Robin Rolfhamre
M.mus. University of Agder, 2010

The Popular Lute
An Investigation of the Function and Performance of Music in France between 1650 and 1700

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To myself, I am only a child playing on the beach
while vast oceans of truth lie undiscovered before me

Isaac Newton
I wish to dedicate this thesis to two persons: Prof Phil Dr Per Kjetil Farstad for being a good friend, an inspiration and for introducing me to the wonderful world of research and baroque music; and my wife Ingunn Johnsen Rolfhamre for enriching my life and supporting me throughout this project. Thank you, both of you.
Abstract

In this project I wish to establish a seventeenth century popular concept focusing on the lute in France between 1650 and 1700. By promoting a more culturally based understanding of French lute music, I try to unveil some of its functions as social phenomena. The argument takes a starting point in Robert Middleton’s popular as presented in his book *Studying popular music* (1990), together with selected writings by Foucault; and from that I map different cultural groupings within the French society as to unveil how lute music was articulated. Following, I investigate how the construction of musician and music fits into and fulfil the conception of seventeenth century popular music that I propose. This study presents an internally contradictory concept of lute music that participates in dialogues between internal and external, self and other, individual and society.

Key words

Popular music; seventeenth century; lute; French society; cultural studies; performance studies.

Chapters

1 Introduction. *Part I Towards a concept of popular:* Chapter 2 Theoretical framework; Chapter 3 Towards a seventeenth century popular. *Part II Towards a construct of musician:* Chapter 4 Designing performers. *Part III Towards a construct of music:* Chapter 5 A popular vocabulary of ornamentation; Chapter 6 Tablatures and the musical work; Chapter 7 Improvisation and musical realization. Chapter 8 Conclusion; Appendix I; Appendix II; List of figures; List of tables; List of music examples; Bibliography.
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Chapter 1.

Introduction

And so I carry on a musical tradition, caught in its culminating moment: seventeenth-century French lute music, whose quality and perfection was inversely proportional to its diffusion. Rarely has any music been so inaccessible, so surrounded by mythology, legend, metaphysics, and elitism, so essentially unpopular as French lute music of this period. Probably never since that time has such beautiful music been performed for so few people.

—Rolf Lislevand (2003). La belle homicide [CD booklet]

There are some aspects of the foundation of my dissertation that has to be addressed before this thesis can unfold. In fact, several of those topics can be found inherent in the above citation, which is to be found in the booklet of Lislevand’s previously mentioned CD. Let me linger on this quote for a while before I address my own position as scholar and how I have proceeded to gain proper knowledge for this project. First of all, he begins by saying ‘And so I carry on a musical tradition’. There are today two major contributors to how lute music is performed: a performance tradition being sustained by performers seeking inspiration from each other, and a scholarly tradition based on historical texts (being interpreted by the scholar or the performer). This thesis will place all focus on the text approach, leaving subjects concerning performer traditions for future projects. I will discuss the empirical material later on so I will not linger anymore on this particular phrase. Following, notice the beginning of the second line where it says ‘seventeenth-century French lute music’. The label seventeenth-century is in fact quite problematic as it actually involves
one hundred years of style development — a period time marking the transition from renaissance to baroque. Susan McClary (2012) pinpoints some important problems concerning baroque music research in general. First of all, seventeenth century studies seems to focus more on the first half of the century and the eighteenth century studies is often stretched well into the seventeenth and nineteenth century. Thus we often find the knowledge of later seventeenth century music in a grey area somewhere in the gap between the frameworks of major scholarly works. As of that, I will focus on the period of time between 1650 and 1700 — a time where the pronounced French cultural *ethos* influenced several European countries. McClary also points to the problem of the importance Bach has received. Often Bach has been used as the correct model on which earlier styles and genres are measured against. This is clearly a problem as any such logic falls apart.

Returning to Lislevand’s text above, at the last part of the second line and the beginning of the third we find a suggestion that French lute music’s perfection was equal to its diffusion. This is an interesting statement and I suspect, based on his phrasing in the following lines, that he intends an interpretation of the word diffusion more close to the meaning of scattering (i.e. spreading something more widely); thus, we can read that music somehow was too perfect to be spread. This raises questions: Can music be too perfect? Can music be so perfect that few understand its value? I think this is a claim that many sub-genres throughout history, whether we assign them to jazz, rock or pop, has tried to maintain.¹ I think that the elitist assumption that music is too perfect to be understood, no matter what genre, falls apart by its own claim: *How do we define perfect music? Who defines perfect music? What is it ‘more perfect’ than? To suggest that one sort of music is perfect is to say that others are imperfect; perfect is a negating description of music that is formed and defined by the one making the assertion.* Following such logic, I argue that a discussion of music’s

¹ David Hesmondhalgh argues, in a paper entitled ‘Talking about good and bad music’ (2003), that although some attempts has been done to address musical taste, some theoretical (exemplified by Simon Frith among others) and some empirical (exemplified by Tia DeNora among others), there is still need for further studies of musical taste.
diffusion, to use Lislevand’s term, must rather focus on the construct of society itself by cultural, sociological and political means. I maintain that we are much better off putting elitist considerations aside, constructing music from within society. By searching across hierarchies in an act of unveiling articulations in the popular music scene, I believe that we can form a more nuanced picture of seventeenth century music.²

We can also interpret diffusion (although unlikely) as from the adjective diffused (in the sense of unclear). If so, then we can read that the music was equally perfected as unclear (I do not think this is what Lislevand intends, but let us nonetheless continue). This brings to mind several subjects worthy of investigation. First of all, it soon becomes clear for performers of the lute that without relying on research, the tablature often makes little sense (thus, making the textual mediation of French lute music diffused). French baroque lute music seems to be founded on a slightly different kind of logic than other competing music traditions at the time (e.g. the Italian or German style). Or as another lutenist of today, Anthony Bailes, puts it: ‘the music plays on the border between sound and no sound’ (Bailes, 1984). Further, in the second half of the quote at the beginning, we find descriptive words that bring this diffusion out of the tablature and into society: ‘inaccessible [...] surrounded by mythology, legend, metaphysics, and elitism’. It becomes clear then that in order to understand lute music we cannot only consider its tablature. We must also come closer to an understanding of extra musical matters such as gendering, visuality, religion and politics (in addition to those mentioned above). Perhaps it is by a lack of understanding of seventeenth century French logic in lute music among the general audience — resulting in its mystification — it has not been more widely spread in today’s musical scene. Also its close relation to an especially interested audience of modern scholars can perhaps explain why this repertoire, as Lislevand writes, ‘[n]ever since that time has [...] been performed for so few people’. Therefore I believe it is necessary to attempt to, so to say,

² If the sentence in the Lislevand citation above had been ‘whose quality and perfection [is] inversely proportional to its diffusion’ rather than ‘[...] was [...]’, we would perhaps understand better the validity of such an argument, although it is still problematic.
de-mystify French lute music and gain further knowledge of the music as part of a late seventeenth century society.

Based on those issues I have discussed so far and the available published material (discussed later), I have formulated two questions that this thesis will seek to clarify. First of all: where is seventeenth century French popular music positioned within society? And, what was its function? When addressing these issues, my intended audience is three-fold. First, I wish to present an alternative starting point for traditionally focused French lute music scholars, offering a different way path to investigate. Secondly, I wish to provide a tool for lute performers by which they can gain further understanding of the music and perhaps receive inspiration for their own musical practice. Finally, I wish to widen the popular music field of study by bringing into focus the contributions made by French lute music.

**Position and methodology**

Popular music studies has sprung out from a long tradition of reading music through the spectacles of cultural sociology, but since the mid-twentieth century much has been done to provide popular music with an academic voice that comes with a set of methodologies that can extract the richness and diversity, not only of the popular, but also of ourselves within a musical context. A great number of scholars have turned to the theoretical practice of *articulation* in order to address the field of popular music topographically. This is to reach music from across musical, political and social borders as to unveil a more realistic sense of musical communities rather than simply being led by constructed socio-political terms. Early popular music *scene theory* brought up the question of *space and place* in order to address how popular music was received. When it was first introduced in the late twentieth century it offered an alternative to subcultural theory; an alternative that sought to formalize musical boundaries and alliances without being much too restricted by matters such as class, ethnicity and generation. Repercussions of this focus on space and place can be seen in
the constitution of other pronounced research areas such as branding\(^3\), globalisation and glocalisation.\(^4\) Another influential subject, in terms of what popular music studies has now become, is gender studies that became a pronounced field within popular music studies during the 1970’s and 80’s (through scholars such as McClary and Leppert whom I will return to throughout this project). Starting off by focusing more on femininity it later encompassed studies on masculinity and queerness as well. Judith Butler’s gender theorisations, employing models of performance and performativity (most notably in Gender trouble from 1990), became an important foundation for the 1990’s crystallization of queer theory. In extension to bringing performance and performativity into popular music discourse, several scholars have become concerned with the body, or discourses on the body, which ultimately has brought much attention to dance cultures in the twenty-first century. Some of these tendencies to focus on the body have also led to a more recent field of study called audiovisuality. In our modern multi-medial society, audiovisuality has now become a recognised field of study where the relation between what we hear and what we see in audiovisual media has been fully recognised, much due to contributions from scholars such as Michel Chion, Natalie Gorbman, Claudia Vernallis and John Richardson (Scott, 2009, pp. 1-22).

In such a diverse academic landscape, my task is perhaps not strictly to define or defend popular music in the seventeenth century, but rather to localise my application of popular music within that period (see Chapter 2 and 3). As I find much interest in several of the topics that popular music studies has brought to the academic agenda, I have so found the discipline of popular musicology, a sub-branch of critical musicology, to provide a much useful outset for my project. On the website of the online journal Critical musicology: a transdisciplinary online journal we find a

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\(^3\) Branding refers to products that are manufactured by a specific company under a specific name, and how a brand is perceived by consumers.

\(^4\) Glocalisation is a combination of the words ‘localisation’ and ‘globalisation’ and refers to globally distributed products that are adapted to local specifications, such as local laws, customs or consumer interests.
definition of critical musicology reading: ‘[…] n. 1. A form of musicology which applies aspects of Critical Theory as practiced within other humanities disciplines to music. 2. A form of musicology which involves the theoretical critique of previous musicological traditions’. According to Stan Hawkins, critical musicology is one that acknowledges the ‘need to explore musical texts within an everyday changing social climate’; one that takes political, philosophical and contextual discourses into account when performing analyses. It is also one that addresses ‘[i]ssues of class, gender and race in music by addressing the dimensions of production, reception and positioning of the Subject’; and one that considers different cultures out from their own social conditions, also recognizing diversity rather than simply falling into binary assumptions, aesthetic hierarchies and canonicity. Critical musicology is a scholarly practice that employs interdisciplinary approaches as to unveil intertextual meaning as well music’s function with a constantly developing society. All in all, ‘the [critical musicological] interpretation of any single text is based on an understanding of the juxtaposition of a range of discourses’ (Hawkins, 2002, pp. 25-29). Popular musicology follows much the same assumptions and interests as critical musicology only that it focuses on popular music.

In order to secure that I follow a critical approach to the selected material, I have let myself be guided from Derek B. Scott’s book From the erotic to the demonic (2003) where he poses ten methodological questions (Scott, 2003, pp. 4-7):

1. Why does it sound the way it does?
2. What does it mean or express?
3. What is its instrumentation, and does it affect its status?
4. Under what circumstance was it produced?
5. To whom was it addressed?
6. In what environment is it experienced, and does it affect its status?

7. How is the music disseminated, and how does this affect its status?
8. What have past and present critics said and what have past and present audiences done?
9. Has this musical style, or this particular piece of music, been used to illustrate an artistic movement?
10. Who is marketing it and why?

In the process of deciding how to approach the lute in the most fruitful way, there has been some key works that has influenced and formed my methodology. The first, and perhaps most important, was Richard Middleton’s *Studying popular music* (1990) where I found much inspiration both in terms of his critical approach and in his theorisation. Other works that has influenced my approach is that of Derek B Scott’s *From the erotic to the demonic: on critical musicology* (2003) and Susan McClary’s *Feminine endings* (2002). More recently I have also had my approach shaped by McClary’s *Desire and pleasure in seventeenth century music* (2012) and the newly revised *The cultural study of music: a critical introduction* (2012) by Martin Clayton, Trevor Herbert and Richard Middleton (eds.). These works will follow me throughout my argumentation. The fact that the baroque era was something else than the music industry as we know it today, has in some cases forced me to appropriate methodologies to fit my purposes. Alan Moore’s *Song means: analysing and interpreting recorded popular song* (2012), for instance, focuses on modern media as text and develops methodologies for interpreting the recorded song. But the nature of my project, discussing then and not now, makes some of Moore’s methodologies more or less impossible to practice without alteration. There are simply no musical recordings from that time to consider. They have, however, provided me with an analytical focus that has proven quite useful, in order to look beyond the semiotics of the notated music.

As there are, at least to my knowledge, no major work treating French baroque lute music between 1650 and 1700 in a social context (not only providing the so called
historical context), I felt it necessary to address the field as a whole. The question of music’s role in society inevitably raises many questions of politics, religion, gender and musical production. But it is not hard to see that it is quite an impossible achievement to ‘do it all’ within one doctoral dissertation, especially considering the project’s time frame of three years. Still, focusing on one discipline alone would not satisfy my wish to understand popular music as part of society. The answer became clear for me that I wanted to address the greater picture, or as Nicholas Cook amusingly puts it: ‘[...] nobody without a taste for the impossible should become a musicologist’ (Cook, 2012, p. 186). The output of this project can thus be seen as staking out a course, so to say, offering a different starting point for future projects. (I will soon return to the reason why I maintain that a new starting point is necessary.) One restriction, however, is of such a vital nature that it must be mentioned at an early stage as it may provoke misunderstandings. Throughout this project I am only considering popular music in late seventeenth century France. I do not claim that it should be considered popular music today, but rather present a way in which we understand it as popular music at that point in time.

**Material**

Today new medias, web archives and free journal access has opened up a vast body of knowledge that forces me to make some empirical restrictions. First of all, I have throughout this thesis focused mainly on Anglophone scholarly publications. As this doctoral dissertation is part of a popular music performance program I have naturally taken a scholarly starting point in works related to the subject. Second, as a scholar at the University of Agder I have had the fortune to gain access to several databases (such as Jstor) of scholarly work. These databases has been my primary source for acquiring articles and essays with a few exceptions that I have been given access to through my colleagues and professors. Among these I have also narrowed my search focusing on research published within the last 50 years or so where more recent publications has
been emphasised. This time frame has not been randomly chosen. Lute research has appeared in waves in modern times. The two waves I wish to capture is, firstly, the body of work being produced between the 1960’s and 1980’s and, secondly, the wave we are experiencing today where the popularity of lute scholarship has come to light once more. Of course, there are some works treating the lute older than 50 years but much of them are today either out dated or to narrow in their considerations for the claims I wish to make in this thesis. Third, when purchasing books I have prioritised higher academic level publications (such as Oxford University Press, Ashgate, University of California Press). Finally, I have also focused on French primary sources (such as manuscripts, engravings and books) published in close proximity to the second half of the seventeenth century.

In the listing of my material restrictions above, one may notice that I do not mention physical visits to archives around Europe. This is a deliberate decision from my part. Since the lute community today itself is relatively small compared to the accompanying cultures around other instruments, it has emerged what I perceive as quite a generous culture of sharing material; in non peer-reviewed web sources, such as Scribd.com and through the Dartmouth based e-mailing list ‘Baroque lute list’ (baroque-lute@cs.dartmouth.edu), we find publications in .pdf formats that are otherwise difficult to maintain. Although the very format of sharing provokes questions of copyright making it difficult to reproduce as illustrations within the body of a scholarly publication, they unveil important information to consider. So, these types of sources, along with the above-mentioned material, provide plentiful information to consider. Some sources are easily accessed through digitalized archives, or through publishers such as Minkoff Reprint (that unfortunately has ceased to operate after the passing of its founder Sylvie Minkoff) and Tree Editions; however, among these accessible sources I meet with several examples that are rarely referred to in lute research. Already within the known material, we find ‘new’ sources that need to be brought into discourse. In this thesis, then, I have chosen to reconstruct and reinterpret known material rather than spending many hours buried in archives, especially since this thesis is not of a biographical nature. (Evidently, a biographical
work on the French lutenist Charles Mouton [1617-1699], for instance, of whom we know little about, would present a greater need of physical visits to archives.)

A project of this nature, given the size of the subject, cannot realistically claim to base itself solely on seventeenth century data — it has to build upon the work of other scholars. In that context, there are a few key works within the focus of my dissertation that must be mentioned. Susan McClary recently published a welcome contribution to seventeenth century musicology. Her *Desire and pleasure in 17th century music* (2012) employs semiotics and cultural contexts to unveil the social aspects of this music. Emphasis has clearly been put on early seventeenth century Italy, but there are no less than four out of ten chapters bringing later French music into focus. But as many fellow scholars she focuses on harpsichord and ensemble music (including opera). Although she mentions the guitar at two occasions discussing the chaconne, unfortunately she neglects the important contributions of the lute at this time (as argued by scholars such as David Ledbetter already in 1987). She reveals her unawareness of the lute particularly when writing ‘Beginning with [the French harpsichord player] Louis Couperin, an alternative solution appeared as the French unmeasured prelude’. Now, one does not have to look far to find the unmeasured prelude being standardised part of the lute repertoire long before the publications of Louis Couperin (1626-1661). Her book, then, fails to recognise the lute as the contributor it was in developing the French style. (Also when discussing the French flavour in Johann Sebastian Bach’s pieces, this book forgets to consider the lute. Per Kjetil Farstad (2005) argues that Bach had a considerable interest in the lute [he had two lute-harpsichords made as he could not play the lute himself], so again the lute could have provided important reflections on his style.) Nonetheless, there is much to gain from this publication. David Ledbetter, in his *Harpsichord and Lute Music in 17th-Century France* (1987), describes how the seventeenth century displayed a change of focus from lute to the harpsichord. This is not to say that the lute was not still popular at the end of the century, but it did not enjoy the same widespread use as seen in the renaissance. He argues that the lute and harpsichord styles were so strongly connected that in order to understand the works by Couperin, d’Anglebert and
Chambonières, one must understand the lute. Ledbetter’s research made an important contribution to the field as he pointed out the dialogue between the two instruments and presented the lute into a new context. Richard Leppert has unveiled, for example in his *The sight of sound: music, representation, and the history of the body* (1993), many important aspects in terms of music, gender and society that can be read out of images. Although I find some aspects of his methodology problematic (see Chapter 3), he has convincingly unveiled important relations that have aided my research — especially combined with the work of McClary and Michel Foucault’s two books *The history of sexuality: the will to knowledge* (1978/1998) and *Discipline and punish: the birth of the prison* (1977/1991). Elisabeth Aasen’s *Barokke damer* (2005) has also provided much inspiration and information during this process, especially in the early stages.

Turning to more pronounced French seventeenth century lute scholars in recent years, situated outside popular music studies and popular musicology, we find the greatest corpus of lute scholarship. A number of articles have been important in forming my approach towards the subject: Anthony Bailes article ‘An Introduction to French Lute Music of the XVIIth Century’ (1984); Anders Hammarlund’s article ‘Monsieur Mouton, lutan och civilisationsprocessen’ (2005); Kate van Orden’s ‘An Erotic Metaphysics of Hearing in Early Modern France’ (1998); and finally Carla Zecher’s ‘The Gendering of the Lute in Sixteenth-Century French Love Poetry’ (2000). The latter author has also presented a book project called *Sounding Objects: Musical Instruments, Poetry, and Art in Renaissance France* (2007) which has provided useful knowledge.

Finally, there are some more large-scale doctoral dissertations available. The most interesting, in terms of the arguments I wish to make, is perhaps that of George Torres. His *Seventeenth-century pièces de luth: an examination of the manuscript anthology tradition with a special emphasis on the Barbe manuscript* (1998) sets out to provide an extensive investigation of one given manuscript. His research progresses in four stages. The first places the *Barbe* manuscript in context with other manuscripts while the second stage only considers *Barbe* alone. The truly interesting material highly relevant
to this thesis is found towards the third and fourth chapters where performance indications and French lyricism as model for melodic construction is addressed. In the introduction, Torres states that ‘[t]he study of the manuscripts of French lute music is crucial, then, for an understanding of the music itself’ (Torres, 1998, p. 19). I do not disagree entirely, but my impression is that many lute scholars to date have perhaps been too mesmerised and captured by the manuscript as a phenomenon. Although I acknowledge the importance of the tablature as signifier, I argue that the tablature is only a part of a greater whole. Nicholas Cook advises us to think of the score as a script rather than score — a script choreographing the real-time act of listening, socially interacting and creating music (Cook, 2012, p. 186). Philip Auslander (2006), however, expresses concerns about Cook’s theorization. He believes that the choreographing script still privileges the written work too much; a theory quite consistent with the tradition Cook wishes to provoke. Auslander rather seeks to discuss from an audience’s point of view — abandoning the traditional distinction between work and performance. This real-time act then cannot exist outside social and cultural contexts, and so I believe that the understanding of French lute music cannot be obtained solely through manuscripts. Rather, understanding is to be found where the realisation of the script meets society. Building on his dissertational work Torres has also generated two papers: Some manifestations of French lyricism in seventeenth-century pièces de luth repertoire (1997) and Performance practice technique for the baroque lute: an examination of the introductory avertissements from seventeenth-century sources (2003). The latter has taken an important role in this dissertation as it provides an English translation (alongside a transcription of the original French edition) of the introductions of the seventeenth century lute books of Charles Mouton, Jacques Gallot (d. c. 1690), Denis Gaultier (1597 or 1603-1672), Ennemond Gautier (1575-1651) and finally Perin Perinne (d. after 1698). This paper has made it possible to refer to those sources in English and have thus made citations more efficient. Thurston Dart has also provided a translation of The Burwell lute tutor (c. 1660-1672) into modern English (1958). Although the original book is written in English, it can be quite demanding at times to decipher it and Dart’s contribution has enabled citations to be more clearly
and easily understood. David J. Buch’s dissertation *La rhétorique des dieux: a critical study of text, illustration, and musical style* (1983) presents a comprehensive study of a complex manuscript. By discussing poetry, literature, illustrations, art and music, this is perhaps the most multimodal study of the lute dissertations I have considered during my work. Still focusing on the manuscript, Buch goes further than Torres by including some historical context as well. This dissertation also provides a useful English translation of the literal parts of *Rethorique des Dieux*. Stuart Glenn Cheney’s doctoral dissertation *Variation Techniques in French Solo Instrumental Music, 1594-1689* (2002) points to the important relations between, and the necessity of considering, not only the lute and harpsichord, but also the viol as interconnected. Unfortunately, as many dedicated lute scholars before him, he neglects the social framework in which these variations receive meaning (a point made very clear in for example McClary’s previously mentioned book). It also presents a consistent methodology of mapping variations in various manuscripts rather than dissecting their construct and use — focusing on what *is* rather than what *is*. This dissertation, then, stands out as a comparative study of *notated* variations (he does not go into any direct discussion on improvisation) for the viol, lute and harpsichord. It has most certainly provided important contributions to the field, but leaves plentiful questions unanswered.

There are some other doctoral dissertations that must be mentioned although they are to be found perhaps in the periphery of the interests presented in this thesis. The doctoral dissertations by Wallace Rave, *Some manuscripts of French lute music 1630-1700: an introductory study* (1972), and François-Pierre Goy *Les sources manuscrites de la musique pour luth sur les ‘ACCORDS NOUVEAUX’ (vers 1624–vers 1710): catalogue commenté* (2008), has focused on mapping lute tablatures and present systematic overviews of manuscripts through the ages. Also in recent years, Peter Steur has developed a German and English online searchable database indexing tablature manuscripts and books (http://mss.slweiss.de). All these studies have made major contributions to facilitate lute scholarship. Two doctoral dissertations has taken Robert de Visée (1655 – 1732/1733) as subject: Alexander Dunn’s *Style and development in the*
theorbo works of Robert de Visée: an introductory study (1989) and Bryan Prud’Homme’s A source study and thematic catalog of the Robert de Visée theorbo works (1992). The former is the one French seventeenth century lute dissertation that pays most attention to historical context, but only at the French court. The latter focuses almost exclusively on manuscript contents and does not take Dunn’s dissertation into consideration. Older works such as those of Oskar Fleicher, Michel Brenet and André Tessier has not been taken into consideration within this dissertation per se, as they are older than the timeframe I have set out to focus upon (see the restrictions listed above). However, they are all thoroughly commented in some of the works mentioned above so they are in a way part of the material as well.

In today’s scholarly contributions then, we see a division between lute research based on the traditional methodologies and goals from the early 20th century and popular musicology that often neglect the lute completely. It is at this intersection this thesis finds itself trying to fuse lute music with social meaning — offering a different point of view.

Structure

**Part I Towards popular:** Chapter 2 ‘Theoretical framework’ sets out to outline a theoretical foundation for popular that will serve as the foundation for my argumentation throughout the project; Chapter 3 ‘Towards a seventeenth century popular’ develops a concept for seventeenth century popular lute music by basing its argumentation on a Foucault-inspired Middletonian approach. Different aspects of the French seventeenth century society are discussed and finally a concept of seventeenth century popular is presented.

**Part II Towards a construct of musician:** Chapter 4 ‘Designing performers’ focuses on the individual performer, investigating body posture and playing technique. The aim is to get closer to an understanding of what a seventeenth century French lutenist was supposed to be.
Part III Towards a construct of music: Chapter 5 ‘A popular vocabulary of ornamentation’ presents lute ornaments within the context of other musical instruments and suggests that we can in fact speak of a popular vocabulary; Chapter 6 ‘Tablatures and the musical work’ focuses on the tablatures of three of the most published pieces of the period and presents comparative analyses. Some matters of gender representation are raised as well; Chapter 7 ‘Improvisation and musical realisation’ addresses musical realisation through different sorts and levels of improvisation.

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Some years ago I got a CD from an old friend, Theodor Holmer. It was Rolf Lislevand’s CD La belle homicide (2003). This CD mesmerised me instantly and was the beginning of my infatuation for French baroque lute music. Thank you Theodor.

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Part I

Towards a concept of popular
The title of this thesis, *The popular lute*, immediately provokes the question: ‘What is popular lute music?’ John Richardson points to the fact that the meaning of popular has changed over time, but

[i]n current research, some scholars align the popular with commercialism, some with mass media modes of dissemination and consumption, some with ideas about a vernacular or common language, some with Marxist or quasi-Marxist ideas about ‘the people’ or the working class, some with distinctions between cultivated or artistic forms and those that are less cultivated or ‘vulgar,’ some with literary versus oral traditions, while some hark back to the traditional between popular, folk and art. (Richardson, 2012, p. 5)

Applying the term popular music to late seventeenth century lute music can be seen as a simple act to perform, but such an act is also followed by the discursive question ‘what is not popular’? The challenge is to construct a concept of popular lute music that can meet criticism convincingly. If we bind the term popular too much with electro-technology, we are also making it tied to a specific historical context at a certain moment in history. Reproduction technologies have indeed contributed much to how music sounds and have sounded, how it is disseminated and how it is perceived, but the technological and social premises imposed by, for instance, nineteenth century English society is much different from that of seventeenth century France. So the popular I need to develop then is something that appropriates the
modern sense of popular into a concept that is applicable to the timeframe I have set out to investigate.

Initially, I had an idea of presenting the development of what popular music has become, but as I gathered material I found it striking that much of the literature that I encountered had taken the definition of popular music more or less implicit, or even taken for granted. In recent years, much scholarship seem to have been more concerned with how popular music can be analysed rather than developing the term popular itself (for instance Middleton, 2000; Moore, 2012, 2003). The first concern in this thesis is to propose a popular music concept that is applicable to late seventeenth century French lute music. This will be developed in two chapters where the first, i.e. this one, provides a theoretical framework. This framework will provide the foundation for Chapter 3 where I seek to localize a seventeenth century popular.

So what is the status of the popular music definition today? John Richardson presents a popular that draws on a ‘vernacular and common language’ as well as ‘mass media modes of dissemination and consumption’ (Richardson, 2012, p. 5). Robert Walser, on the other hand, provides an even more socially informed popular when he comments that

[...] to analyse popular culture only in terms of the commercial structures that mediate it is to “imagine markets free of politics.” Economics becomes an autonomous abstraction from a conflicted society, and the hard-nosed study of institutions and monetary power is but a false veneer of political engagement, masking a refusal to confront the political dimension of economic choices. [...] Music has always been “commercial,” at least since the Renaissance; that is, music has always been supported by the interests and patronage of particular social groups and enmeshed in institutional politics, mechanisms of distribution, and strategies of promotion [...] Like Stuart Hall, I see ‘the popular’ as an important site of social contestation and formation [...]. Popular culture is important because that is where most people get their ‘entertainment’ and information; it’s where
they find dominant definitions of themselves as well as alternatives, options to try on for size’ (Walser, 1993, pp. xi-xii and xiv)

At a later occasion, Walser points more clearly to the complexities inherent in popular: ‘the popular’ is not defined by simplicity, shallowness, immorality or ephemerality, but by social processes of prescription and negotiation in the service of competing interests’ (Walser, 2003, p. 26). This social process kind of thinking is also seen in Adam Krims’ writing as he suggests that ‘theories of genre within the world of popular music […] arguably bear an intimate relation to publicly shared perceptions of the character of urban life’ and he employs the term ‘urban ethos’ to describe ‘the character of cities and the kinds of lives lived in them, as it is represented in popular music, film, television, journalism, books (fiction and non-fiction), and other forms of public representation’ (Krims, 2003, pp. 141 and 151). In a later publication Krims further writes that ‘popular music, as a common locus of leisure and socialization, may well, as cultural-studies analyses suggest, impart and inform social values, but it tends to do so in very specific social contexts in which values are shared and developed in particular ways’ (Krims, 2009, pp. 404-405).

So far we have seen three different approaches towards what popular is, but it does not end here. In his introduction to The Ashgate research companion to popular musicology (2009), Derek B. Scott makes a distinction between popular music, genre and style where popular music functions as an overreaching term embracing several types of genres and styles, distinct from rural and classical traditions (Scott, 2009, p. 5). Such a designation of popular music proposes a widely usable terminology that leaves room for more deeper-level discussions that may cause confusion, disagreements and difficulties depending on the standpoint of the scholar. Indeed, there are several approaches towards popular that must be considered. In a footnote, Scott draws attention to a paper from 2005 entitled ‘Can We Get Rid of the “Popular” in Popular Music? A Virtual Symposium with Contributions from the International Advisory Editors of “Popular Music”’ (Editors, 2005). In this paper, the international advisory
editors where asked the question stated in the title to provoke a debate where each answer was reproduced as part of the publication. Each answer provides different notions of the term popular and to show the ambivalent condition of popular music today I will now cite the essence of their replies (although this will turn out to be a lengthy excursion, it will prove useful): Simon Frith speaks of ‘[m]usic made commercially, in a particular kind of legal (copyright) and economic (market) system; music made using an ever-changing technology of sound storage; music significantly experienced as mass mediated; music primarily made for social and bodily pleasure; music which is formally hybrid’; Alf Björnberg points to the ‘increasingly problematic status of traditional genre categories [as manifested in this PhD thesis] and, particularly, the growing awareness of the irrelevance of music analysis’ argues for a ‘dismantling of the distinction between “popular music” and “music”’; Peter Manuel writes: ‘The goal is clearly not to standardise a hegemonic definition per se, but to suggest a useful working definition that may be handy for rough taxonomies in discussion, etc. For better or worse, my thinking on the subject has not evolved at all since my 1988 Popular Musics of the Non-Western World’; Motti Regev refers to (as do Peter Manuel) Frith’s just referenced categories and argues for a continued use of ‘popular music’; Philip Tagg’s reply is more extensive. He ties the term popular music to Anglophone literature (arguing that the Frenchs and Italians use it differently) and presents several troubling aspects of today’s popular (not detailed here). Concluding his reply he votes for a re-categorisation of music; Barbara Bradby display uncertainties concerning a traditional notion of popular music in a digital age; Marcus Breen argues:

If this question of the popular in popular music is a dilemma, it is one that is resolved by will and commitment. By that I mean that popular is a trope, a talisman, a symbol of a particularity of production that signifies a position vis-a-vis known reality. This position is the result of choices that are made to invest particular types of cultural production with meaning.
Breen also provides a commentary that is in line with this dissertation: ‘To remove the term popular, is to remove the range of possibilities for inventing new meaning in music’s cultural production. Another way of exploring the idea of popular is to make otherwise canon-like art and classical music popular, as indeed it increasingly is’; Deena Weinstein puts popular as the binary to elite; Jason Toynbee does not provide a clear statement on his approach to popular in his first contribution to this debate. In the second he argues that the politics of popular must be further discussed; Juan Pablo Gonzalez draws connections to Latin America, strengthening the notion that popular is geographically and nationally linked. He also assigns popular music to music depending on how it is learnt and performed; Martin Stokes writes:

I am more than happy to hang on to the notion of ‘popular music studies’, since this refers to a tradition we’ve built up over the last decades, committed to democratic political possibilities and engagement with every-day, material, practices and forms. It seems like a better place than most to engage intellectually and politically with all music, and that - for me - has always got to be the goal[;]

David Brackett describes popular as that music that is not taught in other courses at ‘his’ University - ‘popular music is the new kid on the block’. Further, ‘despite the fact that no category of “unpopular music” exists, “popular music” as a category only makes sense in relation to other types of music’; Larry Witzleben asks us to be careful not to lose ourselves in mass production; Helmi Järviuluoma likes the confusion around popular music; David Hesmondhalgh replies: ‘In fact, the popular as a political concept has suffered a spectacular fall from grace since its heyday of the 1980’s. There are various reasons for this, but a very important one is the decline of the concept of “the
people”, and this in turn is related to the complex fate of the utopian project of socialism; Bruce Johnson and Alan Moore seem to agree that popular music is a useful tool for provoking a debate in a manner which only popular can do. Alan Moore adds: ‘And it’s only when a term becomes uncontested that it really loses its value; Barbara Bradby toys with the phrase “All music (except classical) […] (“oh well, not quite all music”); Line Grenier comments:

‘popular music’ and musique populaire (often deemed distinct yet related terms) tend to function as what Berthelot calls discursive operators: under the auspices of an assumed common taken-for-grantedness, they are used to talk simultaneously about something else (who the true creators are, what is authorship, who in the music business should receive public finding, for example)[i]

Peter Wicke says: ‘To me, the term “popular music” is a pure discursive operator, without any fixed meaning or content, used to draw ever-shifting borders on a highly contested cultural ground’; and finally Richard Middleton has, not surprisingly, read all contribution to this printed debate critically and sums up:

Despite the range of views apparent across the contributions, two overarching positions are visible, which we might term ‘descriptivist’ and ‘discursivist’, respectively. In the first, (variable) empirical features are grouped under the name; in the second, the name is positioned within a discursive field.

