Early Music Performer

A quarterly newsletter dedicated to questions of early music performance—then and now

Issue 1, January 1999

Nema

Early Music Performer is the newsletter of the National Early Music Association and is sent to subscribing members. Subscription to NEMA costs £19 per year, and subscribers receive a copy of the *The Early Music Yearbook*. For further details contact the Administrator, Christopher Goodwin, Southside Cottage, Brook Hill, Albury, Guildford GU5 9DJ, U.K,
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ALL CORRESPONDENCE, ARTICLES, MEMBERSHIP FORMS, CHEQUES ETC. SHOULD BE SENT TO THIS ADDRESS FROM NOW ON

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Baroque Cello (Strad model) by Robert Eyland, Dartington, and bow by Andrew Brown. Perfect condition. £5,500 ono. Contact Sonia Jackson, 0117 974 2988.

Editor's note: Members are welcome to place notices in *Early Music Performer*, but there are no current plans for an evnets listings section; all events-related materials received will be forwarded to *Early Music Review*

NEMA: Past, Present, Future

by Peter Holman

This is a revised and expanded version of the Chairman's annual report, made on behalf of the Council to the AGM on 28 November 1998.

When I was asked to become NEMA's Chairman eighteen months ago it was clear that the organisation was in need of renewal. Since then the Council has embarked on a thorough review of our activities, asking hard questions about what we are doing and why, and what we might do in the future. In our discussions we have tried to look beyond the established patterns of early music in this country to what is happening in other European countries and in America; I think that the early music societies in other countries provide us with some useful models for our own development. In recent months a looming financial crisis has made the process of renewal more urgent. Although we have already made some tough decisions, and face more in the next few months, I am confident that the result will be a more effective, more active and more useful organisation. Our aim is to turn NEMA into an organisation that is truly representative of all interests in early music, has an effective profile in the wider musical community and beyond, and provides a range of services that people want at a price they can afford to pay. But we cannot achieve all this without the help of you, the membership. Please tell us what you want, and how we might do things better. Above all, help us to spread the word: NEMA is on the move. The more members we have, the more effective we are, and the more we can do.

The Past and the Present

Profile

NEMA has suffered in the last few years from the curiously piecemeal way early music organisations have developed in this country. In Holland and Belgium a central early music society promotes professional concerts and other events, acts as a focus for amateur activity, and produces a range of publications. In England these three functions are split between the Early Music Network, the regional Early Music Fora, and NEMA. This is not necessarily a bad thing, since this decentralised structure probably means that there is more activity organised by more individuals than there would be if there were only a single organisation, but it has created two problems for NEMA. It has cut us off from sources of government funding, which according to the rules of the Arts Council can only be given to fund professional activity, and the existence of the Fora has meant that our activities have been confined largely to publications. As a result, our profile has not been as high as it should have been, even among members of the early music community. Our central problem is that people simply do not know about our activities.

Administrative Problems

Another problem that has affected NEMA is a shortage of labour. The Association has been kept going largely by volunteers, and in today's busy and pressurised world it is becoming harder and harder to find people prepared to give up precious leisure time to run organisations of this sort. During the last few years NEMA has lost the services of both an experienced Treasurer and its long-standing Administrator, Annette Heilbron, who had to resign because of illness. Most unfortunately, her replacement, Elspeth Fraser-Darling, has also had to resign in her turn because of illness in her family. The good news is that we have just appointed a new Administrator, Chris Goodwin. He is also Secretary of the Lute Society, and has done a remarkable job in turning around the fortunes of that organisation in a short time. However, we are still looking for a new Treasurer to replace Jane Beeson, who has been acting in a caretaker capacity. The ideal person is someone with experience of accounts, an interest in early music, a few hours to spare each month, and an ability to say no to expenditure we can not afford! It does *not* involve the day-to-day handling of money. If any member fits this job description, or knows someone who does, please let us know.

Finances

This brings me to the central problem: our finances. If NEMA were to be wound up today, it would have debts of about £2,000. Fortunately, we have subscription revenue for 1999 coming in at present, the Early Music Network has kindly offered to make us an interest-free loan of £1,000, and, through the good offices of our president John Mansfield Thomson, we have made an application to the Radcliffe Trust for a one-off grant to enable us to make a fresh start. As I see it, there are three main causes of our financial problems. One is that, in a period when the people who run the organisation have been changing, there has not been enough day-to-day financial control of our affairs. The second, related to our administrative problems, is that no-one in recent years has been able to devote the necessary time to advertise our products properly or obtain the necessary advertising for them. The third problem is that we have simply been offering our members too much for their subscriptions. Which brings me to our publications.

Publications

At present we offer you three types of publication in return for your subscription: the *Yearbook*, an invaluable reference work of more than 300 pages, two issues of *Leading Notes*, a substantial journal with a mixture of scholarly articles and topical items, and four issues of *NEMA News*, a photocopied newsletter essentially containing news about the organisation. By comparison, other societies with a similar subscription, such as the Lute Society, the Viola da Gamba Society and the Galpin Society, only offer a single issue of a journal and quarterly newsletters. Furthermore, we pay the editor of *Leading Notes*, Richard Lawrence, while the editorships of comparable journals are unpaid honorary posts. The cost of producing all these publications is at present substantially

greater than our subscription income, though until recently the situation was disguised by the fact that the Early Music Network subsidised us by buying a large number of copies of *Leading Notes* to send out with its own publication, *Early Music News*. This arrangement ceased in 1997.

The Future

The 1999 NEMA Conference

Earlier this year the Council took the first step to increase the public profile of NEMA. We decided to organise an international conference along the lines of those put on by NEMA some years ago. However, instead of broad themes such as keyboard instruments or dance, we decided to focus on outstanding problems in the early music field, and we chose as our first subject the still poorly understood transition in the seventeenth century from Renaissance to Baroque instruments, and the implications these changes had on music of the period. The Call for Papers, sent out during the autumn to scholars all over the world, will be included with this publication, together with a publicity leaflet designed for the general public. The earlier NEMA conferences were in London, but we felt it would be a good idea to have a residential conference outside London, and the ideal opportunity presented itself when we realised that the dates we wanted coincided with the first weekend of the York Early Music Festival, and that the ideal venue, the College of Ripon and York St John in central York, was available. Furthermore, the York Early Music Festival, York University Music Department, and NEEMF agreed to become actively involved in organising the conference—an excellent example of the co-operation between different early music organisations that NEMA wants to encourage.

Assuming the first conference is a success, we are planning more conferences in the future, perhaps in odd-numbered years, when the established Baroque Conference does not run. Possible subjects include the debate over choirs versus one-to-a-part ensembles in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, and the change from monophonic to polyphonic instruments in the fifteenth century. Given NEMA's present financial situation, I should point out that the York conference does not depend on money from us: it has been costed to pay for itself, and the administrative costs and professional fees are being supported respectively by funds from the Arts Council and the Early Music Network.

Publications

You will have gathered that in order to balance the books we need to make drastic changes to the publications we offer members. After a good deal of thought we plan to make the following changes:

1. *The Yearbook*. We plan to keep it broadly unchanged, except that in future each issue will be published well in advance. Therefore there will be no issue with the cover date 1999, but your 1999 subscription will include the issue cover dated 2000, which will appear in September 1999, and the same pattern will be maintained in succeeding years. We have agreed with Chris Goodwin that an important part of his duties will be to market the *Yearbook* more effectively, and to obtain more advertising.

