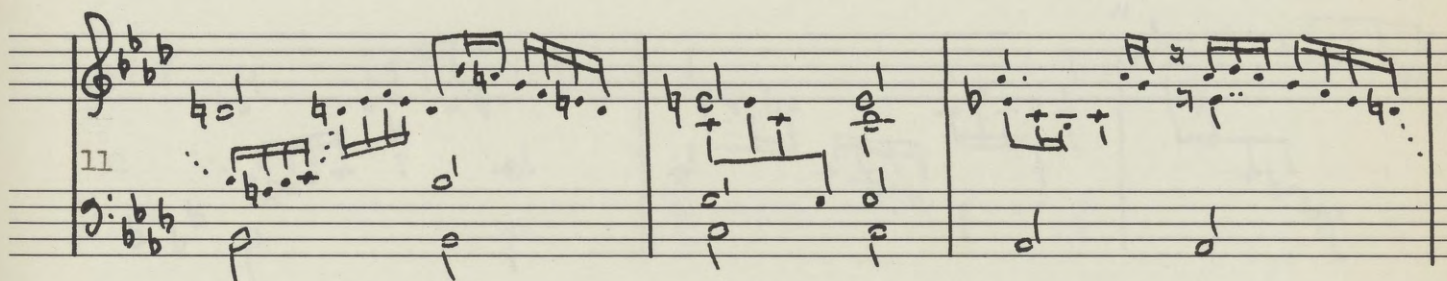
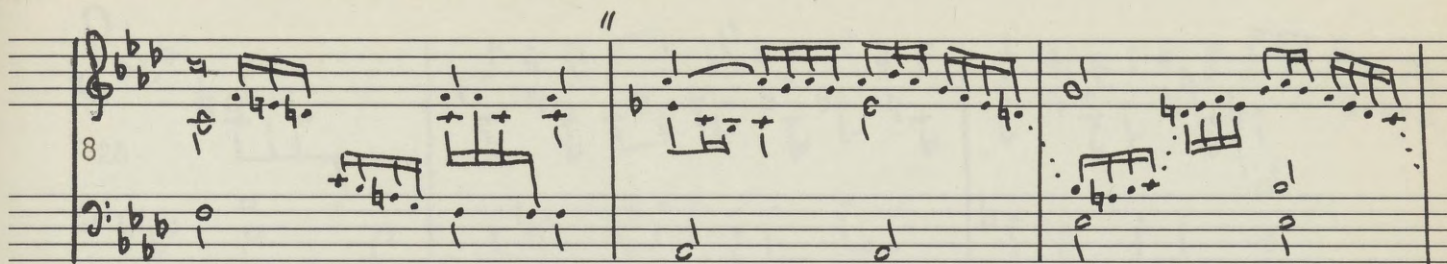
26

Handwritten musical notation for measures 26-30. The notation continues the melody and bass line, with measures 26 through 30.



No. 22. "Pavana di M^{tro} Lodovico da Bergamo."





28

31

34

38

41

46

Thomas Dallis' Lute Book, Trinity College, Dublin.

"Rogerio."

p. 20

Handwritten musical notation for "Rogerio." on two staves. The top staff is in treble clef with a key signature of one sharp (F#). The bottom staff is in bass clef. The music consists of several measures with various note values and rests. A tempo marking "♩ = 1" is present at the beginning. A circled number (4) is written in the left margin.

"The division of Rogerio."

p. 21

Handwritten musical notation for "The division of Rogerio." on two staves. The top staff is in treble clef with a key signature of one sharp (F#). The bottom staff is in bass clef. The music features a series of beamed sixteenth notes in the upper staff and corresponding bass notes in the lower staff.

Handwritten musical notation for "Rogo to the grounde." on two staves. The top staff is in treble clef with a key signature of one sharp (F#). The bottom staff is in bass clef. The music consists of several measures with various note values and rests.

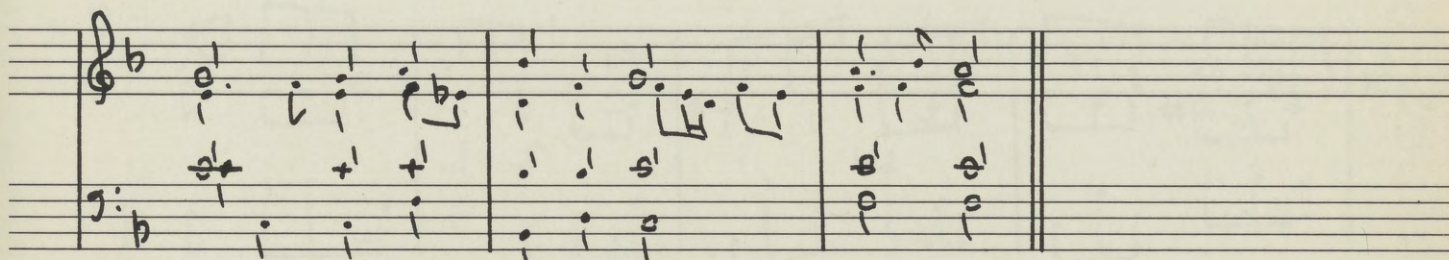
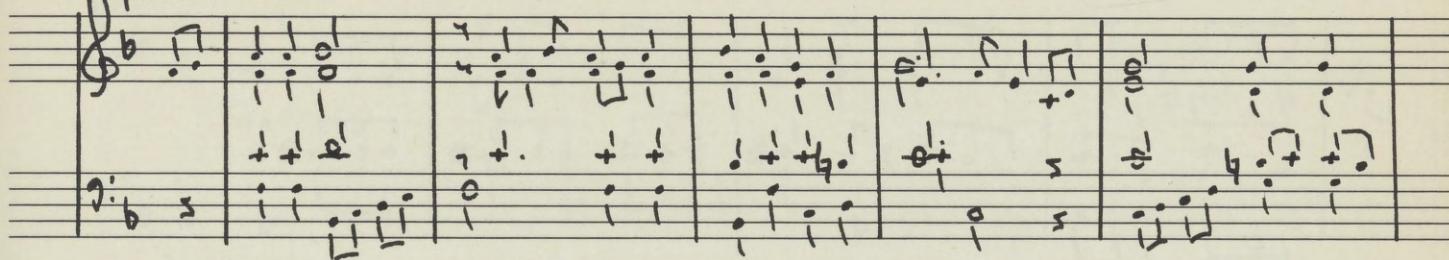
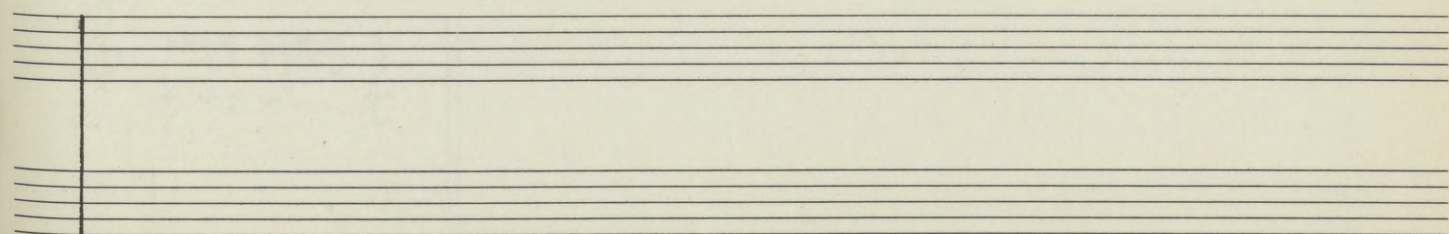
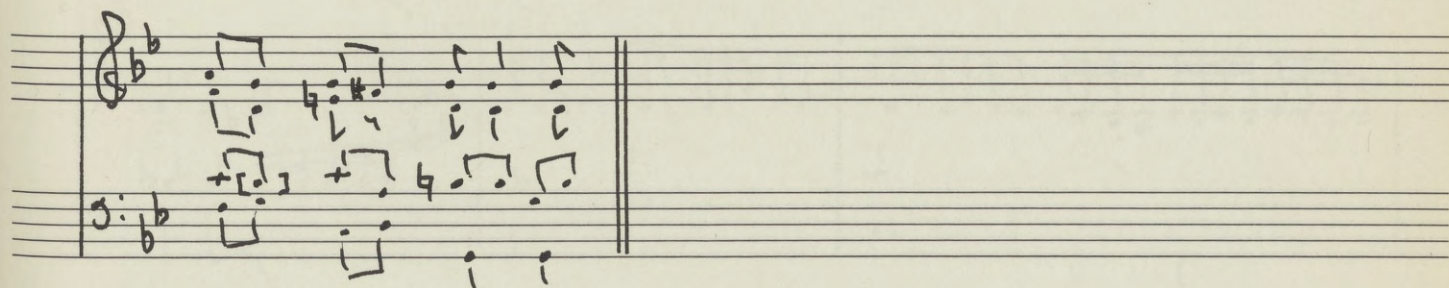
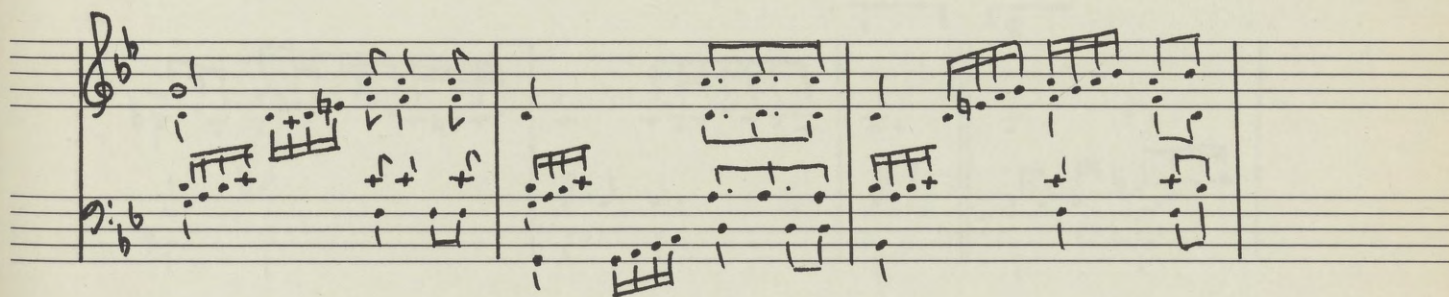
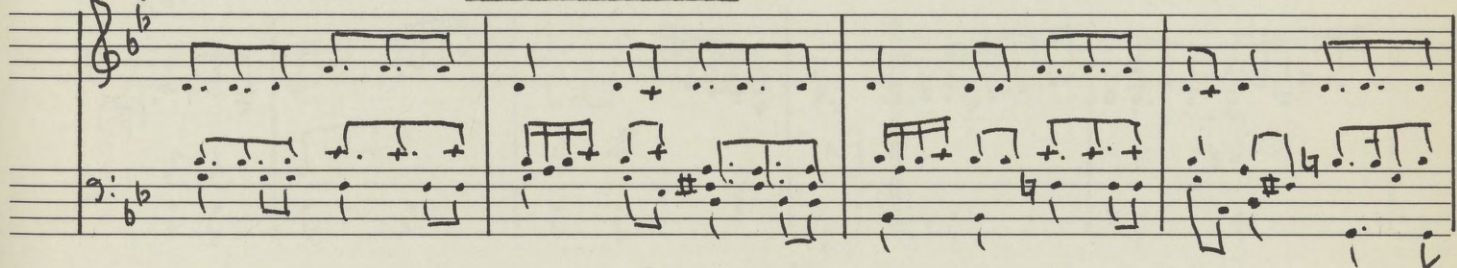
"Rogo to the grounde."

p. 92

Handwritten musical notation for "Rogo to the grounde." on two staves. The top staff is in treble clef with a key signature of one sharp (F#). The bottom staff is in bass clef. The music consists of several measures with various note values and rests.