Following he looks back to his own approach once presented in Studying popular music (1990); 'However “popular music” is articulated, whatever we try to make it
mean, “the people” as subject is embedded somewhere within it, and with an emotional charge that will apparently just not go away’. Middleton ends up in a psychoanalytically flavoured discussion contrasting Žižek, Lacan and Adorno (perhaps we see examples of Middleton’s thoughts in the final stages of developing Voicing the popular [2006]).

This paper effectively sums up the opinions of no less than twenty-two scholars, not only concerning the status of popular music as a term, but also provides clear examples of the ambiguity surrounding what popular really is — there seem to be no true consensus. It becomes clear that popular music, rather than being a generic term, is a construct that is tied to the premises presented by the author. Popular music is thus a dynamic terminology, and as such there can be no doubt that further considerations of what popular is (or, in my case especially, could have been) are in place. The most pronounced theorisations of popular can be found in Middleton’s body of work. When Middleton’s Studying popular music (1990) was published it made an important contribution and statement to a much developing field of study, and, according to Alan Moore, it ‘remains the best theoretical overview of popular music we have’ (Moore, 2012, p. 2). Since this work has become an important work within popular music studies it will provide a foundation for this search for a seventeenth century popular.

**Middleton’s popular**

Middleton proposes a highly complex approach to popular music in his Studying popular music (1990). He traces the quantitative interpretations of popular music back to the eighteenth century, parallel to the development of a commercial market for the bourgeoisie, and points to many (more or less successful) previous attempts to settle on a popular music classification (Middleton, 1990, p. 3). Middleton crystallises two major schools of approaching popular — positivist and sociological essentialist — and points to the difficulties arising when the two schools tries to distance themselves from
one another, instead of collaborating. His position unveils itself; popular music is to be found as a phenomenon working within the whole musical field, and in order to pronounce what is popular we must consider both social and economic factors. Musical categories must then be located topographically.

This is because, in class society, the society is internally contradictory. What the term ‘popular music’ tries to do is to put a finger on that space, that terrain, of contradiction — between ‘imposed’ and ‘authentic’, ‘elite’ and ‘common’, predominant and subordinate, then and now, theirs and ours, and so on — and to organize it in particular ways. (Middleton, 1990, p. 7)

Much dedicated lute scholarship today has to some extent stagnated methodologically by reproducing a historical image in a somewhat empiric manner. The general focus on lute tablatures as more or less the only truly valid text to study provides grounds for my standpoint (see for instance Torre’s remark, quoted in the introduction). I argue that the term popular provides a useful tool for unlocking ‘that space, that terrain, of contradiction’, giving us an opportunity to regard the French repertoire from a different angle. The dynamic and internally contradictory society may very well be better represented by a dynamic approach that theorises musical society as a whole. As I will argue throughout this thesis, considering French lute music in a fixed state, attributed to a specific class, yields difficulties and unsatisfactory readings of material that will trigger repercussive effects.

The most sophisticated approach, according to Middleton, is the theory of articulation\(^1\) as it maintains the developmental aspects of musical practice, treating it as a constantly changing field:

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\(^1\) Not to be confused with articulation as a musical expression in performance practice techniques.
The argument is that while elements of culture are not directly, eternally or exclusively tied to specific economically determined factors such as class position, they are determined in the final instance by such factors, through the operation of articulating principles which are tied to class position. These operate by combining existing elements into new patterns or by attaching new connotations to them. (Middleton, 1990, p. 8)

Musical fields are neither eternal nor exclusive, and when the articulative process is successful, musical formations appear as natural phenomena formed by the chain of elements constructing them. When the articulative process is successful, culture spreads widely through society. Musical styles are products of cultural work and do not appear by themselves. They can be seen as assemblages of elements from a variety of sources, which also mean that they can be deconstructed and re-articulated in new ways (Middleton, 1990, pp. 8-9, 11 and 16):

The theory of articulation recognises the complexity of cultural fields. It preserves a relative autonomy for cultural and ideological elements (musical structures and song lyrics, for example) but also insists that those combinatory patterns are actually constructed do mediate deep, objective patterns in the socio-economic formation, and the mediation takes place in struggle: the classes fight to articulate together constituents of the cultural repertoire in particular ways so that they are organized in terms of principles or sets of values determined by the position and interests of the class in the prevailing mode of production. (Middleton, 1990, p. 9)

Derek B. Scott suggests that one of the strengths of articulation is its ability to create a link between production and consumption. Articulation at its best avoids static, fixated
readings of cultural work and promotes interpretations where different outcomes are possible at the same time (Scott, 2009, p. 9). What I find promising with articulation as a methodology for lute research is the flexible, developing view of musical practice that clear the way for dialogues between different classes, musical venues and political forces. These are indeed features that can cooperate quite well with the force-related propositions of Foucault as outlined through his history of sexuality (Foucault, 1978/1998) and his theorisation of discipline (Foucault, 1977/1991); I will return to Foucault at several occasions throughout this thesis.

By adjoining Middleton’s articulative process with Foucault, a new path unveils itself that is perhaps more applicable to seventeenth century lute music than the Adornian and Benjaminian excursions developed in *Studying popular music’s* second and third chapter. The reason behind this position comes from the fact that seventeenth century France postulates social and economical conditions that is different from the historical context where Adorno and Benjamin constructed their theories. The ‘formalism’ of Adorno and the ‘technique’ of Benjamin both directs themself towards mass culture, which is a premise enabled by a technology not available in the seventeenth century. This is why I have put Adorno and Benjamin, as well as Marxism, aside in this dissertation, instead focusing on what a Foucault-inspired approach might inspire.

Middleton makes some points, however, during his consideration of Adorno and Benjamin that must be mentioned in order to understand Middleton’s popular. First, as we have already understood, Middleton rejects falling into strictly binary arguments (such as good/bad, superior/inferior or complex/simple) (Middleton, 1990, p. 41); second, he rejects Adorno’s overemphasis on Beethoven’s (1770-1827) historical importance and questions why post-Beethoven music must be theorised in a completely different way; third, he expresses suspicion towards forming totalising

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2 The ruling apparatus fronted by Louis XIV’s targeted political propaganda, for instance, the bourgeoisie’s self-identification and increasing power and the overall self-control and perfection of people intertwine, communicates with each other and are constructed from within and from outside — French lute music, as all other genres, evidently finds itself in a dynamic musical society.
theories out from partial socio-cultural fragments, and neglecting the receiver. Middleton argues that ‘[t]he problems come when empirical evidence is turned into totalizing theory, tendential strategy into achieved fact’ (Middleton, 1990, p. 37); one must avoid generalising too much upon one single historical moment and not underplay the importance of class related tensions. Musical form is to be found in a co-dependent relation with ‘changes in the circumstances of musical production’ (Middleton, 1990, p. 45). This position further strengthens the possibility of synthesising a Foucault-inspired Middletonian approach towards popular. When turning towards Benjamin, Middleton develops his popular to encompass not only cultural phenomena, but also its dissemination and production:

We have here a substantial body of work stressing — to make the lowest claim — the important links between musical media and the structures of society, culture and consciousness. […] Specific media certainly impose limits and constraints and they channel, even force, production in particular directions. (Middleton, 1990, p. 77)

To provide a lute related example out of this quote, we can turn our focus towards lute tablatures of the time as they can be considered created through its production. First, by the act of putting music down on paper; the same piece, appearing in multiple sources, can often be found in different versions (although they are clearly built upon the same original piece) as music sometimes was written down by ear or even from memory, evidence of a form of printed oral transmission. Second, the act of realisation, i.e. performing the music, further transformed musical works as each performer contributed with their own interpretations, ornamentations and improvisations (see Chapter 7). It is clear then that Middleton’s incorporation of production into music articulation must also apply to discourses on baroque lute music. But, production does not only include musical transmission and performance practice, but also various
forms of actively constructed technologies (whether electronic or not): ‘In fact, technology and musical technique, content and meaning, generally develop together, dialectically. Each makes demands on the others, but at every stage there is an area left “over” from the constraints of the immediate relationship, pointing to “pre-historical” residues or to unforeseen possibilities’ (Middleton, 1990, p. 90). To provide a concrete (non-electro) technological example we may turn ourselves to the development of lute technique through hand position. Short-hand, easy logic would perhaps suggest that ‘lute’ was a constant phenomenon, and that right hand technique from renaissance to baroque lutes should not be that different. However, this is not the case; the two are quite different. The evolution from the one to the other seems to be a result of the different demands and complexities of the music itself; while the ‘renaissance right hand position’ may have been satisfying to the repertoire at the time, the baroque repertoire demanded the right hand to be positioned at another angle in order to be physically able to play the music. There is also a link, at least so it seems, between the hand position and the increasing number of strings during the transition between renaissance and baroque; baroque right hand position became a result of technological-musical developments (this is also evident today upon playing the two repertoires).3 Returning to Middleton, this means that culture is a complex formation of productive forces that can be considered co-produced by the listener: ‘If […] musical meaning is co-produced by listeners […] listening, too, must be considered a productive force’ (Middleton, 1990, p. 92). Indeed, the dialogue between musician and listener was also addressed in the baroque era. German lutenist Ernst Gottlieb Baron (1696-1760), in his Historisch-theoretische und praktische Untersuchung des Instruments der Lauten (1727), makes an amusing comment on the contemporary audience when he writes:

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[...] It is not unjust to compare them with irrational animals that cannot make use of pearls or other valuable things [...] Some others only admire what assaults the senses with a loud noise. These people belong more in village taverns and bars than in places where everything is beyond their horizon. (Baron, 1727/1976, p. 156)

German flutist Johan Joachim Quantz (1697-1793), in his Versuch einer Anweisung die Flöte traversiere zu spielen (1752), writes following about performing concerts:

Anyone who wishes to be heard publicly must consider his listeners well, especially those whom it is most important that he please. He must consider whether or not they are connoisseurs. Before connoisseurs he can play something a little bit more elaborate, in which he has the opportunity to show his skill in both the Allegro and Adagio. But before pure amateurs, who understand nothing of music, he will do better to produce those pieces in which the melody is brilliant and pleasing. To avoid boring such amateurs, he may also take the Adagio a little more quickly than usual. (Quantz, 1752, p. 200)

Towards the end of Middleton’s theorisation of popular, he begins to draw an image of a socio musical ecology, sketching several instances where music interacts with our environment. Listening to a Walkman, for instance, while taking a stroll through a city, presents us with a situation where music, whatever it may be, colours our perception of the urban space surrounding us — it becomes a sort of non-diegetic underscore to our perception of the world there and then. ‘Walkman-practice becomes a means of reading, or producing, or interacting with the “text” of the urban space’
(Middleton, 1990, p. 92). Obviously, there were no headphones in the seventeenth century, but the phenomenon still applies. For instance, having music in the background while engaging in conversation; or when the King perhaps had a musician play music while he had romantic interactions with a mistress; or when a person in the house prepared food while the other was practicing his or her instrument. The list goes on.

To conclude Middleton’s popular, we see repeatedly how he argues for a popular that considers the interaction between all aspects of cultural work and direct itself topographically to what these interactions articulates; popular music is the synthesis between author, performer, technology, dissemination and reception of a specific music constructed through articulative processes.

**Middleton’s popular anno 2006 — four conditions**

In 2006 Middleton had his *Voicing the popular* published; a psychoanalytic, highly complex work presented in four bulks: race, gender, repetition and authenticity. Drawing much upon theories by Žižek and Lacan, he provides perspectives on popular music as phenomenon and, although I will not include psychoanalysis or the work as whole in this dissertation, Middleton suggests four conditions for popular music that must be considered:

- There is no pure popular music; rather, the voice of the people is always plural, hybrid, compromised.
- This is so because this voice’s identity is defined in relation to its position in a broader field, within which its starting-place (to put it no higher) is always one of subservience, its mode of existence one of dialogue.
- Indeed, this voice owes its very existence, and historical potential, as ‘popular’ to a machinery (economic, cultural) put in place by those superiors whom it
would then want to usurp: Show business shows us ourselves (in some imaginary guise) but must also show value for money.

- The voice of the people, then, is best conceived (to draw on Paul Gilroy’s terminology) as a ‘counterculture of modernity’; it is constitutive of modernity itself (modernity as it actually developed), its role not only reactive but also productive, not only responsible to but also responsible for (that is, dialectically implicated in) its own apparent negotiation. (Middleton, 2006, p. 23)

We can understand Middleton’s use of the word voice in the sense of a unified people that has become self aware of its own potential ‘as political subject, as economic agent, as cultural actor’; a voice that worked out ‘a new apparatus that enabled its (self-) representation’. The voice of the people came from a need to find a way of articulating themselves in an era of democratic and industrial revolutions and was ‘forced to move within an orbit conditioned by “higher” cultural forces’ (Middleton, 2006, 5 and 24). Middleton places the initiation of the peoples voice to the eighteenth century, but, as I have already argued, I find that these tendencies can be seen earlier as well. The plural, hybrid and compromised aspects of seventeenth century lute performance is present at many levels — from designating its social belonging, to its classification as a category/genre/style, to its economic machinery, to its socio-political function — but it is at its relation to a broader field that we can find a starting point for a popular music discourse (this line of reasoning resembles clearly what we see in Middleton’s earlier *Studying popular music*). The voice of the seventeenth century people finds itself, in its starting place, in subservience to the ruling machinery. I withhold that the absolutist court of Louis XIV (1638-1715) must rather be seen as a dynamic *apparatus*, constructed from the inherent human relations of that closed circle, fronted by the one man having the final say, at least in theory. We must keep in mind, that however powerful or dictatorial a ruling persona is, that persona is dependent on the submissiveness of his subjects (no matter how he evokes such submissiveness); even the absolutist court of Louis XIV had to balance the different social formations within
his kingdom. So the dialogue that Middleton speaks of, is enabled by ‘the people’ obeying the socio-political norm. That dialogue must have space for both the individual and the greater context; a lute performer/composer must express his persona as well as appropriate his expression to suit and please the listener. Such an expression must authenticate both the social circle that the musician belongs to and that he or she wish to address. As such, a lute performance can be seen as reactive to these social groupings and productive for the dialogue between them; it is responsible to and for its negotiation. What Middleton’s four conditions does is to stake out a course towards a seventeenth century popular, a course that put emphasis on reading the voice of the people from a force-field angle of view, appearing as a more pronounced version of his articulative process as introduced in his earlier monograph. Again this is suggesting a possibility of a Foucault-inspired Middletonian reading of early baroque popular music. So it seems as, although Voicing the popular is much different in character from the earlier Studying popular music, the idea of locating a topography, approaching popular through articulation, seems to remain (Middleton’s comment in the earlier cited virtual symposium bears witness of this approach).

**Post-Studying popular music**

Despite Middleton’s authorative and ground breaking work, a review of the literature and Internet sources, twenty-three years later, unveil that a final definition of popular has still not been reached; it is yet modeled, interpreted and questioned, although not always explicitly. International Association of Sound and Audiovisual Archives (IASA) defines popular music accordingly:

The term popular music is extremely vague, covers a wide field of musical endeavour and ranges over a long period of time; there has been ‘popular music’ ever since man made music for his own pleasure. The difficulty is to draw a
distinction between serious or, less accurately, classical music and the other forms in existence, especially as much of the material in the popular field is taken quite seriously by many people. […] It is difficult to place all these varying styles [i.e. folk music to heavy metal rock, operetta to jazz, country and western to big band dance music and film and Broadway musicals to current pop charts] and numerous forms into any sort of comprehensible collection, and one that is retrievable and makes any sort of sense to library staff, researchers or users of any kind.¹

It is perhaps not possible to form an all-compa ssing view of popular so the focus must rather be to find a specific seventeenth century concept of popular. The difficulties concerning popular can also be seen in the frequent interchangeability — sometimes even tending towards confusion — between the use of the terms ‘popular’ and ‘pop’. Pop music is evidently popular but popular does not equal pop. Timothy Warner, in his Pop music — technology and creativity: Trevor Horn and the digital revolution (2003) comments on the difficulties of defining pop music and points to a trend that there seems to be a clearer distinction between pop and rock among British writers than among American authors; thus, a definition of pop ‘is not only historically but also geographically determined’. (This also applies to popular, as we saw in the beginning of the chapter where the opinions of twenty two scholars where presented.) Warner lists what he perceives as the main differences between pop and rock (see Table 2.1); pop music is created in the studio, rather than realised; pop music can generally not be reproduced live convincingly; and ‘[f]inally, like fashion, pop music goes through cyclical patterns of change instead of following a linear development’ (Warner, 2003, pp. 3-4):

I must be acknowledged that pop music is quite a generic term that provokes a completely different discourse than what serves this project; but there are aspects to Warner’s writing that I wish to address. So, as I proceed, I will rather employ the term ‘easy listening’ than pop in order not to force this project into an extensive side-track that does not serve the initial objective. At a first glance, easy listening is closely bound up with an electro-technological aesthetics that was not possible in seventeenth century France, and could then be put aside from my discourse. However, within the ambiguous realm of easy listening there are, in fact, matters worthy of discussion as I try to approach a seventeenth century concept of popular. The relation between much easy listening and its technology is clear; its reliance on the recorded medium as original rather than reproduction has been established.

One aspect of easy listening that is relevant to a seventeenth century discourse unveils itself through Stan Hawkins, who writes in the introduction to *Pop music and easy listening* (2011):

By 1926 the dance bands established in the UK had one goal in mind: to give their audiences what they wanted. Profoundly influencing the evolution and

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**Table 2.1** Timothy Warner’s table presenting the differences between pop and rock.
dissemination of popular styles for the first time, the media of radio, recording, live performance and sheet music became interconnected. (Hawkins, 2011, p. xi)

The highly interesting phrase is ‘[…] give the audience what they wanted […]’. Now if we step aside from the electro technological aspects of much easy listening for a short moment, i.e. the production and reproduction of such music, we see a close relation between musician and receiver. The musician, or in the case of many seventeenth century lutenists the musician-composer, provided music that served a twofold purpose: expressing oneself and satisfying the listener. This functioned at multiple layers: pleasing the listener’s expectation of music performance; adapting to a specific context; appropriating the music for a specific purpose (improvisation, alteration of length, transposition; see Chapter 7); and expressing the musician’s capabilities and sense of self. Also lute music had a close relation to its technology (although no electricity was involved): the playing technique was highly idiomatic, designed to flatter the lute; it incorporated a popular vocabulary shared with other instruments (see Chapter 5); it incorporated a notational practice that was instrument specific and close to the instrument; and the lute was in steady development in the search for new sounds as well as playability.

Still, I would by no means call lute music by seventeenth century easy listening in the sense that we know today, and I maintain that easy listening music is not what is at stake in this thesis, but as we see there are some aspects of it that relates to popular; this excursion has only served to provide more foundation for that specific concept of seventeenth century popular I am seeking to establish.

I have throughout this chapter outlined several theoretical stand points and it is through these that I will now proceed to Chapter 3 where I will address the specific case of a seventeenth century popular.
Due to the natural limitations that accompany historical research (e.g. relatively few surviving sources and hermeneutical problems; issues that have already been discussed in the introduction) we cannot strictly apply the theoretical framework put forth by Middleton without relating it to the second half of seventeenth century France. In this chapter I will try to crystalize and localise a concept of seventeenth century popular. Based on the theoretical foundation presented in Chapter 2 I will investigate how different aspects of French music — lute music in particular — constitutes a musical formation that can synthesise with my Foucault-inspired Middletonian position. Starting by focusing on tablatures, I will work my way through economy, politics, religion and history in order to present a concept that can be applied to early music studies. This concept will also provide the foundation of the subsequent chapter of this project.

**Tablatures**

Returning to Torres’ remark, cited in the introduction of this thesis: ‘[t]he study of the manuscripts of French lute music is crucial, then, for an understanding of the music itself’ (Torres, 1998, p. 19). As earlier studies have shown, there has been quite a focus on the lute tablature (for instance Buch, 1985; Cheney, 2002; Dunn, 1989; Prud’Homme, 1992; Rave, 1972, 1997; Torres, 1998, 2003). The role of the score has also been widely investigated in the field of popular musicology (to mention a few: McClary, 2002; Middleton, 1990, 2000; Moore, 2012; Scott, 2003). But what can we learn from how lute music was documented and disseminated? First of all we may
notice three main categories of music publishing in seventeenth century France: the engraving, the print and the handwritten manuscript.

At the beginning of the sixteenth century, Boorman and colleagues informs us, experiments were made in the search for an efficient music type that could print both staves and notes at a single impression. Pierre Attaingnant (1494-1552) in Paris was the one to present a technique good enough to become established within printing practice. As it also provided reduced labor costs, it became a preferred technology for more than 200 years. The basic principle of music printing resembles that of literature printing, but with some exceptions. An example of those differences is the format of the pages that was more likely to be in 'landscape' format than traditional book format. Among the exceptions, i.e. music printed in book format, were orchestral scores and parts. The drawbacks of this single-impression technology were that one needed at least one type for every possible useful combination of tones, stem directions, note values, rests, punctuations and accidentals. (One could of course turn a type upside down. As the stems were centered on the notes until the end of the seventeenth century there was no problem to convert a g note, for instance, into a d by rotating it 180°.) It also demanded a high level of precision to maintain a uniform presentation of the music (Boorman, Selfridge-Field, & Krummel, 2013). The process of printing was then quite an expensive technology given all material and space it required, and as it was under royal privilege it was also a process reserved for few; one received a fine of no less than 6000 livres if one did not honour this privilege (see for instance Geoffroy, 1659, p. extrait dv privilege; 1661, p. extrait dv privilege). Attaingnant was of course not the only music publisher. Upon his death we can see names appear such as Nicolas Du Chemin (c. 1515-1576; active between 1549 and 1576), Michel Fezandat (active between 1550–58). But it was not until Adrian Le Roy (c. 1520-1598) and Robert Ballard (between 1525 to 1530-1588) that the printing process fell under royal privilege. This exclusivity remained, from its establishing in 1551, for over two centuries. Music publishing was naturally drawn towards commercial centres and often gave birth to somewhat conservative productions. The golden age for printing is to be found in the sixteenth century so what we witness in the seventeenth is actually
an art form in decline. One of many contributing factors was a decrease in patronage. Although new music was still composed, less was put to print (Boorman et al., 2013).

There were still hopes for aspiring independent publishers. A court decision had excluded the engraving technique from the Ballard privilege. The monopoly of publishing was then effectively destroyed. The engraving came to be the start of the true commercial exploration of music. From Bach and Händel to Verdi, Wagner and Brahms, all the way to the lithographic process (Boorman et al., 2013). Engraving was often made from pewter or copper plates although the latter was most common. According to Howard Mayer Brown, 65% of the surviving published sources direct themselves to the solo lute and 30% of them are in French tablature. The first engraved music in France was made by Richer in 1660 and the last was probably Mouton’s tablatures published in 1698 (yet, between 1638 and 1670 only handwritten manuscripts survived) (Torres, 1998, pp. 3, 12, 15 and 80). Foreign publications containing French music had a more international scope (Cheney, 2002, p. 16). Considering the obstacles — engraving/printing/handwriting, sending music by mail carriers and perhaps even traveling — it is quite remarkable to find French lute music present in collections all over Europe. The formats of published tablatures were not standardised and the number of staves and layout changed according to the size of the paper that was used. Torres suggests that the tablature collections we know of today can be divided into five categories (Torres, 1998, p. 32 and 41):

1. Professional single-scribe anthologies
2. Amateur single-scribe anthologies
3. Multiple-scribe anthologies
4. Mixed repertoire anthologies
5. Studio manuscripts
6. Student teacher/sources
What we can deduce from these categories is that lute tablatures were presented in quite different contexts. We may sense a versatile line of thought as well. Rave suggests that the absence of using the eleventh course in early seventeenth century printed lute tablature collections may have been a result of ensuring sales as the eleventh course had been standardised already in 1630 (Rave, 1972, p. 75). Cheney suggests that the obscurity of the tablature, in addition to Louis XIV’s love for the guitar and the theorbo’s appropriateness for accompaniment, may have contributed to the decline of the lute in late seventeenth century and early eighteenth century (Cheney, 2002, p. 122). Note, however, that the lute was still not unpopular. Simply, the popularity of the clavecin grew stronger. The decline of the lute, in favour for the guitar and theorbo, can perhaps also be seen as a result of the pressure from Italian aesthetics; yet well over half of the published music in the seventeenth century was intended for solo lute.

**Tuning**

The nature of tablatures demands us to bring the matter of tuning into the discourse as well. Prætorius (1571-1621) writes (as cited by Zecher):

> The lute is the first foundation, from which people later move on to the other stringed instruments — pandora, theorba, mandora, cittern, harp, as well as violin and viol. It is an easy matter to play any of these, and play them well, if an honest effort has been made to acquire some facility on the lute. (Zecher, 2007, p. 33).

The very nature of tablature makes it closely linked to the body and locked to a specific tuning. The more abstract score notation requires the musician to calculate where to find the notes on the instrument he plays. If he or she were to approach another
instrument being tuned otherwise it would demand a thorough knowledge of harmony and the physical construction of that particular instrument. Tablature simply tells you where to put your fingers and what string to pull. Thus if you go from performing a lute tablature on the lute to theorbo tablature on the otherwise tuned theorbo there is no confusion at all. The draw back of tablature is that one would need different tablatures dedicated to specific instruments whereas score notation through its abstraction can be played by all. The tablature, then, provides a less abstract pragmatic approach both towards music, musician and instrument (a short introduction on how to read tablatures is contained in Chapter 6). Throughout the first half of the seventeenth century we see a quite an intense elaboration of lute tunings. George Torres provides a useful table listing the development from one standard tuning to another (see Table 3.1; I have added the arrow myself to clarify the movement from renaissance to baroque standard tuning) (Torres, 1998, p. 22):\(^5\)

\[
\begin{align*}
1. & \quad G c f a d^1 g^1 \\
2. & \quad G B^b f b^b d^1 g^1 \\
3. & \quad F B^b f b^b d^1 g^1 \\
4. & \quad G c g a d^1 g^1 \\
5. & \quad G c e g c^1 e^1 \\
6. & \quad G c f a c^1 f^1 \\
7. & \quad G c f a c^1 e^1 \\
8. & \quad G c f a c^1 e^b \\
9. & \quad G c f a c^1 e^{b1} \\
10. & \quad G c f a c^1 e^{b1} \\
\end{align*}
\]

\[
\begin{align*}
& \quad A d g b d^1 f^{\flat1} \\
& \quad A d g b^b d^1 f^{\flat1} \\
& \quad A d f a d^1 f^1 \\
\end{align*}
\]

**Table 3.1** Torres’ table showing the development of lute tuning (with modifications)

\(^5\) Cheney places the tunings \( A d f a d^1 f^1 \) and the additional \( A d f^a d^1 f^{\flat1} \) (not mentioned by Torres) to the 1660’s (Cheney, 2002, p. 53).
To provide more clarity to what actually happened with each individual course I have rendered a graph out from Torres’ table:

Figure 3.1 The data from Torres’ table (see Table 3.1) presented as a graph, showing a linear representation of the tuning of every course. Course one is at the top and course six at the bottom.

Each line represents a course, with the lowest on the bottom and the highest on top. The x-axis corresponds to the numbered lines in Torres’ table and the y-axis corresponds to pitch expressed in semitones. The thicker lines represent the left hand side of Torres’ table presented above (Table 3.1) and the thinner lines with boxes represent the right hand side. What we see more clearly here, than in Torres’ table, is a slacking of the first two courses and a search for an alternative in the remaining four courses from the top although the result became quite similar as the starting point. The
main difference then is not seen in the four lower courses but in the two top courses, as well as the total increase of one whole tone to reach what we today know as standard d minor tuning for lutes. As a result of this period of experimentation with different tunings, less seems to have been published. The lacking prospect of profiting on sales made it too expensive. *Airs de cours* still maintained the original renaissance tuning, called the *vielle ton* (eng. ‘old tuning’. See the first tuning in Torres’ table above) by seventeenth century Frenchs, and so could still be affordable to publish during this period of time (Buch, 1983, p. 194; Torres, 1998, p. 25). From this we can conclude quite certainly that the corpora of surviving tablatures renders the strictly positivist approach to the concept of popular music insufficient. The developments in tuning led to less published music (this does not imply at all that there were less music played), and the different publishing processes weaken the economic approach to popular as well. Engravings were expensive, printing was under royal privilege and handwritten manuscripts were time consuming to produce and not easily reproduced.

**Economy and the difficulties of a quantitative, economically based popular**

Middleton comments that the quantitative interpretations of the term popular music (although the term had not yet come into use) can be traced back to the eighteenth century, parallel to the development of a commercial market for the bourgeois (Middleton, 1990, p. 3). The commercial market Middleton speaks of obviously did not suddenly appear in eighteenth century France, but was a result of social developments already in the seventeenth century. The finance minister Jean Baptiste Colbert (1619-1683), for instance, took as his mission to counteract the tradition of small town tradesmen enjoying local market monopoly, for the sake of larger scale industries. Madame de Maintenon (1635-1719) wrote in a letter that she believed Colbert to only care about money and never of religion. But already before Colbert

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6 With reference to Middleton’s use of the term.
gained a position where he could affect the politics of France, Louis XIV had already subjected all guilds to royal authorisation, through his Edict of 3rd of December in 1660, thus interfering directly with the dealings of tradesmen. Colbert made possible the creation of several new corporations and revised the statutes of several established ones. Probably due to his impatience of the guild’s attempts to restrict trade, fearing competition, he furthered his policy creating positions within the guilds for Huguenots as well. By promoting a policy clashing with the old tradesmen’s familiar traditions, he became unpopular but he did in fact aid the Huguenots in going into trade when the Edict of Nantes was neglected (Maintenon, 1806, p. 134; Thompson, 1908, pp. 39-41).

Elias argues that the economical climate initiated at the time of Colbert still prevailed during the eighteenth century although the commercial activity against foreign competition and an economical politics that furthered the taxable capacity grew considerably during this time. Trade networks, industrial activity, communications and economic integration all developed extensively. During the eighteenth century there were also an increasing scepticism towards the direction of the politics of the ancien régime — the revolution had started to form (Elias, 2000, p. 36 and 42).

This latter political excursion proves that although the creation and distribution of tablatures alone does not provide sufficient material alone to judge popular, economy remains an important aspect of popular to consider. Upon searching the word ‘economy’ using the Online etymology dictionary, we find following definition:

1530s, ‘household management,’ from Latin oeconomia, from Greek oikonomia ‘household management, thrift,’ from oikonomos ‘manager, steward,’ from oikos ‘house’ (cognate with Latin vicus ‘district,’ vicinus ‘near;’ Old English wic ‘dwelling, village;’ see villa) + nomos ‘managing,’ from nemein ‘manage’ (see
numismatics). The sense of ‘wealth and resources of a country’ (short for political economy) is from 1650s.\(^7\)

From this we can understand economy as something more than simply financial capital. Household management *per se* suggests more than income and outcome; it also incorporates social dynamics, caring for and maintaining one’s physical and non-physical assets, planning for the future, social and cultural belonging, hierarchy, etc. So, perhaps equally important as the economic aspects (in terms of money), is the cultural capital — how society is constructed from within.

When speaking of economy we must acknowledge that the seventeenth century economy was based on a different currency than today. A short overview will suffice in order to gain some perspective. 1 silver écu equalled 20 sols, 1 pistole or Louis d’or was worth 490 grains of silver or 2 Louis d’argent. 1 écu was equivalent to 5 sols and livre corresponded with 20 sols. 600 livres was a standardised amount for many musicians at the French court. Between 1589 and 1671 there was a decline in value of about 0.039% a year (Dunn, 1989, p. 36). Here we find the first obstacle; the differences both in currency, value and market make it difficult to use modern models of economy without alteration. But there are other obstacles towards an economically based popular. Firstly, we cannot solely rely on these wages as musicians often received other benefits as well. Court musicians did not only receive payments for their services. They could also have the fortune of receiving donations (such as games, wine and veal) and *entrennemen* of fifty sous per day to cover food, lodging and dress. Additional *nourriture* could also be granted to covers expenses such as keeping a horse. Outstanding instrumentalists could also receive pensions and gratifications (Dunn, 1989, p. 34). Secondly, there are too few surviving documents describing the economical reality for musicians to construct theories. However, some data is

preserved. Hammarlund, for instance, writes that when the young nobleman Hans von Fersen (1683-1736) visited France along with his preceptor Carl Gustav Heræus (1671-1730) to be educated in proper French etiquette, he paid the lutenist Charles Mouton 14 livres a month for his services as a private tutor. It seems, Hammarlund suggests, that 14 livres was almost a standard payment for musical tuition (Hammarlund, 2005, p. 36).