2. *Leading Notes*. One of the problems with this journal was that it fell between two stools. With only two issues a year it was not sufficiently topical to compete with the monthly early music publications, and yet it was not refereed and did not contain enough scholarly material to appeal to academics; at present we are selling very few copies to non-members of NEMA. The Autumn 1998 issue, delayed by our financial crisis, is now being published and should reach you shortly. Richard Lawrence commissioned a series of articles for the Spring 1999 issue about Weimar, to mark Weimar's role as the 1999 European City of Culture, and we are planning to issue them later in the year as a separate booklet in our occasional publication series (see below).

For this reason, we plan to separate out the topical and scholarly functions. The topical material will go into a greatly improved and expanded *NEMA News*, to be called *Early Music Performer*. The publication you are reading is a pilot; subsequent issues will be more lavishly produced, and the journal will expand as it develops. The quarterly *Early Music Performer* will be edited by Chris Goodwin, and will continue to bring you news of what NEMA is doing, but it will also contain much more. In particular, we plan to publish learned yet popular articles that bring recent research into performance practice to the attention of performers; we begin with articles on recorders in Brussels tapestries by Anthony Rowland-Jones, one of our council members, and on music in Shakespeare by Dr Christopher Wilson. Chris Goodwin is also going to supply a quarterly digest of the contents of other early music journals, here and in Europe, a most useful feature that is not provided at present by any other English-language journal—apart of course from *Lute News*, which he also edits!

3. We plan to replace the scholarly functions of *Leading Notes* with a series of occasional publications, starting with a volume of papers from the 1999 conference. They will be refereed by a distinguished editorial board where necessary, though we also plan to include documents of outstanding interest, some in facsimile and some in translation. Under consideration is the first complete English translation of the controversy between Johann Adolf Scheibe and Johann Abraham Birnbaum about Johann Sebastian Bach, one of the most important and revealing contemporary sources of information about his music. We are also thinking about producing a translation of the material in Michael Praetorius's *Syntagma musicum* iii and *Polyhymnia caduceatrix et panegyrica* relating to the performance of polychoral music. This fascinating material has never been published in English, and would be invaluable to performers of his music and a number of his contemporaries, such as Lassus and Giovanni Gabrieli. We plan to publish these volumes commercially, so that they will not be a drain on NEMA's finances, though we will offer them at a discount to NEMA members.

The Constitution

During 1998 our Deputy Chairman Jon Ranger, advised by Simon Livesey, did a great deal of work updating and simplifying our constitution according to the current requirements of the Charity Commission. Unfortunately, it was not possible to make these changes at the 1998 A.G.M, since it was clear that one or two of the proposals were controversial, and the meeting proved not to be quorate (and was therefore adjourned). The Council is consulting further, and we hope to make an announcement of our intentions in the April issue of *Early Music Performer*. In the meantime, we are planning to reconvene the adjourned 1998 A.G.M. at the end of the York Conference, provisionally on Sunday 4 July at 2pm at the College of Ripon and York St John. We will confirm this in the April issue.

Events

At present we have only one public meeting a year, our AGM followed by the Margot Leigh-Milner Lecture, given by a different early music practitioner each year. The 1998 lecture was given by Andrew Parrott, and was a fascinating meditation on what we know about singers and singing of the past, and what the implications of this knowledge are for us today. We hope to have a contribution from Andrew drawn from this material in a future issue of *Early Music Performer*. I am extremely grateful to the Early Music Network, which has offered to fund live music from a recent winner of their Young Artists competition at the 1999 Margot Leigh-Milner Lecture. We are also discussing the possibility of organising more events in Central London, which would be a platform for new ideas and would bring together amateurs and professionals.

Your Views

The Council is aware that of necessity it takes many decisions on your behalf. But it does welcome your views on any of the changes proposed in this report–or anything else for that matter. Please contact Chris Goodwin, or me direct:

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Early Sixteenth-Century Brussels Tapestries of the Virtues and Vices, and their Implications for Performance Practice *by Anthony Rowland-Jones*

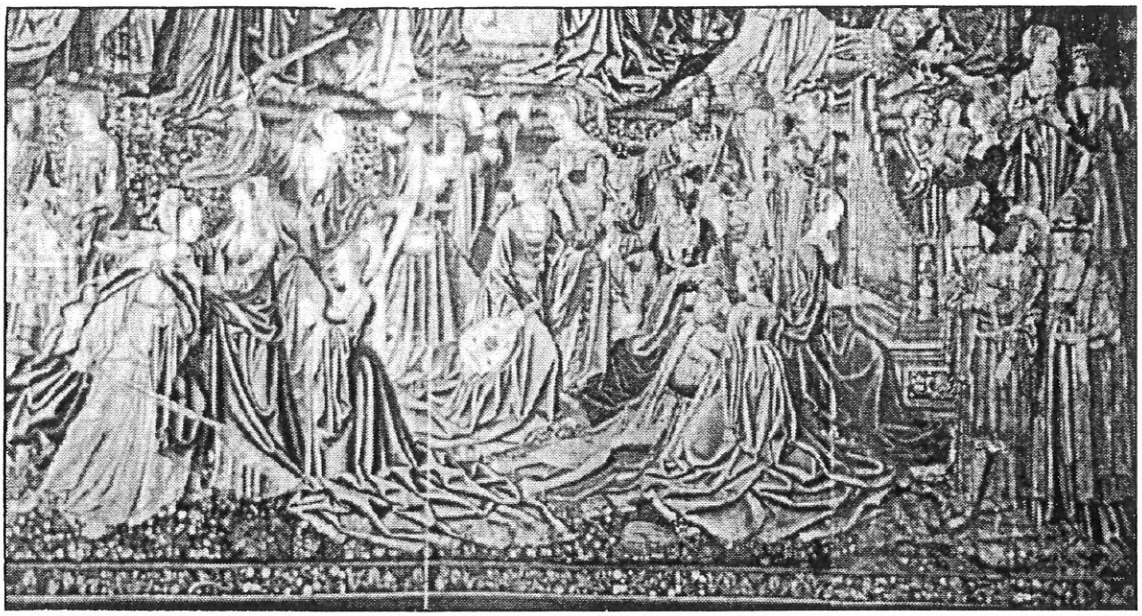

ILLUSTRATION 1: Lower part of the tapestry 'Music' (or 'The Last Judgement') at Zaragoza, showing the courtier-musicians (with permission from the publishers of the catalogue *Los Tapices de LA SEO de Zaragoza* (Aragon, 1985), as other Zaragoza illustrations.

The study of musical iconography in the late mediaeval and Renaissance periods cannot be confined to paintings. Aristocratic patrons amassed works of art to proclaim tangible evidence of their personal status and splendour. Artefacts were therefore prized as much for their intrinsic as their artistic value. Their costliness could be in their materials, such as gold, jewels or ivory, and in the intricacy of their workmanship, involving expense in the time of highly skilled and well-paid craftsmen. Painting does not usually require costly materials other than the gold of the backgrounds so favoured in fourteenth century art. Tapestries, however, could be very expensive if they were made by the most presitigious Flemish weavers using the finest gold threads from Granada and luxurious silks from Lyons. Moreover they could easily be rolled up and moved when a court progressed to another palace or followed a campaign; they could be carried across Europe, for exampled from Flanders to Cracow in Poland, where King Sigismund August imported 140 Flemish tapestries which now form part of the superb collection which has miraculously survived in that city. During the Spanish domination of Flanders, tapestries from Tournai and Brussels were collected by the secular and ecclesiastical nobility of Spain, the latter following the example of the popes who built up the great collections in the Vatican. Tapestries had the added advantage that they were large, and so resplendent with colour that they dominated a room with their showiness. Added to this they were useful—indeed necessary—to prevent the cold and damp which exuded from the walls of ancient buildings from causing discomfort within the heated areas.