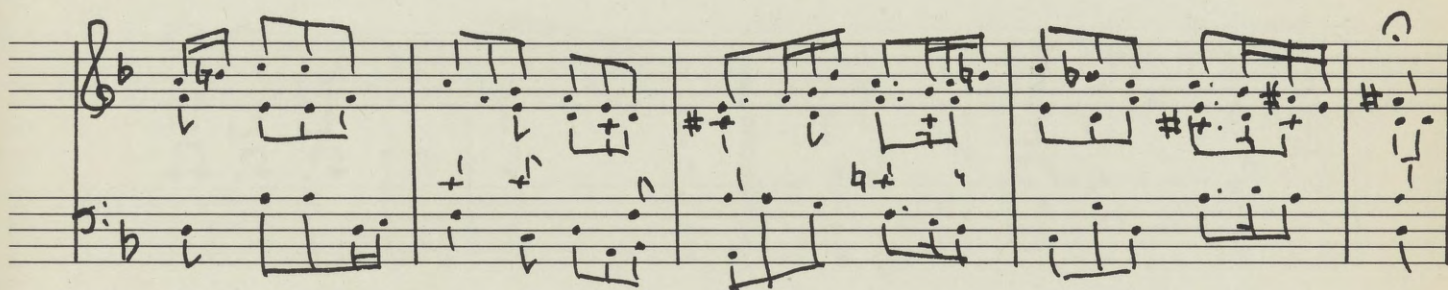
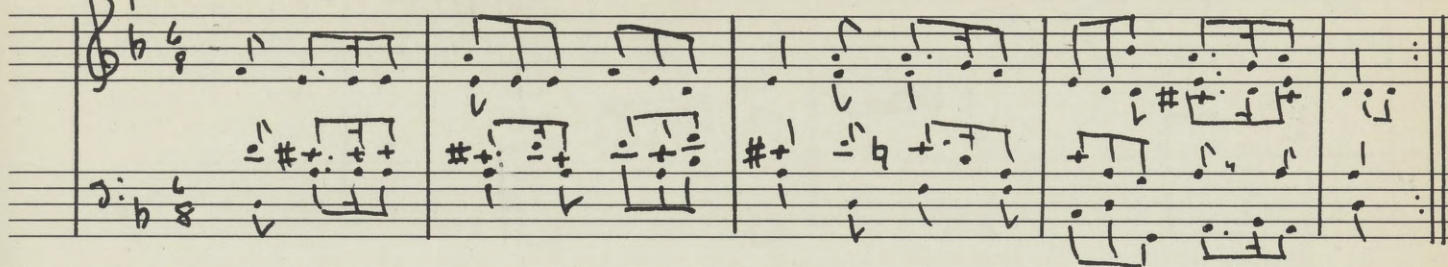
Handwritten musical notation for "Rogo to the grounde." on two staves. The top staff is in treble clef with a key signature of one sharp (F#). The bottom staff is in bass clef. The music consists of several measures with various note values and rests.

p. 223 "Rogo."

p. 3 Unnamed piece. Passamezzo antico.

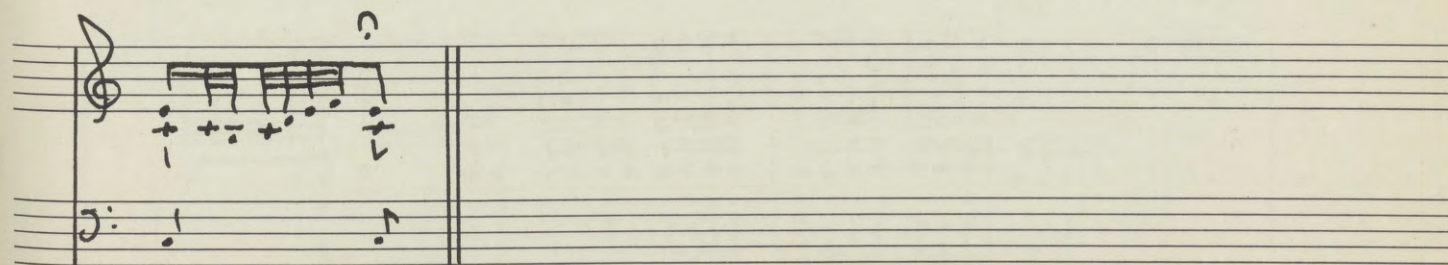
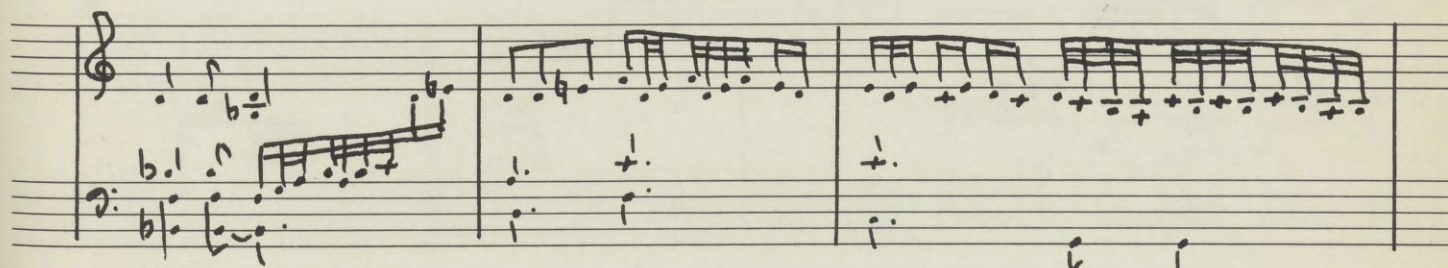
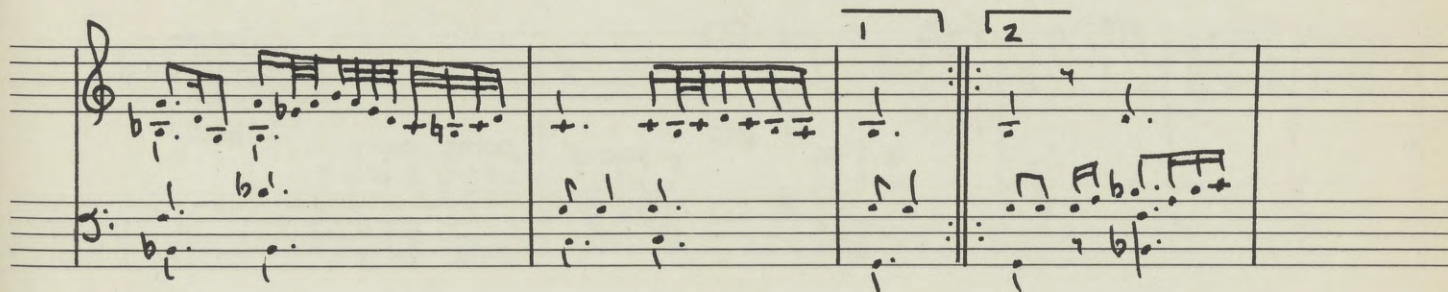
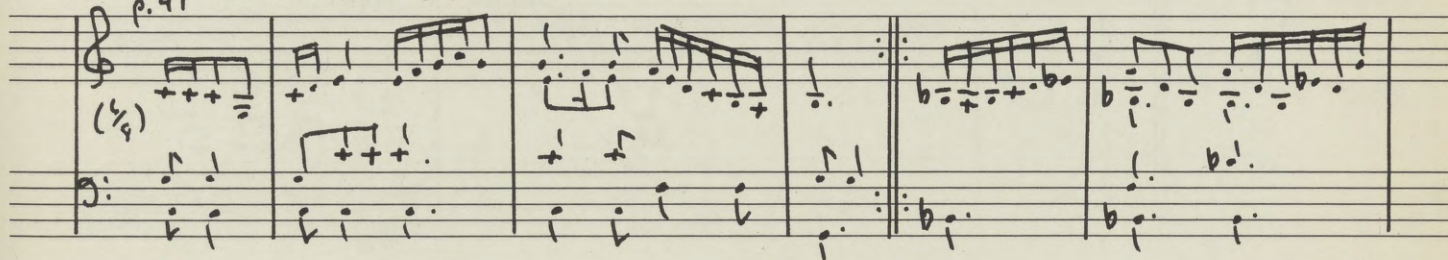
r = 1'

p. 26 "All a green willowe. T. Dallis."

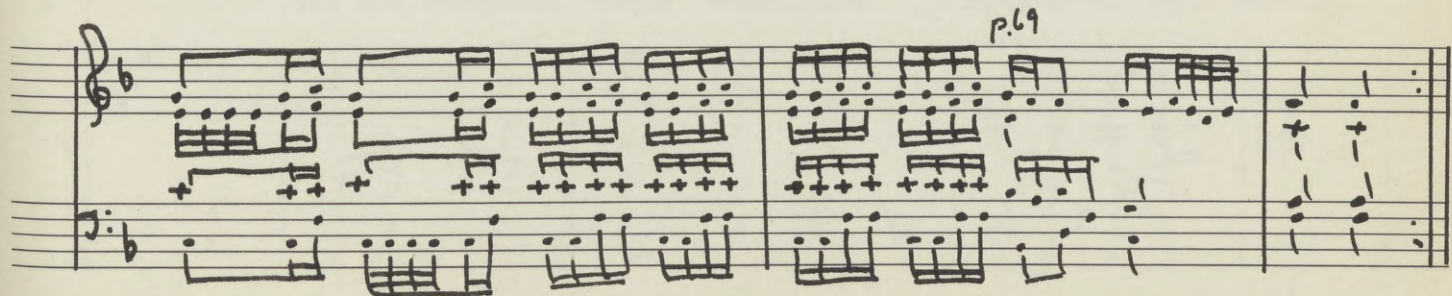
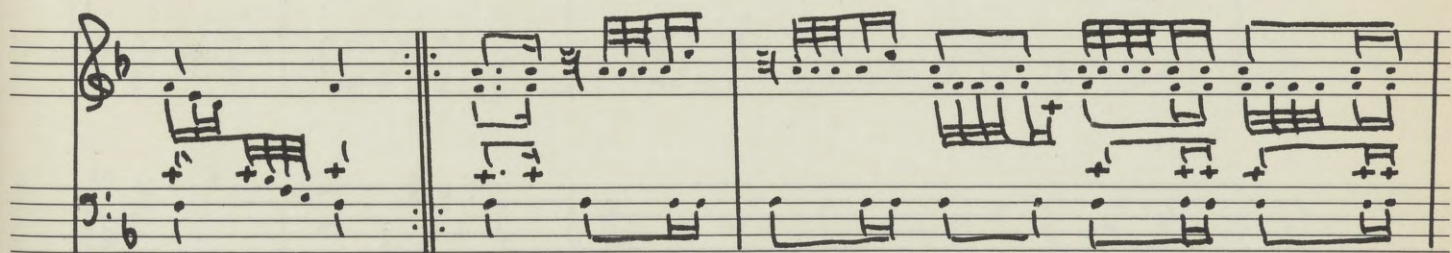
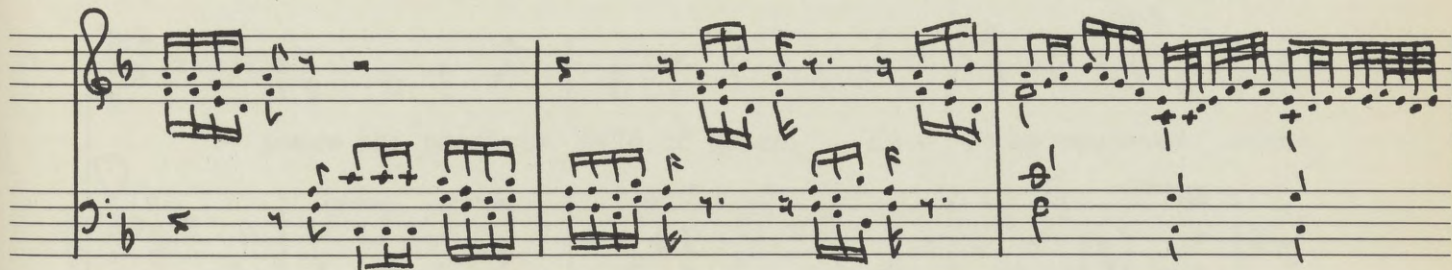
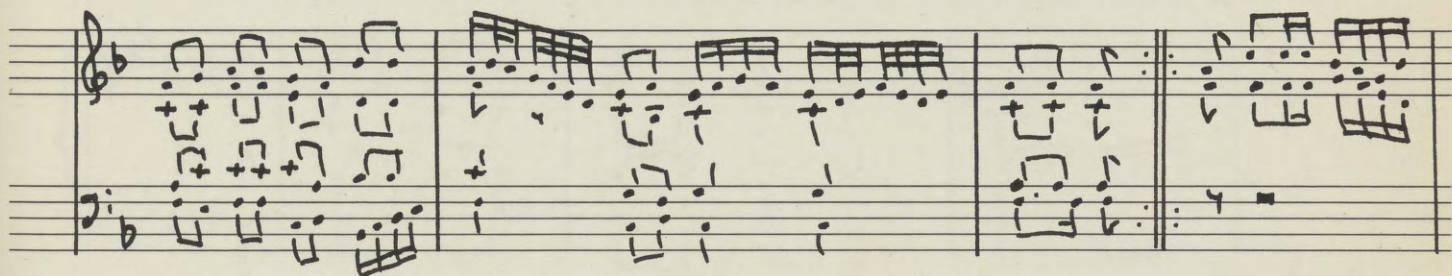
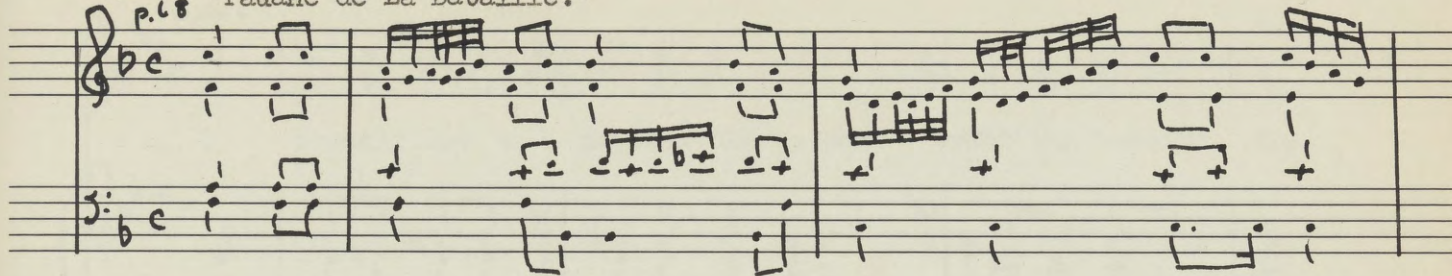


r = 1'

p. 41 "The Scotche gayliarde."