**Politics and force-fields**

Popular, then, cannot solely be founded within the realm of economics. As a related field of study, politics may shed more light on the subject. (Popular, derived from the Latin *popularis* [meaning ‘for the people’ or ‘accepted by the people’],\(^8\) demands by definition that politics, i.e. the science of government, is taken into consideration.) This is perhaps one instance where traditional lute researchers often fall short handed, as occasional interpolations of historical context cannot justify political thought sufficiently. It must be acknowledged that music is more than tones written on a piece of paper. It is realised and performed by people and ultimately enjoyed by people. To many scholars in the popular music field this is nothing new.\(^9\) For instance, Nicholas Cook advises us to think of the musical score as a script rather than a score, a script choreographing the real-time act of listening, socially interacting and creating music (Cook, 2012, p. 186).

So what was the political climate around culture in France? Recall Middleton who argued that if elements of culture that may not be tied to ‘economically determined

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\(^9\) Tagg comments in 2000, and he is not alone, that popular music studies is an ‘interdisciplinary matter’ and that musicology lags behind other disciplines in the field (sociology in particular). One must take into consideration the social, psychological, visual, gestural, ritual, technical, historical, economic, and linguistic aspects (Tagg, 2000, p. 74); I share this view.
factors such as class position’ are successfully combined in an articulative process that appears natural, it may spread widely through society and become closely associated with a particular class. So when investigating historical forms of popular music it becomes necessary to locate them, as I already have established, ‘within the context of the whole music-historical field’ (Middleton, 1990, pp. 8-9 and 11). What I realised during this research process is that in music discourses the focus is often more or less fixated upon a royal court and aristocracy taken for granted. As Foucault amusingly comments in 1978: ‘the representation of power has remained under the spell of monarchy. In political thought and analysis, we still have not cut off the head of the king’ (Foucault, 1978/1998, pp. 88-89).

Foucault makes it clear in Discipline and punish: the birth of the prison (Foucault, 1977/1991) and The history of sexuality: the will to knowledge (Foucault, 1978/1998) that power operates at a multitude of levels — from punishments, to confession, to reformation, etc. In Foucault’s view, Louis XIV found himself right in the middle of a transition where punishments — that used to have been performed physically — started to become a matter of spiritual control; surveillance and self-discipline became highly regarded tools; the criminal procedure remained a secret in France, even to the accused himself (Foucault, 1977/1991, p. 35). This sort of power evidently did function to some extent, as Foucault comments: ‘From the end of the seventeenth century, in fact, one observes a considerable diminution in murders and, generally speaking, in physical acts of aggression; offences against property seem to take over from crimes of violence’ (Foucault, 1977/1991, p. 35 and 75). Louis XIV became the very symbol of this self-discipline as, according to McClary, ‘every aspect of his physical appearance was sculpted and choreographed in order to maximize the desired effect. And in his

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10 My observation must, however, not be interpreted as to negate the royal court or aristocracy as an arena for popular music. The fact that Prince Charles and his son Prince Harry are Spice Girls fans does not erase the label ‘popular music’ from Spice Girls (BBCNews, 1997). Prince Charles and Prince Harry rather participate in the ‘popularis’ notion of the word ‘popular’. Indeed it has been reported that the young Louis XIV on several occasions, choose to play the guitar instead of attending the meetings of the royal council (Dunn, 1989, p. 27).
ideal society courtiers followed suit - in dance, in deportment, in behaviour, and (at least theoretically) in thought’ (Foucault, 1977/1991, p. 35; McClary, 2012, p. 217). Louis XIV always sought to enlarge and glorify his sculptured appearance and music was an important feature of that image. Louis XIV appear to have understood quite well how he could make use of music and instruments as signifiers to glorify his reign (Dunn, 1989, p. 27). As pointed out by historians such as Foucault, Isherwood and Cowart, Louis XIV used idealised propaganda and the illusions of the eternal now to keep his subjects (at least in theory) too occupied to form political counterparties and rebellions (McClary, 2012, p. 253).

![Figure 3.2 Front and back of one Louis d’or from 1651.](image)

This propaganda of order and self-control can be noted in every level of society. Take for instance the gold coin *Louis d’or* (see Figure 3.2). With its dimension of 25mm and 6.68 gram\(^{11}\) it portrays, on one side, a young Louis XIV bearing a laurel wreath. This wreath, representing victory, was an active signifier of the ancient Olympian Apollo

(Buch, 1983, p. 148). It is accompanied by the inscription ‘LVD*XIII*D*G*FR*ET*NAV*REX’ (i.e. LVDOVICVS XIV DEI GRATIA FRANCIAE ET NAVARRAE REX. Eng. ‘Louis XIV, by the grace of God king of France and of Navarre’). On the other side of the coin we find a symmetrically ordered motive presenting the ‘L’ for Louis, a crown and the fleur de lis. The fleur de lis provided an effective symbol for the reign of Louis XIV with its three-folded meaning; in addition to being a symbol for the French court it also signified trinity and the Virgin Mary (Leppert, 1993, p. 50). The inscriptions read ‘CHRS REGN VINC IMP’ (Eng. ‘Christ reigns, defeats and commands’). As this little coin was used during business transactions it brought the propaganda straight into everyday life in France. Notice the year 1651 on the recto side of the coin. This was ten years before Louis XIV fully claimed the throne so the propaganda of the sun king persona was established and circulated already at an early age.

Political propaganda was not only a tool in the material world, but also in all levels of musical performance. Leppert provides some useful theories and insights on the matter. He writes: ‘Music was an acknowledged means of establishing caste: it was a nonverbal, emotive vehicle for establishing and preserving a level of prestige sufficient to authorize and therefore help stabilize position’. Music thus became a means for society to differentiate itself. The secular could distance itself from the ecclesial and by designing its expression carefully it could maintain social hierarchy and preserve group identity. Again the Platonic theory of right and wrong music was brought to life. Elias points out that Louis XIV had quite a task before him to balance the friction between different groups in society, but by keeping these frictions at an equilibrium he could maintain the social differences and nurture his central authority (Elias, 2000, p. 336).

Then, how did these force-fields ultimately incorporate the lute? Both the lute and lyre received substantive attention from poets and the lyre was often associated symbolically with music performance at the French court. For French poets musical instruments served as symbols indicating social status and tools of trade. Zecher suggests a hierarchy placing the hurdy-gurdy at the bottom, followed by the rebec and
viol at second place. At the top we find the lute and the lyre (Zecher, 2007, pp. 3, 24-25 and 30). Musical instruments, as objects, so became social markers as well. Expensive material and meticulously designed constructions signified wealth. According to Leppert, the upgrading of the violin from the lower classes to the upper can be seen as a taming of its intense physicality and frenetic movement into the more cultivated and controlled form of high society (Leppert, 1993, pp. 8, 34 and 43-44). This is particularly interesting if we consider the orchestra as an organism deliberately appropriating musical instruments as political tools. We can then see that the many violins, to use Leppert’s example, in the orchestra could have functioned quite effectively as an intricate power tool. First of all, it signified economic power. One could not have afforded to have such a grand orchestra, surrounded by spectacle, unless one was considerably wealthy. Second, it provided sonic power. The great number of different instruments would provide a strong sound with a rich texture. Finally, ruling power; if we see the violin as tamed, as Leppert suggests, then the orchestra pit is filled with tamed subjects. Not only has he gained control over the musicians playing, but also the symbolic value of the instruments themselves. The orchestra then becomes a microcosm, the very symbol — not to mention propaganda — of the idealised French kingdom under Louis XIV’s rule. If we turn to the lute there are interesting phenomena to unveil. Dunn reminds us that contemporary prints actually show that both guitars and theorboes were used in orchestral pits at the court (Dunn, 1989, p. 30) while Carla Zecher provides an interesting observation concerning renaissance poetry: ‘Poets do not write of participation in consort [...] for they wished to present themselves symbolically as soloists’ (Zecher, 2007, p. 9). This would suggest, then, that solo music could have provided an expression of individuality in a socially controlled environment. Zecher also reminds us that ‘a soloist could perform the same polyphonic repertory as an ensemble’ (Zecher, 2007, p. 11). Solo music can so be claimed and nurtured by the individual unlike the orchestra, and as the lute could be

12 I have maintained Gracyk’s use of the word ‘appropriation’ as ‘a fancy label for certain types of borrowing’ (Gracyk, 2001, p. 96).
used in more private circles than orchestras, it could provide an outlet for self-expression. Middleton argues that since the late eighteenth century popular music has been a tool for the protection and manipulation of subjectivity. Rather than reflecting social reality, popular music is more concerned 'with offering ways in which people could enjoy and valorize identities they yearned for or believed themselves to possess' (Middleton, 1990, p. 249). My line of argument would then fit Middleton’s remark neatly, and it seems, then, as the politics of the lute brings us closer to a concept of seventeenth century popular.

Lutes were relatively easy to obtain and competition kept the prices down. During the sixteenth century musical instruments, as well as arms, were popular collectibles. In Zecher’s words: 'Indeed, it is likely that the instruments with the best sound quality were used until broken or worn out. If they survived, they were altered as time passed' (Zecher, 2007, pp. 13-16). The lack of surviving French lute instruments compared to, for example, Italian ones around Europe supports Zecher’s statement. We may notice that in the online music instrument archive Médiathèque of Cité de la musique, Paris there is only one surviving lute ascribed to Paris in the seventeenth century (more exactly a 9 course lute from 1644)\(^{13}\) while there are entries on two theorbos and no less then nine Voboam guitars ascribed to France.

**Religion**

Needless to say, music as politics was also a major concern for religious movements and institutions. Power did not only attract Louis XIV, but also the ecclesial community. Through the seventeenth century, there seem to have been a more or less constant friction between king and church to rule France. Louis XIV constructed an image of himself as divine. A clear example is his use of the symbol *fleur de lis* (see for

\(^{13}\) http://mediatheque.cite-musique.fr/ClientBookLineCIMU/recherche/NoticeDetailleByID.asp?ID=0161079 (accessed 2 April 2013)
instance Figure 3.2 above). The King sought to participate in most of the concerns around pious employments (Jaenen, 1985, p. 4 and 7; Leppert, 1993, p. 50). Religion, however, never ceased to exert power. Henry IV (1553-1610), for instance, had to convert to Catholicism in order to become King of France, although Brian Sandberg suggests that there were concerns among Catholics whether Henri IV’s conversion was indeed sincere (Sandberg, 2005, p. 164).

Many examples of power friction between royalty and church can be seen throughout the seventeenth century. Briefly put: upon the death of Henry IV, Louis XIII (1601-1643) was too young to become the true regent. His mother, Queen Maria da Medici (1573 - 1642)\(^{14}\), kept the throne in the waiting of the new King, under strong influence of a French minister named Concino Concini (d. 1617; originally from Italy). In 1617, Louis XIII rebelled against his mother, claimed the regency and ordered Concini executed in the courtyard of the Louvre. Among many French Catholics, this specific execution was to be regarded as an act of vengeance from God himself, due to the accusations of corruption, misuse of power, Judaism, and sorcery. Concini’s wife Leonora Galagaï was accused along with her husband to have been possessed by demons, practicing bad influence on the young king. Armand Jean du Plessis, Cardinal et duc de Richelieu (1585-1642) became the new minister after Concini’s execution (Britannica, 2011; Sandberg, 2005, p. 161). After the death of Louis XIII, Queen Anne of Austria (1601-1666) ruled France. Yet again, the French crown fell under strong influence of a cardinal from the Catholic Church named Mazarin\(^{15}\) (it. Mazarini; 1602-1661). In 1661, after the death of Mazarin, King Louis XIV became full regent claiming all political authority for himself. He declared himself as ‘God’s Most Christian King’ and constructed a persona representing Jesus Christ (Aasen, 2005, pp. 117-119, 126, 147, fr. Marie de Médici (Sandberg 2005, p. 150).

\(^{14}\) As an anecdotal mention, George de Scudéry describes Cardinal Mazarin in a poem: ‘Rome, si les Heros que tu mis dans les Cieux, Au nombre de tes Dieux, Avoient les qualitez de cet excellent Homme [...]’ (Rome, if the heroes you placed in heaven, among your Gods, had the qualities of this excellent man) (Scudéry, 1646, p. 89).
In short, what we see here is a constant friction between governing institutions. Even though the King had the formal control, there were still very powerful ways for the church to exercise control on the common man. As we have already understood, the age of repression coincided with the development of capitalism and became an integrated part of the bourgeois order (Foucault, 1978/1998, p. 5). After 30 years of religious war (1618-1648), and several attempts on creating peace-giving edicts, it was time for someone to take action and make something happen (Spaans, 2003, p. 3). Henri IV, the former Calvinist who converted to Catholicism, publicised the Edict of Nantes in 1598. The edict was an attempt to counteract religious violence, but it was not until 1600 it was fully implemented in France as whole. The complex Edict of Nantes consisted of a general edict, two brevets and a number of particular articles (Jerome, 2005, p. 43; Sandberg, 2005, p. 142). Among the paragraphs within the Edict of Nantes, one finds:

[...] a Catholick shall be obliged to take an Associate who is of the Religion, whereof the Parties shall agree; or where they cannot agree, one of the Office of the said Religion shall be taken by the abovesaid Magistrate or Commissioner : as in like manner, if the said Magistrate or Commissioner is of the Religion, he shall be obliged in the same manner, as abovesaid, to take and associate a Catholick. [...] All Titles, papers, instructions, and documents which have been taken, shall be restored by both parties [...] Those of the Religion shall never hereafter be charged and oppressed with any charge ordinary or extraordinary more than the Catholicks, and according to their abilities and trades [...]. (Everard, 1681, p. 12 and 15)

Brian Sandberg suggests that Catholics, at first, opposed the Nantes edict but when discovering the possibilities of how it could aid the quest of re-instating the Catholic Church, it later gained some support even among Catholics themselves (Sandberg, 2005, p. 166). As pointed out by Thompson, the edict of Nantes ‘recognized the right
of liberty of conscience, it did not inaugurate the reign of toleration’ (Thompson, 1908, p. 38). In 1685, Louis XIV formally revoked it through the Edict of Fontainbleau making religious emigration inevitable. Huguenots were not allowed to practice their religion in public, they were no longer allowed to leave France, and Huguenot pastors were forced to convert their beliefs to the Catholic faith, even though the Edict of Nantes was formulated as un-revocable. In spite of the Edict of Fontainbleau, many Huguenots managed to leave France post 1658, inflicting fear for reinforced Protestant powers outside of France, aligned against France (Riley, 2001, p. 2001; Spaans, 2003, p. 3). In a letter dated Versailles 24th of August 1681, Madame Maintenon writes about the Kings wish to allow only one religion, being Catholicism (Maintenon, 1806, pp. 134-135). Madam de Sévigné (1626-1696) also writes about the King in a letter dated 2nd of March 1689 suggesting that ‘he is the protector of the true religion, and his courage will allow him no other alternative than conquest or death’ (Sévigné, 1811, p. 27). In a time of an emerging power by confession, regulation and surveillance there was a need of music for self-expression. What we have established until now is that an understanding of seventeenth century popular music is closely linked to politics. We must understand that different forms of power operate at multiple levels.

It is interesting to note how religious authorities managed the individual. Foucault explains how the Counter Reformation’s increased frequency of confessions provided a powerful tool for regulating desire (Foucault, 1978/1998, p. 19). (This, of course, opens up the discourse of gender and sexuality; see Chapter 4.) This set forth a new sort of power based on confessions on many levels also outside the church. ‘One confesses in public and in private’, Foucault writes, to parents, doctors, educators, loved ones and friends (Foucault, 1978/1998, p. 59). Self-control had begun to become a public norm and those who did not fit that norm had to be silenced or reformed. ‘Renounce yourself or suffer the penalty of being suppressed’ (Foucault, 1978/1998, p. 84). This was particularly important for religion as the seventeenth century witnessed an increased growth of secularization in Europe (McClary, 2012, p. 158). Leppert provides a well-put description of the situation:
Lower-class music [seen from the upper classes], located the enemy as a threat from outside [...]. Art music as disorder, by contrast, located the enemy as a threat from inside; its terms were no longer those of class difference but became those of gender distinction within the upper social strata. Music was potentially effeminizing; it was a specific threat to masculine identity. And worse, then confined to women’s practice, its specific relation to physicality and to sexual arousal was perceived as a challenge to husbands’ authority. (Leppert, 1993, p. 7 and 9)

Sound, as any other human expression and communication, is thus essential for a force-field apparatus to control. Leppert further argues that in the seventeenth century Low Countries music was well on its way to being considered a female activity. There was a growing uncertainty that social or solitary music making were unsuitable for bourgeois society. Also, Calvinist circles viewed all secular music making, although often overstated, as suspicious. ‘While in one sense, then, the practices of art music registered themselves as exercises of sonoric order mirroring social order, in another they signalled precisely the opposite, a threat to that order’ (Leppert, 1993, p. 6). Zecher addresses the same phenomenon from a slightly different angle: ‘As objects imbued with human characteristics, instruments own, use, and transform those under whose care they fall. To possess a musical instrument is also to be possessed by one. In both musical and poetic practice, players and instruments have a hold on each other’ (Zecher, 2007, p. 161). It is possible to understand that playing an instrument was more than just playing an instrument. It was part of a dialogue of self and other, between individual and society. Music making mirrored social order in that it addressed inner struggles between personal realisation and subservience to public expectations. To exemplify these inner conversations, appropriations of self, we can turn to the politics of dance and temporality.
Politics, dance and temporality

It is fairly obvious when inspecting any French tablature collection from the period that most of the solo lute repertoire is written in the form of dances. And as the d-minor tuning was standardised in the period 1650 to 1670, we can also see that new dance genres were introduced (Torres, 1998, p. 30). Dance, the most prized secular genre, was far more serious at the French court than pure entertainment. It accompanied most of the activities (McClary, 2012, p. 215 and 225). McClary describes the phenomenon accordingly:

The French shaped their court rituals around dance, which served both to provide recreational distraction and to inscribe courtiers physically into the Neoplatonic ideology prescribed by the Sun King [...] Lully [...] often positioned a chaconne as the concluding element in his ballets and operas. At this point following the plot’s denouement, spectators joined the professional performers in dancing around the body of the king, thereby simulating the orbit of planets around the sun.

Long chaconnes served as long drones, similar to religious sermons, aiming to erase the self-aware. ‘Louis XIV deployed the chaconne pragmatically to turn “the God trick”: to seduce his courtiers into that neurological condition in which they dissolved into a state of jouissance - not coincidentally with the king himself as center’ (McClary, 2012, pp. 203-205). Both Leppert (1993) and Foucault (1977/1991) addresses time as a political issue. Foucault writes that ‘it was forbidden to waste time’ (Foucault, 1977/1991, p. 154). Leppert argues that music functioned as a ‘license to waste time’ (we can easily sense the political tone in ‘license’). Among the arguments of those opposing music making was that it took a lot of time and produced nothing more than air. Leppert writes: ‘The consciousness of time is the ultimate mark of prestige in a
society generally unaware that time operates, not in circular fashion, but in a straight line. Musical *mesure* gained a visual equivalent in art by a presence of order, regulation, temperance, and fidelity. Moderation and temperance was articulated as a class issue. Peasants was visualised as violent and anarchical beings who disturbed the social order and in extension presented a threat to themselves. Low classes, at least in the propaganda of the upper classes, were associated with anarchy, vulgarity, drunkenness and leering sexuality while the upper classes displayed a high degree of order and self-control (Leppert, 1993, pp. 1-2, 8-9, 27 and 59). Altogether, power was practiced through a dynamic balancing of state, church, and individual. Politics was increasingly built on propaganda and surveillance (exercised both by authorities and through confession) furthered a glorified government, with a divine king as its front piece. Music, by its seducing and influential being, was an important tool for affecting people both as symbol and as sound. The bourgeois society gained strength and the aristocracy relied on them in the education of new generations.

**Ceremonial music**

Music associated with church ceremony did of course have another quality to it than solo lute music. In *Nouvelle Method pour apprandre le plein chant, sont contenus les Communs & Offices particuliers à l’usage des Religieux & Religieuses* (François, 1691), Sieur François suggests the singing of psalms as an excellent way of celebrating God, which can be performed at any time of the day. He claims that there are two manners of singing: i) ‘Simple’ and ii) ‘Figuré’. *Simple*, which the ‘vulgaire’ (eng. ‘vulgar’) calls ‘plain-chant’ (eng. simple singing) or Gregorian, implies that the notes are sung straight without augmentations or diminutions. The second, *Figuré* is closely connected to the fashionable *musique figuré* and provides both augmentations and diminutions, as well as *notes inégales*. He does not directly speak of what would be a proper style of singing psalms, but as the title mentions only *plein chant*, which he connects to the style *simple*, and the fact that *notes inégales* or *musique figuré* are well
connected to secular music, we may assume that ‘simple’ would be the most approved in the singing of psalms. The front page of the publication is also marked with a symbol of a sun in which the phrases ‘lavabile nomen domini’ and ‘IHS’ are present. This sign would suggest that the publication does not only direct itself towards religious use, but is in fact of pious heritage as well and imprinted by the royally approved engraver Christophe Ballard (François, 1691, pp. front cover and 2-4). Although the musical character differed in ceremonial music, we can still find the lute present. Jean Baptist Geoffroy (1601-1675), in his *D.O.M. Mysica Sacra* (Geoffroy, 1659), presents an ‘Ave Maris Stella’ and a ‘Hymnus No. 41’ in which he specifically calls for an accompanying theorbo or lute (‘Theorbis, seu Luthis’) (Geoffroy 1659, p. 104). In his second book bearing the same title (Geoffroy, 1661) the theorbo is asked to accompany the voices at three occasions (in No 70-72) together with organ and ‘Bassus’. Another difference from the first book is to be found in the preface ‘Lectori Musicæ Studioso’ where the violin is mentioned as a possible instrument to employ when performing the service (Geoffroy, 1661, pp. lectori musicæ studioso and 149-155). Evidently, solo music aesthetics is something else than ceremonial types of music, but still we find the lute present.

**The bourgeoisie**

Another influence to consider is the expanding bourgeoisie, and I would like to pick up some issues that have been brought up by previous discourse. First of all, there seems to be some tension between the bourgeoisie and the aristocracy. Leppert describes the situation accordingly:

It can be no wonder that with the advent of the bourgeois world, but with notable recourse to Plato, so much anxiety was manifested about music as a waste of time. That the emergent bourgeoisie were so consistently reproachful
about musicians in their ranks, especially male musicians, is hardly surprising given both the class’s hatred for the perquisites and discursive practices of the nobility and its ironic fetishization of time as money. Nor can it be surprising that the bourgeoisie themselves quickly figured out how music — to be sure, music of their ‘own sort’ — could be engaged sonically to represent their interests. (Leppert, 1993, pp. 26-27)

There are three important remarks to be made from Leppert’s writing. Firstly, he establishes that the bourgeoisie displayed an anxiety towards music as a waste of time. Secondly, they wanted to detach themselves artistically from the nobility. Finally, the bourgeoisie tailored a music representative for their own agenda. Certainly, this brings us back to Middleton. He suggests that ‘the social organization of “taste” in a society is a function as the overall “force-field” through which the power relations of the society are expressed in cultural practice’ (Middleton, 1990, p. 247). The imagery of lute music as an expression of individuality, as I started to point to earlier, fits the remarks made by Leppert and follows the suggestion by Middleton as well. Seeing the lute as an expression of individuality may account for its status within the bourgeois circles, pronounced through the salons; it had quite another aesthetic to it (partly due to idiomatic issues) than the orchestral works enabled by the king, more introvert and melancholic. Elisabeth Aasen describes the bourgeoisie, as expressed through the salon culture (discussed later), accordingly: ‘Wellbeing and harmony were the ideals; reason was favoured before pedantry. Courtesy and pleasurable manners were part of this culture that would come to influence French demeanour’ (Aasen, 2005, p. 139). Elias speaks about an emerging bourgeoisie in seventeenth and eighteenth century France. In line with Leppert’s reflections, Elias argues that ‘these bourgeois strata is largely

16 My own translation from Norwegian; original: ‘Vælvære og harmoni var et ideal, her var mer sunn fornuft enn pedanteri. Høflighet og behagelige manerer var en del av denne kulturen, som skulle komme til å påvirke fransk væremåte’ (Aasen, 2005, p. 139).
aimed at increasing their own privileges at the expense of the old nobility’. He also argues that the secular society of the time could be divided into two sectors: ‘a larger rural agrarian sector and an urban-bourgeois one which was smaller, but steadily if slowly gaining in economic strength’ (Elias, 2000, pp. 94, 361 and 423). Foucault writes that ‘[...] a number of transformations [...] had operated in the break that was being widened every day by the popular illegality [...] and economic growth was due, in part, to them [i.e. the bourgeois]’ (Foucault, 1977/1991, p. 84). Based on such discourses I suggest that we can speak of a bourgeois construction of identity that is closely related to the salon.

**Salons**

One of the first French salons according to Aasen was Hôtel Rambouillet (apparently located in the area marked d) in Figure 3.3) which was held at the home of Catherine de Vivonne, Marquise de Rambouillet (1588-1665). Her father was French and her mother was Italian, and, as Aasen suggests, it may perhaps have been from Italy that Rambouillet was inspired to initiate these events. She actually made the plans for the renovation of her home to make it more suitable for more intimate social gatherings rather than larger festivities. Salons, in general, were important phenomena in seventeenth century France as it constituted a social forum for both the bourgeoisie and aristocracy, for both male and females, where women were in charge. Not only did it function as a forum for refining culture, but also as it did provide an opportunity to excel in society (Aasen, 2005, pp. 138-142). For instance, Lully (1632-1687) started off as a garçon de chambre in 1646, working his way up to having full control of the Academy (Dunn, 1989, p. 27); according to Rave, Denis Gaultier’s Tombeaux de madame must refer to Henriette d’Angleterre (1644-1670), making it possible to suggest that he had met her (Rave, 1972, p. 245); Ninon de Lenclos, a lute player and courtesan who held salons, made it all the way to the French court through her connections to Madame de Maintenon. Buch comments that ‘[f]or a period, Ninon
was romantically involved with [the French general ‘le Grand’] Condé’ (Buch, 1983, p. 81).

An important subject for salons was the refinement of the French language and conversation. Novels, plays and poems were read out loud; famous authors, such as Corneille (1606-1684), have been reported to have recited at these events (Aasen, 2005, p. 139). Norbert Elias stresses that conversation had not only been considered the most important way of communicating in France, but was also considered an art. Even young people took active part of this milieu. Society, consisting of several layers of the political hierarchy, played a great role in shaping the nation. Here the bourgeois intelligentsia and the leading groups of the middle class found connections into court society, and they shared similar interests in literature, held more or less the same manners and spoke the same language (Elias, 2000, pp. 26, 29, 31-32). Elias attributes much of the French manner and aesthetics to the court apparatus that constructed a model that soon the whole country would follow, changing from a social practice to a national character. By the close contact between different social strata, the bourgeoisie was able to influence the nations politics, government and administration (Elias, 2000, pp. 32-33).

Addressing a similar context, Anders Hammarlund emphasizes the importance of letters as a literary genre. Letters, unlike printed books, were not subject of censorship and one could 'publish' freely. Although it was not an effective process, letters could be copied and mediated. Letters in seventeenth century France were a literature genre that displayed craftsmanship and was often grounded in scientific thought although they were written in free form. In fact, many contemporary books had evolved from letters written as a monologue or as part of a dialogue; academia was set aside and social, political and aesthetic thoughts were brought into focus. The importance of letters were that they provided a forum for exchanging thoughts before discourse could enter the public through the cafés that were established towards the end of the century; and as the postal services were reinforced, discussions could take place across national borders. The lutenist Charles Mouton’s connections reached outside of France and he tutored visiting students from other European countries. The French social conduct
and cultural production was popular, and it was even worth traveling to France from abroad to learn it first hand from French tutors. In fact, this phenomenon produced a co-dependant relationship between bourgeoisie and aristocracy, as the latter produced students for the former. Recall that Mouton received payments for his private tutoring. Teaching music was a sought after product, sold by the bourgeoisie and bought by the aristocracy (and others of course); to put it in greater context, the output of the salon culture (which I will return to soon) became the goods that could act as cultural commodities; the bourgeoisie had a direct influence on the aristocratic cultural production through educating them their manners.

Approaching the eighteenth century, cafés made the salon culture public. For instance, Café le Procope — that actually exists to this day (http://www.procope.com) — was established in 1686. Coffee, sorbets and glaces could be consumed in a refined environment and anyone who was properly dressed and could pay for the food were welcome. A large number of its customers were from abroad and, following, it provided a glimmering opportunity for the bourgeoisie to export music tablatures and other cultural works (Hammarlund, 2005). It is interesting to notice how centralised Parisian culture was at the time. In Figure 3.3 I have illustrated some referential points showing: a) the street where Charles Mouton lived according to his 1698 publications; b) where ‘M’. Gaultiers’ had his home according to his music collection c. 1670; c) the home of Ninon de Lenclos, a famous courtesan, lute player and host of salons; d) the area where Hôtel de Ramboillet could be found (a famous salon at the time; presented below); e) Café le Procope was situated (note the close proximity to the street where Mouton lived); f) and, of course, the royal court. All of these points of interest and areas were reachable, according to my own approximations, within only 30 to 40 minutes walk. Indeed, the very proximity of, for instance, le Procope, varying salons, musicians 17 and the Comédie Français, enabled this cultural cultivation and propagation (Hammarlund, 2005, p. 41).

17 Note that Buch goes as far as to link the French lute repertoire to what he calls ‘salon manuscripts’ (Buch, 1983, p. 95).
**Figure 3.3** A map over seventeenth century Paris presenting a few approximated key locations (none of the marks are exact; they merely estimate the area): a) Charles Mouton's home according to his two books; b) 'M'. Gaultiers' home according to his music collection; c) The home of Ninon de Lenclos; d) Hôtel de Ramboillet; e) Café le Procope; f) the royal court.

**Case study: Ninon de Lenclos**

In the midst of all the related force-fields at the time we find a lute player and courtesan named Ninon de Lenclos (b. after 1615-d.1705). Ninon (L’Enclos, Lenclose, Lanclos), who was born in Paris and lived in the *Marin* district, provides an excellent example of how it was possible to climb the social hierarchy, how amateurs and professionals could have interacted and how the cultural society was a complex, dynamic construct.
There are several suggestions on her year of birth. Ninon’s *Memoirs* (1761) says 1616, Encyclopedia Britannica (Encyclopedia Britannica, 2013) says 1620 and researcher Elisabeth Aasen (2005) suggests 1623 so it is not easy to conclude who is right. In France she was famous as a courtesan\(^\text{18}\) and as an independent woman who went her own way. Her mother (formerly Mademoiselle de Raconis) died when Ninon was 14 years old and her father was put in exile. The majority of the references says that he was put in exile after killing a noble man in a duel, but in Ninon’s Memoirs, p. 54, we can read: ‘Her mother died when Ninon was but fourteen years old, and her father survived her only a year’ (Lenclos, 1761, p. 54).

Ninon kept her economy safe through reasonable investments, but she was also provided for by her lovers and other admirers. Among the most famous lovers were Gaspard de Coligny (Marquis d’Andelot), Louis de Bourbon (Duke d’Énghien), Pierre de Villars, both the Marquis de Sévigné and his son Charles de Sévigné, and Louis de Mornay (Marquis de Villarceaux). She also had several friends of conversation who are especially interesting such as the writer Molière, the poet Paul Scarron and Saint Évremond (Encyclopedia Britannica, 2013). Due to her rather ‘scandalous’ life she was arrested and put in a monastery in Paris by Anna of Austerich (the mother of the Louis XIV). In 1657 Ninon returned to Paris from the Monastery fully aware that she had to change her life style. She now lived at *rue des Tournelles* in the Marin district, close to her friends Paul Scarron (1610-1660) and his wife Françoise Scarron (formerly Madame d’Aubigné). The Scarron couple held salons where Ninon at occasions played the lute (Aasen, 2005, p. 157). After the death of Paul Scarron, Madame Scarron bought the castle of Maintenon in 1674, which came with the title Madame de Maintenon. The letters between Madame de Maintenon, who secretly married Louis XIV in October 1683, and Ninon de Lenclos speak for a close friendship; Maintenon repeatedly calls Ninon de Lenclose ‘belle Ninon’ (‘beautiful Ninon’) (Maintenon & al., 1758). Madame Maintenon introduced the salon to the court of Versailles so there may

\(^{18}\) *Courtesan* is defined by the Swedish National Encyclopedia as a finer prostitute usually working in upper class environment (‘finare prostituerad vanl. verkande i överklassmiljö’) (Nationalencyklopedin, 2012).
have been a possibility that Ninon played there (Aasen, 2005, p. 183). As result of Ninon’s new accepted lifestyle she received invitations from women of highest rank, which was quite an achievement with her past as a courtesan. Her intelligence and charm, as well as her esprit (which was considered an important characteristic) seem to have helped her to progress in society.