To cover the wall-space of a great house, tapestries were often made in sets with a theme, perhaps suggesting their owner's Classical erudition or moral rectitude. But few complete sets now exist, for although such a consideration was of no immediate concern to the purchaser, tapestries, like the aristocratic splendour which they represented, have faded with the passage of time, sometimes beyond recognition of their subjects. They could be cut up to fit new spaces, and the completeness of a tapestry or a series was then destroyed. They were vulnerable to the effects of wear, rough handling, damp, and fire, and to the perils of war.

Even though quite a number of sets might be woven for different clients from the same cartoons, it is unusual for more than a few tapestries from some of those sets to have survived. One popular series subject, based on mediaeval moralities, was the combat for the redemption of mankind between allegorical Virtues and Vices, of course showing the victory of the former. About a dozen such sets were produced in silk and wool in Brussels during the first quarter of the sixteenth century, with eight or ten tapestries in a complete set. Four remaining tapestries from one set were owned the Cathedral of Palencia until 1930 when they were sold to the Musées Royaux d'Art et d'Histoire in Brussels, going home as it were, and then over the years painstakingly restored. Two from two other sets are among the tapestries collected by the bishops of Zaragoza in Spain and Lamego in Portugal. Both these pairs are the same as the two of the Brussels four, and they appear again in Henry VIII's Great Watching Chamber in Hampton Court Palace, London, where there are also two different ones from a fifth set. Others from this popular series may be found elsewhere, for example at Burgos Cathedral and in the Lascaris Collection at Richmond, USA.

Three of the four tapestries in the Brussels (ex-Palencia) group contain musical scenes. One of these tapestries is known as 'The Prodigal Son'. The other two, although there are differences in how they are entitled, match very closely (but with one musical exception) the two in the splendid collection of the Seo in Zaragoza, and the two in the museum at Lamego, and, a little less

closely, their counterparts at Hampton Court. The two at Hampton Court have descriptive Latin couplets on the lower border, and many of the characters in the scene are named; only one appears in the Brussels and Zaragoza tapestries. I will therefore use the Hampton Court titles for these two tapestries: 'Music' and 'Dance'. In both, the moral message is that indulgence in these two pleasurable activities causes mankind to be vulnerable to 'Evil, which, beginning by slow degrees, becomes at length a mortal sin'.

The 'Dance' tapestry personifies the Seven Deadly Sins who bear down upon a beguiling scene of soft music (with recorders) accompanying lightly-clad dancers (see Illustrations 3 and 7). Oddly, the Hampton Court version, although called 'Dancing', shows only the right half of the picture with the invasion by the Seven Deadly Sins, modified at its left side to create an integrated group. The left-hand side of 'Music' at Hampton Court, known as 'The Last Judgement' in Brussels and Zaragoza (a name confusingly also applied to another tapestry in the complete series) is partly cut—right through a clavichord—but the message is there in full (I quote in part from the translation in H.C. Marillier's 1951 monograph on these tapestries): 'Before the Judge, in the presence of the Virtues, Justice and Pity plead their cause. Sin [i.e. sinful music-making mankind] is threatened by Justice, but reconciled by Pity.' The swords of Justice are wielded by determined ladies from whom one musical group flees in terror; another group has already been broken up, and one player nurses his wounded head, with instruments fallen to the ground (Illustration 2). But Pity consoles him, while Mercy and Clemency placate a wrathful personification of Judgement (at lower left of Illustration 4).

ILLUSTRATION 2: Zaragoza, 'Music'; detail of injured musical courtier (a lutenist?) in group disrupted by the sword of Justice, comforted by a 'misericordia' (Pity) figure. Note the discarded lute and bow, and (?)recorder; compare this with Illustration 9 below.

Nearly all the musical groups include duct-flutes, three in 'Dance', two in 'The Prodigal Son' and as many as eight (with a possible ninth in the Hampton Court version) in 'Music'. Two of them are three-holed tenor pipes, identifiable from the fingering positions or the presence of a tabor. Except in two cases, the remaining eleven are not depicted clearly enough to be unambiguously identifiable as recorders, but the probability is that they are intended to be recorders, as in the early sixteenth century the recorder was associated with courtly and pastoral music-making, and the dress of the people in the tapestries shows them to belong to a pleasure-loving aristocracy. Furthermore, the recorder appears in other pictures of love-making and scenes of pleasure, such as in the tapestry of 'Le Bain' in the Cluny Museum in Paris.

The sensual associations of the recorder are best shown in the 'Dance' tapestry, where three lady singers and three men playing recorders provide the music for the lightly-clad dancers who are being warned by an already-inflicted man how close they are to the advance of the Seven Deadly Sins (Illustration 3).

ILLUSTRATION 3: Zaragoza, 'Dance' (or 'The Capital Sins'); detail showing the dance group (for adjoining musicians see Illustration 7), with courtiers disrupted by the invasion of the Seven Deadly Sins, led by the horse of Pride, emblazoned with a peacock.

In the 'Music' tapestry, the whole of the lower part shows music-making groups. Some are in disarray as the personifications of Justice bear down upon them; one man runs holding his recorder in his upraised hand (Illustration 4), and another player has in panic dropped his recorder to the ground. But other musical groups are unaware of what is happening around them. A lady in a rich blue dress (who may possibly be a St Cecilia-type figure of redemption through pity) plays a fine organ, with musicians clustered at each side, including a recorder trio with instruments of different sizes (see Illustration 5).

The musical group in the background of 'The Prodigal Son' is altogether more peaceful. Illustration 6 shows

that it is made up of two probable recorders, a dulcimer, a lute plucked with a quill, and, presumably a singer—but she is in conversation with one of the recorder players, who could also be a singer. The combination of recorder(s), plucked strings and voice(s) is very common in late fifteenth and early sixteenth-century depictions. The Zaragoza version of the musicians playing for the Dance provides one of the singers with a lute in place of a music book, suggesting that she sang and played at the same time (Illustration 7). In this representation the weaver, as happens elsewhere, has omitted to stitch in the holes of the duct-flutes, but the parallel Brussels version clearly shows three upper holes and a hole being covered (or partly covered) by the little finger of the lower hand, even if this player's approach to recorder technique is rather casual. Moreover, the duplicated little-finger hole, not used by the player's lower hand—his left hand in this case, is also visible in a lighter shade, as if it had been filled with wax. This instrument is clearly intended to be a recorder (see Illustration 8).

In the 'Music' tapestry, the players not yet aware of the swords of Justice are grouped in a manner which leaves it uncertain as to who is playing with whom, but the soprano-alto-tenor recorder trio appear to be playing on their own, which may afford some sort of confirmation that angel recorder trios in altarpieces might represent actual performance practice, as much as being symbols of the Trinity; and the grouping of a three-voice angelic ensemble with three recorders is also paralleled in fifteenth-century altarpieces.