P. 68 "Pauane de La Bataille."



"O hev'nly God."

P. 202

O hev'nly God o fa-ther deare, cast downe thy ten-der eye,

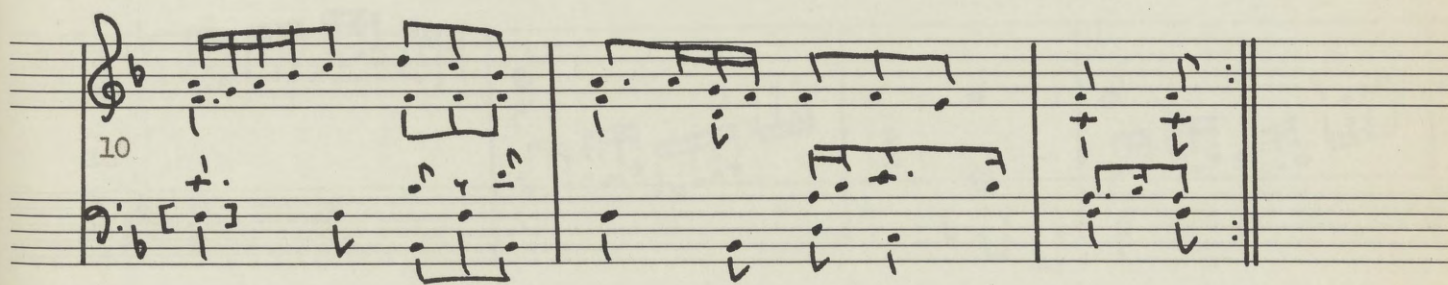
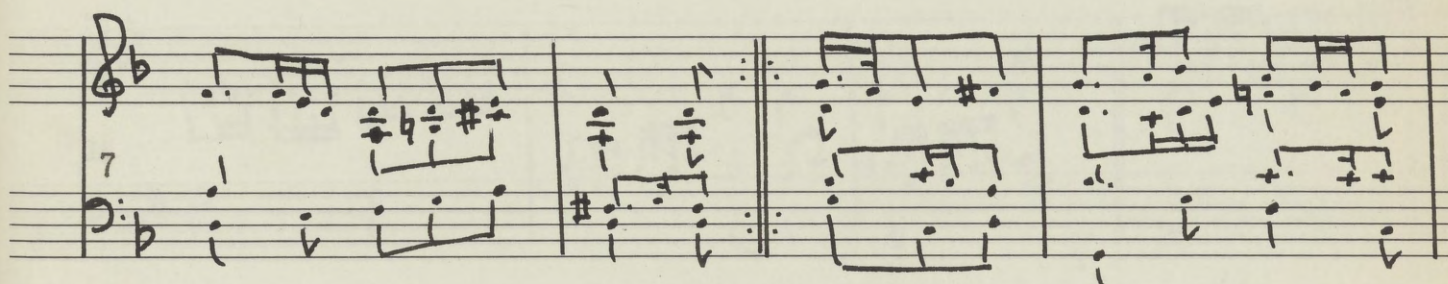
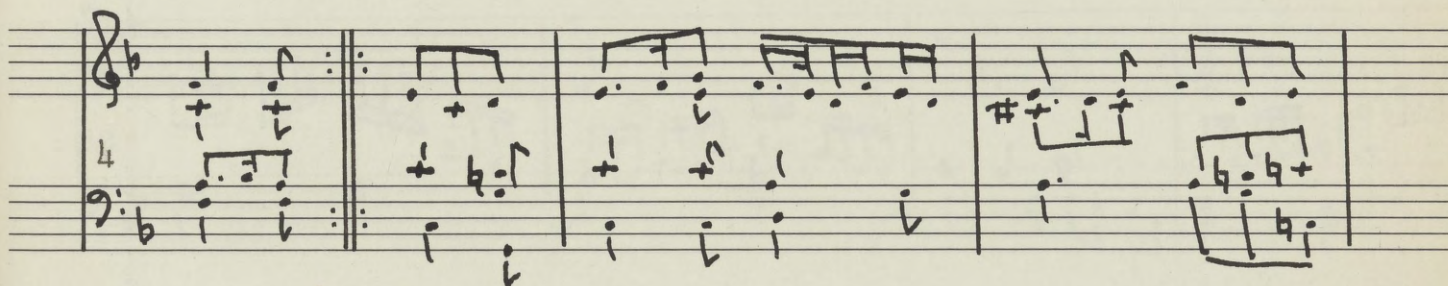
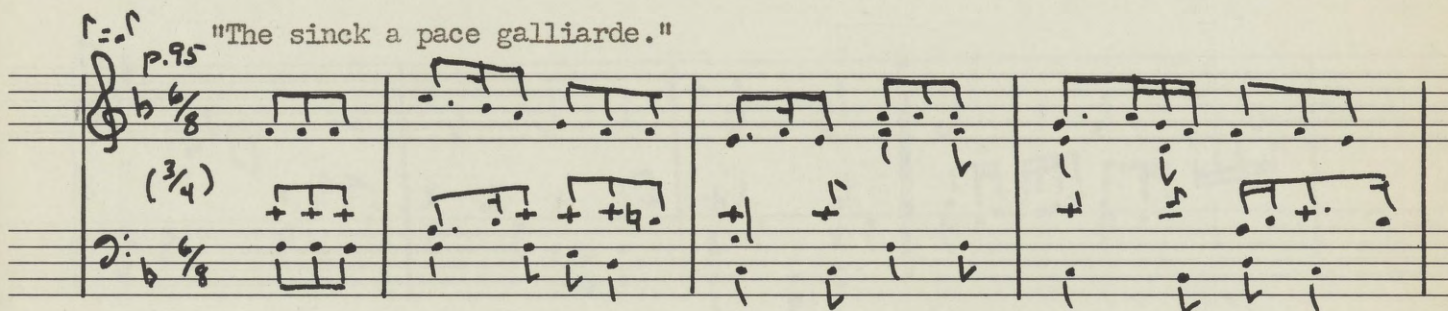
U - pon a wretche that prostrate here, be - fore thi throne dothe lye

O poure thi precious oyle of grace, in - to my wound-ed harte,

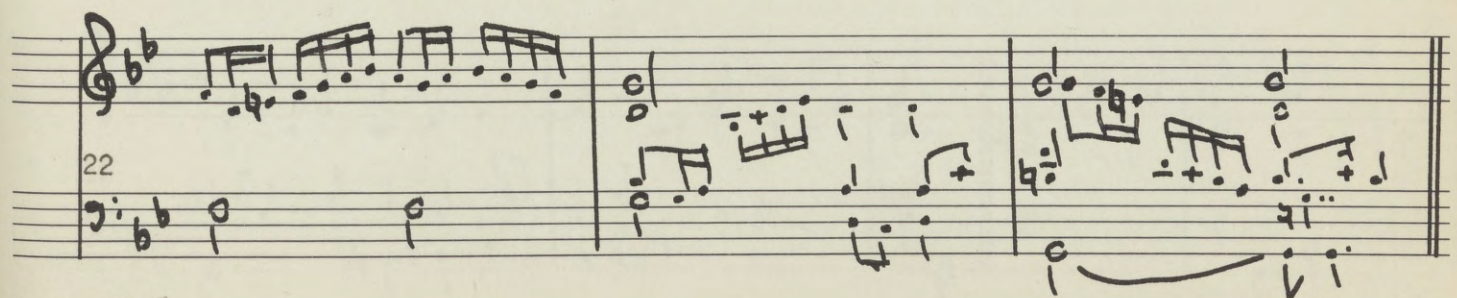
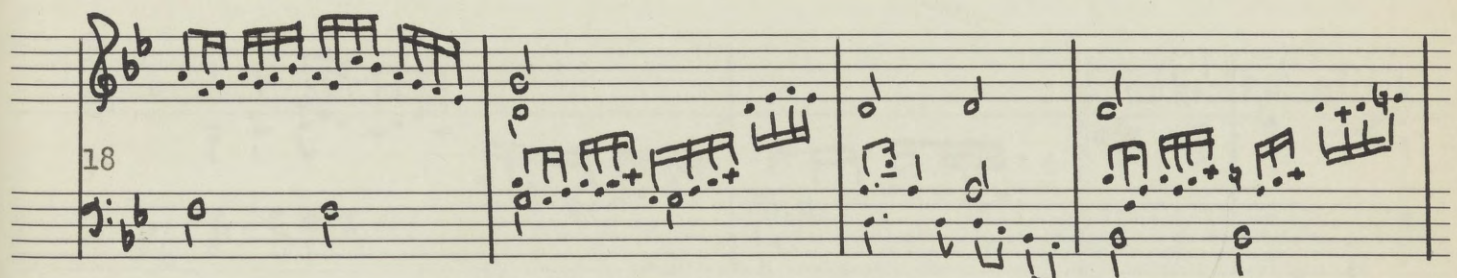
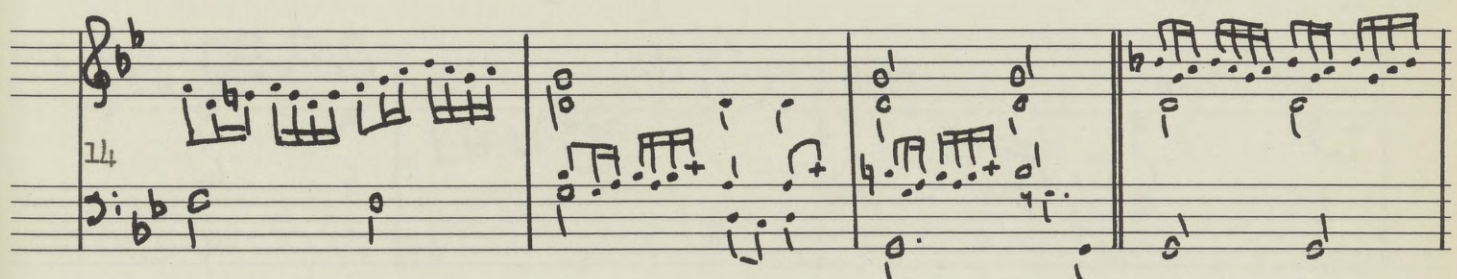
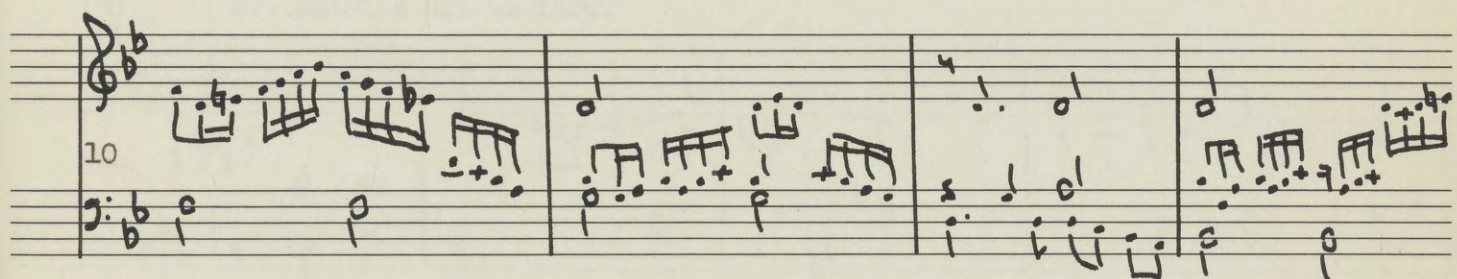
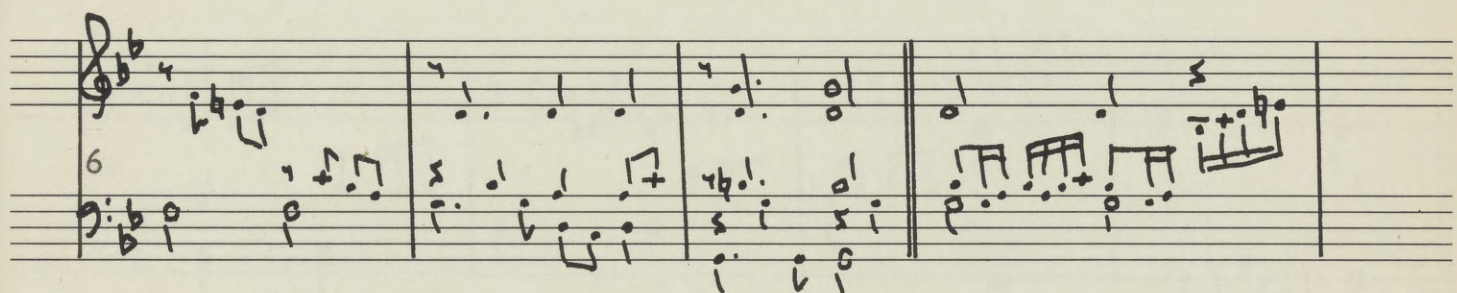
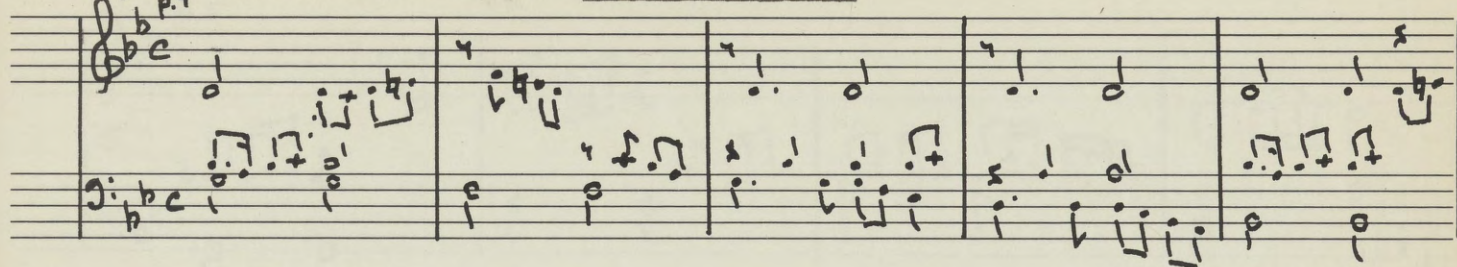
O let the dropps of mercy swage, the ri-gour of my smarte.