During the second part of the seventeenth century it was popular to write self-portraits and autobiographies (Aasen, 2005, p. 131). If we assume that Ninon de Lenclos has written the Memoirs herself, it is interesting to notice that she writes of herself in third person. This may seem confusing, but the title page of the Memoirs could indicate Ninon de Lenclos as the author. These first quotes could certainly have been written by her:

Her stature was above the middle sizes; her person neither too plump nor lean; well made, and finely proportioned: all together of an engaging figure; but fitter to bear examining, than to strike at first sight […] [see Figure 3.4 below].

She had a well bred voice in speaking; an open countenance, but sensible, tender and engaging: a remarkable air of nearness and delicacy in her appearance, gayety and sweetness in her manners; a certain grace in every gesture; a foul fondly to devoted pleasure; and a mind fraught at the same time, with the most angelic virtues.

She had a warm, earnest manner of expression, which without staying to convince, persuaded one into her opinions. She had every address of coquetry, with all the spirit of galantry: her whole air was capable of inspiring the warmest sentiments: for she was possessed of those bewitching graces, that a desire to charm can render a fine woman mistress of; and she herself seemed to breathe the same passion with which she inspired her admirers.
But it is more doubtful whether she would have written this about herself:

As to the rest, she was violent, hurried away by her taste and inclinations; eager and lively about the least matters that affected herself; cold, careless and indolent where her heart was not interested; and pretty insensible to most things in which she had herself not any concern. Such was the famous Ninon de l’Enclos. How many particulars may one pick up here, to palliate or excuse her failings! (Lenclos, 1761, pp. 54-57).

Ernst Gottlieb Baron writes in 1727 that French baroque lute music, being lively and affective, suited women especially well being more sensitive and emotive than men (Farstad, 2011, p. 76). According to this statement, Ninon seems to have had both an appropriate personality and ability to perform the French music. Her autobiography shows that she played the lute, theorbo, baroque guitar and harpsichord and she is also praised for her little but charming voice:

She lived alone, but had a considerable number of acquaintance and friends, which every day increased, as she had collected in herself the most engaging talents; for besides her wit, sense and beauty, she was [a] perfect mistress of music, played extremely well on the harpsichord, lute theorbo and guitar. She had only a weak chamber voice, but sung with an extreme fine taste, and danced with most admirable grace. (Lenclos, 1761, p. 59)
Her father, Henri de Lenclos (1592-1631), was according to Marin Mersenne (1588 - 1648),\textsuperscript{19} equally skilled on the lute as his friends Denis and Ennemond Gaultier. Ennemond composed ‘Tombeaux de L’Enclose’ to the memory of Henri (Rollin, 2012c). Whether this piece is actually written by Denis or Ennemond is unclear because their pieces are sometimes confused with each other, but probably Ennemond was the composer. ‘Tombeau de l’Enclose’ is to be found in the so called Manuscrit Milleran (probably published in the 1690’s) stating ‘v. Gautier’ as composer. René Milleran (1655 - 1713) was a linguistic, and an amateur on the lute, who also were a student of Charles Mouton (Ledbetter, 2012). One does not know much of him, but his lute music collection Manuscrit Milleran has preserved many interesting compositions.

\textsuperscript{19} Marin Mersenne was a mathematician, philosopher, musicologist and a scientist. Among his works on find Quaestiones celeberrimae in Genesim (1623) where he among other things discuss acoustics, and Harmonie Universelle (1736-1737) containing his theoretical and practical thoughts of music (Cohen 2008).
Since Henri, who taught his daughter to play the lute, was a friend of Denis and Ennemond Gaultier we can assume that Ninon in some way was acquainted with them. We can also assume that this may have affected her playing style. There are also indications that Denis Gaultier often played in the salons held by Ninon (Rollin, 2012b). According to Wilfred Mellers, Jaques Gallot and Charles Mouton played the lute in different salons, but there appears to be no proof that they visited those held by Ninon (Farstad, 2000, p. 57). Jacques Gallot (‘vieux Gallot de Paris’) was a student of Ennemond Gaultier but it is unsure if he knew of, or met Ninon, or if he knew her, but there may be a possibility (Rollin, 2012a). François Dufaut (1604-1672) was also, according to Titon du Tillet, a student of ‘the Gaultiers’ (Dugot & Ledbetter, 2012), so there is also a possibility that Ninon at some occasion have met with Dufaut who is also said to have been the student of Gallot, Dubut and Mouton (Dufaut, 1965, p. IX).

**A seventeenth century popular**

In the time frame of 1650 to 1700 we find France in the steady development between renaissance idioms and the later eighteenth century’s capitalist functions; we have seen through a Foucault-inspired approach how the political and social construct was developing towards repression by confessions and control rather than exercising physical power as well as a bourgeoning bourgeoisie. It has become clear that there were different force-fields operating alongside one another, that must relate to each other and find balance in order to maintain the political structure; these force fields divides the French society into dominant and subordinate groups; however, although the aristocracy and church had the political power, the bourgeoisie had possibilities to influence that power to some extent as well as setting the tone of French culture. We have also witnessed that these articulation arise from a process — for instance through

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20 No further information on whom of the Gaultiers who taught him is mentioned in this reference. Could he have studied with both of them?
the salon cultures, the exercising of propaganda, through interpersonal relations and society’s expectations — and that the spread of French lute music and aesthetics throughout Europe as well as in France would suggest the articulative process to have been successful. Evidently, from my line of argumentation, French lute music can satisfactory be seen as articulated.

My argument, to conclude this chapter as well as part I, is that at the intersection of Middleton’s popular and Foucault’s repression and confession theories — supported by the work of scholars such as Leppert, McClary, Zecher, Dunn and Torres — we can in fact approach a concept of seventeenth century popular involving lute music; a popular drawn from politics, cultural articulations and overall force fields. We can also see that, although seventeenth century popular music perhaps is most clearly pronounced within bourgeois circles, we cannot theoretically deprive other social classes from performing, creating and enjoying popular music. Additionally, we see how seventeenth century popular music can allow personal expressions and formations of group identity. From my line of argument we find French lute music articulated as a versatile phenomenon that partakes in a relationship with its performer, providing a catalyst for personal expression and social belonging. It was mediated in a pragmatic, ‘oral’ manner and its aesthetics was sought outside as well as inside of France. French popular music can be found topographically across social hierarchies and was both subject of political propaganda as well as the bourgeois counter culture. In the remaining chapters I will investigate how this music was expressed through performance, and from that line of inquiry attempt to penetrate the deeper levels of French lute music of the time.
Part II

Towards a construct of musician
Several studies treat musical texts by discussing and analysing ornamentation, interpretation and tablatures (such as Rave, 1972, 1997; Torres, 1997, 2003), but what most of these studies fail to consider is the performer’s physiology as a framework for how music comes to be. Speaking as an active musician myself, the way we play, the way our physiology is constructed, affects our technical limitations when performing music; a strong tension in the body certainly provides technical restrictions that make us perform lesser than what our potential would suggest. The physical construct of the musician also becomes part of a relation between the aural and visual where musician and music merges into one signifier that is perceived by an audience. As such, it becomes evident that when speaking of music we must also consider the visual aspects of technical performance. In this chapter I will address the performer in an attempt to gain more understanding of the musician as a construct.

The discourse of body

I have already stated that Foucault’s theories can prove helpful and we will find his concept of docile bodies especially enlightening. Foucault explains: ‘A body is docile that may be subjected, used, transformed and improved’ (Foucault, 1977/1991, p. 136); this idiom makes a perfect subject for Foucault’s confessions. As we have already seen in the previous chapter, confession was a political tool that could be used to control social conduct in addition to the social framework imposed by the law, propaganda and religio-politico-socially constructed French ethos; ‘[o]ne confesses in public and in private’ to parents, doctors, educators, loves, friends (Foucault, 1978/1998, p. 59). As we have seen in the salon cultures, people met to admire, think about and develop
different art forms. Now, if we add Foucault’s theory of confession to this situation we can see how salons did not only provide a forum for funnelling art into a certain direction, but also humans. Recall that both aristocracy and bourgeoisie, men and women, amateurs and professionals, were welcome to these events; they sat down with each other, joined one another in conversation, listened to some one’s recital or presented a new composition. Recall that Ninon, for instance, at least theoretically had an opportunity to meet with some of the great musicians of the time; what if they heard her play? Could they have given her directions on how to improve her compositions or playing, or could she have given them some insight? I do not wish to loose my self in a side-track here moving towards psychological issues outside the realm of this thesis (although a discussion of interpersonal psychology, although only theoretical of course, would indeed have been interesting); but what I like to show is that we must consider, for instance, the salon culture as a dynamic forum in which lute music takes part. And, in that dynamic forum political, social and psychological factors contribute, not only to the musician’s identity, but also his or her constructed musical persona or personæ. Leppert employs the term ‘[t]he etiquette of “contemplation”’ that he suggests ‘is, before anything else, a controlling of the body in time, a working against the body, whether self-imposed or imposed by others’ (Leppert, 1993, p. 25).

Lucy Green argues that there is a direct link between musical identity, music learning and music education.

Social and cultural identities[, she writes,] tend to be formed in societies where diversity and distinction between the roles and activities of groups and

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1 I use this term in the sense of Philip Auslander, who argues that when speaking of musical performance, one must consider it in the relation between audience and performer rather than between performer and composition. The musical personæ of an artist can be constructed between his or her real private person, him or her as artist, and sometimes even that artist’s role-playing (as we see in Madonna and Lady Gaga, for instance) (Auslander, 2006).
individuals are the norm. This is because any social persona only comes to be what it is, that is, only takes on an identity, insofar as it is distinct from what it is not. (Green, 2012b, p. 39 and 54)

Contemplation had become the norm, it was controlled by human interaction and propaganda, whether physical or metaphysical, served as some sort of template. The body was no longer wild, it was being the subject of self-control; it was being perfected.

It is interesting, speaking of docile bodies, to focus on the tablature itself. It is by its very nature more connected to physical movement and is less abstract than staff notation. (The following chapter provides a short introduction on how to read tablature.) Torres writes: 'That is, lute tablature is a kind of prescriptive notation that transmits performative gestures in lute playing to the auditor/viewer. In watching a performance one not only hears the sound image but is also visually stimulated by gestures on the part of the player' (Torres, 1998, p. 118 and 182). The point I wish to make, with Torres’ remarks on tablature in mind, is that Foucault’s docile bodies and Leppert’s contemplation can actually be seen within the tablature itself, in the very preparation of engraved tablatures, argued here as being prepared by hand. I will give you some examples of what I base my assumption upon. In Figure 4.1 a), note the different sizes and shapes of the letters. If a tool was used to press letters into the copper plate (or whatever material was used), there would not be this kind of variation. Further, if we look at Figure 4.1 b) we may also see that, although it would be plausible that a 6 pointed tool was used to produce the tablature lines, to speed up the process and ensure constant line spacing, they were probably made by hand — line by line. First note the left side of the tablature (marked x, y, z) where we see that the lines does not ‘begin’ evenly, nor does the endings at the right side display a corresponding unevenness. There are also differences in the spacing between lines that

2 I have used letters to show the different measurements instead of numerical measurements as I have not had the original at hand and can therefore not say if the reproduction I used is by the same proportions.
support the theory that a six pointed tool was not used (see $g \neq h$, $a \neq b$). However, other measurements show close correspondence in distance (see $c = d$, $e = f$). What I suggest from this investigation is that the tablature of this book was indeed carved by hand and that, other than the engraver’s wish to present a beautifully looking score, also provides a further example of the controlled nature of the seventeenth century culture described by Foucault. As we will see, this meticulous attention to detail accompanies most of the aspects of lute playing, from tablature to performing techniques. Concerning posture, what were the contemporary guidelines for lute performance?

**Figure 4.1** A facsimile example showing my investigation of the first prelude in Charles Mouton’s first tablature book suggesting that the engraving was indeed done by hand.
A framework of body

Posture

The most obvious place to start would be to turn to the lute collections of Charles Mouton, Denis and Ennemond Gaultier, Jacques Gallot, Robert de Visée (1655-1732/3) and Perin Perinne, but none of them give any instructions on body posture (more than a few remarks of the hands which will be considered later) (Torres, 2003). The same applies to the guitar collections of de Visée, Francesco Corbetta (1615-1681) or Henry Grenerin (lived in the mid-seventeenth century). English sources, on the other hand, are more willing to share the art of lute playing. One of them are John Rogers (born between 1605 and 1615 and buried 1676) who provides such a level of detail and clear phrasing that I have chosen to cite his passage on body posture (almost) in full:

Those that have said that the lute maketh people crooked have said it to avoid the charges in learning, or the pains or the trouble which they have fancied to be in getting that art, or (being crooked before) they have learned to play of the lute, to cover their infirmity with that rare quality. The crooked spirits are afraid that their infirmity should be seen upon their back, and under pretence to maintain the straightness of their shoulders do shamefully discover the crooked figure of their brains. There is almost no human action that will not make a body crooked if we do [not] take heed, even in doing nothing [ergonomic thinking?]. If one can give any reason for it, ‘tis because of the lute that we embrace. But if we use not too big a lute, and [one] that hath not a rising back we shall stop the mouths of those that complain of the danger of the lute. ‘Tis sometimes the fault of the master, that does not take care to make his scholar sit upright. Those that are short-sighted, or have a short memory, are bound to
have always their nose on their book, and so they may fall into that inconveniency. Therefore we must be diligent to take them out by the book, and practice them so well as we may play them by heart, [...] that one might look cheerfully upon the company and not stoop (the grace and cheerfulness in playing not being less pleasing than the playing itself). One must then sit upright in playing to show no constraint or pains, to have a smiling countenance, that the company may not think you play unwillingly, and [to] show that you animate the lute as well as the lute animate you. Yet you must not stir your body nor your head, nor show any extreme satisfaction in your playing. You must make no mouths, nor bite your lips, nor cast your hands in a flourishing manner that relishes of a fiddler. In one word, you must not less please the eyes than the ears. (Dart, 1958, pp. 22-23)

Here, Rogers makes an interesting connection, flavoured by the Ancient Greeks, between the crooked soul and the body. In addition to the physical sense of the word ‘crooked’ as something being bent or twisted as would be natural if the lute is of the wrong size, as Rogers comments, we may also consider the old practice of ‘crooked’ denoting something dishonest;³ so, when joining the two senses of the word, we can deduce that a bad posture is also dishonest. Especially when focusing on the phrase ‘One must then sit upright in playing to show no constraint or pains, to have a smiling countenance, that the company may not think you play unwillingly, and [to] show that you animate the lute as well as the lute animate you’. Note also the formulation crooked ‘spirits’ being used rather than crooked ‘persons’, which of course has to be considered in context of contemporary English literary fashion, but as it is presented in context with the previous remark, it becomes worthy of mentioning. Rogers makes another comment that we can see in the light of the previous section on gender: ‘All

the actions that one does in playing of the lute are handsome, the posture is modest free and gallant and doo not hinder Society'; note ‘doo not hinder Society’. The word ‘Society’ can of course suggest several different meanings, but seen in relation to a later phrasing in the same section, that one of the positive features of the lute is that one may keep one’s legs together as it ‘doth not become man much lesse woaman’ to separate them as when playing the viol (Rogers c. 1660-1672/1974, f. 44v), we find the foundation of my previous argument strengthened.

According to Thomas Mace (c. 1612/3-c. 1706), a good posture is the first thing to consider when learning how to play the lute. It is characterised as ‘Comely, Credible, and Praise-worthy’ and is ‘Advantageous, as to Good Performance’. As one of the few of his time, he gives quite a detailed instruction on how to sit:

[...] first set your self down against, a Table, in as Becoming a Posture, as you would chuse to do for your Best Reputation.

Sit Upright and Straight; then take up your Lute, and lay the Body of it in your Lap a-Cross; Let the Lower part of It lye upon your Right Thigh; the Head erected against your Left Shoulder and Ear; lay your Left hand down upon the Table [for practice only, he later comments], and your Right Arm over the Lute, so, that you may set your Little Finger down upon the Belly of the Lute, just under the Bridge, against the Treble or Second String; And then keep your Lute stiff, and Strongly set with its lower Edge against the Table-Edge, and so (leaning your Breast something Hard against Its Ribbs) cause it to stand steady and strong, so, that a By Stander, cannot easily draw it from your Breast, Table and Arm. (Mace, 1676, p. 71)

Mace’s instructions are perhaps of a more pragmatic nature than those of Rogers. The comment ‘as you would chuse to do for your Best Reputation’, and even clearer his use
of the word ‘Credible’, further strengthen the notion of bad posture (i.e. crooked body
and crooked spirit) being dishonest, but the main proposition is to be learned from the
quote as whole. Good posture serves, not only to present the performer in a pleasant
manner, but also to secure the position of the lute to liberate the hands to do what they
need to do.

Instructions can also be found in François Couperin’s L’Art de toucher le clavecin
(1716), which by its nature, although directed at the harpsichord, can be useful to
consider when playing the lute as well as it presents what seem to be somewhat
universal opinions:

With regard to making facial grimaces, it is possible to correct oneself by
placing a mirror on the music rack of the spinet or harpsichord [...] It is better
and more becoming not to mark time with the head, the body or the feat. One
must have an air of ease at his harpsichord, without fixing his gaze too much on
one object or looking too vague; in short, looking at the company in which he
finds himself, as if not occupied otherwise. This advice is for those who play
without the help of their books. (Couperin, 1995, p. 30)

Similarities are to be found here with the above quotation by Rogers, but what is new
in Couperin’s statement is his remarks on the head and the feet (although Rogers
touch upon it with the additional remark: ‘nor show any extreme satisfaction in your
playing’). The phrasing itself implies that a performer should not visually appear as if
the music is hard to play, i.e. that the musician is struggling with the contents. Note
that he says ‘better and more becoming’ and not ‘bad and disgraceful’, and so does not
banish the practice entirely. The different approaches between Rogers and Couperin,
toward the use of sheet music, are perhaps due to the nature of the instruments. A
book would probably be placed at a more convenient height on the harpsichord’s
music stand, enabling the musician to keep his posture both while reading and
interacting, while the lute forces the book to be placed further down in order not to cover the musician nor the instrument, directing the face of the performer away from the audience. A key feature of all three sources seems to be that the posture must be relaxed, visually pleasing, and not obstructing the performance. I dare say, it seems like ergonomic issues are considered by them all, especially when thinking of Rogers’ statement of the relation between a crooked back and correct posture. We can find more useful directions through contemporary paintings; but we must keep in mind that there are several aspects concerning paintings as empiric material that call for caution. We cannot know what agenda and intentions the artist or depicted performer had when the paintings were made. For instance, did they pose as they actually played or did they construct what they thought to be a more flattering posture? Did the artist alter the reality in his interpretation of the model? Were the postures altered by the artist’s or performer’s (or the one paying for the painting for that matter) wish to communicate a certain characteristic? It is interesting to consider the paintings as some sort of propaganda. If what we see is not what actually happened, we will still be able to see what they wanted us to see. A musician looking authorative was perhaps meant to look that way to convey a certain reality; ‘look at this, this is how it should be done!’ So if not to perceive actual reality, we can still rely on paintings to perceive (from a hermeneutical perspective, of course) the should or ought reality. Viewing images in this way certainly fits neatly into that Foucault-inspired approach I am promoting in this project. But we must be careful — and this is where I have concerns with Leppert’s methodology of reading society out from paintings — because a reading of the lower layers of society (peasants and servants for instance) cannot be anything else than from the perspective of those being able to pay for that specific painting to be made, which were certainly higher up within the hierarchy. Peasants, to name one, would certainly provide another reality than the ruling apparatus would in all its complexities. With that said, Leppert’s approach is still highly valid as a tool for reading politics and social construction from the perspective of the ruling apparatus (at least according those who took the trouble of ordering or painting visual artworks).
If we look at the famous oil painting of Charles Mouton, the lutanist by François de Troy (1690) from a modern performer’s point of view, his relaxed posture and to modern standards beautiful hand positions strengthen these arguments (This painting and those to follow can be found in Appendix II). Other paintings, such as Duet by Henrick Ter Brugghen (1628), Company of musicians by Gabriel Metsu (c. 1650), The concert by Gerard Ter Borch (1657), and Louis XIV’s musicians by François Puget (1687) also join this argumentation, where only the body language differ (some seem more authorative and lecturing than others, and some appear to play in a context of leisure while others appear to instruct). The comments of Rogers continue to apply to each example given here: ‘In one word, you must not less please the eyes than the ears’. Note especially the left arm on the table in Borch’s The concert, which seem to fit the practice instructions of Mace. Is it indeed a ‘concert’ in the sense of music performance for an audience or it rather ‘concert’ in the sense of ‘agreement’, ‘accordance’ or ‘harmony’? The composition of the painting, when taking the body language of the two practitioners in to account, would perhaps suggest that both meanings of ‘concert’ are quite in place.

Technique

Let us now address the applications of the hands, the very place where instrumental music is physically triggered. A normal approach towards lute performance has been to start off at the level of ornamentation signs (especially when focusing on French baroque lute tablatures). Ornaments have for a long time been a discussion among scholars and performers of music, but it has mostly been discussed in the context of signs and their execution; I argue that this level of detail is too shallow. This section contributes to this discussion by adding two aspects of investigation: i) ornamentation

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4 In terms of later discussions in this book, it is also interesting to note how both Couperin and Rogers choose to mention the interaction between performer and audience.
as a product of physicality, and ii) the relationship between ornament instructions accompanying lute instruments and other related chordophones. Beginning with a discussion of hand position, I will later present a chronological overview of ornament iconography and their explanation in a comparative study. Finally, a concluding discussion to unveil trends and useful data that we can include in our overall approach to the problem.

Before we can start an efficient analysis of hand positions we must adopt a terminology that can provide a focused discussion. The anatomic terms presented here, only serve as reference and no further discussion or research on the anatomy itself will be conducted in this dissertation. Every finger, except the thumb, consists of three phalanges: distal, intermediate and proximal (the thumb only includes the distal and proximal phalanx) which are connected to the metacarpals and carpals (see Figure 4.2). These bones make the hand, which in turn is connected to the forearm consisting of the radius and ulna bones where the radius bone is located on the thumb side of the hand, and the ulna is situated on the fourth finger side of the hand. All bones are connected through joints: distal interphalangeal, proximal interphalangeal, metacarpophalangeal, and the carpometacarpal joints. For simplicity, due to the amount of bones in the wrist, no other term than ‘the wrist’ will be used (White & Folkens, 2005, pp. 225-240).

![Figure 4.2 Overview of the bones in a hand.](image)
Hand position

The aim of this section is to shed some light on the hand positions of the time, and by inductive investigation of paintings and written instructions, point at some general directions on how to place the hands. First the focus will be placed on the right hand, followed by a discussion on the left hand. The paintings of which has been subject for the following discussion can be found in Appendix II; References to the full paintings are referred to by e.g. AII – 1 indicating Appendix II image nr. 1. I will continuously refer to the angle of the wrist by its vertical and horizontal axes (Figure 4.3).

![Figure 4.3](image)

**Figure 4.3** Explanation of what wrist angles I refer to when speaking of the wrist.

The right hand

In our first and earliest case (Bruggen 1628, AII – 1), the wrist appears to be angled slightly off-axis, both horizontal and vertical. The fourth finger is placed on the lid of the lute to provide support, and appear to be out of angle with the fourth finger’s metacarpus, positioned away from the hand, while the thumb appears to be relaxed on-axis to its metacarpus. The index, second and third finger all appear to be in a relaxed position. The forearm may suggest that equal weight is placed on the ulna and radius.
Our second case (Troy 1690, AII - 2), presents the right hand of Charles Mouton, here the vertical angles of the wrist are less apparent than our previous case, and the horizontal angle appear almost to be equally balanced and in angle with the *ulna* and *radius* bones. The fourth finger also works as support but is more closely situated to the other fingers, making the overall hand position appear relaxed and balanced.
Another case (Metsu around 1650, AII - 3) shows a similar relaxed right hand position, but in this case the angles are almost straight. The fingers are much less contracted than in previous cases suggesting the joints to be nearly relaxed. The angles of the fingers suggest that, also here, the fourth finger serves as support.

The fourth case (Borch 1657, AII - 4) has yet another positioning of the hand, where the vertical angle of the wrist appears larger than in our previous cases. The angle of the wrist seems to provoke the fingers upwards with the fingers bent. Now we can see an out of alignment connection between the forearm, the metacarpals, and the phalanges which also may have inflicted tension to all joints. Despite the angle presented in the wrist, the thumb’s metacarpal bone and phalanges may seem straight
and relaxed, and the fingers are not overly separated. The fourth finger is yet again used as support.

![Figure 4.7 Right hand position in AII - 4](image)

In Puget’s painting (Puget 1687, AII - 5), the vertical angles calls for less attention than in previous case, but the horizontal angle appear wider than in all previous cases. The thumb is more off-axis than in previous cases but as it appears to reach for the basses we cannot discuss the general position of the thumb. The fourth finger on the other hand, is separated from the other fingers and is not apparently placed on the lid. The angles of the joints in the fingers do not correspond to our first and second cases, but show more resemblance to the third case.

![Figure 4.8 Right hand position in AII - 5](image)
Contemporary sources generally provide limited instructions on the hand positions, but both John Rogers (c. 1662-72) and Thomas Mace (1676) present quite detailed directions on the matter. Rogers suggests the right hand to be placed between the rose and the bridge, being closest to the latter, and writes that the fourth finger must be placed as support on the lid as if it was ‘glued unto it’. The thumb shall be placed on the bass strings and ‘the hand’, probably suggesting the wrist and the fingers, must be bent in an arch in order for the string to swing freely after being plucked. Both hands, he further writes, ‘must be kept white and clean. It is the mark of a gentleman and a lady […].’ He also makes a remark on the right hand nails which should be ‘short and smoothly cut (which some do with a little file)’ (Dart, 1958, pp. 22-23). Mace goes even further in his instructions. The lute must be held in place by the body and the right arm, in order to release the left hand so it can move freely. Mace too, suggests the importance of the fourth finger placed on the lid as support, because ‘It steadies the Hand, and gives a Certainty to the Grasp’. Like Rogers, Mace suggests the thumb to be placed on a bass string and further gives direction on how to review the basic posture when holding the lute without playing:

And First, mind if you sit Comlily, Upright and Straight. 2dly. If your Lute be not sunk down, from its Exaltation, with the Heads. 3dly. That you continue It stiff, and steadily-strong, against the Table.⁵ 4thly. That your Left Hand, remain still upon the Table.⁶ 5thly. That your Little Finger, be still fixt under the Bridge. 6thly. That your Thumb End, lye upon the last Bass; I mean, the End of your

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⁵ Earlier in the chapter, Mace suggests the lute to be rested against a table for support. This is not commonly mentioned in contemporary literature, so considering that his instructions direct itself to the complete beginner we may assume this suggestion to be a beginner’s study procedure, to be left out later on when the lutenist has gained more experience.

⁶ He suggests the left hand to be placed on a table as a practice to hold the lute upright without using the left hand.
Thumb, about half an Inch over the last Bass, and about three or four Inches above the Bridge. Lastly, That in This Posture of your Right-Hand, your Right-Hand Wrist, rise up, to a Convenient Roundness; yet not too much, but only to an Indifference, and to keep it from Flatness, or Lying a long, &c. (Mace, 1676/1966, p. 72)

This quotation speaks for itself and confirms the theories presented by Rogers but differs in that Mace’s directions are more detailed than the former instructor’s, such as the metric suggestion on the placement of the thumb, and the more outlined description of the arched wrist. He further suggests the thumb to play rest-strokes in order to prepare the next bass tone when going up the scale, as well as when going down the scale, which may be suggested to serve both as to dampen the previously played corse as well as to maintain orientation among a great number of strings. Mace also suggests the fingers of the right hand to be closely spaced without touching each other and that the nails must be short ‘because the Nail cannot draw so sweet a Sound from a Lute, as the nimble end of the Flesh can do’, but he confess that nails are useful when the sound gets too soft to be heard (Mace, 1676/1966, pp. 71-73). The instructions provided by Rogers and Mace both appear to concur with our case studies, both considering the right hand and, as we shall see in following section, so also the directions given on the left hand.

The left hand

Now, if we return to our first case (AII - 1) and investigate the left hand we see what appears as an almost straight angle in the metacarpophalangeal joints. The proximal interphalangeal joints on the other hand show a high degree angle, and the distal interphalangeal joints are only slightly bent. As we see from the illustration below, the
left hand is in this case not parallel to the grip board, but it is difficult to establish what angle would be if the fourth finger were in use.

![Image](image1.png)

**Figure 4.9** Left hand position in AII - 1

The second left hand position (AII - 2) differs from the case just discussed by showing an almost parallel angle between the hand and the grip board. The angles of the *interphalangeal* joints are more similar and seem more relaxed, which may be connected to increased vertical angle of the wrist, compared to previous case.

![Image](image2.png)

**Figure 4.10** Left hand position in AII - 2

Returning to the painting by Metsu (AII - 3), the hand position resembles the left hand of Figure 3.8, but with the difference of an increased distance between the hand and
the lute. Now if we compare the fourth finger which is not in use, to the fourth finger of case one we can see that the angles of the joints corresponds to the rest of the fingers which are in use. This may suggest the fourth finger, in unemployed state, to be a ‘companion’ to the third finger, reflecting its movements.

![Image](image1.png)

**Figure 4.11** Left hand position in AII - 3

In Case 4 (AII - 4) we see a similar posture as of case 2 with the difference of a more complex chord deciding the angles of the joints, in addition to the space between man and lute that also influence how the fingers are bent. Otherwise, the overall angles appear to be quite similar.

![Image](image2.png)

**Figure 4.12** Left hand position in AII - 4
Finally, case 5 (AII - 5) displays a similar position as case one as it presents an unemployed fourth finger. What differs is the hand posture being parallel to the grip board. This may suggest that the wide angle of case one is merely a product of the lutenists own technique, rather than a common practice of placing the hand when the fourth finger is not used.

![Figure 4.13 Left hand position in AII - 5](image)

Rogers suggests the left hand’s thumb to be placed on the back of the neck between the brim and the middle, pointing between the middle and index finger. Also, as in the right hand, the wrist must be arched, contributing to the ‘grace of the hand’. The fingers must be arched as well, held as close to the neck as possible in a relaxed manner, and the fingers shall cover four frets without touching each other. When performing ornaments, he suggests the fingers gently touch the strings in order to maintain grace, but otherwise ‘you cannot stop too hard upon the strings and as near the frets as you can’ (Dart, 1958, pp. 23-24). Mace put much less emphasis on the left hand than the right in his treatise. He suggests the fingers of the left hand to be held close to the strings, and that the thumb should be placed on the back of the neck around the second fret at approximately the middle of the neck. No further instructions are given in his section treating the hand positions, and again the similarity to Rogers’ directions and our case studies is clear.
In all the selected paintings we have discussed here the right arm seems to be placed with what may appear as equal weight on both the ulna and the radius part of the forearm and, except the painting by Metsu, all paintings show the forearm equally angled in its placement on the body of the lute. All facts point to a slightly angled wrist with the fingers in a close position, but still with space between them. The thumb seems to belong to the basses, which also can be concluded logically by the physical features of both the lute and the player’s hand. The fourth finger is used as support placed on the lid of the lute and there appear through to be a relation between the distal and proximal interphalangeal joints as well as the metacarpophalangeal joints. When concluding the left hand, still the majority of the results are in agreement. The thumb is placed on the back of the neck, and from both the instructions of Rogers and Mace we may conclude that a position somewhere between the middle and the lower brim of the neck was preferable. Two major angles appear between the neck and the hand: one open and one that is almost parallel, and as mentioned by Rogers, the importance of a relaxed posture prove important when performing graceful embellishments. This study of the two performing hands, may be considered evidence that a generally accepted lute technique existed which appears quite similar to modern day guitar techniques, both when considering the electrical and classical guitar’s playing styles. To bring these results into a social context, we must now consider how this knowledge was passed onto the learning subject.

Taming the lute - on pedagogic materials

From Foucault’s line of argument we understand that pedagogic materials and education can be seen as a tool used to shape the new generations of society, making their bodies docile and preparing them to function within society in a correct manner. Lucy Green writes: ‘those children who come to school already sharing the values and
incentives propagated and rewarded by the school stand more chance of succeeding’ (Cook, 2012, p. 208; Green, 2012a). Antti-Ville Kärjä compares music theory to the law itself as it provides a framework enabling the music maker to ‘do the music right, just as any legal system is designated to keep various wrong-doings to a minimum’ (Kärjä, 2013, p. 16). This remark is true perhaps of all educational systems no matter what period of time one addresses. For instance, J-B de la Salle (1651-1719) writes (as cited by Foucault): ‘those whose parents are neglectful and verminous must be separated from those who are careful and clean; that an unruly and frivolous must be placed between two who are well behaved and serious, a libertine either alone or between two pious pupils’ (Foucault, 1977/1991, p. 147). Also, ‘[t]he teacher will place the pupils in the posture that they should maintain when writing, and will correct it either by sign or otherwise, when they change this position’ (Foucault, 1977/1991, p. 152).

What instructions were then past on to the new generations by the French sources? I believe this to be of great importance when trying to understand late seventeenth century popular music. As this thesis focuses on the music in France, I have omitted the English sources; it would only be confusing to consider them discussing music tutoring in France since they were published and primarily used in England. (Of course there are possibilities of both Mace’s and Rogers’ books to have appeared within French musical society, but this is a line of inquiry I will not pursue within this thesis.) I will now deal with the French sources separately dissecting them as teaching material before engaging in any theoretical constructions.7

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7 It is worth to remind those of my readers who wish to see these introductions by themselves of Torres’ English translations found in his article Performance practice technique for the baroque lute: an examination of the introductory avertissements from seventeenth-century sources (2003).
Denis Gaultier (1670)

‘To the lovers of harmony’ he begins before he clarifies that he will not repeat what other worthy authors has written before him. He will simply provide the manners of playing the pieces within the collection well. He also gives a short explanation on the reason why he publishes this collection which is, as we already know, to correct the mistakes of other lutenists playing his pieces. Following, he presents his notation of right hand fingering and explains his notation before alerting the reader that he should study slowly (with rest strokes in the thumb) and listen to oneself so that one does not learn things the wrong way. Concluding, he appeals to the reader to seek him out if there is anything unclear in the collection.