How the musicians disrupted by the attacks of Justice had been playing together can only be a matter of conjecture, but one lady moves away with her lute (lower right of Illustration 4) and another lute has been dropped. The fleeing man with the recorder and a woman close by hold on to their instruments, and a third recorder is on the ground (incidentally in the Brussels and Hampton Court versions this instrument has a very curious mouthpiece, although it is

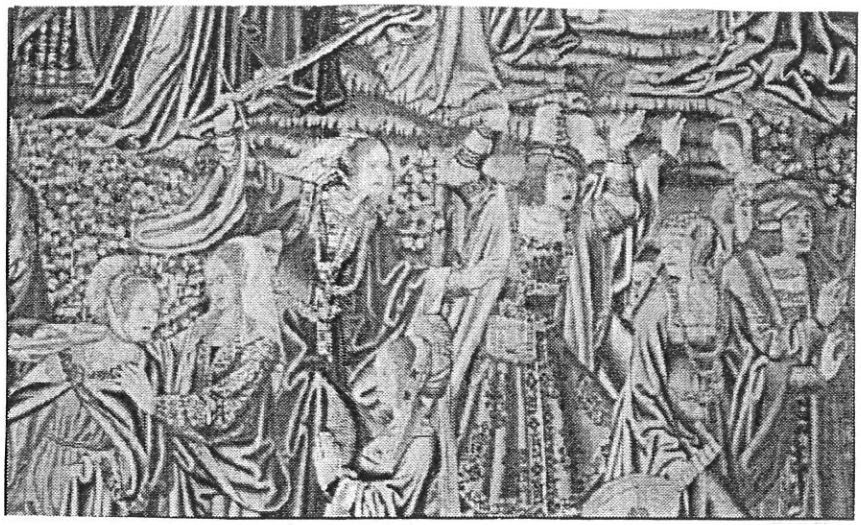

ILLUSTRATION 4: Brussels (ex-Palencia) 'Music' (or 'Judgement'); detail showing music-making group (recorders, lute and (?)singers) fleeing from the sword of Justice (photograph with permission, as the other Brussels illustrations, of the Musées Royaux d'Art et d'Histoire in Brussels).

ILLUSTRATION 5: Brussels, 'Music'; recorder trio. Note that the soprano instrument has seven holes showing or covered by the fingers.

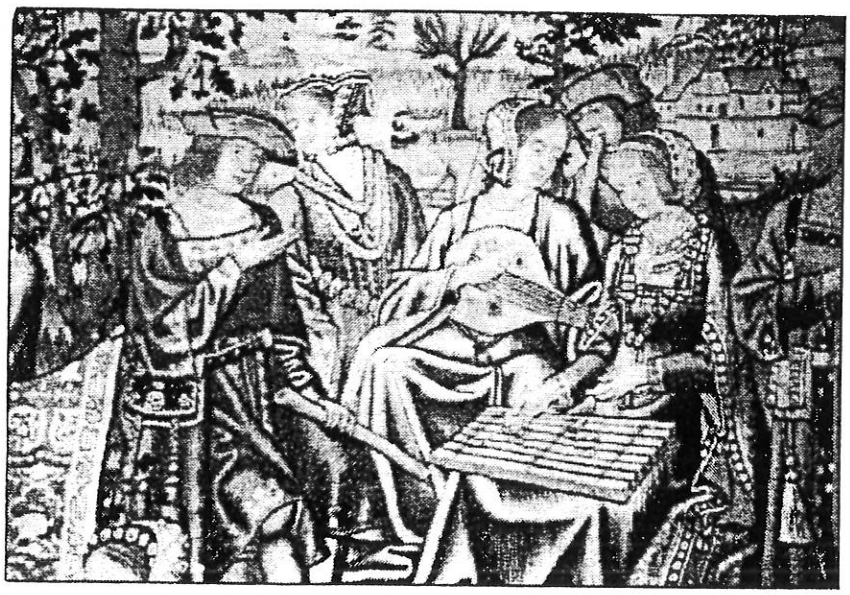

ILLUSTRATION 6: Brussels, 'The Prodigal Son'; musical group at top right, being two (?)recorders, lute and hammered dulcimer, possibly with singer(s).

ILLUSTRATION 7: Zaragoza, 'Dance'; the musicians (adjoining Illustration 3).

ILLUSTRATION 8: Brussels, 'Dance'; detail of recorder player. Note, at top right, song book held by a singer, not a lute, as in Zaragoza tapestry.

ILLUSTRATION 9: Brussels, 'Music'; detail of mouthpiece of dropped recorder.

normal at Zaragoza). All this implies that the disturbed players also formed combinations of recorders and plucked strings, possibly with voices. A trio safely seated at the far left make music with a tenor pipe (note the finger position) and a clavichord, while a lady sings from a sheet of music; behind them an amorous couple hold a bowl of apples, the fruit of love (Illustration 10).

If these tapestries were our only evidence of recorder performance practice in courtly music-making around 1520 in Flanders, the conclusion would seem to be that, while the recorder trio consort had been established by then, the recorder, sometimes more than one, was more often used as part of an ensemble with voices and plucked or struck strings, and occasionally with bowed strings (for there is a discarded bow in the foreground of the 'Music' tapestry—see Illustration 2). The recorders may have played alternately with the voices, but the Dance musicians appear to be grouped and playing together. The singers have music, but the instrumentalists, not needing to be reminded of the words, do not even overlook the music. One of the recorder players seems (forgiveably) to be distracted by the semi-topless dancer beside him. It is rare for instrumentalists in Renaissance pictures to have music provided specially for them. This implies that instrumentalists were expected to know their music by ear, which would have encouraged improvisation. One could also deduce that recorders are usually (but not always) played by men, and lutes by women; but the effect of their symbolism needs to be taken into account.

One has to be cautious in making assumptions about performance practice from representations of music in works of art, all the more so if the players are angels. Here the players are certainly no angels, and it is known that soft instruments such as lutes and recorders were often played by well-bred ladies and gentlemen. The louder instruments, such as trumpets, shawms and cornetts, were more the domain of professionals such as the waits. Nevertheless, soft music is linked with pleasurable and less formal occasions and can therefore symbolise indulgence and idleness, the misuse of the passage of time required for the performance of music, as it clearly does in these tapestries. Moreover, recorders and similar instruments symbolise sensuality, and association deriving both from their shape and from their soft beguiling sound. In the tapestry of the Dance, Vice is directly represented by personifications of the Seven Deadly Sins; in 'Music', Vice is less directly, but adequately, suggested by scenes of indulgent music-making, in which recorders are prominent.

It may be somewhat disconcerting to us that, in these Brussels tapestries, making music with recorders is associated with Vice. But salvation is at hand. In the National Gallery in London there is a painting from about 1650 by Johann Carl Loth showing Mercury lulling the watchful Argos to sleep by playing a recorder, the instrument so often used in sleep scenes in Baroque operas. The same subject—always showing Mercury with a recorder, was painted by other artists such as Jacob van Campen (Mauritshuis, The Hague), Gerbrand van den Eekhout (Berlin), Pier Francesco Mola (Oberlin College, USA), Salvator Rosa (Melbourne), and Anon. (Caen). Perhaps this provides reassurance to recorder players worldwide that they may escape retribution for their activities, for Mercury is the god of intellect, skill and genius.

Anthony Rowland-Jones, June 1998

I should like to acknowledge the help give in preparing this article, which first appeared in Spanish, in *Revista de Flauta de Pico* 12 (October 1998), by Elsje Janssen, Curator of Tapestries and Textiles at the Musées Royaux d'Art et d'Histoire in Brussels, and Anna Keay, Assistant Curator at Hampton Court Palace.