William Ballet's Lute Book, Trinity College, Dublin.

p. 95 "The sinck a pace galliarde."



r=1 *p.4* "Queene Maries dump." Passamezzo antico.



25 *p. 5*

29

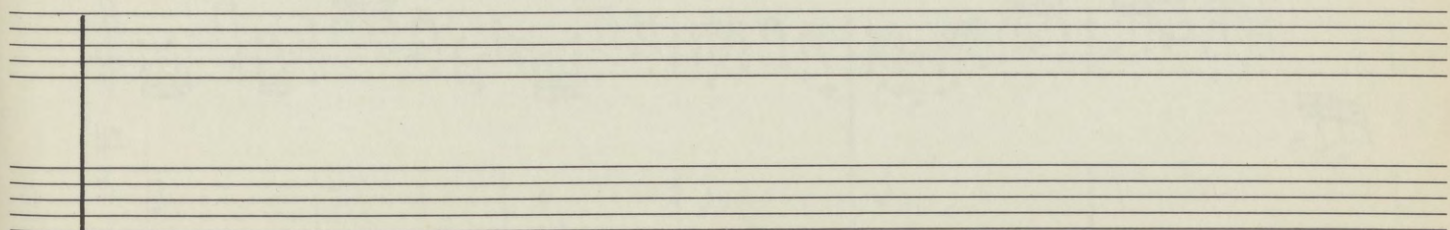
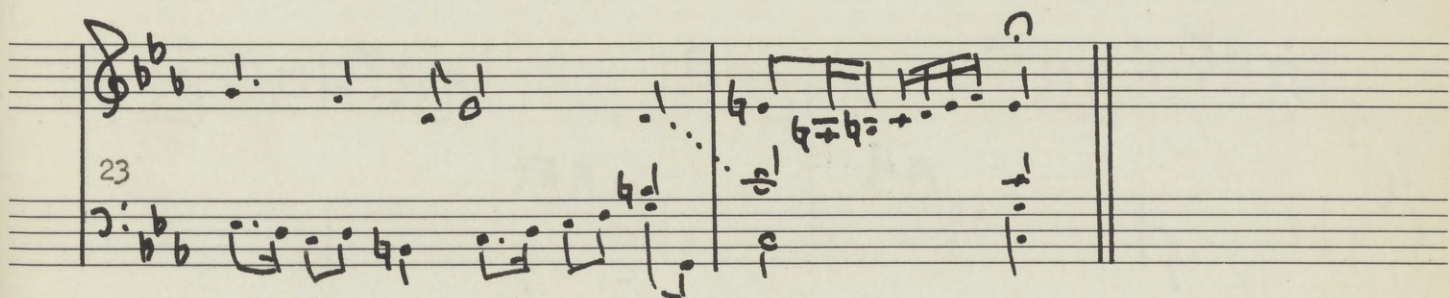
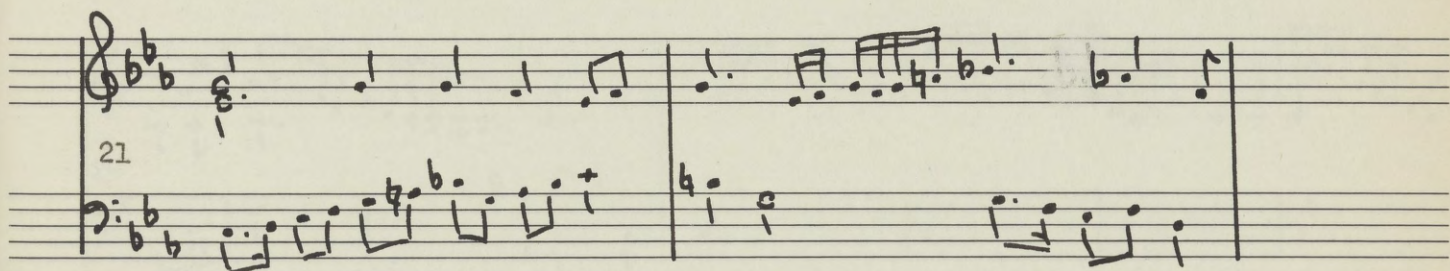
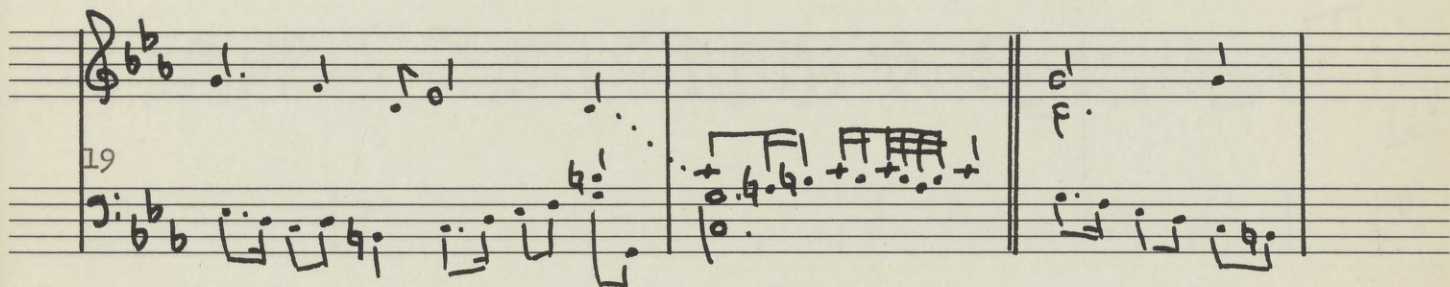
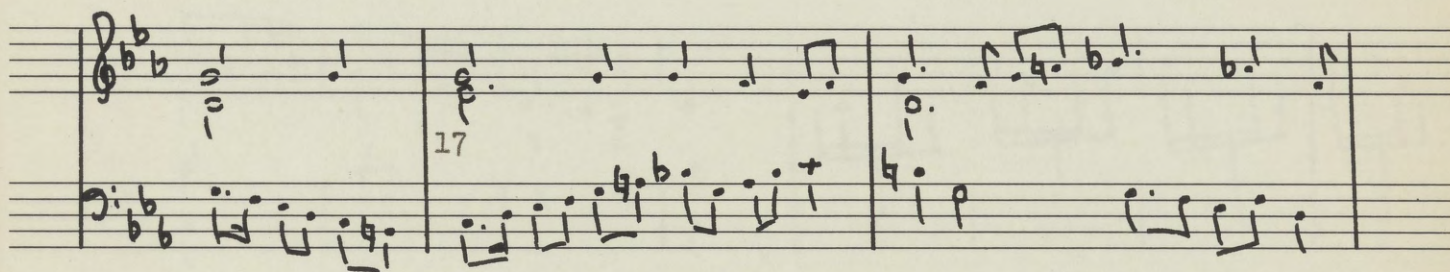
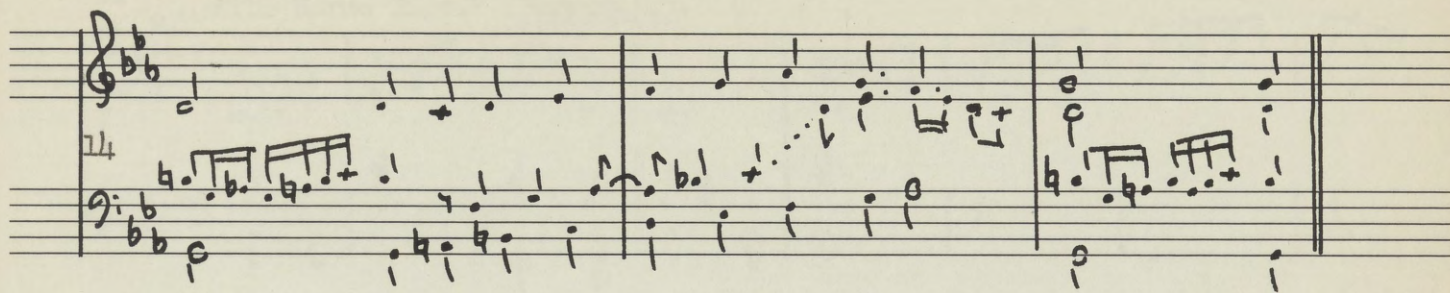
Mr. Mathias his Galiard."

(3/2)