Denis and Ennemond Gaultier (1672)

The content and structure is quite similar to previous collection. But there is more emphasis on the reason of publication (still the same reason as above). From here the preface follows the same structure as the previous publication. There is, however, one novelty to be found as he describes an instruction work in progress by Montacris. To my knowledge this publication is nowhere to be found today so I cannot enter a discussion on its contents. Relying on the information given by Gaultier, we understand that Montacris will (or at least was going to) discuss composition and philosophy more thoroughly. Gaultier writes that those who are interested in the reasons behind lute playing should consider the coming work by Montacris.

Perin Perinne (1680)

Perinne’s preface is much more effective. Directing himself towards both clavecin players and lutenists he explains how to arpeggiate chords (i.e. séparé technique) the
proper way. This explanation takes up the entire preface so there is little left for us to discuss.

*Jacques Gallot (1684)*

Gallot’s publication provides more information. He opens his preface with what resembles a defence speech before continuing to invite people to come see him to obtain ensemble material of the published pieces. As we have seen earlier in this book, Gallot goes on to instruct proper playing technique for the hands before providing an explanation of notation. This final explanation of ornament symbols provides an abrupt end to his preface.

*Charles Mouton (1698)*

Mouton’s *avertissement* is the most detailed publication reviewed here stretching over eight pages. Unlike his colleagues he explains to the reader how to read tablature and how to tune the lute in the standard tuning (i.e. d-minor). He does not mention the individual tones, only how to find correct pitch from comparing to another fret on another string. Thus, from a pedagogical point of view, it is quite possible to play through his whole collection without knowing what pitches or what key one plays, with exception of the two preludes which states the key in the title (see the overview of the book listed in Table 7.2). Subsequently he proceeds to explain right hand fingering and how to position and use both hands. Now comes the traditional icon presentation that we have already seen followed by an account of why he has included Gaultier’s *La belle homicide* in this collection. Again displaying the pedagogical nature of this book, Mouton finally advises the scholar not to begin with *Tombeau de Gogo* (piece number two in the first book) as this piece is the most difficult of all and may discourage the student from proceeding.
The pragmatic nature of all the previously discussed teaching materials seems indisputable. All except Perinne focus mostly on fingering and iconography. As proven by several sources they all lack of detailed instructions on performance practice and interpretation. But as we can understand from Gaultier, these tablature collections were perhaps only to be used as support for education rather than being pedagogic material by their own means, along with verbal instructions from a master and perhaps additional literature.

All in all, the seventeenth century lutenist stands out as somewhat carefully constructed compound; the body was to be perfected, controlled and harmonious. This we see clearly in all levels of music performance, from the tablature itself to instructions on performance practice. What we also see is that this ethos of ‘musician’ did not come with a, so to say, ‘Do it yourself manual’, but was primarily forwarded to musicians through human interaction; an interaction that could take place in group environments (salons, court, dinners, etc.), one-to-one settings (tutoring, private entertainment, practicing, conversations in written or verbal) and, as Leppert argues, through carefully designed visual mediums. It seems as the lute provided a space for personal expression, whether explicit or implicit, in an otherwise controlled environment. We can also see how performance instructions constitute a link between production and consumption in that the audience is taken into account. From one end we can view the construct of musician as part of, and result of, a social complex promoting an ideology of the constructed and perfected body. By doing it right we are presenting it right according to cultural (and in extension political) expectations. From the other end, viewing it from the musician’s point of view, a carefully designed and relaxed performance technique enables musical expression and, as it has become clear through this chapter, brings focus to the music rather than the performer (without neglecting the importance of the musician as a visual construct).
Part III
Towards a construct of music
Chapter 5.

**A popular vocabulary of ornamentation**

Until now I have set out provide a theoretical condition in which popular lute music may be understood in seventeenth century French context by drawing on modern popular music theory combined with some features of Foucault’s theorisations of force-fields and sexuality (Chapter 2 and 3). I have also explored how the design of the body of the musician — i.e. the described ideal posture and performance technique (Chapter 4) — has interacted with that political and social framework presented in previous chapters. But what remains is to focus on the actual music. This will be the primary goal of the three remaining chapters. This chapter (Chapter 5) will attempt to establish a vocabulary of popular ornaments and point to similarities and shared features in the vocabulary of different related instruments. Later chapters will consider the notated musical work (Chapter 6) and how this music was transformed by the performer through various kinds of improvisation (Chapter 7).

**Reading tablatures**

I will begin this chapter by presenting the basic concept of how to read seventeenth century French lute tablature. (Those who know how lute tablature works can continue to the following section as this section will provide no novelties). The French tablature is actually quite similar to modern guitar tablature with only a few differences. The staff consists of six lines representing each of the top six strings; the thinnest string on the top and the thickest on the bottom. All frets are represented by letters: ‘a’ = 0, open string; ‘b’ = first fret; ‘c’ = second fret; ‘d’ = third fret; and so on. It is much like a coordinate system where the strings are represented by y axis and the frets by the x axis. There is, however, a small variation in the basses: an ‘a’ below the
staff = the seventh string; ‘a’ with a diagonal line above = the eights string; ‘a’ with two diagonal lines above = the ninth string; ‘a’ with three diagonal lines above = the tenth string; and finally a large number ‘4’ (instead of an ‘a’ with four diagonal lines above) = the eleventh string. So basically, it is very simple; for example, an ‘f’ on the fourth line means that you should put your finger on the fourth string’s fifth fret.

The rhythm is only approximately notated at the top of the staff. Instead of writing the rhythmic stem on each and every letter, the rhythmic value was only indicated when it was altered; for instance, a fourth note value applies to all letters until another value is stated. You can see examples of this in any the tablature musical examples given in this chapter.

Some of the composers notate fingerings as well. ‘.’ indicates the first finger on the right hand; ‘.’ or ‘[nothing]’ indicates the second finger of the right hand; and a tick, ‘|’, indicates the thumb. If left hand fingerings are present, they consist of numbers: ‘1’ = index finger; ‘2’ = middle finger; and so on. From this point on, the notation varies among composers and the specific tablature must be investigated. One such factor, witnessing of variations between different composers, is the notation of embellishments.

A short note on the eleven course d-minor lute is needed in order to be able to interpret the tablature examples in this dissertation (see Figure 5.1). The tuning of the top six strings are usually based on two d minor triads — f2, d2, a1, f1, d1, a — and the five basses are tuned in a diatonic scale according to the key or mode that is required by the tablature (variations in tuning exist, but the examples discussed in this thesis are based on the tuning presented here). So an ‘a’ on the first line of the tablature would suggest an f2 and a ‘c’ on the second string would imply an e2. When speaking of the strings on the lute we speak of courses that in turn consist (with some exceptions) of two strings either tuned in unison or in octave. When a course is plucked the two strings are slightly out of phase with each other as well as getting in touch with each other while vibrating creating a very characteristic sound. Also, when the thumb strikes a course, it will play the top string of the pair slightly before the other, but when plucking with a finger the process will be reversed and the lower string of the pair is
played first. This creates a small difference in colour depending on what finger is playing. Another specific feature of the lute is that each tone has a strong and fast onset before quickly decaying. As a result of this one can play quite complex passages without achieving a clustered sound from tones ringing over each other.

![An eleven course d-minor lute built by Lars Jönsson](image)

**Figure 5.1** An eleven course d-minor lute built by Lars Jönsson

**Approaching a popular vocabulary of decoration**

In previous chapters we learned that contemporary sources promoted a relaxed posture and comfortable hand positions (at least according to the instructional works and visual information discussed in this thesis). In addition to the strict ergonomic aspects (which is also evident from a modern performance perspective), we see that it came hand in hand with an aim of pleasing visual aesthetics as well.

Before we can discuss different possible interpretations of musical works, as notated in tablatures, we must come to terms with ornaments and how they were denoted; this must be done to enable us to understand what we see in the tablature itself. So, now that we have set the physical (see Chapter 4) and cultural framework
(see Chapter 2 and 3), from which we can interpret contemporary instructions on ornamentation, we may devote ourselves to reach an understanding, not only of the ornamental signs themselves, but also of the lute ornament vocabulary in a context of other related instruments.

**Ornaments according to lute and theorbo sources**

To make the analysis more effective I have excluded the right hand technique signs of ‘sweeping’ fingers and ‘breaking parts’ as these seem to be universally understood among composers at that period of time. The same applies to ‘sustained notes’ and ‘simultaneous plucking’. Although this kind of ornament investigation is by all means no novelty (already in 1908, for instance, Janet Dodge had an extensive study published), my contribution is rather found in the cross instrumental comparison where the ornament vocabulary of later seventeenth century popular music has been given my full attention. As the task of this analysis is not to discuss the iconography as it is engraved in the manuscript, but rather its design, I have chosen to rewrite all signs by my own hand as to facilitate copyright issues. If one desires to look at the original, they can all be retrieved from their respective manuscript (see references provided below).

*Chute or Tombé*

Execution: Denis Gaultier writes in the 1670 manuscript ‘one must let the finger fall on the letter where this mark is’ and later in the 1680 manuscript ‘you must play the note by dropping a left hand finger on it’. Charles Mouton explains that:

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1 For a more extensive comparison of ornaments, see Torres (1998). Additional contributions can be found in Rave (1972) and (1997).
[from above] In order to pluck a string with the left hand having played it once with the right hand, [pull off] even though there are two letters, it is marked with a small circle (slur) underneath and joins the two letters [i.e. ordinary plucked string legato playing] [...] and sometimes by a small hook in the form of a comma [see below] [...] The chute [from below], which is to play the first letter that is marked and let the finger hammer on the other. (Torres, 2003, pp. 24, 29 and 44-45)

John Rogers speaks of the ‘falls’. He divides the fall into different categories depending on the interval between the two tones. If the fall consists of three tones, he uses the term ‘double fall’. The fall according to Rogers, is always from below but when from above he uses the name ‘roulade’. He provides no direct sign for this latter grace, but it seems plausible from his examples that it is indeed the same as the fall (Dart, 1958, pp. 35-36). Thomas Mace also differs between ‘fall’ from below or above. The ‘back fall’ is performed from above (as it falls back on the true note) and can be constructed by either major or minor second depending on the key. He further instructs that the back fall can be both plain (i.e. only a back fall) or shaked (joined together with a shake). Both loud and soft shakes can be used and when realised, the results of a shaked back fall is in reality quite similar to the trill only with emphasised first tone (we shall see how the shaked back-fall returns in the instructions of harpsichord embellishments later on). When the back fall is inverted, Mace uses the term ‘half fall’ which, according to him, always is produced by a minor second interval (unlike the former). The correctly performed half fall ‘will cause a Pritty, Neat, and Soft Sound’. Mace, as Rogers, also describes the double fall only he uses the term ‘whole fall’. The whole fall is ‘much out of use, in These our Days’, he writes, with-holding that it is in some cases ‘very Good, and Handsome, and may give Delight, and Content to many’. He emphasises that the first tone of the whole fall must not be louder than the others (for any one having played slurs on a plucked instrument understands the importance of this remark) (Mace, 1676, pp. 104-105).
Iconography: John Rogers (c. 1662-1672): from above ـ، from below [no sign given], Denis Gaultier (c. 1670 and 1680): ـ، Thomas Mace (1676): from above ـ، one tone from below ـ، two tones from below ـ، Jacques Gallot (1684): ـ، Philip Franz le Sage de Richée\(^2\) (1695): from below ـ، from above ـ، Charles Mouton (1698): from below ـ and from above ـ.

**Tremblement**

Execution: Jacques Gallot writes: ‘Join terminations (cadences) to the trills (tremblements) as much as is possible to do, and evenly’ (Torres, 2003, p. 37). Mouton mentions nothing about the performance of the tremblement. Nor does Denis Gaultier in the 1670 manuscript, however, in the 1680 manuscript he writes:

> When one puts a comma after a letter that signifies that one must pull off the string with a finger of the left hand; You should do once when there is only an eighth note on the letter, twice when there is a quarter note, and several times when there is a dotted quarter, while making the trill (tremblement) until the conclusion of the termination (cadence) that one will find marked. But it must be observed that everyone can treat these kinds of ornaments, according to the nature of the piece’s melody and its tempo (mouvement). (Torres, 2003, p. 29)

In England, John Rogers (using the British term ‘shake’ instead of the French ‘tremblement’) writes:

\(^2\) Philip Franz le Sage de Richée was a German lute player active in France.
On our days two vicious extremities have been practiced concerning the shakes [i.e. tremblements], some shaking a long time and as often as they can, some making two shakes as once, some shaking with both hands upon the same string. This abuse of the shake hath been condemned by the learned Gaultiers, amongst whom Gaultier of Paris [most likely Denis] would have no shake at all. Now as in singing the trillo made with the tongue is ridiculous and that of the throat very pleasing, likewise the shake upon the lute done with moderation, sweetness and justness cannot choose but be agreeable, since that all the world place in it the principal graces of the lute. Many holds that for making a good shake and the other graces (which is called the ‘pearled’ playing) the strings upon the lute must not be too stiff; besides, that wearies the hand, and ’tis good only to fortify the hand of a scholar. You must keep also your nails short, for it is not good to shake with the nails. The grace is in the flesh, and in the touching with it. (Dart, 1958, pp. 34-35)

As we see in previous quote by Rogers, there are some key comments concerning the status of the tremblement. The beginning of the quote describes what appears to be an experimental use of the shake, and further that the Gaultiers did not agree with this practice. His comment of Denis Gaultier’s rejection of the trill must be considered a bit exaggerated as the very existence of the tremblement in his 1680 manuscript strongly suggests that he did not condemn it altogether. He does, however, emphasise the necessity to be cautious in its application (‘But it must be observed that everyone can treat these kinds of ornaments, according to the nature of the piece’s melody and its tempo’ from the quote above). When reading both their instructions (seen above), focusing on his comment ‘since that all the world place in it the principal graces of the lute’, it seems plausible that his bringing forth of the alleged opinion of Denis Gaultier has nothing to do with any sort of rejection of the shake per se, but rather suggests that
it may have been overly used at the time, beyond proper taste. Rogers appears to argue that there is a need of a soft string and a short nail, ‘The grace is in the flesh, and in the touching with it’ as he writes, we may understand that the trill was perhaps not of a strictly percussive effect, but rather being a sort of sonic flavour. He further mentions another grace called ‘hammering’ which appears to be a sort of long shake, but he provides no example of its performance (Dart, 1958, p. 35-36). Thomas Mace suggests the shakes to be divided into open and closed, and hard (aka. tearing) and soft (all expressed by the same sign; see below). The open or close is simply determined by whether the shake incorporates an open string or not. The interesting feature of Mace’s shake lies in the hard or soft category. The hard is the one that resembles the most the earlier descriptions of shakes and tremblements, but the soft shake may perhaps be called a short trill, very close to (or following Mace instructions, much like) the upper mordent. On performing the shake on must be ‘scratching It [i.e. the pulling off and hammering on of the tones], in a Smooth, Nimble, and Strong Agitation’ (Mace, 1676, p. 103).


Accent or Martellement

Execution: The accent, or martellement (Mace and Rogers uses the term ‘Beate’) seem quite similar to our present day mordent. Denis Gaultier comments in 1670 that ‘one must pull off the string from the preceding fret and put the finger on the note’, and, in 1680, that the sign (see below) can be notated below or directly after a letter. If the 1670 comment is somewhat unclear, the 1680 publication is more clear: ‘This means that you must pull the string with one of the left-hand fingers onto the fret below the
one which is marked, and immediately put the finger back onto the same note that is notated, doing this at the same time as you pluck the string with a finger of the right hand’. Charles Mouton writes: ‘Martellement is when you have the finger on a string and after having played it, you raise the finger slightly and immediately replace it, and that creates only a semitone and rarely a [whole] tone’ (Torres, 2003, pp. 25, 30 and 45). Rogers speaks of two sorts of ‘sigh, or a pull’. The first ‘open pull’ is much like the roulade, but it is difficult to deduce a clear difference between the two from his instructions. The second ‘stopped pull’ resembles what the French call martellement or accent. Interestingly, when explaining what the concept of the pull is he only mentions the latter type (Dart, 1958, p. 36). Mace contributes nothing more than our previous sources on the subject of the beate, but he does however give a general remark on the performance of all ornaments: ‘whatever your Grace be, you must, in your Fare-well, express the True Note perfectly, or else your pretended Grace, will prove a Disgrace’ (Mace, 1676, p. 105). What we can read out of this is there should be no doubt what tone has been embellished.

Iconography: Denis Gaultier (c. 1670 and c. 1680): $\overset{\wedge}{\text{}}$, Thomas Mace (1676): $\overset{\wedge}{\text{}}$, Jacques Gallot (1684): $\overset{\wedge}{\text{}}$, Charles Mouton (1698): $\overset{\wedge}{\text{}}$

Étouffement

Execution: Étouffement, in the two books by Gaultier (c.1670 and c. 1680), appear to resemble a right hand staccato (Rolfhamre, 2010, p. 58 and 60); 1670: ‘An étouffement is when one plays a note, and that you put another finger below’; and 1680: ‘The étouffement is made when one plays a letter with a finger of the right hand and at the same time presses down the next finger in order to prevent the continuation of the sound of the string’ (Torres, 2003, p. 25 and 30). Thomas Mace is even more elaborate and differs between left hand staccato (‘sting’) and right hand staccato (‘tut’). Later in
the *Monument* it appears that Mace uses the term ‘crackle’ for the right hand staccato (Mace, 1676, p. 109 and 170).

Iconography: Denis Gaultier (c. 1670): \[\text{\textcopyright} \], Thomas Mace: spinger or crackle \[\text{\textcopyright} \], tut \[\text{\textcopyright} \]

*Other ornaments in English sources*

Of the sources considered, Mace has the most developed flora of ornament signs. Some have been presented in the categories before but there are still more to be found. He describes the Sting or Stinger as being a vibrato technique. We may note that in his piece ‘the Mistress’ he suddenly goes up on the fret board both times the stinger appears. This fact may suggest that this ornament was not only used as a tool for perfecting the sound but also functioned as an effect. Rogers writes following of the sting, somewhat contradicting the impression given by Mace: ‘The sting is no more in use; it is made in stopping the little finger upon a string and swinging the hand upon it’ (no sign is given) (Dart, 1958, p. 36). Mace suggests that although the pause is not a grace *per se* it does add grace to a piece of music. He writes: ‘And the thing to be done, is but only to make a kind of Cessation, or Standing still, sometimes Longer and sometimes Shorter’. He further presents three more elaborate ornaments which is best described in tones (see Example 5.1; in the book he uses tablature to illustrate) (Mace, 1676, pp. 106-109).
Example 5.1 Mace’s explanation of ‘single relish’ and ‘elevation’.

The double relish is seen in Example 5.2 and differs slightly from the single relish. Mace further comments that this embellishment was out of fashion in his time, but provided good practicing.

Example 5.2 Mace’s explanation of the ‘double relish’.

Iconography: Pause: ◐ or ◐, Soft and Loud play: so: or lo:, sting: w ~), elevation: * a, single relish: ◦ a, double relish ◦ a
Ornaments according to baroque guitar sources

None of the guitar sources by Robert de Visée, Antoine sieur de La Grange Carré or Henri Grenerin give any instructions on the performance of ornaments. Only de Visée and Grenerin link ornaments to their specific signs. Corbetta only provides short notes enabling us to identify the signs. (He does indeed write some interesting information on playing the guitar but as this is not my main concern, I have not included those instructions here.) It is therefore not necessary to discuss the execution of these ornaments as there is not sufficient information to treat. As a result I will only give the iconography given by de Visée and Grenerin below, before moving on the viol sources. What we may note however, is that in de Visée’s tablatures the moillement is always found in a high register. As these tones effectively could have been produced satisfactorily in lower registers on higher strings, I suggest that de Visée’s moillement is rather an effect than pure sound enforcement. This is supported by Dunn who adds a comparison to the viol technique flattement (see the viol ornament section below), being a sort of rapid two-finger vibrato (Dunn, 1989, p. 167).

Tremblement:

Iconography: Francesco Corbetta (1671): ∨, Henri Grenerin (1680): ∨, Robert de Visée (1682/1686): α

Moillement:

Accent or Martellement:

Iconography: Francesco Corbetta (1671): \(\mathcal{J}\), Henri Grenerin (1680): \(\wedge\), Robert de Visée (1682/1686): \(\mathcal{F}\) ×

Chute or Tirades:

Iconography: Francesco Corbetta (1671): \(\cup\) or \(\wedge\), Henri Grenerin (1680): \(\cup\), Robert de Visée (1682/1686): from below \(\text{\includegraphics[height=1cm]{image1.png}}\), from above \(\text{\includegraphics[height=1cm]{image2.png}}\)

Ornaments according to viol sources

Mace gives no direct instructions on the performance of the viol (more than strictly technical matters) in his monument, but only directs the reader to the lute part: ‘the same Order and Directions, which I have given for the Lute, must be Exactly Performed upon the Viol: Therefore Turn to Those Directions [...] and you cannot fail of a Right Order for your Left-Hand-Fingering; Exact Time-keeping; and all other Particulars’ (Mace, 1676, p. 249).\(^3\) From these quite clear instructions I argue that a glance at viol ornaments may reveal interesting details of those of the lute. Shared ornaments (especially those equally shared by the clavecin, which will be investigated later) may tell us something of the popular music vocabulary above instrument level, and where the lute practices differ from the others we may understand more of its idiolect. On the

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\(^3\) Cheney argues, however, that the viol left-hand technique, modeled on the lute practices, was transformed into a viol specific type in the late seventeenth century (Cheney, 2002, pp. 144-145).
viol, I have found two useful sources that present ornamentations more than just including them in a work. The first is the *Pièces a une et a deux violes* (Marais, 1686) by Marin Marais (1656-1728), and the second, by Jean Rousseau (1644-1699), *Traité de la viole* (Rousseau, 1687). Unlike the lute sources, I shall now present each author separately.

*Marin Marais (1686):*

Marais only provides us with the signs and what they signify (see below), and does not give any explanation to how the ornaments are to be performed. Similar to the practice of Mace and Le Sage de Richée we find notations of strong and soft dynamics in the scores. There is one ornament, the *port de voix*, that he does not present with a sign, as is normal practice in tablature music. He writes that this embellishment is expressed by smaller notes in the score (Marais writes the music in staff notation rather than tablature in this publication):

> The *port de voix* is marked by a single small note which is not played in time, known as lost note: and when one meets several of these small notes together they do not mark the *port de voix*, but certain *coulades* that we can do, or not do, without altering the piece, and these I have marked for a variety of execution. (Marais, 1686, pp. 4-5)

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4 My own translation; French original: ‘Le port de voix se marque par une seule petite note qui n’entre point dans la mesure, et que l’on appelle note perdue: et lors qu’il se rencontre ensemble plusieurs de ces petites notes elles ne marquent point le port de voix, mais certaines coulades que l’on peut faire, ou ne pas faire sans alterer la piece, et que j’ay marquées seulement pour une varieté d’execution’ (Marais, 1686, pp. 4-5).
We can see how Marais differs *port de voix* (one tone) from the *coulades* (several tones), a practice resembling that of Mace (back fall or half fall and whole fall) and Rogers (fall or roulades and double fall). The French lute sources, as we have seen, does not specifically mention the number of tones included in a *port de voix* (or *chute, tombé* or *tirades*), but in the example provided by Philip Franz le Sage de Richée and Robert de Visée we see how more than two slurred notes are incorporated into the vocabulary.

Iconography: Tremblement: \( \uparrow \), Batement: \( \times \), Pincé: \( \ldots \), Poussé d’archet: \( \mathcal{P} \), Tiré d’archet: \( \mathcal{T} \), Coulé de doigt: \( \checkmark \), Doigt coulé: \( \cdot \)  

*Jean Rousseau (1687)*:  

Rousseau only literally describes different ornaments and provides no iconography. His work is much more extensive than that of Marais as it is a full scale treatise rather than a preface to a music collection. However, as this is not a viol dissertation, I have only considered his directions on ornamentation in this context. He does, however, provide some interesting material on the subject of improvisation, which will be discussed at length later on, but for now we shall leave it at the vocabulary that he describes.

*Cadance et double cadance:*  

Rousseau’s notion of the cadence is equalled with the trill. One can perform it with an appoggiatura (*cadence avec appuy*) or without (*cadence sans appuy*). (He separates the harmonic cadence ending a song calling it *cadence finale*). The *cadence avec appuy* is only described in ascending melodic movements whilst the *cadence sans appuy* is
described in both ascending and descending motions. Among many detailed examples on when it is suitable, we find two especially interesting remarks:

It is not allowed, or it must be rarely done to perform two subsequent cadences of the same kind, without being separated by some other ornament, which is usually done by means of aspiration or cadence double, as we will see.

It should be noted that one should never place any ornament from one note to another when they are separated by a pause, and when the first of the two makes a cheute.⁵

The double cadence, consisting of a large number of notes, is perhaps best explained by Rousseau himself (the letters represent where a double cadence is appropriate) (Rousseau, 1687, pp. 76-85):

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⁵ My own translation; French original: ‘Il n'est pas permis, ou il doit estre rare de faire deux Cadences de mesme espece de suite, sans qu'elles soient separées par quelqu'autre Agrément, ce qui se fait ordinairement par le moyen de l'Aspiration, ou de la double Cadance, comme nous verrons cy-aprés. // Il faut remarquer qu'on ne doit jamais faire aucun Agrément d'une Note à une autre, quand elles sont separées par quelque pause, & quand la premiere des deux fait une Cheute de Chant’.
Example 4.3 Roussau’s explanation of the ‘double cadance’.
Port de Voix:

The port de voix, according to Rousseau should be performed by two bow strokes on the same tone while letting the finger fall upon the following note at about the middle of the second bow stroke. The port de voix is suitable when one ascends in pitch by degree, especially ascending an interval of a minor second. A port de voix can be placed on an interval of a whole tone if descending and when the measure and movement stands unaltered. From the instructions, one may deduce that the first tone (the ‘dissonant’) shall first be played by a ‘up stroke’ (I use violin language for clarity. The viol use the bow side ways, and due to hand position, in opposite direction from the cello) followed by a ‘down stroke’ upon which, reaching the middle of the bow, shall add the final ‘target note’. This latter example is linked to an example in the publication consisting of a diatonic ascending scale of fourths. From this example we can assume that the former up stroke (before the down stroke) is indeed the notated tone of the scale of the tone (this is supported by his explaining score). This would imply, if interpreted correctly, that the port de voix resembles the chute in the lute tablature (i.e. two notes in one down stroke). What we must notice is his use of the term *chute*. When explaining that in a 4/4 meter (or 2/2 for that matter) the *cheute* of the *port de voix* must always fall on the first or third beat (If the meter is 3/4 the ornament may be placed on the first beat). Evidently, Rousseau’s use of the term *chute* as part of the port de voix creates terminological problems where the difference between the two becomes diffuse. As we see examples of port de voix also in the clavecin sources, I will, however, delay this discussion until the concluding discussion of ornaments later on, when all our facts are ‘on the table’ (Rousseau, 1687, pp. 85-86; Spitzer & Rousseau, 1989, p. 301).
Martellement:

The martellement, he explains, is an inseparable part of the port de voix when the dissonant chute terminates in a martellement. Following previous explanation of the port de voix we may understand that the martellement resembles the mordent (as do the definition of other contemporary composers). This is an ornament that is naturally made by the human voice agitating the throat, and because of this, instruments should imitate it (probably because of the contemporary admiration of the voice). While providing examples on the proper use of the martellement Rousseau describes similar properties as of the port de voix but he also prescribes this ornament upon short note values such as on eights functioning as ‘up beats’ (Rousseau, 1687, pp. 87-89).

Aspiration:

The instructions on the aspiration is somewhat open for interpretation: ‘Aspiration is when at the end of a note one drops a finger on the note whose position is immediately above it, in the same stroke of the bow, and on that note the bow stroke must suddenly terminate’. My immediate interpretation is that the tone upon which the aspiration is performed should be stopped earlier. But as lifting the bow from the string would not terminate the ringing of the tone one must also stop the sound by using the stopping finger as well. However, this interpretation is confused by the examples given in the book:

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6 My own translation; French original: ‘L’aspiration se fait lors qu’a la fin d’une note on laisse tomber le doigt sur la note, dont la situation est immédiatement au dessus d’elle, du même coup d’archet, & sur laquelle note le coup d’archet se doit terminer tout d’un coup’.
One may of course interpret this as an attempt to show the movement of the left hand and the bow rather than what the sounding result should be like (a dilemma of notation also seen in the books of Rogers and Mace). The dilemma of this interpretation is the lack of aspiration right before the final note of his example where such a technique — if interpreted as stopping the note — would seem natural at least for modern ears. This may point in the direction of Rousseau’s example showing how it should actually sound, but we must not forget his phrasing ‘and on that note the bow stroke must suddenly terminate’ again suggesting the initial interpretation. John Spitzer argues for the latter interpretation where one plays what is written in the example. A full enquiry of this problem would not serve this thesis enough so I will leave it to the discretion of the reader (Rousseau, 1687, pp. 90-92; Spitzer & Rousseau, 1989, p. 301).

Chute:

The chute appears similar to that of the lute sources but when describing this ornament, Rousseau speaks only of using it to fill in the interval of a third. All descending major thirds are required to be filled in by chutes. He provides a number of examples that stand out as quite confusing but the core of the description is that one may perform the chute on moving an interval of a second as well. The chute can also be combined with other suitable types of ornaments. (Rousseau, 1687, pp. 93-96).
Battement, Langeur and Plainte:

The *battement* is closely related with the cadence, but instead of starting on the tone above it begins the trill on the notated note instead. It can be understood as a sort of two-finger vibrato that can be performed on any note of longer value. The *langeur* is simply a one-finger vibrato and the *plainte* is, according to Rousseau’s definition, a downwards glissando performed preferably between major or minor seconds (Rousseau, 1687, pp. 100-102).

**Ornaments according to harpsichord sources**

As we have discussed earlier, David Ledbetter (1987) provides a solid ground arguing that there was a close connection between the lute and the harpsichord. He goes as far as to state that in order to understand the keyboard style one must understand the lute style. In fact, he points out that some keyboard music show clear lute like writing and draws attention to examples such as François Couperin who in 1717 uses the term 'style luthé' (lute style) to distinguish between the traditional keyboard style from the more modern Italian sonata style. Also, Marin Mersenne recommends transcribing lute music ‘in order to transfer the beauties and riches of the lute to other instruments’ (Ledbetter, 1987, pp. 29-31). Based on his argumentation I wish to address his statement from the other end. If harpsichord music was so influenced by the lute, can we not gain more understanding of the language of the lute by turning to harpsichord sources? I believe we can. As a result you will find here the embellishments presented in three major harpsichord sources. As these are much clearer in their presentation than our previous cases (being mostly text based), they speak for themselves.
Chambonieres (1670):

Cadance: ~ is performed:

Pincé: performed:

Port de Voix: + performed

Double cadance: ~ performed

Coulé: performed

d'Anglebert (1689):

Tremblement simple: performed
Tremblement appuyé: performed

Cadence: performed or

Double cadance: performed or

Sans tremblement: performed

Sur une tierce: performed
Pincé: performed or performed

Tremblement et pincé: performed

Chute ou port de voix: performed or performed

Chute et pincé: performed

Coulé sur une tierce: performed
Sur 2 notes de suite:

Chute within chords:

Detaché avant un tremblement:

Detaché avant un pincé:
**Couperin (1713):**

Not all examples are included here as they are clearly only small variations of those found below and add nothing more to the discussion than the examples of Chambonières and d'Anglebert.

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**Coulé:**

performed

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**Tremblement:**

performed

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**Doublé:**

performed

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**Port de voix simple and double:**
Tying the ends

There was unquestionably no standardised terminology at the time; the naming of and iconic presentation of different ornaments varies widely, not only between instruments, but also between composers on the same instrument. But despite some level of disagreement on how to specify an ornament, we see that there was indeed a common language of popular graces that shared the basic features and aesthetic, making the lute part of a popular music vocabulary. Ornaments that differed between instruments seem to be a result of the technical possibilities that each instrument provides. For example, the long rapid double cadence described by d’Anglebert and Rousseau can intensify the rapid decay of the harpsichord strings, but it would not be effectively performed on the lute (especially not in a polyphonic setting). The coulé provides a more subtle example of the differences between harpsichord and lute sources as it is not well represented in lute tablatures (at least not as a sign) but is nonetheless possible to perform. According to Ledbetter, ‘[o]rnaments were of course part of the technique of all instruments at the time, but for none did that technique reach such a degree of elaboration for expressive ends such as for the lute [...] for only the viol had the capacity to develop expressive ornamentation to an equivalent degree of complexity and subtlety’ (Ledbetter, 1987, p. 27). The vocabulary was clearly not trapped within its own individual sphere, but rather a participator of a popular musical
dialect — a dialect that was highly influenced by the lute tradition — and well acquainted with its own possibilities and limits; it was part of a greater whole.¹

¹ If we view this vocabulary in a greater historical context, we see that several of the ornaments presented above seem to have survived from the renaissance — either in an intact state (such as d'Anglebert tremblement et pincé) or as a compressed version (de Visée’s longer chutes and tirades for example).
Chapter 6.