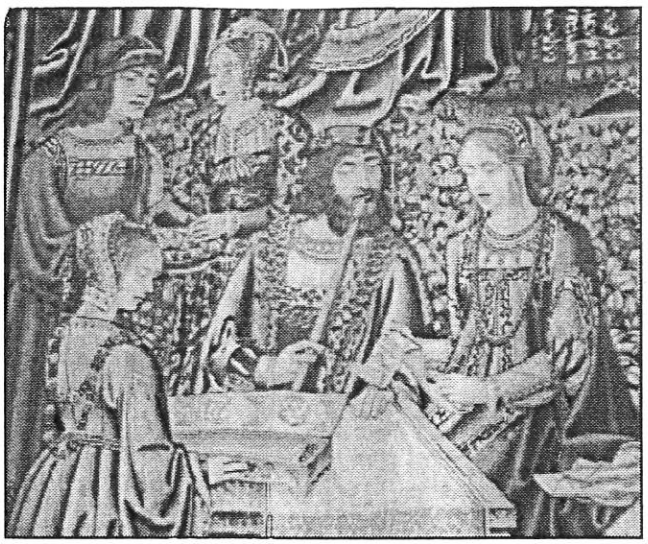

ILLUSTRATION 10: Brussels, 'Music'; musicians and lovers. Musicians are singer (with music), clavichord with decorated lid, and tenor pipe (note finger position as for tabor-pipe).

Shakespeare's 'Fair Viols, Sweet Lutes, and Rude Pipes' as Symbolic Musics

by Christopher R. Wilson

In addition to the 100 or so vocal songs and numerous instrumental cues in the plays, there are well over 3,000 references to music in the complete works of Shakespeare, involving 433 terms, ranging from uncomplicated allusions to sophisticated, philosophical and political allegory. The traditional associations of music, its divine and degrading powers, often play their part in providing the dramas with a network of wider allusions, not only in the actual use of music in the dramas, but also in the frequent use of musical imagery in the text of the play, for important structural and thematic purposes. These allegorical and symbolic functions of music are integral elements of what has been called the Elizabethan 'World-picture', and specifically of Shakespeare. And Shakespeare, more than any other Elizabethan playwright, involves music as part of his dramatic technique and poetic language.

Shakespeare's sonorous musics can be categorised under four main headings, deriving from the conventions of English Renaissance drama, namely 'stage music', 'magic music', 'character music', and 'atmospheric music'—headings proposed by the late F.W. Sternfeld and ones which I have adopted elsewhere when writing about Shakespeare's use of music. Whilst separately identifiable, these categories are not mutually exclusive. The music for the banquet in *The Tempest* (II.iii) is both stage music and atmospheric; the music for the coming to life of the statue in *The Winter's Tale* (V.iii) is both atmospheric and magic music; Ariel's song, 'Where the bee sucks' (*The Tempest,* V.i) embodies both atmospheric and character music.

Stage music

The most straightforward category is stage music. Trumpet fanfares announce royal processions as in *Hamlet,* (III.ii). Duke Frederick, lords, Orlando, Charles and attendants enter to trumpets in *As You Like It* (I.ii). Cornetti herald the arrival of the Prince of Morocco in *The Merchant of Venice* (II.i). Such fanfares included 'tuckets', 'sennets', and flourishes. Their function was both practical and symbolic, general or sometimes specific—e.g. Regan recognises Goneril in *King Lear* (II.iv.185) by her personal tucket; Bassanio has his own in *The Merchant of Venice* (V.i.121). The longer sennet invariably denotes a royal presence. A flourish may well have conventionally included military drums, as in the *Hamlet* reference above or when Richard commands, 'A flourish, trumpets. Strike alarum, drums' *(Richard III,* IV.iv.148). Equally, stage music may be employed simply and quietly for a serenade, as in *The Merchant of Venice* (V.i) or *The Two Gentlemen of Verona* (IV.ii).

Magic music

Magic music encompasses the age-old concept of the 'ethos' of music, its power to affect. Music might induce sleep, make someone fall in love, or miraculously heal. When Lady Mortimer sings Mortimer to sleep in *Henry IV Part 1* (III.i), her singing, accompanied by Hotspur's quizzical humour, involves and questions the extraordinary goings-on of Glendower, with his strange folklore and 'skimble-skamble stuff'. When the fairies sing Titania to sleep in *A Midsummer Night's Dream* (II.ii), we know that theirs is no ordinary lullaby and Ariel entices Ferdinand 'to these yellow sands' in *The Tempest* (I.ii.375) with a magic song.

Character music

One of Shakespeare's most skilful dramatic devices is his use of character music. All the songs in *The Winter's Tale,* following each other in fairly close succession, characterise Autolycus and his position in life. Without them, and numerous musical references, much of Shakespeare's dramatic 'conceit' would be lost. In *Troilus and Cressida,* the nature of Pandarus, the provider of soft luxuries, the diseased pander, is characterised by his sophisticated, lecherous song, 'Love, love, nothing but love, still love still more' (III.i.107). Pandarus' song also reflects upon the characters of Paris and Helen, for whom he sings, as well as upon the Elizabethan gentry, whom he satirises. Sometimes the personality generated through music is assumed rather than real. Music and musical imagery play a particularly important structural and symbolic role in *Othello.* Iago pretends to conviviality and pleasantness, while coldly plotting Cassio's downfall, when he sings 'And let me the canakin clink' (II.iii.65). Bassanio is clearly marked as the preferred suitor in *The Merchant of Venice* by being the only one favoured with music. Before he chooses, he sings 'Tell me where is fancy bred, Or in the heart, or in the head?' (III.ii.63-4).

Atmospheric music

Atmospheric music is the most subtle of the four categories because it is concerned with such intangibles as mood, tone, and emotional feeling and because it may involve changes from suspicion to trust, from vengeance to forgiveness, or from hatred to love. The highly romantic denouement of *The Merchant of Venice,* after the harsh words and near tragedy of the trial scene, is prepared initially by increased lyricism in the poetry—with song-like stanzaic speaking and a setting of moonlight, stars, and candlelight—and finally by background music for Portia's arrival, with the martial interruption of a flourish of trumpets to bring on the menfolk, adding to the romance their masculine swagger and impropriety. In *The Tempest,* music and its imagery can be regarded as the medium through which order ('harmony') emerges from chaos ('discord'). Music in this play especially, as Theresa Colletti has suggested, 'is the agent of suffering, learning, growth, and freedom'.

Atmospheric music is probably the most effective and economical way to convey dramatic change. It obviates tedious verbal explanations and in the hands of astute playwrights has become an essential part of theatrical

convention. Nowhere did Shakespeare exploit this device more felicitously than in his last plays, where the miraculous element functions less as an object in itself than as a token of expiation and happiness.

Musical imagery and symbolic opposites

The effectiveness of musical imagery is often heightened by the comprehension of opposites, from the basest to the most sophisticated associations, encompassing the whole scale or 'ladder' (the Italian *scala* also means ladder) of emotions of the human world to the harmony of the heavens—one of the most important images of the Renaissance neo-Platonists. Musical imagery in Shakespeare thus ranges up the hierarchical ladder from Practical Music to Speculative Music. This vision, as Francis Pilkington said, was 'Infinite, reaching from the base Earth (being as it were the Gam-ut or ground) to the highest E-la of the incomprehensible heavens'.