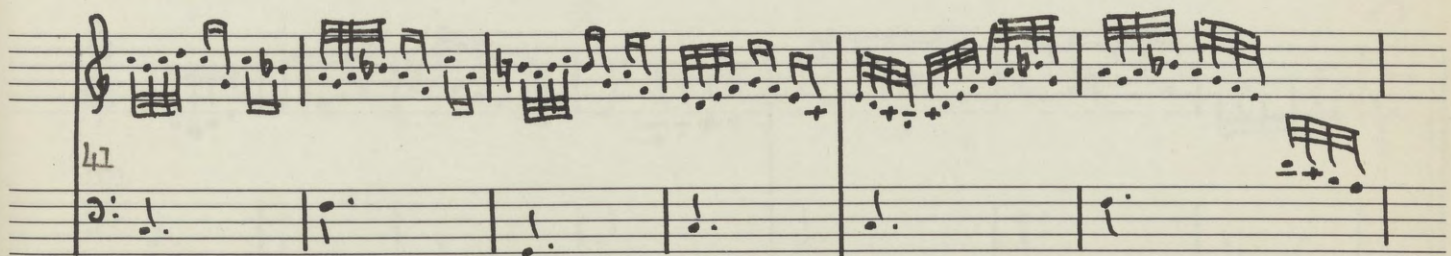
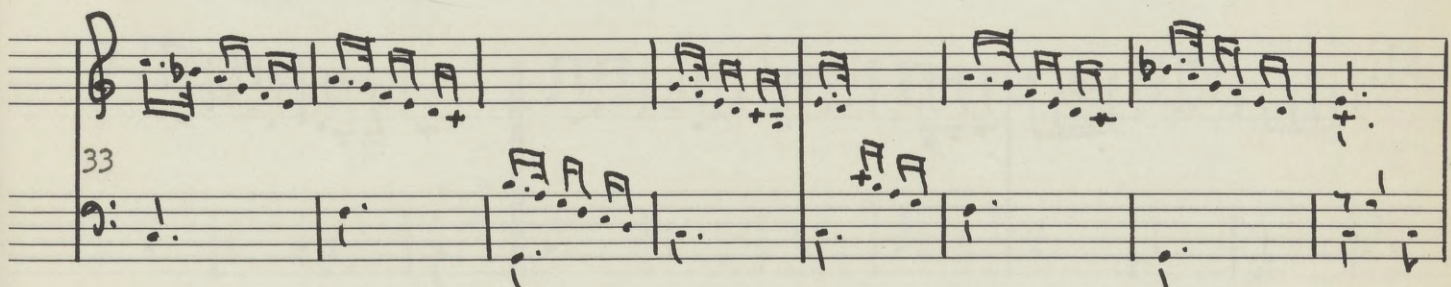
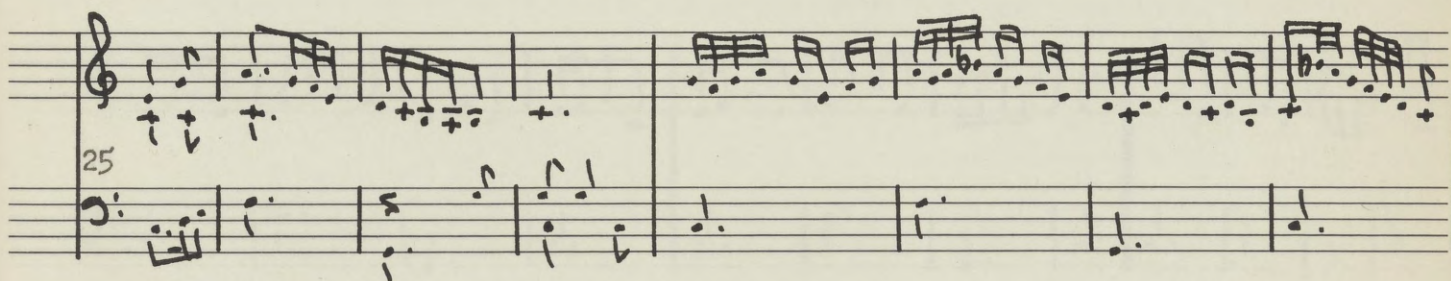
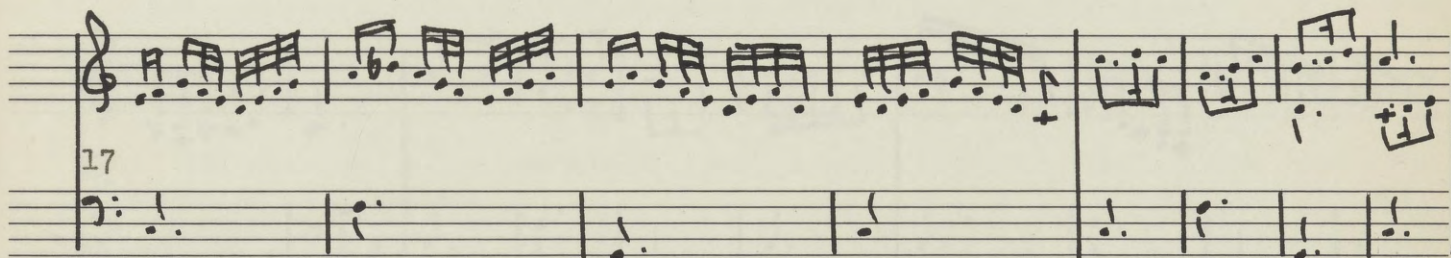
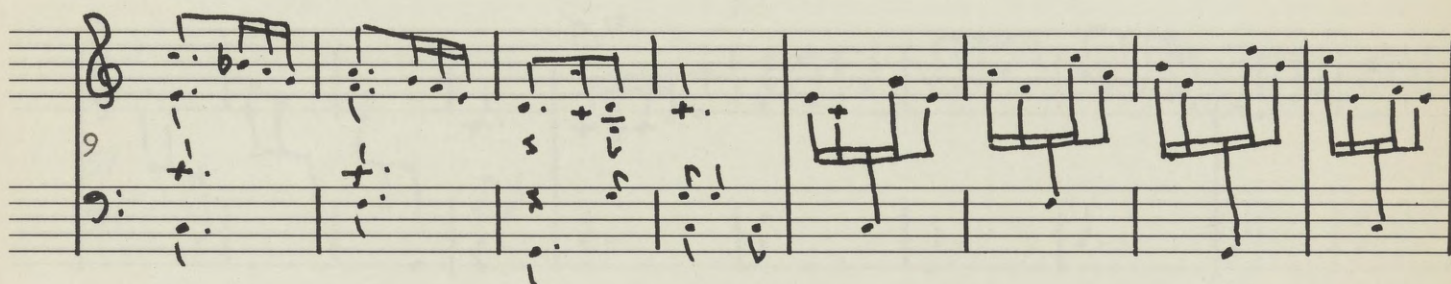
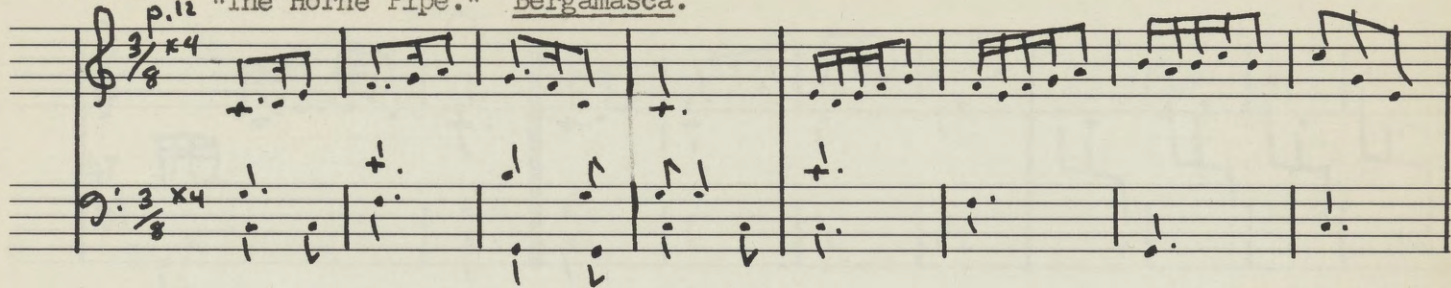
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7

10



p. 12 "The Horne Pipe." Bergamasca.



Handwritten musical notation, measures 47-56. The system consists of a treble and bass staff. Measure 47 is marked with a treble clef and a bass clef. The notation includes various rhythmic values and accidentals.

Handwritten musical notation, measures 57-66. The system consists of a treble and bass staff. Measure 57 is marked with a treble clef and a bass clef. A handwritten annotation "p. 13" is present above the treble staff in measure 60.

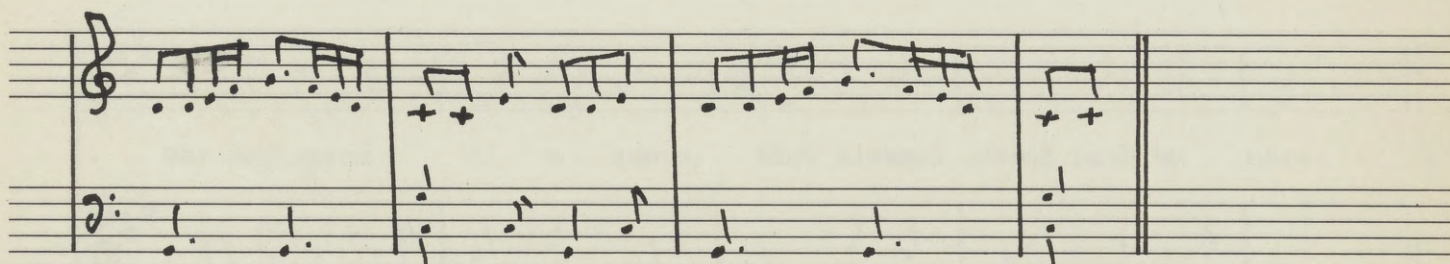
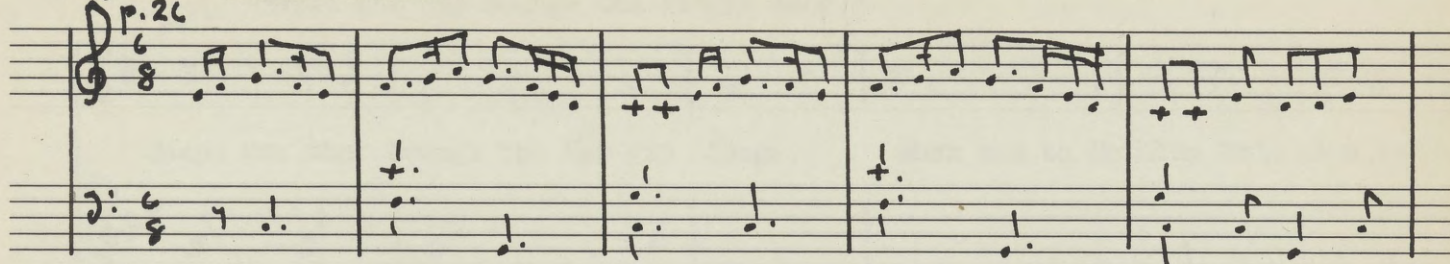
Handwritten musical notation, measures 67-76. The system consists of a treble and bass staff. Measure 67 is marked with a treble clef and a bass clef. The notation includes various rhythmic values and accidentals.

Handwritten musical notation, measures 77-88. The system consists of a treble and bass staff. Measure 77 is marked with a treble clef and a bass clef. The notation includes various rhythmic values and accidentals.

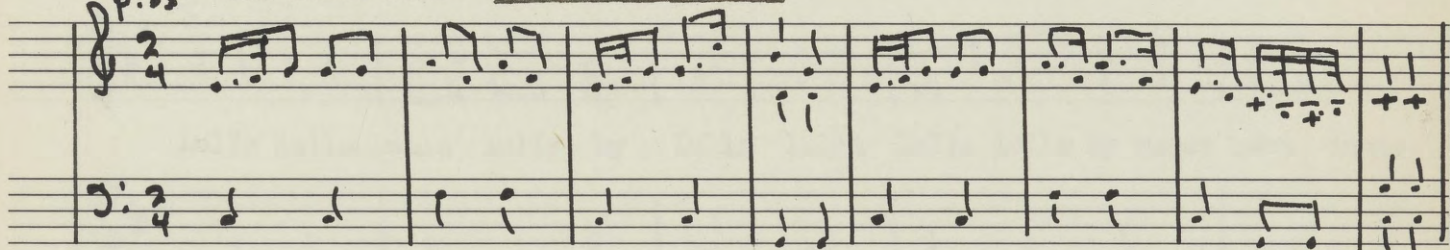
Handwritten musical notation, measures 89-100. The system consists of a treble and bass staff. Measure 89 is marked with a treble clef and a bass clef. The notation includes various rhythmic values and accidentals.

Handwritten musical notation, measures 101-110. The system consists of a treble and bass staff. Measure 101 is marked with a treble clef and a bass clef. The notation includes various rhythmic values and accidentals.

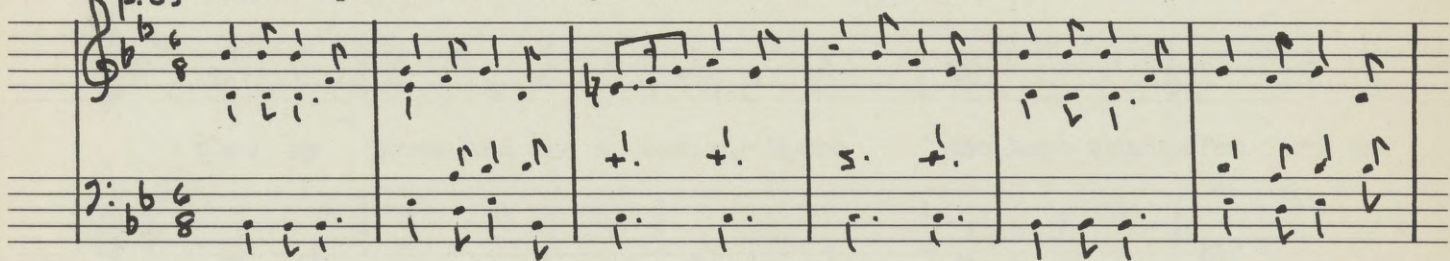
p. 26 "Robin Reddock."



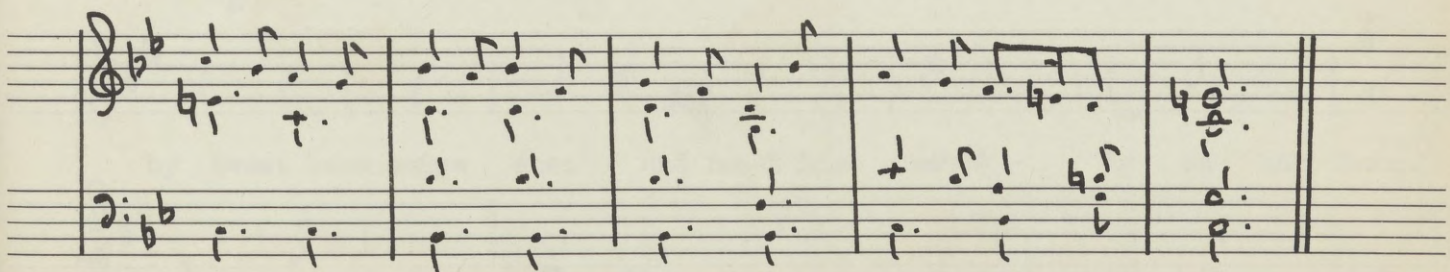
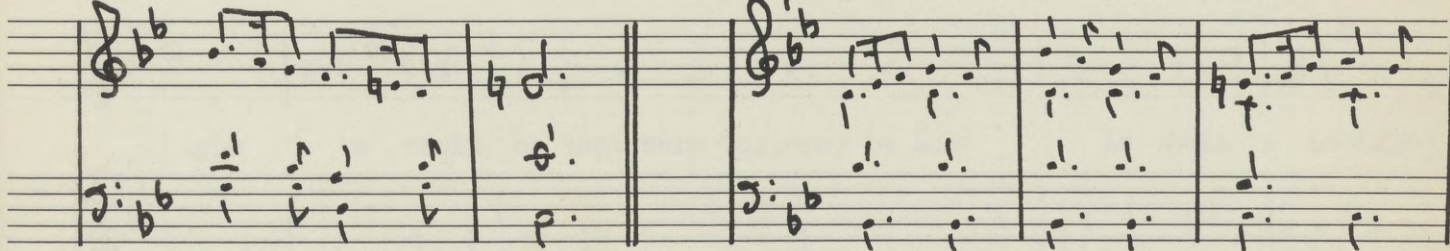
p. 33 "The owlde man." Passamezzo moderno.



p. 83 Unnamed piece. = "Will you walk the woods so wild?"