Tablatures and the musical work

Now that a vocabulary of ornaments has been established, we can proceed to consider the notated music. At this instance I will be focusing directly on the musical text as it is presented through contemporary tablatures by treating the music with two interests in mind. First, I will address syntactical issues of three selected musical works from the same genre. Second, I will point to some genre and work specific stylistics that these three works present. I will also draw attention to some gender issues that can be seen in the light of Part I and Part II of this project. Both this and the previous chapter will serve as the foundation in which we can approach improvisation in Chapter 7.

After thorough investigation of databases and additional manuscripts ascribed to French composers certain tendencies revealed themselves through statistical data (providing directing data alone and no conclusive facts). From this data we can separate French lute music into four categories: composers with i) few compositions in few sources, ii) many compositions in few sources, iii) few compositions in many sources and iv) many compositions in many sources. When I was in the process of selecting which composers to focus on during this project, I emphasised category iii) and iv). Category ii) was not considered since it shows the individual composer’s productivity rather than his dissemination. Category i) was dismissed for similar reasons. This resulted in selected material by Ennemond Gaultier, Denis Gaultier and Charles Mouton (see Figure 6.1) that presents us with three of the most published pieces at the time. But first, allow me to make a short excursion through earlier

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It must also be clarified that only compositions that can be connected to a composer has been considered during this process. Musical works where the composer could be one of several, or is composed by the vastly famous *anonymus*, has been omitted.
musical practices as to present a historical context in which we can better understand French music.

Approaching French lute music — a historical context

Knud Jeppesen, in his *Counter Point: the polyphonic vocal style of the sixteenth century* (1992), draw up the lines of the evolution of counterpoint starting in the epoch prior to the thirteenth century where counterpoint seems to have been a terminology equal to polyphony and composition. *Parallel organum* was the primary methodology, where a melodic line was doubled at the octave, the fourth, or the fifth, and thirds and sixths were considered dissonances. In the thirteenth century, rules on the construction of counterpoint where starting to be formalised, and thirds and sixths gained general acceptance as consonant intervals. Jeppesen suggests West-European countries, e.g. England, to have shown a more accepted use of the third and sixth than, what he calls, ‘higher developed’ countries such as France (in terms of culture). He also suggests that when France later followed the new practice, it may have been under the influence of
England. By the fifteenth century we can see that polyphonic composition in terms of art is being developed and established, and we can speak of an intellectually mastered perspective on counterpoint. With the linear melodic features of the previous music well established, it was time to consider the vertical harmonic problems, which also brought up the debate of the dissonance and its use as an effect. Jeppesen brings forth the Aristotelian teachings of Tinctoris (c. 1435-1511) who took a more pragmatic approach to the understanding of composition and who started to problematize the function of music. The sixteenth century appears as the Golden Age of vocal polyphony, and Jeppesen shifts focus from West and Middle Europe to Italy. The former rather thin and, to some extent, ascetic harmonisation had now become fuller and more perfected and imitation had begun to play a principal role in musical composition. It is also possible to detect a coherence and interaction between secular and sacred music, as well as a more pronounced change of focus from music as a purely decorative phenomenon to music functioning as an expression of human thoughts and emotions. When French aesthetics are considered, we see an important development of the treatment of dissonances in the sixteenth century alongside a burgeoning tendency to depict dissonances as an emotional symbol and effect of its own value, adding sweetness that cannot be replaced by anything else. The Italian Gioseffo Zarlino (1517-1590) further suggests the dissonance, through contrast, to make consonants clearer and thus giving pleasure to, rather than offending, the listener. In sum, Jeppeson writes that ‘[t]he old ecclesiastical modes were replaced by the major and minor scales. The feeling for tonal combinations became more refined, a sharper distinction was made between vocal and instrumental writing, and shorter note values, more energetic movements, and stronger rhythmic accents were introduced’. He further draws attention to the fact that theorists at the time preached the new style, but proved through their rules of counterpoint that they still, theoretically, belonged to previous century; as such, we face a ‘contrast between theory and practice’. Before ending his remarks on the seventeenth century, he draws attention to the new, at the time, application of cantus firmus, which now started to appear, not only in a single stem, but in multiple stems as well. Theorists started to
change focus from theory as describing a phenomenon to a theory of pedagogical application intended to aid student to learn a craft (Jeppesen, 1992, pp. 3-38).

When considering the composition of French lute music, Jeppesen provides a simple historical context that allows us to see more clearly the chronological construction of baroque music. What we notice is that, through his aim to investigate vocal polyphony, especially that of Palestrina (1525/6-1594), he does not particularly treat counterpoint in France, but focuses mostly on Italy. Are we to understand this as a product of French counterpoint being of less importance, or of vocal polyphony being of a different character than what was developing in France at the time? If we consider Georg Torres article *Some manifestations of French lyricism in seventeenth century* pièces de luth *repertoire* (1997), in which he suggest French music of the latter seventeenth century to be of a completely different design, we may gain some interesting food for discussion. His analyses suggests that French lute music can be considered in several ways and also present different solutions. Considering the contemporary criticism towards French melody, one must direct oneself towards the compositional construction in order to gain a convincing interpretation. In the article Torres suggests that this construction was closely linked to French lyricism, in which the phrasing was designed according to contemporary versification, perhaps as a manifestation of the influences of vocal practice. He starts his line of argument in vocal melodies where he successfully displays the relation between melody and versification, followed by an attempt to adopt the syllable patterns of versification to lute melodies. Although not all his attempts are equally obvious (in fact, I think his argumentation in his doctoral dissertation one year later [1998] gives more credit to his line of reasoning), he does present an interesting line of investigation, providing French lute music aesthetics with an inner logic different from other cultures at the time (Torres, 1997, pp. 40-41). The differences in French lute aesthetics, *vis à vis* that of Germany and Italy, is no novelty in itself, but what we are about to examine in this section is not its ontology, but how it relates to my outline of ‘popular music’ within the French society and its musical forums.
Melodic versification

Obviously there is more to French lute music than what has been outlined in this project until now. Returning once more to Middleton, we can read: ‘popular music is overwhelmingly a “voice music”. The pleasure of singing, of hearing singers, is central to it’ (Middleton, 1990, p. 261). As we have started to unveil, by directing ourselves towards Torres’ research, we understand that we can actually consider French lute music as a ‘voice music’ as well. Not only does lute music model some of its vocabulary on the voice, but also its very construction. The French solo lute repertoire, Torres argues, is closely linked to the air de cour genre, which in turn goes hand in hand with seventeenth century versification. Following, the melodic treatment in French lute music cannot be understood without knowing a little of French versification practice. First of all we notice an absence of stress accent as French poetry, unlike German and English, lacks a fixed meter. The fundament of French versification is based on groupings of syllables (most common were octosyllable, decasyllable and the alexandrin consisting of twelve syllables per line) instead of the more common rhythmic structure (such as iambic, trochée and dactyl). The lines are most commonly constructed by syllables of even numbers but more rarely also uneven constructs appear. Mute /e/’s at the end of a line (producing feminine ending) and words that ends with an /e/ before a word starting with a vowel constitutes exceptions to the general rule. It is also common to find cesurae dividing the lines. In alexandrin verses it often appears after the sixth syllable, dividing the line into two parts which are further divided by small cesurae. Thus we may find lines with syllable counts of, for example 2+4/3+3. It is this latter structure that Torres suggests to apply to melodic construct as well, a product of the verse driven airs of the time. All in all, Torres sums up the parameters determining the length of a line accordingly (Torres, 1998, pp. 196, 203-210 and 221):

1. ‘the placement of longer notes’
2. ‘the placement of ornaments (especially if they coincide with the longer notes of the line or half line)’

3. ‘harmonic agreement (placing the end of a line at an unresolved harmony would be similar to placing a cesure in the middle of word)’

4. ‘the technical implications of performance indications in the tablature’

Now, if we consider this in parallel with the French seventeenth century music ‘trademark’ of *style brisé* we will perhaps reach some kind of guiding structure in which we can understand French lute composition. It must be clarified that the term *style brisé* is a modern invention used by scholars to provide a main category for certain types of performance techniques; it was not used at the time. Cheney lists what he considers to be the features that can be categorised as *style brisé* (Cheney, 2002, p. 21):

1. Asymmetrical, non-patterned breaking of the texture among voices
2. Avoidance of regular part-writing
3. Broken chords [*separée*, and arpeggiated chords]
4. Slightly ambiguous references in original melodic lines
5. Rhythmic displacement of pitches within lines, resulting in anticipation, suspension, and delayed entries
6. Octave migration of line
7. Fleeting inner lines
8. Frequent added passing tones, neighbouring tones, and appoggiaturas
8. [sic!] Constant or nearly constant eighth-note motion [as notated in the tablature]
9. Shared activity among voices, rather than primary activity in the top voice’
Indeed, it would seem that the lists provided by Torres and Cheney does in fact merge easily, and are applicable to tablatures from French lute composers.

_Grove music online’s_ entry on ‘stile brisé’, authored by David Ledbetter, is quite brief. It places the first appearance of the term _style brisé_ to 1928 in a piece by La Laurencie and Ledbetter describes it accordingly: first, to give subtlety to harmonic progressions; and second, to provide an opportunity to prolong sound, giving the performer an opportunity to ‘mould [it] for expressive ends’. He comments: ‘Its primary leading characteristic is the irregular and unpredictable breaking up of chordal progressions, and it is therefore to be distinguished from the regular patterning of broken chords […]’ (Ledbetter, 2013). Now, with _style brisé_ established, we may turn our focus towards the courante and the compositional case studies.

Courantes — case studies

Let us devote ourselves to three case studies of some of the most published works of the time, all being composed as _courantes_. Mace describes the courante accordingly: ‘_Corantoes, are Lessons of a Shorter Cut, and of a Quicker Triple-Time; commonly of 2 Strains, and full of Springfulness, and Vigour, Lively, Brisk, and Cheerful_’ (Mace, 1676, p. 129). Rogers only speaks of the triple time in the context of the lute (Dart, 1958, p. 46). If we digress, at least in terms of period of time and nationality, we find a comment in Johann Mattheson’s (1681-1764) _Der vollkommene capellmeister_ (1739) dividing the courante into having four different functions: i) for dancing, ii) for the lute and clavier, iii) for the violin, and ultimately iv) for singing. The distinction between courantes for dancing and for the lute can be seen together with John Rogers’ comment: ‘To make people dance with the lute it is improper; it is true that a young lady may dance the saraband with her lute, and that is all’. Contrastingly he writes at an earlier section speaking of the good qualities of the lute: ‘One may walk and dance in playing; one may sing and talk; and chiefly one may entertain his thoughts very
agreeably’. Mattheson further speaks of the courante as ‘The lutenists’ masterpiece, especially in France’ and presents criteria similar to those stated by Mace (although the phrasing is different). Yet, Mattheson also adds ‘hearty’, ‘longing’, and ‘hopeful’ among the characters (Dart, 1958, p. 48 and 62; Mattheson, 1739/1981, p. 462).

A few modern scholars can be brought to mind, when speaking of the courante. Buch comments that it was normal practice among les précieuses to use models to generate poems. An incident concerning the death of a parrot, for instance, generated some twenty-five poems based on the same rhyme scheme (Buch, 1983, p. 119). Seen from a popular music stand point, this argument could be paralleled with Gracyk’s statement that, ‘[t]ruth be told, popular music will always be more popular as a resource for circulating familiar ideas than as a source of new ideas’ (Gracyk, 2001, p. 193). Torres points out that courantes, as other dance genres, exhibit an idiolect structure. In the case of courantes this is displayed by a next to invariable combination of notes séparée, tremblement and cadences (Torres, 1998, p. 191). Dunn remarks that courantes are mostly marked by a 3/2 meter alternating between 3-3 and 2-2-2 hemiolas; they avoid literal repetition but offers fragmentary motions disrupted by hemiolas (Dunn, 1989, p. 180). Wendy Hilton (1977) writes that the courant, as dance, have ‘two essential characteristics: a rhythmic liveliness, requiring intellectual dexterity; and an inherent nobility, a quality not to be confused with pomposity or an air of self-conscious superiority’. What is most interesting is her remark that ‘[c]ourantes are dances for the connoisseur’. A well-performed courant, although appearing simplistic, demanded unwavering concentration and full control of the body (Hilton, 1977, p. 161). Seen in the light that the courante was one of the most popular dances of the time, and one of the most published in the lute repertoire, we see a possible conflict between the accessible and the popular. I wish to develop these remarks by Hilton further before proceeding to the case studies. As we saw in chapter 4, the noble posture, in line with Hilton’s reasoning, must not be confused with pomposity or as a feature of distancing the musician from the auditor, but rather as a manner of presenting the music in a pleasant manner that does not steal attention
from the music, but rather reinforces the music⁹ (we are simply speaking here of Foucault’s docile bodies and Leppert’s contemplation). The use of the term ‘connoisseur’ can thus be misleading as it implies an elitist approach to the artisan. I suggest that we must rather see this word in the light of someone being a more or less self-proclaimed expert judge in matters of taste just like we see connoisseurs of popular music today with their multi-style playlists; I suspect that this is the meaning of the word that Hilton intended). Also, seen in the light of what has now become an axiom among scholars, that dance was considered part of good upbringing not only in the aristocracy, but also in the bourgeois layers of society, we may interpret the ‘simplistic complexity’ of the dance as a result of cultural upbringing and leisure, rather than of an elite culture. (Is it not only in recent years that ‘popular’ dancing¹⁰ has been reduced to jumping up and down, to meet the spatial restrictions of overcrowded clubs?)

Let us now proceed to the actual analyses where I will focus on the tablature itself. The selected pieces have come to be:¹¹

- Denis Gaultier and Charles Mouton: *La Belle Homicide*
- Vieux Gaultier: *L’Immortelle*
- Vieux Gaultier: *Le Canon*

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⁹ Recall Rogers’ remark, quoted earlier in this thesis, ‘that one might look cheerfully upon the company and not stoop (the grace and cheerfulness in playing not being less pleasing than the playing itself). One must then sit upright in playing to show no constraint or pains, to have a smiling countenance, that the company may not think you play unwillingly, and [to] show that you animate the lute as well as the lute animate you’

¹⁰ I now use this terminology lightly and have no intention of developing its use further in this context.

¹¹ See Appendix I for complete listings of the collections in which they occur.
Piece 1: Denis Gaultier and Charles Mouton - ‘La belle homicide’

The first piece was published in at least 40 manuscripts and presents us with an interesting case as two composers have contributed to the same piece at different occasions. It consists of an original version by Gaultier with a double (variation) by Mouton. I will use the versions of the music that is found in Mouton’s book (c.1698). ‘La belle homicide’ is described by Torres as ‘a popular international European hit in its day’ (Torres, 1998, p. 39). In Denis Gaultier’s collection La rethorique des dieux, where this piece is also present, we find an inscription reading: ‘This beauty, by her charms, gives death to whoever sees her and hears her. But this death is unlike ordinary death in that it is the beginning of life instead of the end’. Buch comments that the incorporation of the word ‘death’, used as a metaphor for love, was not uncommon in the salon style: ‘Death is used as an antithetical metaphor for love’. This brings to mind, according to Buch, the Christian after life; in fact, writers of the time utilized Christian symbolism in a secular manner. ‘While Christian faith and dogma may have been suppressed from the [visual design of La] Réthorique [des dieux], Christian morality has not’ (Buch, 1983, pp. 74, 124 and 139).

Moving on, Cheney argues in his dissertation on lute variations that the AA$^1$BB$^1$ variation structure of lute pieces morphed into AB A$^1$B$^1$ during the seventeenth century; i.e. the original was first presented in AB format followed by the variation (A$^1$B$^1$), instead of A followed by a variation and B followed by a variation. The ABBA modulation became common in the 1630’s (Cheney, 2002, p. 53 and 174). (Rave argues that the double of courantes should be seen as ‘variants’ and not ‘variations’ (Rave, 1972, p. 71); from now on I will follow his example) According to that trend, we find that ‘La belle homicide’ has been published in AB format followed by a variant, so-called double, presented in A$^1$B$^1$. I will, at first, only focus on the original piece by Gaultier (as presented by Mouton):
Example 6.1 The ‘La belle homicide’ tablature from Mouton’s book.
Example 6.2 'La belle homicide’ in staff notation.
But before we can devote ourselves fully to the analysis, there are some obvious limitations inherent in the tablature as a musical text that must be highlighted. First, tablatures can only present a map of what fret to press on what string at what time, i.e. coordinating bodily movements with a notated rhythm that can only be considered general or organisational. This makes rhythmic analyses difficult, especially since there are also moments where the notated rhythm does not even end up mathematically in relation to the time. As rhythmic notation is only one layered, the analysis of voice leading also presents difficulties, especially considering the long tradition of embellishment and improvisation. As there clearly exists a major gap between tablature and the music being produced, we cannot exclusively depend on tablatures to analyse the music. An analysis of a tablature will, in this case, merely provide an understanding of the signifier that serves as the starting point of an interpretation (whether the interpreter is a musician, scholar or an interested audience). What we can analyse, then, is not the syntax of the music as produced (since the syntactic treatment will alter with each performer and each performance), but the syntax of the tablature as a signifier.

Another problem arises when we set out to transfer tablature into modern staff notation. As tablatures do not present information on stems or more detailed rhythmical values, any attempt to fix it into a score would reveal more of the analyser than of the musical work itself. As such I have provided you with the original tablature as well as score translations, so that you can judge it for yourself at your own discretion. I would be the first to acknowledge that my translation is perhaps not the most elegant in terms of stems and their movement, but it has not been my purpose to present an edition ready to be commercially published, but merely transfer the information into a more readable format. I have tried to keep the number of stems to a minimum, for better and for worse. Moving on, let us begin by looking at the first eight bars (cf. Example 4.5 and 4.6).
Figure 6.2 The first eight bars of ‘La belle homicide’ expressed graphically (see Example 6.1). The arrows show leading melodic movements, the large rectangles show major harmonic reference points and the small rectangles show less important harmonic reference points. The above half of the illustration depicts bar 1 through 4 and the lower half shows bars 5 through 8.

Although, not completely consistent, we can see a syntactic relationship between the first four bars (I will call this ‘section one’) and the following four (‘section two’). Section one appears straightforward in its broken chords and ‘up beats’, while the following section disrupts the repetition by what seems to be a hemiola. Another difference is that the ending of the section is not a defined finale of what has just been, but also constitutes the beginning of following section. We will come back to this phenomenon in short, but let us first turn our focus to the possible hemiola in bars five and six:
Example 6.3 The harmonic and melodic structure of ‘La belle homicide’ in bars 6 through 8.

Here we can see two interesting motions: i) a hemiola constructed with three notes on the first and the third beat, leaving the second beat with two cells of two notes, thus appearing less emphasised, and ii) from the broken chords we can uncover two melodic lines working together towards the resolution of the hemiola. Taking up the question of the relation between section two and the following music on page one, we shall approach four different happenings that interact syntactically:

Example 6.4 Illustration showing the possible hemiolas at the end of the first part of ‘La belle homicide’.
To start with we have an interesting case considering a) in relation to b), where the end of a) can be said to constitute the beginning of b). Both c) and d) theoretically represents possible hemiolas. If we were to take either c) or d) to be a hemiola, we would unveil different significance of its rhythmic construction (remember, at this point we only speak of rhythm as notated in the tablature and not its realisation into performance). The first (c) placement of the hemiola unveils an up-beat rhythm at the end, related to the initial rhythm beginning the piece, preparing the cadence ending the first page. The second (d) makes a more emphasised cadence in itself, thus highlighting the end of the part:

![Example 6.5](image)

Example 6.5 The rhythmic pattern of Example 4.8’s c) and d).

If well performed, both c) and d) could be agreeable but it would be problematic to combine the two at the same time. A) through d) presents no obvious natural stops in the musical flow, thus suggesting the first part of the piece to be architectonically constructed by 4 + 8 bars, where the first four are more musically clear than the latter eight.

Now turning our attention to the second page of Gaultier’s piece (see Example 6.1 and 6.2), we find that the first two bars (bar 13 and 14 considering the whole piece) stand out almost as a statement as it appear as one broken, or rather embellished, chord reaching over two bars. Interestingly following this two-bar statement, it would be possible to consider the whole second page in this two-bar manner (bar 13-16 could also represent hemiolas). Bar 18 serve as another case where several solutions are possible.
Again, the melodic material can be said to be inherent in the broken chord, where different emphasis produce different melodic lines. Bar 20 evidently seem to lead the way from bar 19 to 21, and following gives a character of bar 19 and 20 to be of one unit (at least in terms of musical pulse). A pairing can also be made with bar 17 and 18 due to its harmonic sequence: |VI | IV | V | V | I |. Following this reasoning we find the syntactical structure, in terms of measures, to be 2+2+2+2. Due to the emphasised dominant, which in turn seem to establish the following tonic (| V | V | I |), we may also here suggest a binary ‘division’: i) Section three (bar 13 to 20 where bar 20 function as a bridge between the two parts), and ii) section four (bar 21 to 28). Section four seems to breath the same pulse and atmosphere as section three, so I will not use much time on that here, but we must investigate the ending before continuing to Mouton’s contribution. Again, this musical ‘.’ suggest several solutions: i) A steady meter of three quavers or ii) a hemiola, depending on how we treat the broken chords. The key seems to lie at the border of bar 25 and 26 (represented by the grey field in Example 6.7) and on the treatment of the three first notes. If emphasis were put on the first note (especially considering the ornament emphasising the note, causing an accentuated effect) the theory of a hemiola would be supported but an emphasis on the bass (third note), naturally emphasised through the register shift, would maintain a steady three quaver time:

Example 6.6 Two possible readings of the melody in bar 19 of ‘La belle homicide’.
It is not my intention to fall on conclusions on a correct manner of playing, but rather to unveil different syntactic readings to gain an understanding of the complexity of the tablature as a signifier. Just as class society itself is internally contradictory, so, it would seem, is the music; structured and predetermined at the same time as it is open for interpretation, allowing the musician to mould it into new shapes.

Now, putting the two parts of Gau tiers’ piece up against each other we see that there are clear syntactic relations between the two parts (with a few inner conflicts as discussed above), but the timbre and texture does indeed differ slightly. Not only does it differ in harmony (the first part being in A minor and the second in C major), but also in the different approaches to pulse and periods. The interaction between the two parts can be presented accordingly:
Table 6.1 Comparison between the A and B section in Gaultier and Mouton’s ‘La belle homicide’ in Mouton’s *Pieces des luth* (1698).

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Part I</th>
<th>Part II</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>A minor</td>
<td>C major</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4 + 8 bars</td>
<td>8 + 8 bars</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pulse falls naturally on each bar (with few exceptions)</td>
<td>Pulse seems to fall naturally every second bar (with few exceptions)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>More compact and intense than part two</td>
<td>More relaxed and 'open' than part one</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>More clearly defined phrases than part two</td>
<td>The phrases appear as ‘searching’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

As this analysis has shown, the piece testifies of a syntactic complexity where it becomes strikingly noticeable that the piece does indeed present a clear identity, but not an evident manner of performance (saying ‘this is how I should, or must, be played’). It rather invites the performer to an explorative dialogue in which the composition is created through the performer. Broken chords can, from this argumentation, be said to represent a multi-functionality as they can represent harmony, melody and counterparts at the same time, different interpretations (quite contrasting in character) depending on where emphasis has been placed. What also becomes clear is that we must recognise the importance of considering the performer as an active participator in the forming of a composition; we may even go as far as calling him or her a co-composer.

To add another layer, we shall now turn our attention towards Mouton’s ‘double’, being a variation of the original piece. As the two pieces share harmonic content and
basic structure, I shall not repeat myself by doing the analysis all over again, but instead focus only on the syntactic differences. The most striking difference is that of the rhythm now consisting of a constant flow of eighths, except the cadences that he kept from the original (see Examples 6.8 and 6.9; cf. Examples 6.1 and 6.2). Buch calls the construct of these *doubles*, promoting constant movements by eighths notes, by ‘English style of division’ (Buch, 1983, p. 214). Further, Cheney suggests that the English tradition of variation could have been brought back to France by Maugars after his four years long stay in London in the 1620’s (Cheney, 2002, p. 50).
Example 6.8 The tablature of the 'La Belle homicide's 'double'.
Example 6.9 The ‘double’ of ‘La Belle homicide’ expressed in staff notation.
Another exception to the movement of eighths can be found in Example 4.12’s bar 19 (bar 20 in Example 4.13). A plausible syntactic reason for this ‘break’ can be deduced from its position. I have earlier discussed this situation in the original piece, where I suggested bar 19 and 20 (or 20 and 21 in Example 4.13, accordingly) to constitute the end of previous section and a bridge to the following. Keeping this as my hypothesis, the break then functions as a structural division, further clarifying the function of the ‘bridge’. In terms of musical atmosphere it also provides the listener with a breath from the otherwise consistent ‘linear’ approach (the quotation marks is to emphasise that even if the movement of eights skips between voices, the textural intention is rather linear than column-like). Mouton writes, in the preface of the music collection in which the tablature has been collected from, that his contribution to Gaultier’s piece is of a vital nature to make the original even better: ‘in order to not deprive the public […] and I thought that the double has a legitimate connection with the simple (original), you cannot have one without the other’ (Torres, 2003, p. 47).

What, then, could he have meant? Does the strict, notated, eights movement bring a more evident structure serving as a contrast to the first part, thus giving the piece a new level of consciousness? Does ‘La Belle Homicide’ (if interpreted ‘the beautiful murderess’) then become, intentionally or un-intentionally from the composers’ side, a representation of the tension and relaxation within the ‘murderer’, producing a dialogue between the double and courante? These questions can of course only be considered speculations, as it is improbable that the two composers sat down and decided in consensus that this was the way to go.

**Piece 2: Vieux Gaultier - L’Immortelle**

Our second case, published at least 33 times, is a piece by Ennemond Gaultier called ‘L’Immortelle’. The rhythm of the up beat and the first bar is interestingly the same as in the previously discussed piece (a feature often being part of the French courante’s schemata). Another feature this piece shares with the previous one is its harmonic
movement from d minor to F major in the first section and F major to d minor in the second section:

Example 6.10 ‘L’Immortelle’ by Gaultier as found in the Barbe manuscript.
Example 6.11 ‘L’Immortelle’ expressed through staff notation.
What truly differs in this piece is its atmosphere and its approach to melodic treatment. Syntactically this tablature appears more fluid within the sections, presenting a first section consisting of one three-folded ‘sentence’ rather than divided individual parts (unlike the ‘Homicide’). Another feature we notice early in the analytical process is that of the melodic treatment (now being placed in a lower register of the lute) ranging over the whole section rather than in smaller separated statements. In the second section an oscillating melody on an F major harmony, establishes the major tonality until it seeks its way up to the cadence; Figure 6.4 below illustrates the melodic movement graphically.

**Figure 6.3** Illustration showing the melodic movement in Gaultier’s ‘L’Immortelle’.

Further, as we have touched upon the subject of texture in our analysis of ‘La Belle Homicide’, it may prove interesting to have a quick glance at two spectrographs of the contemporary Norwegian lutenist Rolf Lislevand’s recording of the ‘Homicide’ and ‘Immortelle’. Of course, these examples incorporate the interpretation of the texts made by the interpreter, a discussion we shall engage in later on, but there are still interesting remarks to be made concerning a syntactic comparison of emphasis. To improve our results it may then seem vital to compare two recordings from the same album, the same artist using the same instrument. Beginning with the ‘Homicide’ we see evenly distributed amplitudes and frequencies throughout the piece, presenting a main emphasis of frequencies from around 200 Hz to somewhere between 600 Hz and

---

1 kHz (see Figure 6.4). This would imply that the tonal range of the piece and the dynamics of the performance act in a somewhat narrow scope:

![Figure 6.4 A spectrograph of Rolf Lislevand’s recording of ‘La belle Homicide’](image)

The ‘Immortelle’ on the other hand, displays a more varied spectrograph (Figure 4.6), where we can actually see the implications of the syntactical structure previously presented. The first section, which Lislevand repeats twice, shows two parts, or as we earlier called it: ‘sentences’, with similar qualities to that of the ‘Homicide’, but it is the second section that draws most attention. The frequency amplitude is also more varied in this piece than the latter, expanding from areas of right below 200 Hz to 400 Hz up until right above 1 kHz. This means that this piece provokes a greater range of frequencies than the ‘homicide’. But this spectrograph is also helpful in architectonical issues. If we recall the earlier syntactic discussion of the ‘Immortelle’ we noted that the structure of the piece was more or less at the eye of the beholder; different structures could be interpreted in different ways. The spectrograph, on the other hand, makes the structure of the piece more obvious as we can see more clearly how this work is structured. A spectrograph is of course based on a performance of an already
interpreted musical work, but the visual symmetry found in this temporal-frequency representation also provides suggestions to the reading of the musical work itself:

\[
\begin{array}{ccccccc}
A & A & B & B \\
1 & 2 & 1 & 2 & 1 & 2 & 3 & 1 & 2 & 3 \\
\end{array}
\]

![Spectrograph of Rolf Lislevand’s recording of ‘L’Immortelle’](image)

**Figure 6.5** A spectrograph of Rolf Lislevand’s recording of ‘L’Immortelle’. The letters refer to what part of the tablature is played. The numbers refer to approximate subdivisions as experienced from Lislevand’s performance.

Here not only do we see a relationship between tablature and sound texture, but we also find support for previously made syntactical interpretations. This is discussed later in this thesis. Before concluding the discussion on the ‘Immortelle’, we will direct ourselves towards the interesting case of the cadence (Example 4.16a) displaying morphed traces from the renaissance (Example 4.16b):
Example 6.12 The final cadence of Gaultier’s ‘L’Immortelle’: a) emphasis of the melodic movement in the tablature; b) a typical rhythm to be found in renaissance lute music.

These kinds of inheritance come as no surprise. Musical aesthetics evolves gradually and we have already seen how ornaments have evolved from renaissance idioms to baroque graces. Yet, other examples of the renaissance legacy can be seen in the extended final chords in triple meter c) and the delayed bass which we also find in baroque tablature d). Even though the figures themselves are different, they apparently serve similar purposes.

Example 6.13 Examples of final chord figurations that show resemblance to renaissance lute practice.

Piece 3: Gaultier - Le Canon

‘Le Canon’, again by Ennemond Gaultier, displays a different kind of beginning than our previous two cases, constituted by its rhythmical construction. The piece which was published at least 29 times now begins on the beat without any up-beat and
reaches a steady movement of eighths already in the second bar (again, as presented in the tablature without considering actual performance):

Example 6.14 The tablature of ‘Canon’ by Gaultier.
Example 6.15 Gaultier’s ‘Canon’ expressed through staff notation.
As the piece is titled as a *canon* (having multiple meanings), we must discuss its significance before we can examine the tablature itself. What does ‘canon’ imply? How is it syntactically represented in the tablature? Etymologically, the word ‘canon’, in English, appears to be connected to the words ‘church Law’ and ‘clergyman’, from the Latin ‘canon’ (‘measuring line or rule’), probably derived from the Greek word *kanon* (‘any straight rod or bar; rule; standard of excellence’). It seems to have been adopted in an ecclesiastical sense for ‘decree of the Church’, and from Latin to Old English it passed with a general sense of ‘standard of judging’.\(^13\) Further, considering the French language, we also meet the word ‘canon’ as a masculine signifier of ‘gun’, ‘cannon’, ‘barrel’, or ‘model or perfect example’.\(^14\) In both English and French the ‘canon’ can also imply a musical canon, but already after a short glance at the tablature, it seems at we can rule out this meaning. What we are left with, then, is connotations of ‘rule’, ‘correctness’ and ‘weapons’. These are the words we will bear in mind as we proceed.

One of the first things to notice is the first phrase, as it seems to be constructed by five bars, in opposition to our previous two cases starting with periods of four bars. The following phrase is represented by seven bars (as opposed to the ‘Homicide’s 8 bars and the ‘Immortelle’s 4+4), thus resulting in an asymmetrical relationship within the first section. This relationship is equally represented in the second section of the piece, and this is interesting, because the constant repetition of the asymmetrical 4+7 bars establishes a flow and creates an expectation from the receiver (or, considering the linguistic significations, it creates a ‘rule’). As a result of this syntactical construct, the rule (4+7) remains constant, independent of how the performer choses to organize the piece (i.e. playing the piece \(a a b b, a b a a b\) or whatever combination). Another factor that differs from our previous cases is that the first full chord only appears at the end of the first phrase, whereas the other pieces present it already in the beginning (although with two notes only). Due to the single line at the beginning of the ‘Canon’, not landing until the end of the phrase, we are met with what can be called ‘anticipation’.

=0 (accessed 04/05/2012).

\(^{14}\) [online] URL: http://www.french-linguistics.co.uk/dictionary/canon.html (accessed 04/05/2012).
or tension, anticipating the end, or release. This theory is further strengthened by the prolongation of the expected four bars to consist of five instead. If we look back to the weapon related significations of the word ‘canon’: could we then draw a line between the syntactic anticipation and the phenomenon of warfare (i.e. when the use of weapon are in use)? Can the beginning of the piece be compared with the moment before or the anticipation of a gun to be fired? These are questions that remain speculations, as there is no further evidence to support this theory, but it would nonetheless provide another understanding of compositional construction, the ‘rule-bound’ asymmetry (which through its repetition becomes symmetrical), and the abandonment of the characteristic opening of the genre.

Gendered ornamentation?