The symbolic meaning of the opposition of the two categories, string versus wind music, was a common emblematic theme in late Medieval and Renaissance literature and painting, which according to Theodore Reinach embodied the emphatic distinction between the ethos of the ancient aulos or pipe, and the kythara or lyre as accorded by Classical writers (particularly Plato). The aulos, which aroused 'dark and uncontrollable [Dionysian] passions', conflicted with 'the purity of Apollo's lyre', as first transmitted in the 3rd century AD by the neo-Platonist, Iamblichus, who taught his students 'to eschew listening to the sound of the aulos as something staining the spirit, whereas the lyre chases away the irrational desires of the soul'. The reference, for example, to a 'winde instrument' and 'pipes' (actually bagpipes) in the opening scene of Act III of *Othello,* depends on the knowledge of this musical imagery, the opposition of the two symbolic musics.

The Pipes

The symbolic associations of the basest kind of pipe, the bagpipe, go back a long way before Shakespeare, but are still relevant in the 16th century. In the Middle Ages, the bagpipe assumed primarily a folk or rustic role both in court and popular circles. It was generally an outdoor instrument often present at social occasions to accompany dancing. This is its significance in *The Winters' Tale* (IV.iv.185): 'O master! if you did but hear the pedlar at the door, you would never dance again after a tabor and pipe; no, the bagpipe could not move you'. Not only did it have rustic connections, it also had associations of rudeness and crudity. Chaucer's miller characteristically 'a baggepype wel coude he blowe and sowne'. The miller in the *Reeve's Tale* probably also 'piped' on a bagpipe. Whilst the bagpipe began to disappear from courtly circles in England in the early-16th century, it continued in its popular environment, gradually dispersing northwards, well into the 19th century.

The symbolic association of the bagpipe with gluttony and lechery was well-known from the Middle Ages onwards. The 16th-century symbolist painter, Pieter Bruegel, in particular, included a bagpipe at rustic occasions depicting the 'innate qualities of the peasants', namely, according to Fenwick Jones, gluttony, folly, avarice, lasciviousness, greed, lust, etc. The bagpipe, furthermore, had associations with the devil and Hell, as in Bosch's 'The Last Judgement'. In this respect, Headlam Wells maintains: 'it is the bagpipe's association with the tavern, symbolic abode of the devil, which is of most interest . . . Bosch, in the right-hand wing of 'The Garden of Earthly Delights', and Bruegel in 'The Peasant Dance', both identify the bagpipe symbolically with the inn. Indeed, in Bosch's painting a bagpipe actually forms the sign of the infernal tavern. That the bibulous Falstaff should be compared, among other 'unsavoury similes' to a "Lincolnshire bagpipe" is not inappropriate'. In *Henry IV Part 1* (I.ii.71-4), Falstaff says he is 'as melancholy as a gib cat, or a lugged bear . . . or the drone of a Lincolnshire bagpipe'. In *The Mer chant of Venice* (I.i.47-53), Solanio characterises Antonio's distress: 'let us say you are sad/Because you are not merry . . . and laugh like parrots at a bagpiper'. The "parrots" are proverbially foolish; the bagpipe produces a melancholy sound, so the foolish stupidly laugh at what is melancholy.

The symbolic opposites of sophistication and crudeness are frequently embodied in references to the bagpipe. A poem in *Tottel's Miscellany* (1557) aptly illustrates the intense comparison between Apollo's dignified string music and the swain's rustic rudeness of the bagpipe melody:

> For love Apollo (his Godhead set aside)
> Was servant to the king of Thessaly,
> Whose daughter was so pleasant to his eye,
> That bothe his harpe and sawtrey he defied,
> And bagpipe, solace of the rural bride,
> Did puff and blowe and on the holtes hy,
> His cattell kept with that rude melody.

The opposition between string and wind instruments mentioned in this poem became a traditional topic in illustrated books of the late-15th century onwards, notably the popular *The Ship of Fools* (1509, 1570, 1590), where the fool plays the bagpipe—'his only solace' ('Tibia cui fatuo tantum solatia praebet'), whereas harp and lute lie disbanded on the ground.

In a complex reference in *Othello* (III.i.24), the wind instruments which 'speak i' th'nose' are almost certainly bagpipes (c.f. *The Merchant of Venice,* IV.i.49, 'others when the bagpipe sings i' th'nose'). Here the professional fool ('clown') or fool royal, with his merry-making and insolent jesting, is associated with pipes. The stress on wind instruments arises from the opposition in this passage of two symbolic musics, 'the Musicks that may not be heard'—the music of the spheres, the heavenly harmony (cf. *The Merchant of Venice,* V.i.60) and the nasally sonorous bagpipes, associated here with venereal disease and flatulence or 'breaking wind'.

The rustic, often pastoral origins of the simple traditional pipe—for example, the 'time-honoured village custom of making willow May whistles', or the cane 'shepherds pipe' still found today in remoter parts of southern Europe—are employed by Shakespeare in the references in *Loves Labours Lost, A Midsummer Night's Dream*, and *The Passionate Pilgrim.* The rudimentary reed pipe is made from natural materials such as corn stalks, river reeds, etc, and is the rustic 'pipe of green corn' of Chaucer, the shepherd's 'oaten pype' in Spenser's 'January', from the *Shepheards Calendar* (1597), Thomas Watson's 'My Muse shall pipe but on an oaten quill' in his *Eclogue upon the Death of Walsingham* (1590), and later found in Milton. References to rustic straw pipes are a pastoral commonplace with precedents in Classical antiquity going back to Theocritus. The villainous King Richard's 'weak piping time of peace' in *Richard III* (I.i.24) is characterised not by martial music but by the rustic pipe, continuing the musical metaphor that occurs in this opening speech, invoking on a more sophisticated level the pipe's contrariness to the 'lascivious pleasing of a lute' and the distracted 'descant' Richard will bring to these musics or harmonies.

The 'pipe of Hermes' in *Henry V* (III.vii.18) is a reference derived from Ovid, where Hermes lures to sleep the monster Argus by playing his pipe. The harmonising or civilising power of Hermes or Mercury through poetry and music was often employed in Elizabethan mythologies. The subduing of the monster by music is emblematic of social order and universal law embodied in monarchy, an idea particularly current in Elizabethan philosophy. Similar contemporary political ideals of the Elizabethan World Picture were contained in the myths of Arion and Orpheus.

Disparaging connotations of the lowly social order and mediocre accomplishment associated with playing pipes in comparison to strings are used to telling effect in *Hamlet.* This theme—Apollo's refined etiquette in both playing and singing contrasted with Pan's inability to do both together—is found for example in Lyly's *Midas,* when Pan says 'Now let me tune my pipes. I cannot pipe and sing, that's the odds of the instrument, not the art.' The limitations of the simple pipe in comparison to the sophisticated lute were well-known to the Elizabethans. Shakespeare exploits this when Hamlet gives Rosencrantz and Guildenstern a recorder lesson (III.ii.332-63). Guildenstern's inability to play even the lowly pipe implies he has no music in himself, that his mind is distracted by dishonourable emotions. Such notions are also present in *Henry IV Part 2* (Induction, 15-20) where:

> Rumour is a pipe
> Blown by surmises, jealousies, conjectures,
> And of so easy and so plain a stop
> That the blunt monster with uncounted heads,
> The still-discordant wav'ring multitude,
> Can play upon it.

The ability to 'govern' or play upon a pipe as analogous to controlling the mind and emotions finds reference in Hamlet's esteem of Horatio (III.ii.69-71) :

> Whose blood and judgement are so well commingled
> That they are not pipe for Fortune's finger
> To sound what stop she please.