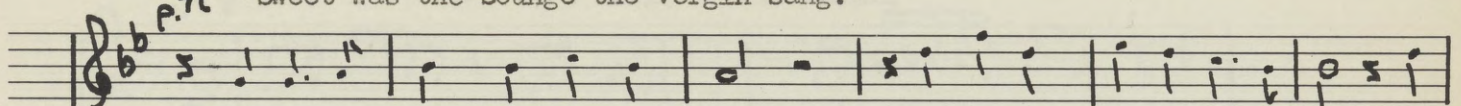


p. 84 "The woods." = The same.

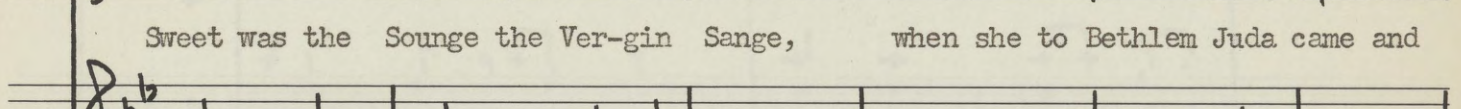


"Sweet was the Sounge the Vergin sang."

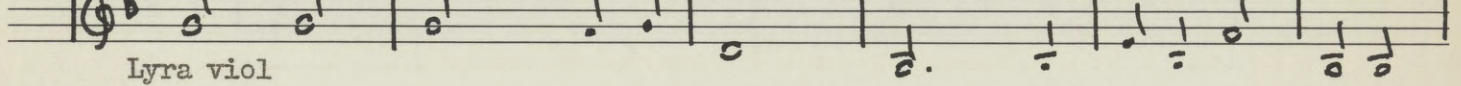
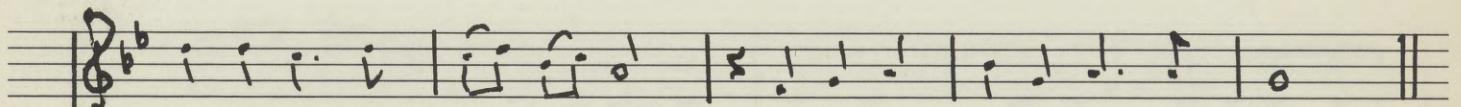
P. 71



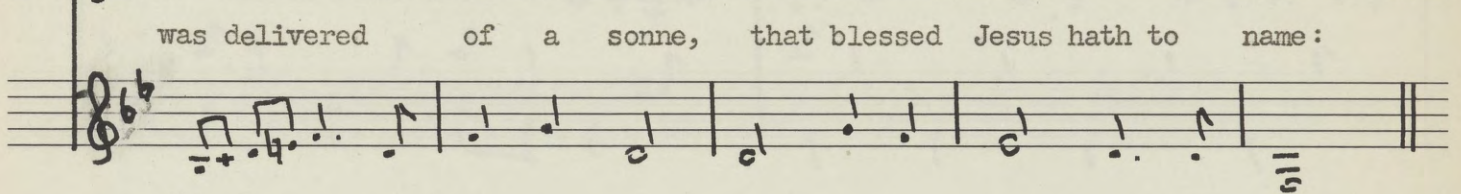
Sweet was the Sounge the Ver-gin Sange, when she to Bethlem Juda came and



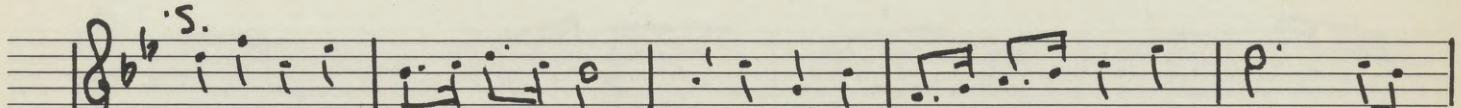
Lyra viol

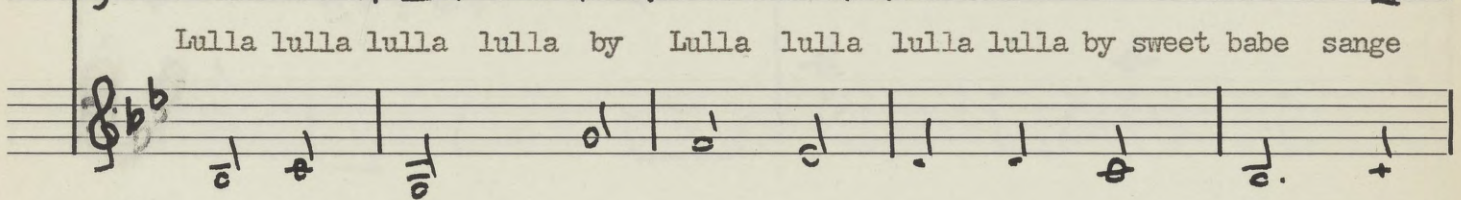
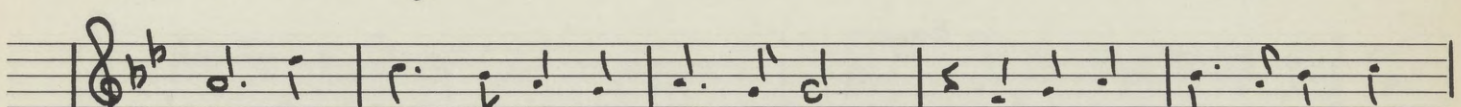
was delivered of a sonne, that blessed Jesus hath to name:



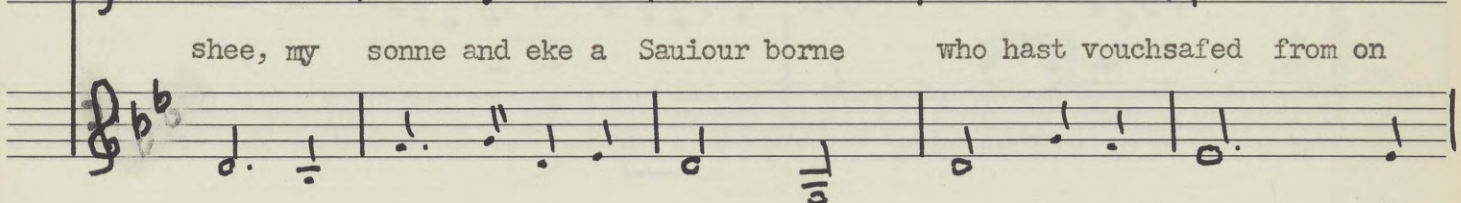
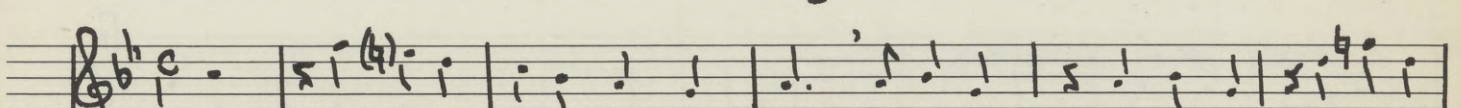
S.



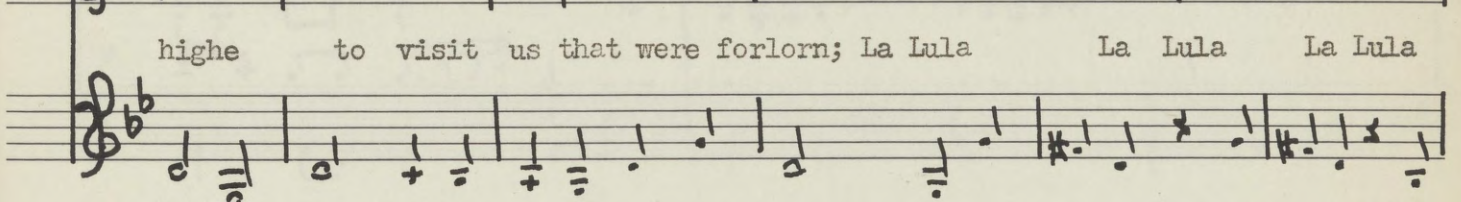
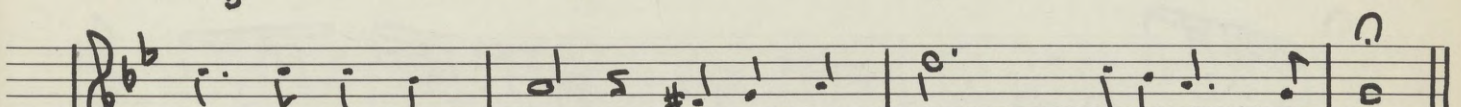
Lulla lulla lulla lulla by Lulla lulla lulla lulla by sweet babe sange

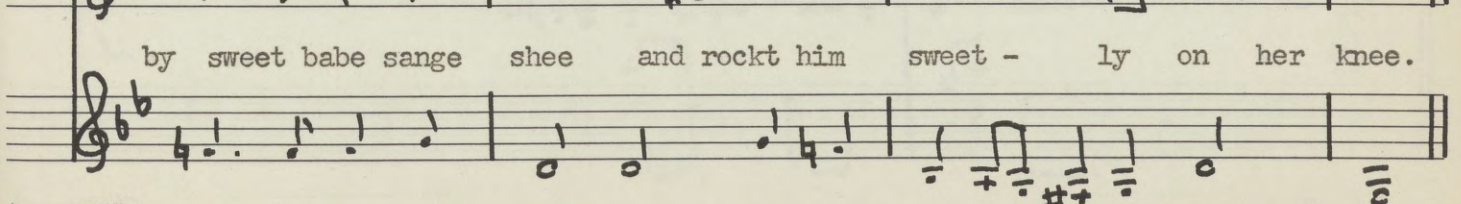
shee, my sonne and eke a Sauour borne who hast vouchsafed from on