Foucault writes that sex became a part of a political discourse where the Counter Reformation’s increased frequency of confessions provided a tool for regulating desire. However, the discourse of sex, Foucault argues, could only have had impact on those attending regular confessions, which in reality meant only a tiny elite. But confession was only one of the tools employed to govern the nation in terms of gender and sexuality. Other tools were manifested in the law; for instance the law of marriage that became a means of controlling controlling sex (Foucault, 1978/1998, p. 19-20 and 37-39). Elias suggests that, in marriage through the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, the social power between wife and husband was almost equal (within certain limits). Women constituted social opinion perhaps more than men (especially through the salons), and a husband could not forcefully hold his wife (at lest theoretically) (Elias, 2000, p. 155). This new control of sex, whether by law or confessions, was more of a technique for maximising life and managing health than of pure repression. Foucault writes: ‘It has to be seen as the self-affirmation of one class rather than the enslavement of another’ (Foucault, 1978/1998, p. 123). As we have seen through Foucault’s discussion (both in this chapter and the previous one), repression and confessions had
started to mask such vulgarities, so we must perhaps turn to earlier French culture in
order to unveil the ‘vulgar’ aspects of the lute. Let us consider Carla Zecher’s research
on earlier French lute poems. In the 1540’s and 1550’s France, she informs us, the lute
poem was a popular genre in which the lute functioned as a muse, confidant or
companion. The iconography of the lute was a prominent feature of such poems and
both in terms of the construction of the instrument itself and the manner in which it
was handled. It was not only a means of producing music but also functioned as a
visual embellishment of the practitioner. Most noteworthy of these poems are, not
only their gendered, but also their erotic subtext (Zecher, 2000, pp. 769-771).

The shape of the lute could bring to mind several anatomical analogies such as
pregnancy, phallic and buttocks. In fact, we can find examples in sixteenth century
literature using the phrase ‘joueur du luc’¹⁵ (Eng. playing the lute) where *luc*, instead of
the more correctly spelled *luth*, functions as anagram for *cul* (Eng. ‘rump’ or more
vulgarly ‘arse’). Examples of the ‘luc’ spelling can be found in sources such as Poitiers
1556 treatise on lute and guitar construction stating (as cited by Zecher): ‘Our fathers
taught us to say “luc” and not “lut”; witness the little joke of good mates, who say that
mademoiselle knows well how to play the *cul* upended’. Both the 180° rotation of
the word ‘luc’ and the word ‘upended’ support that it should be read as ‘cul’. Also
‘upended’ can refer to a young lady’s posterior. Zecher further argues that these vulgar
insinuations may explain the absence of images depicting St. Cecilia as lutenist in
sixteenth and seventeenth century art. She writes: ‘An image of a woman with a lute, if
not belonging to an allegorical series (the Muses or the Liberal Arts), was ever subject
to erotic interpretations’, thus by the middle of the seventeenth century the lute had
become a metaphor for sex. Although the ‘luc’ as analogy is absent in much lute
poems, there are still gendered and erotic connotations to be found. A section from
*Délie* (1545) by Maurice Scève (c. 1500-c. 1560), for example, reads: ‘[…] With your

¹⁵ In the sixteenth century poems by the French author Albert de Rippe we can find the words 'luc',
'lyre' and ‘harpe’ used interchangeably depending on the context. The preferred word changed
depending the need of one or two syllables or if rhyming made it necessary (Zecher, 2007, p. 26).
harmonies, so unlike mine. / For you declaim to her my woes better than I, / Corresponding to my trembling sighs’ (Zecher, 2000, pp. 772-777; 2007, p. 140). The riddle poem Énigme (1750’s) by either Madeleine de l’Aubespine (1546-1596) or Héliette de Vivonne (c. 1560-1625) leaves little doubt of the erotic subtext and must be cited in full. In the translation found in Zecher’s paper, both ‘it’ and ‘he’ has been used as the third-person pronouns of the original text can be read as both:

For the sweetest enjoyment I could choose,
Often, after dinner, fearing that it/he misses me,
I take the neck in hand, touching and working it/him
So that it/he will be in a state to give me pleasure.
   I will throw myself on my bed, without letting go of it/him,
Clasping it/him in my arms, I lean it/him upon my breast,
And, moving forcefully, all joyfully with ease,
Among a thousand sweetmesses, accomplish my desire.
   If it happens, unhappily, that it/he slackens
I straighten it/him with my hand, and I contrive
To enjoy the pleasure of such sweet handling.
   Thus my beloved, as long as the string draws it/him,
Contents and pleases me. Then from me, gently,
I withdraw it/him at last, slack but unappeased.
   On a lute. (Zecher, 2000, p. 788)

It becomes clear that the seventeenth century lute had at least an inherited vulgar side to its ethos. Following the discourse described here, could this be evident in the tablature itself? While investigating Charles Mouton’s two tablature books it was possible to identify some tendencies concerning the frequency of embellishments in his tablatures. I have until now found no Anglophone publications that treat this
tendency within French lute tablatures, so I have decided to address it here to provide another view point of the music. The reason why I have included the somewhat lengthy investigation in full is simply because there is not enough material to promote a finite theory. Some may find my argument that we can find gender representations within French lute composition a bit unorthodox (perhaps more so in lute scholar circles than in popular musicology circles), but previous publications have shown that there might in fact have been a direct link between gender and compositional construct. For instance, Derek B Scott, in his From the Erotic to the Demonic (2003), presents a theory suggesting that gender and sexuality where apparent within the seventeenth century musical text. As an example he present the ‘Pur ti miro’ duet, from L’inconorazzione di Poppea (1642) where he, through Susan McClary’s work, suggests the two voice’s (Nero and Poppea) dissonance and relaxation to symbolise ‘rubbing up against each other, “pressing into dissonances that achingly resolve only into other knots, reaching satiety only at conclusions’. An impression further built up by Foucault’s theory that sexuality turned into discourse in the baroque era and by contemporary medical sources (in this case by Ambroise Paré) stressing the equal need for sexual stimulation and release by both sexes (Scott, 2003, p. 21). Susan McClary’s study of the same piece, serving as part of the foundation of Scott’s discussion, presents Claudio Monteverdi’s (1567-1643) theatrical music as ‘serving as sites for struggles of power [...] providing public models of how men are, and how women are’. Foucault is fronted also in McClary’s book, suggesting that although public erotic discourse probably was meant to apply control, the interest (the word ‘obsession’ also appears) of talking or singing about sex remained. ‘[G]ender and sexuality[, McClary paraphrases,] become central concerns of Western culture in the seventeenth century, and the new public arts all develop techniques for arousing and manipulating desire, for “hooking” the spectator’ (we must keep in mind, however, that she speaks of Italy in the first half of the seventeenth century, and not France in the second half) (McClary, 2002, pp. 35-52).
Choosing a case - Pieces de Luth

The object of this gender study has been Charles Mouton’s two binds of *Pieces de Luth* (c. 1698). Mouton (c. 1617 - between 1700 and 1710) appears as one of the great lutenists and composers of his time. He has been suggested to have been the student of Denis Gaultier and the teacher of René Milleran and Philipp Franz le Sage de Richée, and possibly also Dufaut (Dufaut, 1965, p. IX; Hammarlund, 2005, p. 33; Sparr, 1983, p. 2). The front page of his *Pièces de luth* indicates that Mouton lived at the Paris street ‘rue Saint André des Artes’ (see Figure 3.3) as the lute music collection can be bought from the composer at that address (Mouton, 1698/1978, p. front page). He has been connected to ‘rue l’Eperon’ in 1678 and at ‘rue Saint Antoine’ between 1691-1692 where he supposedly taught the art of the lute (Sparr, 1983, p. 2). These data place him in Paris and also, considering his contemporary reputation, we may suggest that he had the opportunity to be well acquainted with the aesthetical trends in Paris at the time. He serves a good case in discussing representation of sexuality and gender within lute tablatures, especially considering his relatively detailed tablatures. Yet another factor justifying Mouton, as a case study, is his frequent use of title dedications. The two collections contain 66 pieces where 44 of them bear dedications. Of those, 10 are of direct masculine gender and 34 are of feminine (either by language grammar or by direct gender connotation). Before we even begin our study of gender within the tablature, we already see a clear emphasis of feminine representation already by the titles.

I will investigate the music in Mouton’s two collections by dividing them into four categories: i) those of male (composer) to male (title dedication) relations, ii) male to female relations, iii) male to couple, and iv) pieces honouring its subject (the *tombeau*). From these angles we shall try to outline their use of dissonances, embellishments (following Derek B Scott’s principles in his example of ‘Poppea’ mentioned earlier) and

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16 Kenneth Sparr’s article suggests that in addition to the two books known of Mouton’s lute music (*Pièces de luth sur différent modes*) there may have been two more collections, not yet found (Sparr, 1983, p. 4).
title syntax in an attempt to unveil relations representing musical communication between male and female (Scott, 2003, pp. 21-22).

Male to male relations

The masculine representation are far fewer than the feminine, (not including the clearly masculine illustration on the two title pages), it may be wise to begin our case studies here in order to formalise the ground upon which I will discuss my findings. The first example is that of ‘Le beau danceur’, a menuet found in the second bind:

![Image of 'Le Beau Danceur Menuet' by Charles Mouton (c. 1698).](image)

**Example 6.16** Tablature of ‘Le Beau Danceur Menuet’ by Charles Mouton (c. 1698).

In this example (Example 6.16) we see a simple rhythmic pattern accompanied by a simple tonal harmonisation. When compared to LeSage de Richée’s ‘Menuett’, (1695) we clearly see common features between the two, such as the similar movement in the fourth bar and their 4+4 periodification (LeSage de Richée, 1695/1995, p. 3). Mouton’s tablatures, through their designation as teaching material as well as for concert
performance, present us with an analytical luxury of having a relatively detailed tablatures that show both fingerings, more complete rhythmic directions (especially in his unbarred preludes) than other tablatures of his time, and a large amount of notated embellishments. What is interesting to notice in this masculine dance piece, is the barely present ornament signs. In the course of 16 bars he presents only six signs. There is no natural, or unavoidable, use of dissonances in his harmony, not even a campanella\textsuperscript{17} in the cadence, being typical of French lute music. Another common feature gone lacking in both the piece of Mouton and LeSage de Richée, is that of the separée. Now considering that it is clearly directing itself towards a dancer (either figuratively or by actually asking to be danced to) we may compare the rhythmic architecture of another piece by Mouton, named 'La belle danceuse' (feminine gender).

We cannot finally connect the two pieces as they represent different types of dances, i.e. the masculine example being a menuet and the feminine a gavottes. The feminine dance is equally constructed by a clear rhythmic texture, supposedly easy to dance to, but we find major differences in the application of embellishments. The masculine dancer only presents 6 notated graces within its 16 bars while the feminine dancer exceeds the first by 20 embellishments in 20 bars. Also, the separée and campanella is to be found in the feminine dance. Another menuet by Mouton, ‘La Gambade’ (i.e. ‘the playful skip’), only presents seven notated embellishments in 24 bars. Although the noun of the title is in feminine there are no clear gender belongings as it refer to a movement in dancing, which can be performed by either sex. Turning to another masculine example, we find 22 notated embellishments within 40 bars in ‘Le Mouton Canaire’. Again the ratio of embellishments is somewhat lower than in many other pieces in the two collections (only considering those with gender references). Focusing on the title, it is plausible that the intention is either a kind of signature of himself or referring to a sheep (in French: ‘mouton’). If we are to direct ourselves to the musical text we find that, also here the harmony is quite clear and no campanella cadences

\textsuperscript{17} A technique playing a trill, or scale, over two strings in order to have them ring into each other, producing a dissonance.
present themselves. Differing from our previous minuets, ‘Le Mouton’ presents cases of *separée*. With three minuets agreeing on clear harmony, lack of *campanella* cadences and little representation of embellishments, we can hardly assign any syntactical gender, as it equally may be a part of the minuet as a genre.

**Male to female relations**

What if we turn ourselves towards those compositions being directed to women? Our first example, considering our recent investigations, will be a *sarabande*, namely ‘La Princesse’. This piece serves well for comparison as it also presents an easy rhythmical construction and an uncomplicated harmony; yet, in this case we find 18 embellishments in 20 bars. There are a few questions we must ask in terms of the title. Is the ‘Princesse’ an actual princess or a pen name for a lady? As there are theories among scholars that Mouton was employed at the Royal Court of France, supported by André Tessier who states that the clothes worn by Mouton on the painting by Francois de Troy (1690), appear similar to the outfits of the members of *Les grand violins of Musique Royal* (Sparr, 1983, p. 2). If we are to accept this suggestion, then there are possibilities of Mouton having portrayed a Princess. When looking at the tablature (Example 6.17) of the piece we find what we may call a dignified atmosphere with no elaborate harmonic movement. The *sarabande* is easily recognisable by its emphasis on the second beat. At the beginning of the fourth bar we find a dissonance in the *appogiatura* from an interval of a major seven that is dissolved, a solution not found in neither the minuets previously mentioned nor in ‘Le Mouton’. We are also presented with a *campanella* embellishment in bar 11, now being part of the melody rather than being a feature of the cadence. In bar 13 and 14 (as well as bar 16 and 17 as the music is repeated), we find an interesting harmonic movement from E (the third is missing) to H major that, together with a less clear architectonical construction, contributes to contrast the straight structure of the first section. This feature could possibly be connected to the contemporary view, as Stuart Caroll argues, aligning females with
‘sin’, but still the syntactical features of the piece is too subtle to clearly establish a theory of gender representation and sexuality (Caroll, 2006).

Example 6.17 The first page of 'La Princesse Sarabande' by Charles Mouton.

If we are to accept that it was written for an actual Princess, maybe the ‘Princesse’ saraband had to be subtle in its expression due to the nature of its subject? (Recall Foucault’s repression theories, and his suggestions that confessions, as executed by the Church, had the strongest hold on those regularly going to Church, i.e. a tiny elite.) If we turn our focus toward a piece of feminine gender, not directly suggesting a royalty, we may find more wisdom. In ‘La belle Angloise’, a gigue, we can recognise 33 notated embellishments in 16 bars, which is a clear increase from our previous examples. Now the rhythm is much less obvious yet the beat becomes clear upon studying through the use of embellishments to emphasise the pulse. Derek Scott comments on the use of embellishments in ‘Baroque harpsichord music [saying that] they merely function as a way of giving a rhythmic accent to a note, since no dynamic accent is possible on that
instrument’ (Scott, 2003, p. 129). The link between the lute and the harpsichord has been well established in our time, but the main question here is if the embellishments of our case only relate to function as well? The first consideration is that the lute has the physical conditions to actually perform dynamics, and the second is that, if so, the use of embellishments to functionally emphasise the pulse is not always consistent. With that said, I would rather suggest the embellishments in the lute repertoire to be of aesthetical purpose, often placed on the beat to avoid disturbing the pulse. Without further dissection of this problem, we shall return to the ‘Angloise’, and pay attention to the end of the first page (Example 6.18), where a disturbance of the beat present itself:

![Example 6.18 Bar 7 through 8 from Charles Mouton’s ‘La belle Angloise’](image)

What we see is a chord of three notes placed offbeat, also indicating that the bass note should be held until the next bar, also offbeat. It is interesting that this ‘disturbance’ occurs in the cadence of the first section, creating a tension rather than pure release. In the end of the second section (Example 6.19) the rhythm is clear, but again we meet the use of dissolving major seven intervals:

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18 We shall not dedicate any discussion to whether he is right in his comment. For a full discussion of the topic, see: David Ledbetter (1987).
Example 6.19 Bar 16 from Charles Mouton’s ‘La belle Angloise’.

If we make a skip to the piece ‘Le Toxin’, the only additional piece in the collection with ‘gigue’ in the title, we find that there is no such ‘disturbance’ at the end of the two sections. The embellishments again mostly fall on the beats and we find 37 of them in the course of 14 bars. ‘Le Toxin’, being masculine in gender, obviously translates directly into English by the word ‘toxin’. If we now remember Caroll’s remark, previously mentioned, that ‘sin’ was considered a feminine feature in the baroque period, further reminding ourselves that the words ‘vengeance’, ‘vendetta’ and ‘quarrel’ are all nouns of feminine gender in the French language, we now see the title in a different light. Although ‘Le Toxin’ is of a masculine gender its use are equally in the sphere of the feminine at the time. As to compare, one of Denis Gaultier’s ‘Gigue’ does indeed present embellishments placed on the beat, but not to the same extent as we see in previous examples (Gaultier, c. 1670 and c. 1680/1975, p. 30). It may thus appear as it is, in fact, part of the genre but the vast use of it is part of an aesthetical choice made by Mouton. Then what about ‘La Libertin’, a piece with a clear sexual connotation already by its title? Again the major seventh tension is present, not only in the final bar of the first and the second section, but also in bars 11 and 43. The ratio of notated embellishments is now 40 appearances in 56 bars and the harmony is much more refined than in our other pieces. We must also notice that the embellishments does not only fall on the beat but also occasionally offbeat, creating a disturbance in the rhythmic flow and predictability. The beginning of the piece (Example 6.20) also deserves attention as less defined than other pieces due to its upbeat (of course its level
of definition depends on the performer). Not only does the upbeat incorporate the offbeat, but its motion also moves contrary to its target:

![Example 6.20](image)

**Example 6.20** The beginning of ‘La Libertin’ by Charles Mouton.

What we observe is a trend where the complexity in syntactical construction of Mouton’s music increases as we go from the male-to-male angle of dedication, to the ‘Princesse’, the ‘Angloise’ (the opportunity to be flirtatious perhaps being more present than towards a princess? However, this can be nothing more than an act of fantasy and speculation) and finally the strong sexual connotations of the ‘Libertin’. It becomes interesting to draw attention to McClary’s comment that women and men were considered differently equipped in terms of oral rhetoric. Men were considered skilled and effective, while a woman’s rhetoric was usually understood as seduction, as a manifestation, not of intellectual, but of sexual power’ (McClary, 2002, p. 38).

**Male to couple**

Then what about pieces directing themselves to couples? Not only do we have the ‘composer-musical text’ relation, but we are also presented with relations within the text itself. There is one of two pieces in the second bind of Mouton’s *Pieces de Luth* that has been assigned to a couple, entitled ‘L’amant broüillez. Pavanne’ (i.e. ‘the
quarrelling couple’). Such a title raises several problems. First of all, we are not told if they are of both or the same sex (i.e. two men, two women or one of each). Second, we do not know the status of the quarrel (e.g. who wins the argument?) and third, what the quarrel is about. These problems will not be attempted solved in this thesis, but we shall, however, discuss the musical text. In the tablature we meet an interesting case presenting a noncomplex harmonic movement in A major, but the phrases are often interrupted, or unfulfilled. Only 24 embellishment signs in 30 bars appear and we are given an impression of a harmonic type of quarrelling. Turning to another example, ‘l’Heureux himen Passacaille’ (i.e. c. ‘The happy marriage’) presents another case, happy instead of quarrelling, of little appearance of notated embellishments (29 embellishments in 46 bars). The opening line sets the mood of celebration with its fanfare like character. The key is A major and the rhythm is straightforward (as notated), thus connoting lightness (and perhaps purity) depicting an event of noncomplex joy. It seem as the coding of gender now fall out of interest as, although the couple are the subject, it is the event itself that is the important theme. It may have no significance, from the composer’s point of view but it is worth noting that this wedding piece is the final tablature of the second bind, providing a nice symbolic conclusion to the work.

Example 6.21 The beginning of ‘l’Heureux himen Passacaille’ by Charles Mouton.
Living to deceased

We have already touched upon the relation between composer and royalty, i.e. different hierarchical belongings, but what if that relation not only concerns hierarchal differences, but instead the relation between the living and the deceased? To examine how this relation takes form in the musical text, also considering gender, we shall direct ourselves at the two *tombeau’s* found in Mouton’s collection.

**Example 6.22** The first page of ‘Tombeau de Madame. Pavanne’ by Charles Mouton.

‘Tombeau de Madame’ presents 26 embellishments within 18 bars, thus fitting the tendencies we have seen, but now the syntactical structure is less complex then e.g. the ‘Libertin’ (perhaps more on the same level as the ‘Princesse’?), although the *separée* is rather present still. Compared to Ennemond Gaultier’s ‘Tombeau de Mezangeau’, which is more pure and at peace having relatively few notated embellishments, our
‘Tombeau de Madame’ stands out as more complex and embellished. Denis Gaultier’s ‘Pavanne ou tombeau de M’ Raquette’ also differs in its state of mind, although it is syntactically closer to the ‘Madame’ (Gaultier, c.1670 and c.1680/1975, pp. 8-11 in the first collection, pp. 8-9 in the second collection). We are now of course presented with difficulties as the two Gaultier pieces are of male dedication, but not composed by Mouton. Mouton only presents *tombeau*’s directed at the feminine, but we shall nonetheless notice this difference and keep it in mind. When considering ‘Tombeau de gogo’ on the other hand, we are met with far more layers of signification. Among present day scholars there appear to circulate two theories of the dedication: i) the death of Madame du Plessis Bellière’s parrot in 1653, and ii) a possible nickname of Elisabeth Montgobert, lady-in-waiting to Mme. de Sevigné (Fuller, 1997, p. 163). My goal is not to determine *if*, and then *which* of the theories are true, but to attend both theories to unveil their contribution to the music’s gender significance. As Scott puts it: ‘It is important to remember that meanings arise from the interrelations of signs’ (Scott, 2003, p. 68). There is not much information to find about Montgobert but we know she was an acquaintance of Madame de Sevigné, a participator of prominent salons (Larsen & Winn, 2000, pp. 343-344). Sevigné also appears to have been friends with persons such as the lute player and courtesan Ninon de Lenclose (see Chapter 3). Considering her relations we may suggest that she was well connected with the cultural life of the salons.

Returning to the first theory, referring to a parrot’s death, we must not only consider gender, but the parrot as symbol and also the phenomenon of irony. The parrot was not only known to imitate the human voice but could also be used to signify ‘babbling people’ and ‘imprisonment’ (Cohen, 2008, p. 49). François Sarasin (1614-1654) mentions the parrot, in context with the lute, in a poem directed towards Charles Mouton, saying ‘The parrot is astonished to hear him, to praise him, he demands a cadence’ (Sarasin, 1663, pp. 97-98). Now, we cannot establish if there are

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19 My own translation; French original: ‘Le Perroquet de l’ouir estonné, Pour le louër luy demande en cadance’ (Sarasin, 1663, pp. 97-98).
relations of the parrot in the poem and our ‘gogo’ (i.e. if they refer to the same woman’s parrot), but it does provide further evidence of the parrot to have been used as a signifier in French cultural contexts.

Then how does the two theories of Montgobert and the parrot relate to the musical text? The tablature, presenting 38 embellishments in 20 bars, appears more stressful than the ‘Madame’. In its vast use of ornaments and the separée technique, which provide disturbances or even conflicts to the syntactic architecture, the parrot’s symbolic value as ‘babbling’ (from the expression ‘babbling as a parrot’) is brought to mind. The features previously found in our earlier cases would also be conforming to Montgobert as female, but this ornamental, not ‘at peace’, presentation of a tombeau thus make the theory of an inner irony plausible, and perhaps the parrot theory more interesting. Scott, when discussing religious connotations in the music of Brahms, brings to attention the symbolism of higher pitches representing light (serenity or divinity) and lower pitches representing darkness and the demonic (Scott, 2003, p. 109). In the light of this, we must take notice of the musical movement of the ‘gogo’ that constantly seems to seek the lower frequency domains. This symbolical observation would definitely present a conflict with the dignified calm tombeau, saluting a person as he or she ‘ascends to heaven’. When adding Scott and Caroll’s previous remarks, we find the darkness, evil, and sin all to relate to the feminine. Either if we accept the theory of Montgobert or the parrot, we find the same type of feminine markers as have gradually been unveiled through my previous cases.
Example 6.23 The first page of 'Tombeau de gogo Allemande' by Charles Mouton.

Although the theories of Derek Scott and Susan McClary focus on other times, other musical contexts than I am, I find that their propositions may be transferred to late seventeenth century France. It is perhaps difficult to construct a definite theory of gender representation and sexuality in the tablatures of Charles Mouton (there are simply not enough cases of the same kind to be certain), but I will, however, propose that gender representations is to be found within the tablature. We have seen that in Mouton’s pieces of female gender, syntactic complexity increases either by its embellishments, harmonic movement or structure. This study, then, suggests that embellishments and musical construction were not only bound to the syntax and identity of genres but can also have provided a tool for furthering social codes. If we also recall the statement of Elias at the beginning, about the development towards a common ‘language’ between social classes, this increases the plausibility of a theory that musical codes within musical texts could actually have been part of human interaction. This puts the lute repertoire of Mouton into a new level of social consciousness as it ascends from merely being pieces of music dedicated to a person, to
become an active part of human socialisation. Also, this study sheds new light as well as it supports the theories presented in Chapter 2 and chapter 3; lute music could actually have been providing a space of individuality in a time of repression and self-control. Seen in the context given above, we may also note that Leppert, in another discussion than that I have set out to perform here, actually goes as far as to describe social dancing, which the lute repertoire appropriates, as a social form of lovemaking (Leppert, 1993, p. xxiv); from the line of argument above I suggest that we can give Leppert’s statement credit in terms of French solo lute music.
In previous chapter I drew attention to a gap between tablature and musical realisation that must be addressed separately. The fact that improvisation or variation was an important part of French lute music in the seventeenth century has been well established by scholars throughout history; but it is less clear how improvisation was executed and to what extent. In this final chapter I will examine this problem in an attempt to shed more light on what happens when tablature is realised into a musical performance. One major difficulty with such a line of inquiry is the lack of information given by seventeenth century French sources. To deal with this I will try to approach the subject from the periphery by briefly looking at improvisation practices before and after my time of interest. This is to provide my argument with a platform, a sort of beginning and end, from which I can employ the little information given by French sources in an effort to clarify improvisation practices; putting somewhat narrow French descriptions and comments into a wider context that can make more clear what was actually being said. Let us then begin this chapter looking into renaissance practice.

A tradition evolves - Brown’s perspective

Howard Mayer Brown performs a study of improvisation in his *Embellishing 16th century music* (1976). His well founded inquiry, emphasising Italian sources, suggests that in the renaissance (actually from the middle ages on) it was common to improvise, not only ornaments, but also counterparts, imitations and even complete musical works. This was done by incorporating both unwritten and written score material. Methodological books, by composers such as Diego Ortiz (c. 1510–c. 1570), Silvestri di
Ganassi (1492- mid-sixteenth century) and Girolamo Dalla Casa (d. 1601) to name a few, give quite clear instructions on improvisation practice. Being performed in the same manner on both instruments and voice, we may as well include intabulated material into consideration as many madrigals and chansons appear in the corpus. The vocabulary of ornaments seems to focus on melodic excursions (diminutions) and graces. The latter is the most treated in sixteenth century sources and it is likely that they were learned by rote, to be used effortlessly on demand. Embellishments were not only metrically synchronic but also septiolas, quintolas and even more elaborate attempts can be found. It seems that the attitude towards embellishments and melodic elaboration was of the pragmatic kind, where a soloist was allowed more freedom than a musician of a large ensemble. Furthermore, a part played by one instrument could be freer then if the part was doubled by multiple instruments, as this would only result in cacophony and blurriness. Contemporary sources suggest that accompanying instrumentalists should restrict themselves in ornaments and diminutions in order to allow the soloist to flourish. In an ensemble the instrumentalists were also expected to match each other in their use of embellishments, and, as Diego Ortiz further emphasises, accompanying instruments should largely restrict their ornamentations to cadences. According to Gioani Bassano (c. 1558-c. 1617), in 1591, the bass, being the fundamental voice should always be doubled (what we see here is the beginning of the later basso continuo). At the end of the book, Brown points out three kinds of improvised ornamentations in sixteenth century music: i) simple decoration, ii) virtuoso display, and iii) acoustical reinforcement. The first two have been mentioned throughout the book, but the latter stands out as a novelty within his narrative. Although ornaments were not idiomatically designed, the nature and limitations of different instruments were recognised and acoustic shortcomings were no different. Ornamentation could make the sound of an instrument greater and more impressive to meet challenging acoustics, or to attempt to keep the original spirit of a piece of music arranged from a larger ensemble to a weaker instrument perhaps playing alone. However, in the end of the century, there were theorists (such as Gioseffo Zarlino and Josquin de Prez [between 1450 to 1455 - 1521]) who rejected the free ornamental use
on the ground that a composition’s identity may become the victim of a musician’s will to display his or her virtuosity. Thus we discover a conflict between composer and virtuoso; expression and ornaments. (Perhaps it is true, what Brown suggests, that Renaissance improvisation helped music to morph into the baroque era?) In our case the question we must now ask ourselves is to what extent this tradition takes part of late seventeenth century French lute music? It is evident, as we shall see soon, that French sources are scarcely providing any depth of knowledge on the details of this subject, especially those of the lute; so, how are we to meet this problem? My hypothesis on how to unveil a path on which we may find clarity on the subject is to investigate Carl Philip Emmanuel Bach’s (1714-1788) later legacy. By drawing lines from periods before (as I did in this section) and after (see following section), I will attempt to provide theories on the intersecting period of time, the target of this research.

*The true art from Bach’s perspective*

Carl Philip Emmanuel Bach has presented a major work of significance when dealing with the subject of improvisation, entitled *Essay on the true art of playing keyboard instruments* (1759/1762), where he goes very much in detail and try to dissect what truly makes a good accompanist. Although this publication is from a period later than the one considered in this dissertation and focusing on keyboard instruments rather than the lute, it must be included into our research. The ideologies Bach shares with us provide a solid starting point when entering the subject on which we can adapt and trace the suggestions backwards to our epoch of interest. (I have chosen to focus on Bach’s work because of the level of detail that he presents, but it is worth mentioning that Baron, in his treatise on the lute (1727/1976), makes similar remarks.)

To begin with, we shall have a glance of what he proposes considering the interaction between soloist and accompanist: ‘He must take great pains to catch in his accompaniment all of the nuances of the principal part. Indeed it is difficult to say
whether the accompanist or soloist deserves greater credit’. From this quote we see that the duty of the accompanist is truly demanding and he stresses the need for the accompanist and the soloist to discuss the piece beforehand in order to get to an agreement on who may take what liberties and where. While playing, the accompanist must make duly notice of the projection of the soloist (i.e. ‘is he equally loud at a distance as near by?’; ‘does he work in high or low register?’; or ‘how does the acoustics function?’) and adapt his accompaniment accordingly so that the performance is well balanced. Baron makes similar comments, but from the perspective of the lute (Baron, 1727/1976, p. 155).

Bach further clarifies that dynamics are relative in that a *forte* in a large ensemble context is louder than a *forte* when playing in small constellations. The accompanist must not be too elaborate so that focus is not drawn away from the soloist, and not restrict his possibilities of introducing variations in his repetitions. There are moments of course when the accompanist may allow himself to flourish, but Bach stresses that this can only be accomplished by thorough understanding of the material and that, in most cases, a realisation of the accompaniment that ‘does nothing more than meet the requirements’ can actually be the most appropriate. This is the same argument that we find in Baron’s work:

To play a praiseworthy accompaniment, a lutenist must always exercise judgement, defer, and refrain from all ornaments and arpeggios that he would apply ordinarily at other times; and when the singer or instrumentalist wishes to make a special expression, the accompanist should moderate his instrument so that he does not intrude upon the upper voice. (Baron, 1727/1976, pp. 164)

According to Bach, there are also possibilities of interaction by making imitations, which of course demand that the musicians know each other’s strengths and weaknesses very well. If the principal part produces a poor or even wrong variation,
Bach puts responsibility to the accompanist not to imitate him in order to focus on damage control as ‘it suffices to hear a poor variation but once’. The accompanist may also produce a counterpart to the principal line if appropriate and there may also be need for creating an accompaniment where no figured bass has been written at all. He further imposed that there is often not enough time for the musicians to familiarise themselves with each other’s parts before a performance, thus creating an uncertainty of what is to be expected from the musical realisation. A way of dealing with this problem, he suggested that if musicians at least notate the beginning of the principal part in small notes, they will at least know how to begin the piece. Now we see how ‘improvisation’ actually intertwines with ‘ensemble leading’, and if we consider his remarks on recitatives we may unveil further problems linked to the subject. ‘Not so long ago’, as he formulates himself in 1762, recitatives were so harmonically elaborate that the singer could easily loose track of the music and be confused of all similarly constructed melodies. In such cases it is the duty of the accompanist not to ‘desert the singer’ but to aid him or her, guiding her or him back into the proper place. Another product of the recitatives as phenomenon, according to Bach, is that the accompanist must play somewhat stronger than he would in the Church or Salon, in order to maintain order.