The Lute

The Renaissance-lute, like its predecessor in Classical antiquity, the lyre, was a symbol of cosmic harmony and concord. Articulating Pythagorean philosophy, William Drummond wrote, in emblem-book fashion:

> God binding with hid *Tendons* this great *ALL,*
> Did make a *LUTE* which had all parts it given;
> The *LUTES* round *Bellie* was the azur'd Heaven,
> The *ROSE* those lights which Hee did there install;
> The *Basses* were the Earth and Ocean,
> The *Treble* shrill the Aire, the other *Strings*
> The unlike Bodies were of mixed things.

Like the viol, the lute also depends on Apollonian associations of stringed music for its symbolic meaning. The lute is 'soft', 'sweet', 'gentle' and 'dignified' music, fit for lofty sentiments and passions. It represents Apollonian control and restraint, the music of love and concord, of harmony, the music of the spheres, as in the following passage from *Loves Labours Lost* (IV.iii. 334, 339-42):

> Love's feeling is more soft and sensible . . .
> as sweet and musical
> As bright Apollo's lute, strung with his hair;
> And when love speaks, the voice of all the gods
> Make heaven drowsy with the harmony.

In Barnfield's sonnet 'If music and sweet poetry agree' in *The Passionate Pilgrim,* Apollo's shining brightness is emphasised in the use of 'Phoebus', Apollo's synonym (VIII.9-10):

> Thou lov'st to hear the sweet melodious sound
> That Phoebus' lute, the queen of music makes.

The power to control malcontent, to calm troubled situations is embodied in Orphic music, particularly Orpheus singing and playing the lute. His lyric verse is his poetic voice; his lute symbolises his affective music. In *The Two Gentlemen of Verona*, the two-sided nature of Orpheus' art, music and poetry, shows that they share in their attempt to bring order and control to worldly things (III.ii.76-80):

> For Orpheus' lute was strung with poets' sinews,
> Whose golden touch could soften steel and stones,
> Make tigers tame, and huge leviathans
> Forsake unsounded deeps, to dance on sands.

This is made explicit at the opening of act III in *Henry VIII,* when one of Queen Katherine's attendants sings a lute song (III.i.3-5, 12-14):

> Orpheus with his lute made trees,
> And the mountain tops that freeze,
> Bow themselves when he did sing.
> ...In sweet music is such art,
> Killing care and grief of heart
> Fall asleep, or hearing die.

The calming effect of Orpheus' music is famously portrayed in the passage towards the end of *The Merchant of Venice* (V.i), reflecting on 'the sweet power of music', although Orpheus' lute is not specifically mentioned.

Queen Katherine of Aragon's command to her attendant, 'take thy lute... My soul grows sad with troubles' (*Henry VIII,* III.i.1-2) reflects her state of unrest and melancholy. Stringed instruments, particularly lutes, were symbolically associated with melancholy, especially of those in love. In Tourneur's *The Revenger's Tragedy* (1606), for example, Vindice says he will 'bear me in some strains of melancholy and string myself with heavy sounding wire like such an instrument that speaks merry things sadly' (IV.ii.27-30). Similarly, in *Much Ado About Nothing* Claudio refers to the sad lute in describing, somewhat ironically, the lover's melancholy of Benedick, whose 'jesting spirit . . . is now crept into a lute string and now governed by stops [frets?] . . . indeed that tells a heavy tale for him' (III.ii.60-1).

When Hal compares Falstaff, among other similes, to a 'lover's lute', his reference to melancholic symbolism is ambivalent depending on a knowledge of opposites and parody. The lute is a symbol of virtue and calm, happiness and fidelity in love. Its ambivalence lies in its juxtaposition between idealised love and the carnal lusts of the flesh, as evidenced in George Wither's *Collections of Emblemes, Ancient and Moderne* (1635) I.xxii, where the lute is placed between Virtue and Vice. The lute's 'significance as a symbol of vice', as Headlam Wells notes, 'depends essentially on the idea of parody. Characteristic of evil is its propensity for mocking and perverting the true forms of virtue—something at which Falstaff is notably adept. Thus, although the iconography of the 'lover's lute' to which Hal compares the melancholy Falstaff may be arcane, its meaning in this context is clear enough. This is plainly no symbol of virtue. For undoubtedly the sound that Falstaff is used to hearing in the Eastcheap tavern is . . . the lascivious pleasing of a lute'.

The same imagery is employed in marking Richard III, in his opening soliloquy, as inclining to vice rather than virtue, that he is dishonest, fit for stratagems and spoils, and not 'made to court an amorous looking-glass' (I.i.10-13):

> And now, instead of mounting barbed steeds,
> To fright the souls of fearful adversaries,
> He capers nimbly in a lady's chamber,
> To the lascivious pleasing of a lute'.

The lute as a symbol of love and peace, domesticity and calm as opposed to war and destruction is implicit not only in this passage from *Richard III* but elsewhere in Shakespeare. With some irony, the 'unbroken' state of Katherina in *The Taming of the Shrew,* is depicted in the contrasted images of war and peace (II.i.145-8):

> Hor: I think she'll sooner prove a soldier,
> Iron may hold with her, but never lutes.
> Bap: Why then, thou canst not break her to the lute?
> Hor: Why no, for she hath broke the lute to me.

That Katherina will not learn to play the lute but rather breaks it over the head of Hortensio, as this passage continues, further reveals her lack of refined etiquette and that she is no easy lover. Graceful and educated maids, fit for wooing, must demonstrate various domestic skills, including playing and singing to the lute, as a reference in *Pericles* indicates (IV.chorus.25-7):

> . . . or when to th'lute
> She sung, and made the night-bird mute
> That still records with moan.

The vivid incongruity of the lute in war is used to telling effect in *Henry VI Part 1* as Talbot addresses the dying Salisbury (I.iv.92-5):

> As who should say, 'When I am dead and gone,
> Remember to avenge me on the French.'
> Plantagenet, I will; and Nero-like,
> Play on the lute, beholding the towns burn.

This image, as H.C. Hart and subsequent Arden editors have noted, recalls Grafton, *Chronicle,* I.61: 'He commaunded the City of Rome to be set on fyre, and himself in the meane season, with all semblant of joy, sitting in an high Tower . . . played upon the Harpe, and sang the destruction of Troy'. The outmoded harp, common at the early Tudor court, has been replaced by the more familiar Elizabethan lute.

The night before the battle of Philippi, Brutus commands his boy Lucius to make 'a sleepy tune' upon his instrument. The cue, 'Music, and a Song', indicates Lucius' music is a lute song (*Julius Caesar,* IV.iii.265), since he must sing and play at the same time. The reference to the domestic lute heightens the atmosphere of artificial calm before the storm of battle, and draws upon the Orphic tradition of the calming properties of the lute song, evidenced for example in *Henry VIII,* as we have already seen.

The Viol

Domestic refinement and the healing power of string music are emblematic of the viol, that quintessential Renaissance instrument originating, according to Woodfield, from late-15th-century Spain and Italy, arriving at the English court during the reign of Henry VIII played by Italian and Flemish instrumentalists. In *Henry IV Part 2,* the king's call for quiet or 'still' music implied soothing string music: 'Let there be no noise made, my gentle friends, unless some dull and favourable hand will whisper music to my weary spirit'. (IV.v.1). Lear's 'untuned and jarring senses' are cured, according to Sternfeld, by string music (IV.vii), commanded to play louder because the courtly viol with its soft, nasal

tone could not easily be heard in the noisy, public playhouse. In *Pericles,* Cerimon revives Thaisa with the magical powers of the healing viol (III.ii.90-5):

> The still and woeful music that we have,
> Cause it to sound, beseech you.
> The viol once more; how thou stirr'st, thou block!
> The music there! [*Music*] I pray you, give her air.
> Gentlemen, this queen will live.
> Nature awakes a warm breath out of her.