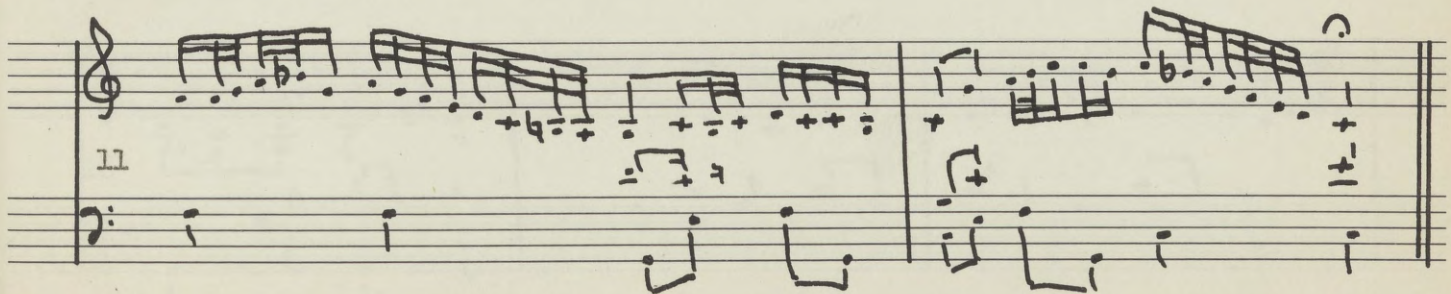
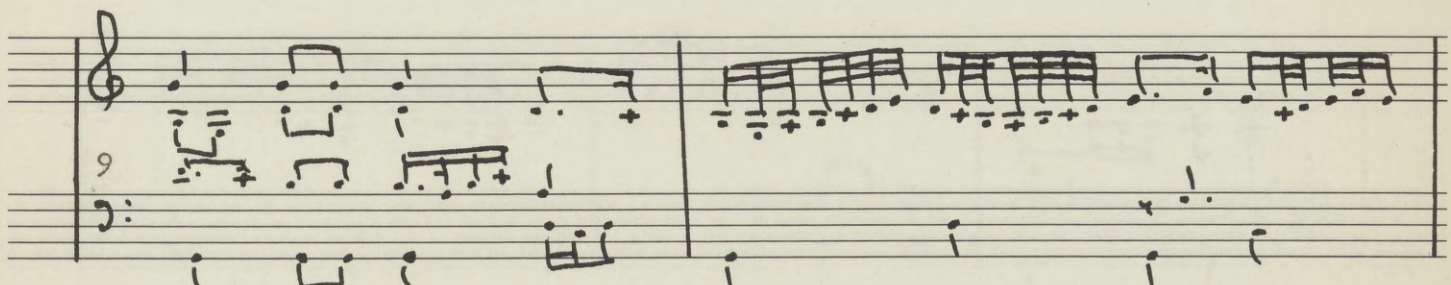
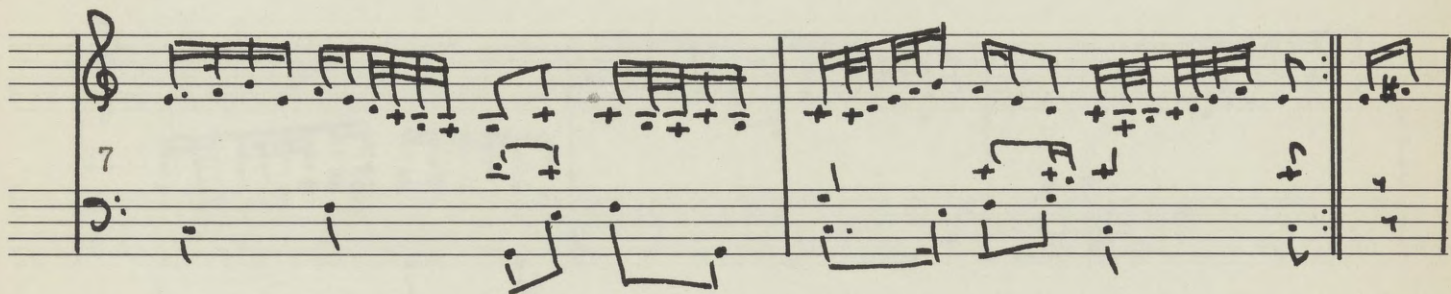
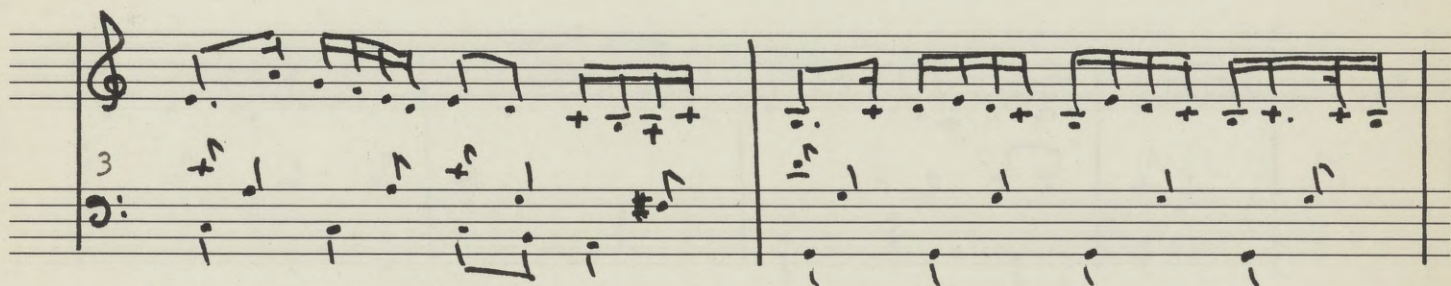
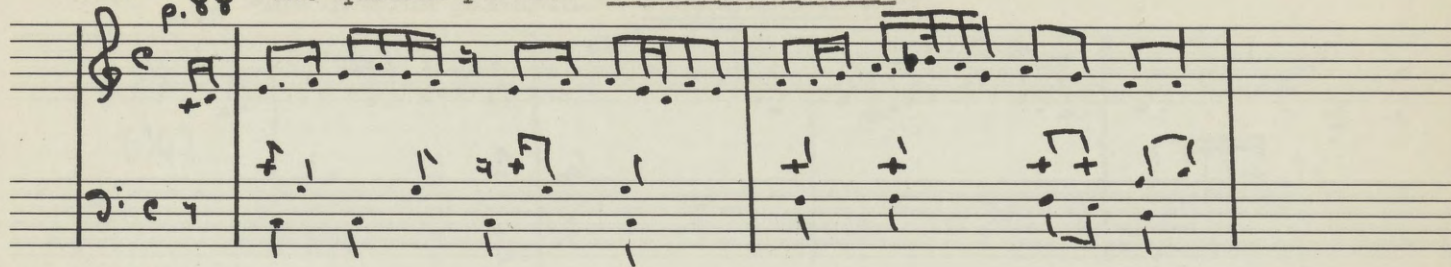
highe to visit us that were forlorn; La Lula La Lula La Lula

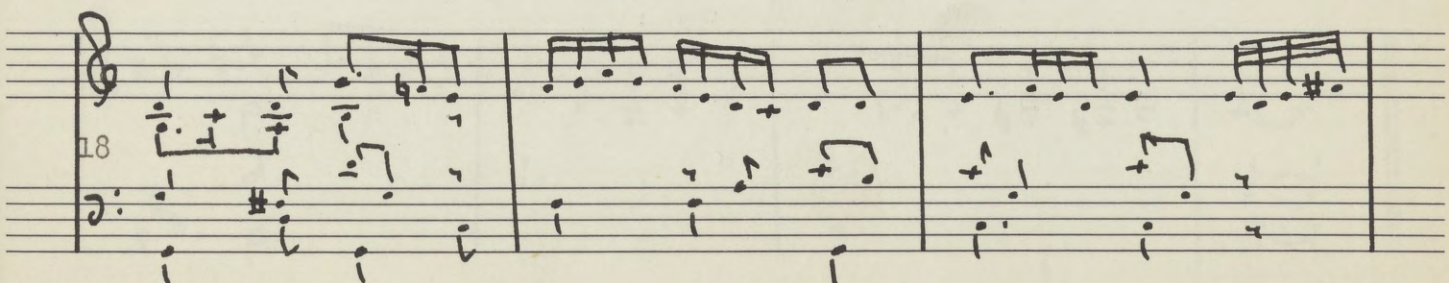
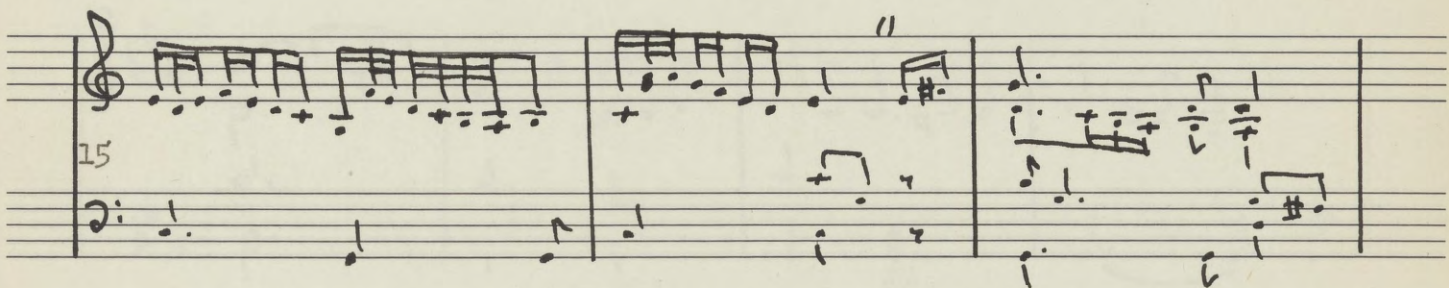
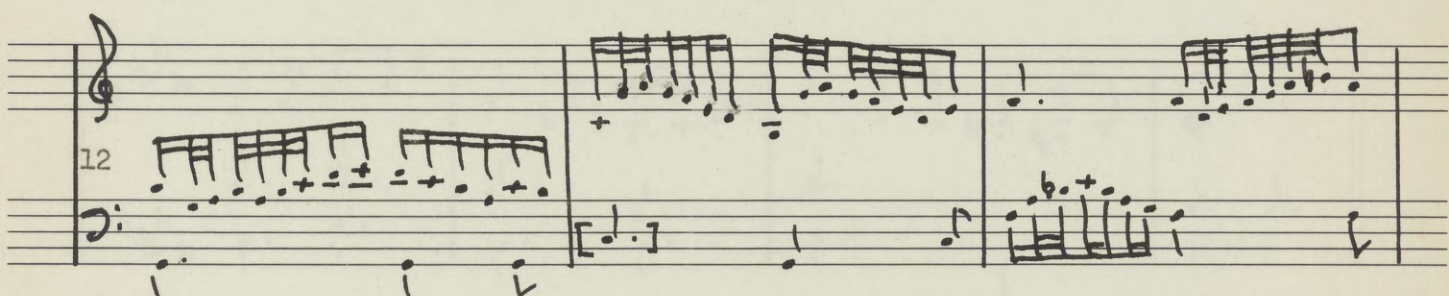
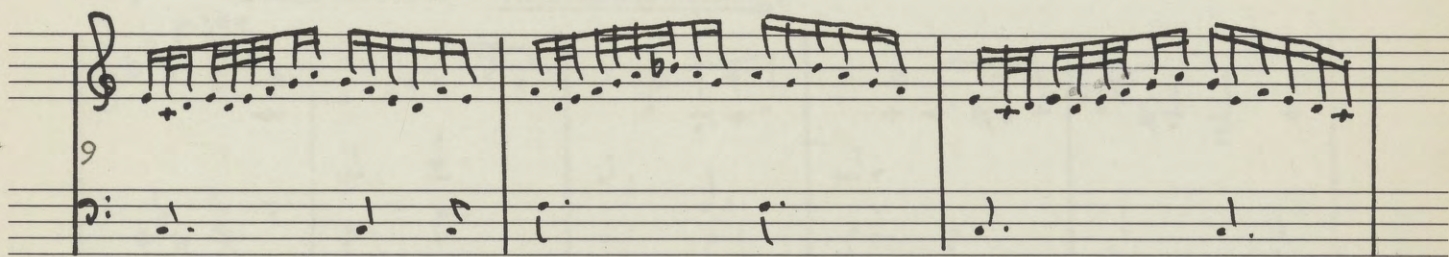
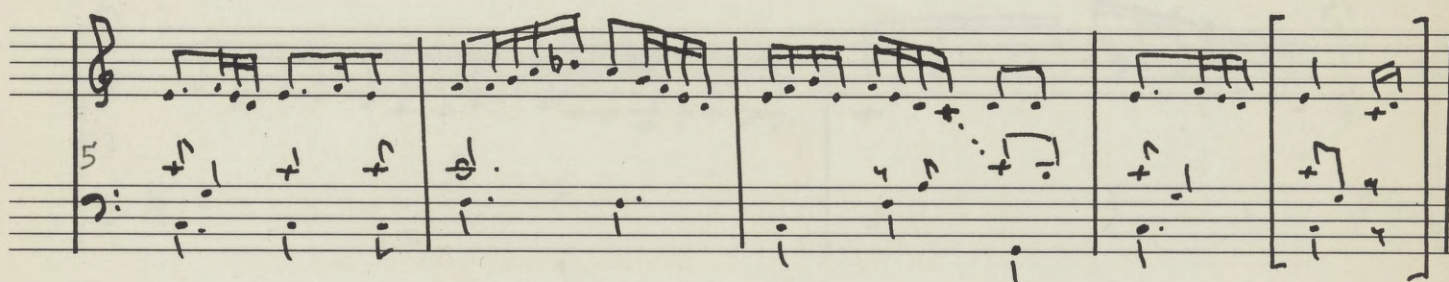
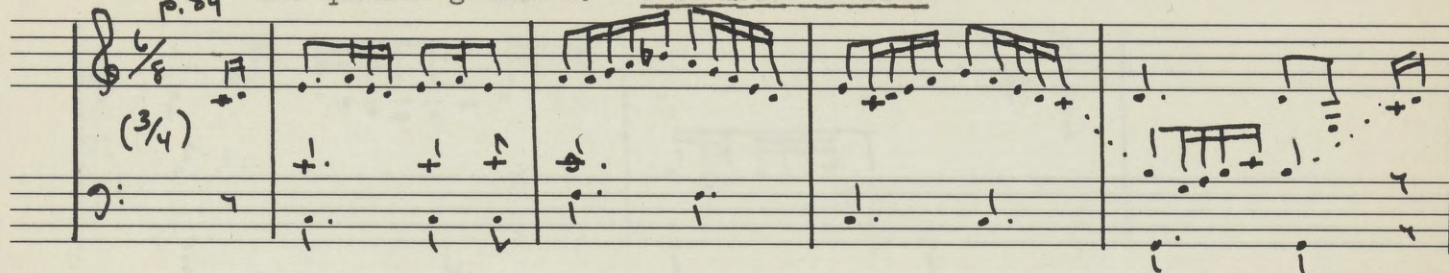



by sweet babe sange shee and rockt him sweet - ly on her knee.



$r = .1$ p. 88 "The quadran paven." Passamezzo moderno.



p. 89 "The quadran galliard." Passamezzo moderno.