It is interesting to notice that when he discusses figured bass, he touch upon several topics concerning improvisation, but in his chapter dedicated to improvisation, he only speak of the realisation and function of the prelude and fantasia. It also seems in the section dealing with performance that his main concern was that of volume (i.e. sound amplitude). Why this distinction? One possible conclusion may be that improvisation was such an integrated part of performance that it was not actually considered part of the improvisation-discipline but rather common sense. As he discusses variation, focusing on preludes and fantasias, he put even more emphasis of the musician as composer rather than subjectively filling in what is missing in the score (or ‘interacting with the score’). The prelude differs from the fantasia in that it is, according to Bach, anatomically linked to the piece it proceeds (this is less evident in French lute music, as we shall see later on), while the latter leaves the musician
completely free as it is more regarded as a piece in its own right. The *prelude* must prepare the audience of the mood and material of the following piece. This raises several questions, in terms of the French lute repertoire and music collections, which will be discussed later. He speaks of preludes and fantasias as being completely composed by the performer and suggest that the principal key must not be left to soon in the beginning, nor retained to late in the end. Otherwise there are great liberties concerning harmony and construction, but when the piece must be short it is wise not to be too elaborate. He comments: ‘[...] what an endless vista of harmonic variety unfolds before us! Does it still seem difficult to move wherever we will? Hardly, for we need only decide how circuitous or direct our route must be’ (Bach & Mitchell, 1949, pp. 367-368, 370-371, 403-406, 410, 418, 420-424, 430-431 and 438). From Bach’s treatise, we can deduce several categories of improvisation:

- Improvisation in *problem solving*
- Improvisation in *ensemble leading*
- Improvisation in *interaction* with other musicians
- Improvisation in *interpretation*
- Improvisation in *real time composition*

*At the intersection - A framework for finding a French dialectic*

The task remains to unveil the late seventeenth century French dialectics of improvisation at the intersection between previous books by Brown and Bach. We

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20 Baron writes: ‘Now if a virtuoso or lutenist (by which I mean those who have earnestly applied themselves to the instrument) has the honor of playig for someone who has heard a great deal and is a connoisseur, he must first distinguish himslef with preludes, fantasias, fugues, and so forth, so that it can be seen that he is capable of thinking, and then he can undertake other good things’ (Baron, 1727/1976, p. 150).
have seen how improvisation was an integrated part of music life through the sixteenth, seventeenth and eighteenth century. Brown’s three categories (simple decoration, virtuoso display, and acoustical reinforcement) fit into the five categories that were deduced from Bach (listed above):

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Brown</th>
<th>Bach</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>virtuoso display, acoustical reinforcement</td>
<td>problem solving</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>simple decoration</td>
<td>ensemble leading</td>
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<tr>
<td>simple decoration</td>
<td>interaction with other musicians</td>
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<tr>
<td>simple decoration, virtuoso display</td>
<td>interpretation</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>real time composition</td>
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</tbody>
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**Table 7.1** Comparison between Brown and Bach.

What is most striking in the comparison above is the increased level of detail in the instruction, and it is clear that Bach wrote his treatise in order to bring light to a tradition which he thinks needs to be emphasised. Bach’s book also focuses more on the role of the ensemble leader, which has not been directly addressed in Brown’s book where the focus is rather on interaction between musicians and making way for soloists. Another factor we must have in mind is the emphasis on Italian sources in Brown’s research and the German style in Bach. I will use the rest of this chapter attempting to clarify French improvisation implementing primary sources as well as modern scholarly works into the developmental structure provided by Brown and Bach.
Grove’s entry on French improvisation

So what do we know about French seventeenth century improvisation practice? According to the entry on *Grove music online*, it is evident that the French *air de cour* genre witnesses of melodic formulae that can be found in earlier Italian practice;\(^{21}\) and the original followed by a variant structure that we find in much solo lute repertoire is also to be found in the *air de cour* genre. The ‘style brisé’ entry only briefly mentions *notes inégales*. Other than that we do not find much more clarity than what has already been suggested: for instance, the appearance of ornaments that I considered in the beginning of this chapter; the lack of a system for notation of different performance practices; that musical mutation was left at the discretion of the performer; and that we find instructions saying that the musician should not obscure the melody too much (Nettl et al., 2013). Let us then turn to the original sources to find more clarity.

Primary sources

French lute sources varied on the subject of improvisation. The sources that provide discussions on ornamentation in their *avertisement* only present legends of what specific signs mean. From these instructions we may reach an understanding of the vocabulary; however, the more elaborate melodic excursions, seen in both the works of Brown and Bach for instance, remain unclear. The lute music collections of Gallot, Gaultier, Mouton and Perrine mention nothing direct on the subject of improvisation. Either improvisation was no issue, which is somewhat unlikely given the Brown-Bach trend above, or perhaps it was such an integrated part of musicianship that it needed no comment? Denis Gaultier writes in the introduction of his book that one of the reasons motivating him to publish his works is that he has come to understand that his

\(^{21}\) It is perhaps interesting, here, to bring Dunn into my discussion as he argues that, in late seventeenth century and early eighteenth century, French music aesthetics had begun to morph by the pressure of Italian music and opera (Dunn, 1989, p. 106 and 109).
pieces has been altered beyond recognition as they have been passed around the
country. Did perhaps this comment imply that personal interpretation (a kind of
improvisation) had morphed the music beyond recognition (cf. the earlier mentioned
late renaissance conflict between composer and virtuoso, expression and
ornamentation)? Unfortunately, these publications, when dealing with improvisation,
rather raise questions than answer them. Furthermore, Charles Mouton comments in
his *avertissement*: ‘[...] so that they will be easily understood abroad as if I had
demonstrated them myself’. This is quite an intriguing comment. Mouton lets us know
that he has a perspective of his pieces being played *abroad* and to be *easily understood*. We have already seen clearly that there exists a gap between tablature and
performance, and that there are ‘blanks to fill in’, so when he says it will be easily
understood abroad, may we then suggest that he had accepted the tradition of
improvisation abroad (Torres, 2003)?

The lute instruction book by Rogers provides us with more to work with. There
are some vague indications at the early parts of the book, such as: ‘It is a gift of God
and nature to be an excellent lutenist [as it] depend[s] upon the imagination’; ‘fashions
of playing and composing’; and ‘all his [i.e. the lute] beauties are different according to
the genius of the lute master that composes our plays, and dives in that spring of
science and charms’. What is truly interesting to notice here are the uses of words like
‘imagination’, ‘fashion on playing and composing’, and ‘different according to the
genius’ which all may indicate that improvisation, of some kind, is part of a good
performance. Rogers later points out the clear inconsistencies between tablature and
performed work, also that the tutoring master may change his instructions upon
playing from one day to another. It would appear as though he blames this
phenomenon upon the master’s ego, protecting his position among colleagues and
students. The ‘soul’ of the lute, he points out, cannot be taught but is better stolen by
hearing the masters play. A musician must be well acquainted with the proper key in
order to provide grace and sweetness ‘without running into strange keys which have
no affinity with the air of the song’. A lutenist may even vary a piece by beginning ‘a
tune upon any of the parts, then join one string to it, then two, then three [... etc.].
Sometimes in a song or good air you make the bass or any other part sing instead of the treble'. Perhaps the clearest lead in the book, upon the subject of improvisation, is provided when he further implies that if a lutenist is not a competent composer he must satisfy himself by playing music by other authors. ‘In that also he[, he writes,] must shake off self-love, in playing those lessons [i.e. pieces] as the author does, without altering or adding anything of his own’ (Dart, 1958, pp. 14, 25, 44, 46, 51).

Thomas Mace, on the other hand, in his *Musick’s Monument* (1676), directs our attention to the very problem of the publications of his French contemporaries:

‘The French (who were generally accounted Great Masters) seldom or never would prick [intabulate] their Lessons as They Play’d them, much less Reveal any thing (further than of necessity they must) to the very Art, or Instrument, which I shall manifest and very plain.’

Nor was there, nor yet is there Any Thing more constantly to be observed among Masters, than to be Very Sparing in their communications concerning Openess, Plainness, and Freeness; either with Parting with their Lessons, or Imparting much of Their Skill to their Scholars; more than to shew them the Ordinary way how to play such and such Lessons.

This hath been, and still is the Common Humour, ever since my Time

So that it is no marvel, that it continues Dark and Hidden to All, excepting some Few, who make it their Chief Work to Practice, and Search into its Secrets.

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22 François Couperin suggests this is probably why, according to him, performers outside of France ‘play our music less well than we play theirs [...] Our costum has enslaved us and we continue in it [...] Thus not having devised any signs or characters for communicating our particular ideas, we strive to remedy this by writing words like “tenderly”, “quickly”, etc. [...]’ (Couperin, 1995, p. 49).
Which when they have done, and with Long Pains, and much Labour obtained, THEY DYE, AND ALL THEIR SKILL AND EXPERIENCE DYES WITH THEM’.

So the reality of a gap between tablature and performance stands equally clear, but we can find no mention the term ‘improvisation’ per se in Mace’s Monument. However, upon studying the book it does seem as he employs the expression ‘voluntary play’ as synonym. There are some hints in the lute part of the book, where, we find not only the more elaborate ornament vocabulary with clear relations to the harpsichord and viol (seen in the analysis above),\(^{23}\) but also remarks such as: i) The musician must know his key well so he does not add graces that sound bad; ii) he must be aware of his fuge (an expression more similar to Simon Frith’s museme [Middleton, 1990, p. 189], than perhaps the traditional term theme), shape and form so that it translates well to the auditor; and iii) (perhaps the most revealing), in order to be a Master, one must ‘be able (upon the Touch of any String, or Key) so to follow such a Touch, or such a Humour, as on the sudden, you either accidentally Hit upon or else shall Design for your self, to follow like a Master; the which shall be done [...] in the Nature of Ex tempore, or Voluntary Play’. But the true support for my interpretation of voluntary play, as synonymous for what we now call improvisation, can be found in his theorbo section where he presents some lessons ‘to show you the way and manner of Playing Voluntary, which you may imitate’. As we may call it axiomatic that improvisation is part of continuo play (as put by Mace: ‘when you can Readily perform, from off a Song-Note, you may be said to be a Tollerable Performer in a Consort’) we may transfer this use of ‘voluntary play’ onto other parts of the book. The over all impression upon reading the book is that ‘performer’, ‘improviser’ and ‘composer’, as phenomena, permeate into one another, and not only makes it difficult to speak solely of one of the components, but also implies a contemporary view of the ‘whole musician’. Especially

\(^{23}\) Mace does also include dynamics (‘soft’ and ‘loud’) and pauses in his listings of ornaments.
if we consider his sections on improvising *interludes*, serving as bridges between one key and another so that the passing from one key to the next does not come out as harsh (Mace, 1676, pp. 40, 115, 134, 209, 217).

As we see, Mace introduces relatively extensive hints on the subject. Although Bach directs himself towards a context of accompaniment in chamber music (i.e. more than one player) there are parallels to be made between the two. The interpersonal interactions are more pronounced in Bach’s work as he speaks of chamber music but there are related traits to be found in Mace. While Bach speaks of interacting with and matching the soloist — understanding each other’s strengths and weaknesses — Mace speaks of adapting to the acoustics. Both speak of keeping the focus on the right place either on the soloist (Bach) or the musical motif (Mace). Bach does not, however, speak of interludes in the same pronounced manner as Mace, but he speaks of making variations in repetitions. Both promote a thorough understanding of the material but they only directly discuss improvisation (Mace uses the term ‘voluntary play’) when dealing with the prelude and fantasia. But most important is that both Mace and Bach seem to include performer, composer and improviser into their notion of ‘performer’. Improvisation was, then, part of a ‘master’s’ (to use Mace’s choice of word) common sense, an inherent quality to be expected from the best. Bach is more clear however, that even if the performer is completely free in his improvisation of fantasias and preludes (he now focuses on harmony) they must be proportional to the duration of the music. The key one begins or ends with must be clearly presented so there is no doubt.

Recall the earlier presentation of Jean Rousseau’s ornaments. Consider how he does not assign any icons to his graces, but rather discusses when they are suitable to be performed. As a result, we get a clear indication of the contemporary improvisation practice. John Spitzer (1989) argues that Rousseau’s treatise in fact, provides a grammar for viol improvisation. Spitzer’s argument is founded on a detailed study of Rousseau’s instructions where he has mapped the do’s and don’t’s and unveiled what can almost be described as an ornament algorithm. I have found no indications that the grammar proposed by Rousseau (through Spitzer’s structuralistic formalisation)
also was adopted by contemporary lutenists. This is not a key focus in this thesis and the reader will be referred to Spitzer & Rousseau (1989).

René Descartes (1596-1650) speaks little of improvisation in his compendium on music. The closest term would be the term ‘variation’ but he does not specify its application: ‘It is to be observed, that Variety, is most gratefull in all things’. He does, however, mention diminutions and syncopations, making the music heard more distinctly, exciting more constant attention (Descartes, 1653, pp. 3 and 53-54). If we recall that the vocabulary of the lute was linked, not only to other plucked string instruments, but also to the harpsichord and viol, we may also find further wisdom among other non-lute publications. Unfortunately the music collections of Marin Marais (1686), Forqueray (1747), Robert DeVisée (1682/1686/1973), Henry Grenerin (1680/1977), Antoine Carré (1671) all prove Mace right in his complaint about the French’s unwillingness to share. To understand more of improvisation in practice, I will now turn towards the phenomenon of the prelude. The reason why I do this is clearly exemplified by Mace (1676) who writes that the prelude is

‘commonly a Piece of Confused-wild-shapeless-kind of Intricate-Play, (as most use It) in which no perfect Form, Shape, or Uniformity can be perceived; but a Random-Business, Pottering, and Grooping, upand down from one Stop, or Key, to another; And generally, so performed, to make Tryal, whether the Instrument be well in Tune, or not;[24] by which doing, after they have Compleated Their Tuning, They will (if They be Masters) fall into some kind of Voluntary, or Fancial Play, more Intelligible; which (if He be a Master, Able) is a way, whereby He may more Fully, and Plainly shew His Excellency, and Ability, than by other

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24 Couperin adds: ‘they also loosen the fingers and are often used for trying out instruments on which one has not practiced’ (Couperin, 1995, p. 55). This is perhaps more of a matter concerning larger instruments, such as the harpsichord of which Couperin refers to, but it is not unlikely that a lutenist may borrow an instrument of another.
kind of undertaking; and has an *unlimited*, and *unbounded Liberty*; In which, he may make use of the *Forms*, and *Shapes of all the rest* (Mace, 1676, pp. 128-129).

Mace’s phrasing is so clear that it needs no further discussion. However, this ‘liberty’ that he mentions quickly appears paradoxical. Despite preludes being described as pure improvisations (remember that Carl Philip Emanuel Bach spoke of preludes as completely composed by the performer) we find them written out in publications, not only in most of the music collections of the time, but also in Mace’s own treatise. In Mace’s case, it seems as the prelude serves for two major purposes. One being of presenting musically and technically easy studies for aspiring lutenists (in fact, several of his first beginner’s lessons are in the form of præludes), and the other being as suggestions on possible manners of playing preludes. Couperin displays a similar point of view: ‘A prelude is a composition in which the fancy can free itself from all that is written in the book [...] form your playing on today’s good taste, which is without comparison more pure than the old style’. (In relation to this statement we must also draw attention earlier in the same book where he writes: ’But the French willingly swallow whatever is novel, as they truly believe they understand better than no other nations’) (Couperin, 1995, p. 47 and 70). Aristoteles compares the introduction of a speech, especially of the epideictic kind, to flute preludes. Both serve as statements of beginning and provide a hint of what is still to come (Aristoteles, 2006, p. 249). In line with Aristoteles’ argument we find that Carl Philip Emanuel Bach also comments that the prelude is often designed upon the material of the following piece. The question is, then: is this the case in French lute music? There is no doubt that certain features are shared between preludes and its following works. For example if we look at the contents of Mouton’s two collections we notice how preludes begin series of the same key. (I follow Torres’ example and employ the term series rather than suite [Torres, 1998, p. 58].) Note how two subsequent series might share the same key (I have inserted space before every prelude to make the structure more clear):
Book I

• Prelude $a$-minor
• Allemande. Tombeau de Gogo
• Courante
• Double
• Les Cabrioles, Courante
• Canarie
• La fière. Courante
• La Belle homicide. Courante de M. Gautier
• Double de la belle homicide
• Sarabande
• Gavotte
• Allemande. L’Impromptu

• Prelude $a$-minor
• La Cavalliere
• Chaconne
• La Princesse. Sarabande

• Prelude en C sol ut b mol $c$-minor
• Tombeau de Madame. Pavanne
• La Belle Angloise. Gigue
• La Libertin. Canaire
• La deliberée. Courante
• La belle Piedmontoise. Courante
• [no title but probably a double]
• La Bergère. Sarabande

• Prelude $c$-minor

Book II

• Prelude $f#$-minor
• La Nonpareille. Pavanne
• Le Toxin. Gigue
• Le Départ. Courante
• Double du Départ
• La Raisonneuse. Courante
• Le Double
• La Quincy. Sarabande
• La Promenade. Prelude
• Le Dialogue des graces sur Iris. Allemande
• La belle Iris. Allemande
• Le Mouton. Canaire
• La Raccomodement. Courante
• Double du Départ
• La Bizarre. Gaillarde
• La Cheangeante. Courante
• La Malassis. Sarabande
• Menuet. La Gambade

• Prelude en A mi la tierce majeure $a$-minor
• Les Amans brouillez. Pavanne
• La Veritable. Courante
• Double
• Sarabande en Ronfeau
• La Fidelle. Gavotte
• Le beau Danceur. Menuet
• La Constante. Courante
Let us stay with Mouton for a while longer. If we penetrate these preludes beyond the superficial level of keys we may look at two things. First, how does the material relate to the subsequent piece? Second, does the material relate to each other? Between the preludes and their following piece there seem to be little relation more than the key and common idiomatic lute vocabulary. The first prelude consists mostly of arpeggiated cords and what is most noteworthy is that Mouton, by suddenly adding extra tones to his arpeggio, creates an illusion of slowing down, a technique made available as these preludes was unbarred. This asymmetrical move is again found in the second prelude. This piece consists of quite a different textural shape and only resembles the first by its Moutonian vocabulary. The first preludes of the first and second book respectively are quite similar in character, but otherwise the preludes seem to function independently. However there seems to be a standardised formula consisting of an opening figure, more or less constant alteration between melodic movements and arpeggios ‘glued together’ by the bass line. The bass line does not function the same obvious way as we can see in basso continuo works. But there is still a uniting and guiding quality to the prelude bass line, providing security through the constant wandering. Asymmetrical arpeggios seem to be consciously used to steer the pace of the pieces (effectively altering intensity and movement). Without engaging in a

Table 4.3 Inventory of Mouton’s two binds of *Pieces de luth* (1698).
discussion of dialects and idiolects, we find similar features in the preludes of Denis Gaultier and Jacques Gallot (some are more elaborate than others). It is clear, however, that these kinds of unbarred preludes follow a different kind of logic than other genres of the time. McClary amusingly describes the prelude accordingly: ‘Facing one of these preludes [she is speaking of d’Anglebert’s works] feels very much like confronting an IQ test that asks you to solve a problem with only a limited set of tools. Yet coming to terms with such a piece [...] can be remarkably satisfying’ (McClary, 2012, p. 187).

To conclude this chapter, as well as Part III of this project, there are some overall points that I wish to make. First of all, we can actually speak of a popular ornament vocabulary; although the notation varies from composer to composer, from instrument to instrument, the ornaments being produced actually shares the same aesthetics and shape (only appropriated due to instrument specific idiomatic possibilities). However, only some of these ornaments find their way into notated form.25

Second, we have seen that tablatures present features that are to some extent internally contradictory. At one hand, they provide set coordinates for the musician to realise through a performance; at the other, they provide many cases that are open for discussion. Such discussions may range from the syntactic structure itself, to rhythmic realisation, to ornamentation distribution (which I have suggested to have had perhaps more complex purposes than mere ornamental), to pure improvisation. Third, it seems as lute music also had gendered aspects. In addition to the examples in Chapter 6, where we saw that there were differences in how men and women were depicted while playing the lute in contemporary visual art as well as a apparent gendered flora (tending towards the erotic) of poetry, we can sense some gendered aspects in the very construct of the music itself. There seems to be, at least in Mouton’s tablature collection, a ratio between ornament frequency, harmonic complexity and the

25 Torres comments that handwritten sources provide more performance indications than the printed ones (Torres, 1998, p. 26).
interpersonal relations inherent within the specific musical piece’s title. If we are to accept the premises of repression and confession set by Foucault, we see how these gendered issues can fit into a social complex. Assuming that solo lute music, as already suggested, served as an opportunity of personal expression (within a society promoting self control that moved towards a politicised sexuality), then can we not include these features of gender into music making? Enabling the ‘whole musician’ (i.e. composer/improviser/performer) to communicate the unspeakable through music? Although, I admit that such arguments may tend towards being far fetched, but I do, however, find them highly interesting, and they would fit nicely when put into a Foucault-inspired universe.
Throughout this project I have tried to follow the theoretical framework that Middleton outlined in 1990 through his *Styding popular music*, in an attempt to ‘[…] put a finger on that space, that terrain, of contradiction — between “imposed” and “authentic”, “elite” and “common”, predominant and subordinate, then and now, theirs and ours, and so on — and to organize it in particular ways’ (Middleton, 1990, p. 7). By combining features of Foucault’s theorisations with those of Middleton, I have tried first to establish and then to explore seventeenth century popular music for the lute. This version of popular has come to be pronounced, articulated through a popular drawn from politics, cultural articulations and overall force-fields as well as the musical material itself. My aim has not been to provide a grand narrative for baroque popular, but rather stake out a course leading to other possible readings of French lute music.

In the midst of political propaganda, the docile body and the idea of proper conduct, I have suggested that the lute and its music could have provided the individual with a channel for personal expression. This expression could also contribute to form social groups and cultural belonging. Musical instruments were not only tools for sound production but also functioned as social markers, and music making mirrored social order and could affect both as symbol and as sound. Simply put, it seems as the act of playing an instrument was to partake in a dialogue between instrument and self, to allow oneself to be controlled by the instrument as well as exercising control over it. We saw, for instance, tendencies in the musical example and analysis of Mouton’s solo lute piece ‘La belle homicide’ pointing towards an expression of that inner dialogue between music and musician. This is also to be seen in connection with the statistics of ornamentation and harmonic complexity in his works. It seems as pieces attributed with feminine features (such as female dedication,
feminine endings to words, sensually or sexually connoted titles) displays an increase in the frequency of embellishments and harmonic complexity; pieces attributed to the masculine gender is more light and simple in character. These tendencies alone is not sufficient to form a valid theory but seen in line with other aspects, unveiled by scholars such as Leppert, McClary and Foucault, they start to become more relevant. For instance, we have seen how renaissance lute poetry promotes literal examples that today would classify as rather pornographic. If we were to follow the theorisations made by Foucault, these findings would indeed fit neatly within his realm. As sexuality was slowly made into a political discourse and confessions became a power tool exercised both in public and in private, the lute could actually, theoretically has been a successful mediator of inner thoughts. Further, we have seen how Leppert and McClary promote a description of dance, not only as part of good upbringing, but also as a social form of lovemaking, and the intimate connection between the lute and the dance genres stands uncontested.

But for music to be effectively popular, it cannot solely be a means of personal expression. It must also make the listener content and give the audience what they want. Alan F. Moore suggests that a musical expression is valued when the performer’s integrity is perceived as secure, comfortable; but it is denigrated when that integrity is perceived as compromised: ‘What is fascinating, first of all, is that the notion of personal integrity still has such power to address listeners. [...] Second, the issue of “appearance” is fundamental’ (Moore, 2012, p. 262). The integrity and identity of the performer can so be seen to go hand in hand with the integrity and identity of the musical performance. It becomes evident through sources from the time (especially those by Mace and Rogers) that the view of musical education, i.e. the creation of a musician, was pragmatically outlined and a good musician was expected to please both eyes and ears. What makes French lute education somewhat difficult to investigate is the limitations presented by the material itself; clearly lute schools were to be used as supporting material for interpersonal teaching rather than all encompassing ‘do it yourself’ manuals. A seventeenth century musical identity also seems to crystalize itself at the nexus of a co-dependent relationship and tension between aristocracy and
bourgeoisie; the aristocracy needed educators in manners, sports and culture, the bourgeoisie provided that to them by preparing students and citizens to function within the social norm. The seventeenth century French body should be perfected, controlled and harmonious, and this can be seen both in Foucault’s political discourse and within baroque lute publications. From this we see a clear link between education, identity and musical expression.

The idiom of the body extends to the music itself. Melodic construction, interpretation and phrasing seems to have been modelled much on the voice. We have seen how Torres suggests that French lute melody cannot be understood without considering French versification and he draws direct lines between lyric syllable mathematics and melodic syntax. These melodies were then embellished with ornaments that witness of a popular vocabulary shared to some extent by the viol, harpsichord, guitar and theorbo. The differences presented in this vocabulary seem to be directly linked to what is idiomatic and flattering for each individual instrument. Indeed what is possible to play on a harpsichord is not always playable on the lute and vice versa. We have also seen that some features from the renaissance repertoire lingers on in early baroque literature (in somewhat re-modelled form) at the same time as the aesthetics of the later baroque starts to introduce itself. The lute music found in France between 1650 and 1700 is thus part of a transition from the old to the new, taking part of a modernisation of cultural expression. Although the lute seems to have been overshadowed by the guitar, theorbo and harpsichord while approaching the eighteenth century, well over half of the seventeenth century published manuscripts were actually intended for solo lute. This is at the same time as the lute repertoire experienced a decline in the quantity of produced publications, probably due to the experimentation in tuning that was going on making the economic gain of publishing music more limited.

In retrospect, what the concept of seventeenth century popular has provided is a tool for re-reading, re-interpreting and re-presenting historical material in new fashions. The fashions that has been formalised through this project, does indeed join discourses that other scholars already have started to form, but what this research does
is to attach the lute to that discourse and attempt to unveil what contributions it has made, not only to the musical and social society of the period, but also towards popular music as we know it today. In this project we have seen several features of the lute — both as instrument and as concept — that reminds us of modern phenomena such as the guitar hero, singer-song writer, tablatures, performer-celebrity, intertextually constructed genres and styles, only to name a few. Nowhere in this dissertation have I claimed that seventeenth century popular music should be regarded as popular music of our own time as well, but we may very well find enlightenment by joining the two discourses to reflect on our own time from a different perspective. This statement triggers a completely new and different direction of discourse and a topic for future research; however, the historical distance between then and now does in some respects seem smaller than what might be expected.

Finally, as this is a dissertation attributed to music performance, I might provide some thoughts on how this project has modelled me as a performer today, in general as well as when performing the lute. First I have gained a different approach towards French lute music itself. My focus has shifted slightly from technical aspects of music realisation, tone (re)production and historically informed practices, to being more focused on those dialogues between performer and music, performer and listener, self and other. Second, as a result, I have as a musician generally become more concerned with music as a means of interpersonal communication (no matter what the message could be) and social construction. A communication made with ease rather than with virtuosity in the modern sense. This is not to say that I always try to deliver a message (either to myself or the listener), rather that I try to establish a connection between the two ends of this communication. One might say that to some extent this project has perhaps made me more concerned with music as psychology than with music as pure reproduction of a musical thought (in whatever sense that is in fact possible). For instance, the ratio between ornaments, harmonic complexity and musical simplicity that I theorised before, does not have to be seen directly as a forwarding of musical codes, but perhaps rather as attempts to establish rapport between two individuals, attempting to please the listener, but at the same time keeping personal expression
intact. Finally, this project has renewed my impression of what a musician could be, or even should be. In the seventeenth century we see a concept of musician that can be equalled with the composer/performer/improviser that bears closer resemblance to the modern popular musician rather than the more traditionally trained classical performer. Music, now, is not to mediate composer’s work but actually to become part of that work by actively adding oneself to its realisation. This would then be a musician that can appropriate, arrange, re-voice music to fit a specific need (whether internally or externally) and that is guided and inspired, but not led by the score. One might even say that to some extent the score loses its significance to the performer and listener, it loses its significance to the cultural situation. The argument that I have promoted throughout this dissertation certainly seems to resemble the modern academically trained popular musician rather than the classically trained performer; but this is perhaps what makes this all so interesting and why the seventeenth century lute deserves to be part of the popular music discourse.
Below you will find index listings of the selected pieces for the case study’s occurrences in tablature manuscripts. The data is retrieved from Markus Lutz and Peter Steur’s database project.¹

Gaultier/Mouton - La Belle Homicide

- ? / 55v
- A-ETgoëssl / 15v
- A-ETgoëssIII / 22v (#30)
- A-GÖ ms. Lautentabulatur nr. 2 / 82v (#101)
- A-Wn17706 / 3v (#15)
- B-Br276 / 29r
- B-Br276 / 114v
- CZ-PnmE36 / 151 (#97)
- CZ-PuKk84 / 3v (#3)
- D-As / 52.05r (#70)
- D-As / 56.35 (#107)
- D-Bsa4060
- D-LEm6-24 / 143v (#221)
- D-LEm6-24 / 146v (#225)

• D-ROu54 / 348 (#307)
• D-SWl_640 / 7 (version for Angélique)
• F-AIXm17 / 100r (#151)
• Manuscrit Vaudry de Saizenay I, F-B279152 / 37 (#50)
• Manuscrit Vaudry de Saizenay II, F-B279153 / 14 (#14)
• Manuscrit Milleran, F-Pn823 / 91v (#73)
• F-Pn6212 / 65v (#95)
• F-Pn6214 / 48v (#51)
• F-Pn6265 / 85 (#76)
• F-PnVm7-675 / 87 (#61 version for Guitar)
• Manuscrit Barbe, F-PnVmb-7 / 26 (#22)
• F-PnVmf-51 / 46v (#52)
• GB-Ob576 / 15v (#14)
• GB-Ob617 / 10 (#7)
• Mouton, Pieces de luth, Book I / 14
• PL-Kj40633 / 29v (#46)
• PL-Pu7033 / 44 (#28)
• Gaultier, La Rethorique des Dieux, D-Bkk ms. 78C12 / 226 (#50)
• S-Klm21068 / 7v
• S-LG34I / 56
• S-LG34II / 14
• S-LG34II / 15
• S-LG37 / 29
• Suittes faciles / 3
• US-CAh174 / 22
Vieux Gaultier - l'Immortelle

- A-ETgoëssV / 1v
- A-GÖ ms. Lautentabulatur nr. 2 / 84v
- A-KR77 / 14v
- A-Wn17706 / 18v
- B-Br1037 / 74v
- CH-Bu53 / 31v (#41)
- D-B40068 / 24r
- D-Bsa4060 / 81v
- D-ROu54 / 26
- D-RpAN62 #30
- D-SWL_640 / 57 (version for Angelique, d moll)
- D-SWL_640 / 72 (version for Angélique, a moll)
- D-SWL_641 / 138
- F-PVmc89 / 64v
- F-Pn1106 / 80v (#124)
- F-Pn1110 / 26v
- F-Pn6211 / 2r
- F-Pn6212 / 41v
- F-Pn6214 / 47v
- Manuscrit Barbe, F-PnVmb-7 / 2
- F-PnVmd-15 #18
- F-PnVmf51 / 74v
- GB-Balc / 87
- GB-LANh / F1v
- GB-Ob576 / 12v
- GB-Ob618 / 10
• *Ottobeuren* / 141v (version for keyboard)
• PL-Lw1985 / 24v
• Perrine, *Pieces de luth en musique*, 1680 / 1
• S-Klm21068 / 8r
• S-L G34 / 41r
• S-L G37 / 18v
• S-Stockholm 3 / 76 (version for viol)
• US-CAh174 / 2r

**Vieux Gaultier - Le Canon**

• A-GÖ ms. Lautentabulatur nr. 2 / 85v
• A-Wn17706 / 11r
• D-Bsa4060 / 76v
• D-LEm6-24 / 46v (#71)
• D-ROu54 / 210
• D-RpAN62 #39
• D-SWL_640 / 74 (version for Angélique)
• D-SWL_641 / 143
• F-AIXm17 / 103v
• F-B279152 / 2
• *Manuscrit Milleran*, F-Pn823 / 21v
• F-Pn6211 / 2v
• F-Pn6212 / 39v
• F-Pn6212 / 40
• F-Pn6214 / 23r
• F-PnVm7-675 / 115 (version for Guitar)
• *Manuscrit Barbe*, F-PnVmb-7 / 1
• F-PnVmc-15 / 41v
• GB-Balc / 86 (2)
• GB-LbmSloane / 103v
• GB-Ob576 / 11v
• GB-Ob618 / 14
• NL-At / 24v
• PL-LZu3779 / 9v
• Perrine, *Pieces de luth en musique*, 1680 / 41
• Perrine, *Pieces de luth en musique*, 1680 / 51
• S-L34A / 2r
• S-L37 N°12
• S-Ssmf1 / 1v
• S-Ssmf1 / 67r

François Dufaut - Sarabande (Tombeau du Roy d'Orange)

• A-GÖ ms. Lautentabulatur nr. 2 / 66v
• A-Wn17706 / 9v (1)
• B-Br276 / 83v
• CZ-PuKk84 / 9v
• D-B40600 / 42v
• D-B40601 / 110av
• D-DS17 / 42v (version for spinet)
• D-LEm6-24 / 121v (#187)
• D-ROu54 / 111 (2)
• D-SWl_641 / 39 (#23)
• F-Pn6213 / 24 (1)
• *Manuscrit Barbe* F-PnVmb-7 / 217
• PL-Lw1985 / 42v (#65)
• US-Danby / 81 (titled 'Tombeau du Roy d'Orange')
Appendix II

#1 – Duet

Hendrick Ter Bruggen, 1628
#2 - Charles Mouton, the Lutanist,

Francois de Troy, 1690
#3 - Company of Musicians

Gabriel Metsu, around 1650
#4 – The Concert

Gerard Ter Borch, 1657
#5 - Louis XIV's Musicians

Francois Puget, 1687
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Figure 4.2 Overview of the bones in a hand.

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Figure 4.5 Right hand position in AII - 2

Figure 4.6 Right hand position in AII - 3

Figure 4.7 Right hand position in AII - 4

Figure 4.8 Right hand position in AII - 5

Figure 4.9 Left hand position in AII - 1

Figure 4.10 Left hand position in AII - 2

Figure 4.11 Left hand position in AII - 3

Figure 4.12 Left hand position in AII - 4

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