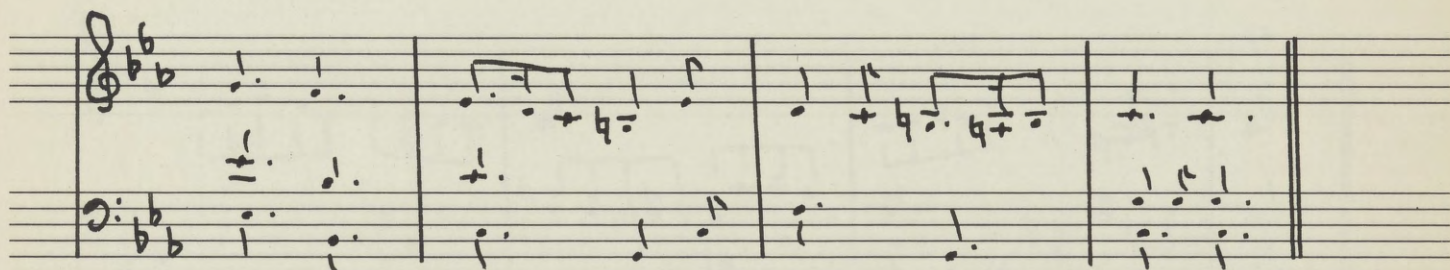
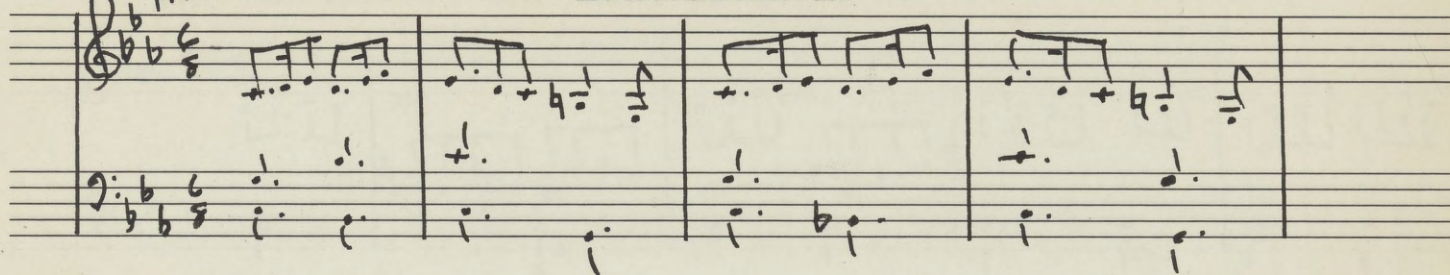
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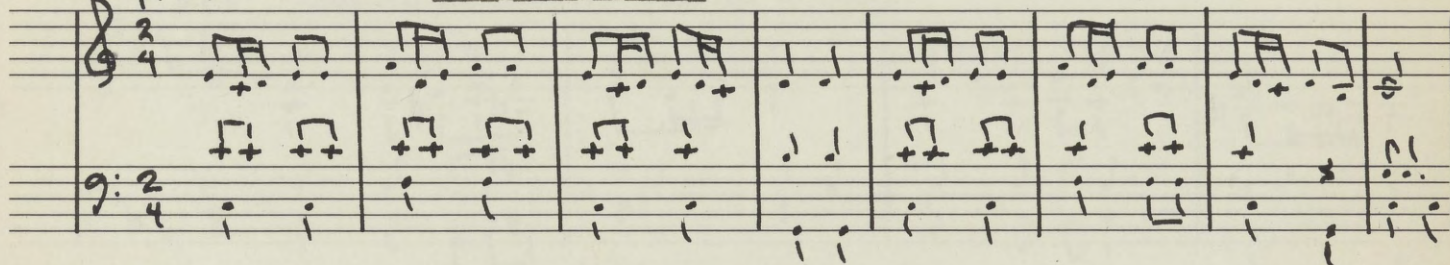
r=1 "Greene sleeves." Passamezzo antico.

p. 104

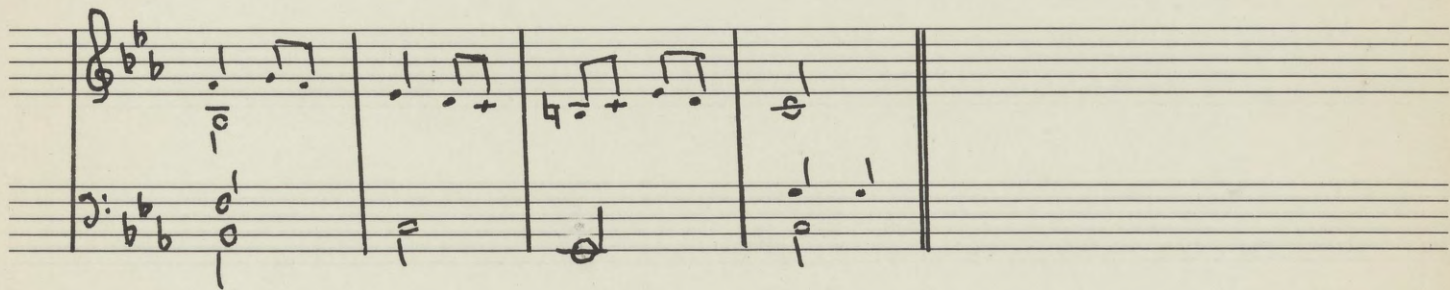
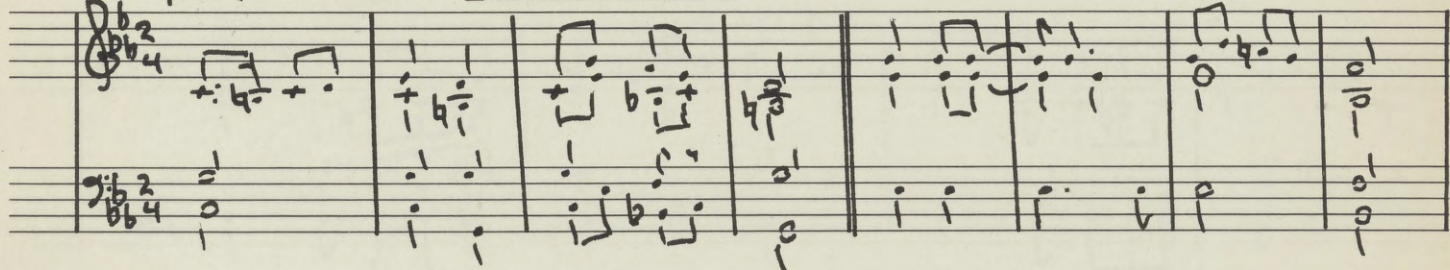
$\text{r} = 1$ p. 104 "Trike my Wheele." Passamezzo antico variant.



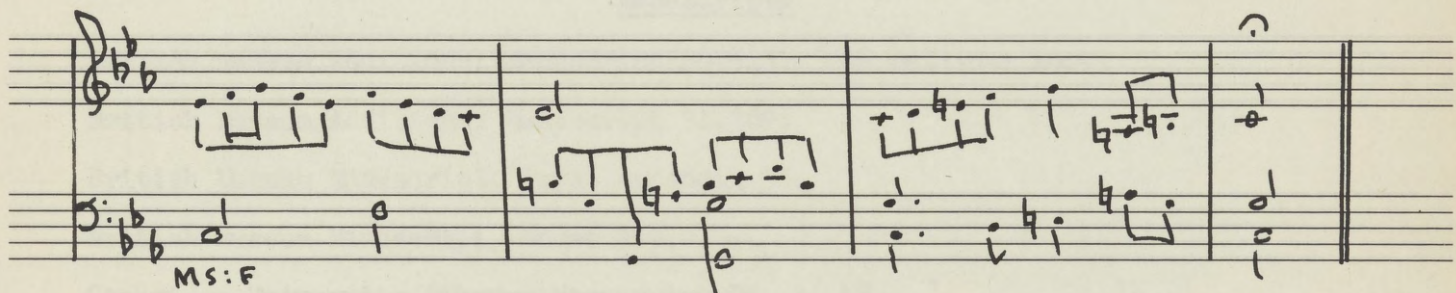
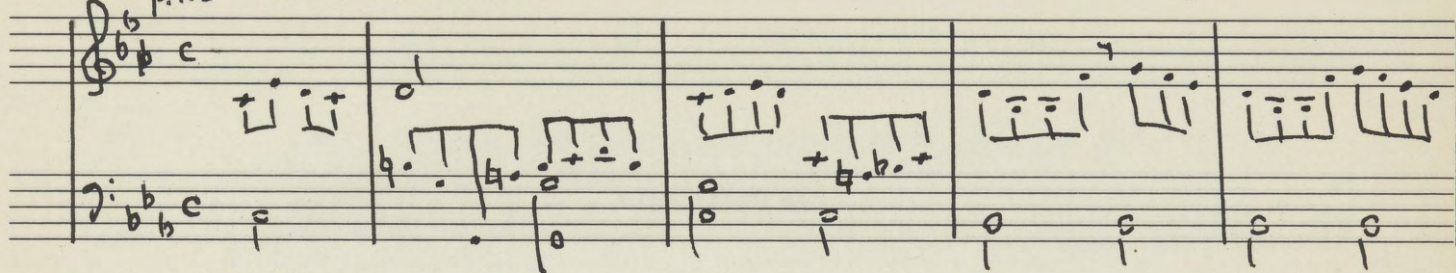
$\text{r} = 5$ p. 104 "Buffons." Passamezzo modern.



$\text{r} = 1$ p. 104 "Fortune." Passamezzo antico variant.

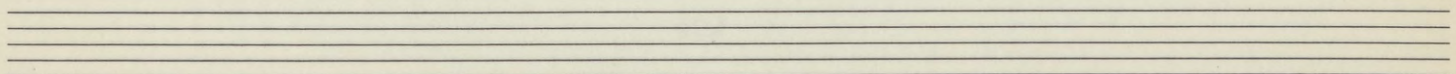
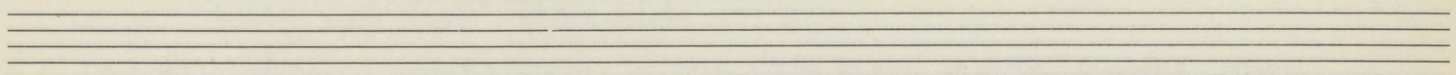
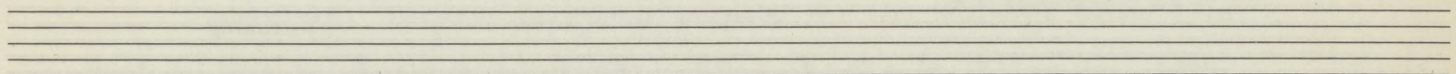
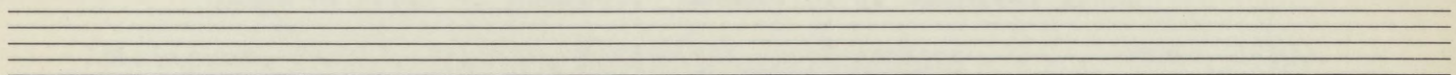
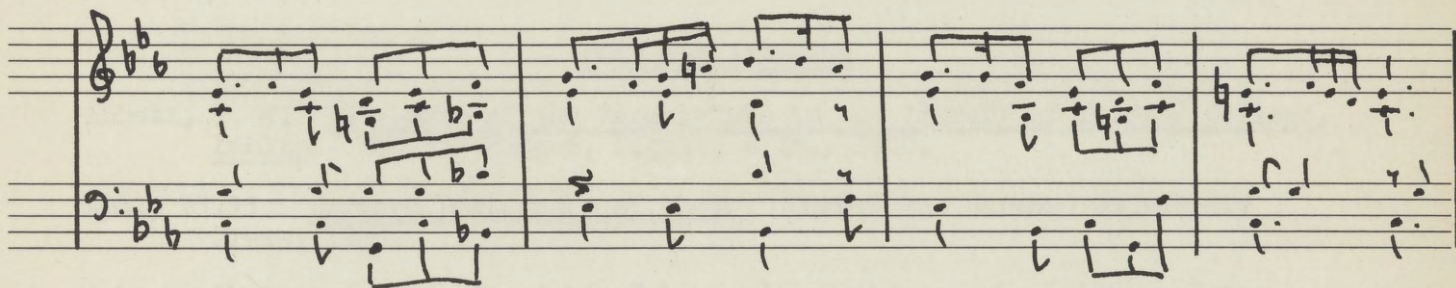
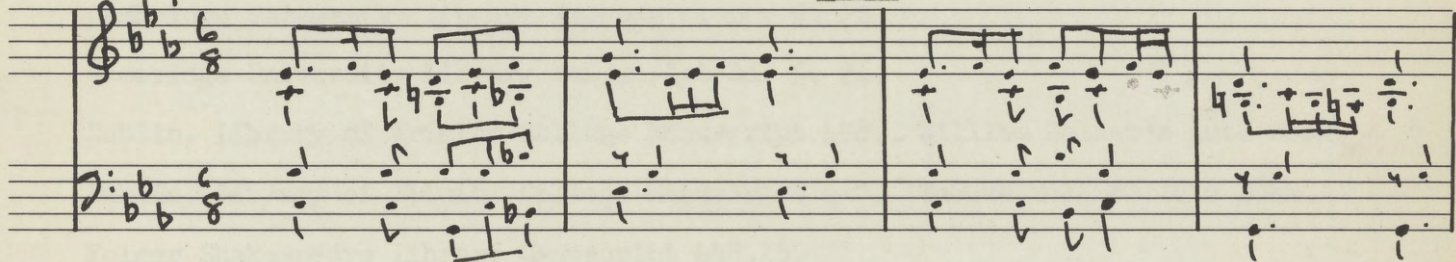


$\tau = \sigma$ p. 112 "The Spanish pavin."



MS: F

$\tau = \sigma$ p. 112 "Wigmores galliarde." Related to folia.



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