The likening of the viol to the human body, especially the female form, is present in 16th-century literature, in varying degrees of explicitness. This sexual imagery is employed by Shakespeare when Pericles unravels the secret of the incestuous relationship between King Antiochus and his daughter, and expresses his opinion about the princess (I.i.82-6):

> You are a fair viol, and your sense the strings,
> Who, finger'd to make man his lawful music,
> Would draw heaven down and all the gods to hearken;
> But being play'd upon before your time,
> Hell only danceth at so harsh a chime.

Gustav Ungerer maintains that sexual bawdy is implicit in Sir Toby Belch's faint praise of Sir Andrew Aguecheek's accomplishment of being a viol da gamba player. According to Ungerer, 'the sexualised musical metaphor conjures up the picture of Sir Andrew fondling and fingering, instead of a woman, a stringed instrument indecently placed in a straddling posture between his spindly thighs'. This, however, seems an extravagant reading. Bawdy jokes about viol da gambas in 16th-century poetry and drama invariably refer to lady players. Indeed, 16th-century etiquette tended to regard the viol da gamba as an indecent instrument for a lady, as 'Sebastian Wengrave remarks, in Thomas Dekker's *The Roaring Girl or Moll Cut-Purse* (1611): 'there be a thousand close dames that wil cal the viall an vnmannerly instrument for a woman'. Sir Andrew's supposed ability, as he claims, to play the viol da gamba and speak 'three or four languages word for word without book' would be the marks of an educated gentleman and have little or nothing to do with indecent innuendo.

Tuning and degree

Even the unsounding tuning peg of the viol or lute can have vital symbolic gesture for Shakespeare. Iago's devilish cunning has musical metaphor: 'O, you are well tuned now, but I'll set down the pegs that make this music'. (*Othello,* II.i.200). When Othello arrives in Cyprus and embraces Desdemona, according to the stage direction in the quarto edition (omitted in the first folio), "they kiss", effectively articulating: 'And this, and this, the greatest discord be that e'er our hearts shall make'. (II.i.198). In this harmonious meeting, Shakespeare's musical imagery is omnipresent. Iago observes that the lovers are presently 'well-tuned', but determines to destroy that harmony or 'music' by altering the pitch of the strings [of the viol] thus putting them out of tune and causing discord. This is crucial to the diabolic theme of the play: at the climactic moment when Desdemona tells Cassio she cannot help him: 'My advocation is not now in tune' (III.iv.120); and towards the end of the play when Othello hears that Cassio is not killed: 'then murder's out of tune, And sweet revenge grows harsh' (V.ii.116). The implications here are that marital bliss will be undone or 'un-tuned' by the workings of evil and not the discordant effects of the untuning of the skies or heavens found elsewhere in Shakespeare. As Ross points out, 'the official "Homilie of the state of Matrimonie". . . warned Elizabethan married folk to be careful of falling into just such false security as Othello . . . : For the divell will assay to attempt all thinges to interrupt and hinder your hearts and godly purpose, if yee will give him entry . . . [with] divers griefes and displeasures'. Although the metaphor seems apposite and unequivocal, its usage here is unique in Shakespeare and not found elsewhere in Elizabethan literature.

The musical metaphor invoking order is commonplace but complex in Shakespeare, involving terms such as 'harmony', 'concord', 'tuning', and 'music' itself. In one instance, Shakespeare uses a term from music theory, namely 'degree'.

There are two distinct meanings of 'degree' in Elizabethan music (neither, incidentally, defined by *The Oxford English Dictionary*). One refers to adjacent notes or conjunct movement, which Campion for example clearly intends in his treatise *A New Way of Making Fowre Parts in Counterpoint* (*c.*1614) when he talks about 'Notes rising and falling . . . not so much by degrees [steps] as by leaps . . . rising is said to be by degrees, because there is no Note betweene the two Notes'. This meaning is straightforward and common in musical commentary throughout the 17th century. Another, archaic meaning is defined by Morley: 'Those which we now call Moods, they termed Degrees of music; the definition they gave thus: a Degree is a certain mean whereby the value of the principal notes is perceived by some sign set before them. Degrees of music they made three: Mood, Time, and Prolation'. In other words, Morley is alluding to what is now called a 'time signature'. This usage is also found in Ornithoparcus' *Micrologus* (1517), translated into English by John Dowland and published in 1609.

Ulysses' first speech in *Troilus and Cressida* is Shakespeare's best known and most extensive exposition specifically on 'degree'. In this speech, the Greek commander's understanding of 'degree' involves both hierarchy—in particular, rank in the Greek army—and, by extension, order in the civil state with its supposed inherent hierarchical system among those holding office and responsibility. This is ordained by cosmic order, the sun and the planets, impinging on worldly harmony. When order is displaced by disorder, then (civil) strife and discord will ensue in all things (I.iii.96-103):

> What plagues and what portents, what mutiny,
> What raging of the sea, shaking of earth,
> Commotion in the winds, frights, changes, horrors,
> Divert and crack, rend and deracinate
> The unity and married calm of states . . .
> . . . when degree is shak'd . . .
> The enterprise is sick.

The concept of 'degree' and the political theory of order were supposedly part of the Elizabethan world-picture, as presented in the first chapter of Elyot's *Booke of the Governour,* the preface to Raleigh's *History of the World,* the first book of Hooker's *Laws of Eccleshasticall Polity;* other sources for Shakespeare arguably include Plato (*Republic* VIII), Homer (*Iliad* II), and Ovid (*Metamorphoses* I). The significance of Ulysses' speech is its 'general account of disorder in society', propounding the Elizabethan ideal of control in society by law, justice and order, and the terror of civil war—a common theme in Shakespeare. Ulysses' aims, however, are something of an illusion, a mythical ideal. As Headlam Wells asserts, the later 16th century 'was a period characterised not so much by its unquestioning acceptance of a monolithic body of quasi-official doctrine as by its vigorous scepticism'. A. P. Rossiter convincingly argues that the Elizabethan doctrine of order and degree was 'too rigid, too black-and-white, too doctrinaire and narrowly moral'. Tillyard's schematic and reductive presentation of Elizabethan attitudes, where 'immense and varied activity, constantly threatened with dissolution, and yet preserved from it by a superior unifying power'—his 'unified world view'—is, as Jameson says, a 'strategy of containment'. Shakespeare's worldly and cosmic harmony, then, is a portrayal of not what exists but what is thought to exist, the imaginary ideal. Tillyard's interpretation of Shakespeare's order deals, not with historical fact, but with allegorical myth. And myth 'organises a world which is without contradictions'. So Shakespeare, as poet rather than political theorist, resorts to musical metaphor, the Renaissance view that the world is made of music (*Troilus,* I.iii.109-10):

> take but degree away, untune that string,
> And hark, what discord follows.

Whilst 'tuning' and 'discord' are to do with 'harmony', the reference to 'degree' can be explained in specific or theoretical musical terms. Both the musical meanings, of Campion and Morley, could apply separately, although the first is more likely. A musical scale is determined, either rising or failing, by its stepwise movement, its 'degrees'. The relationship between its degrees brings order. A stringed instrument such as the lute or viol when it is out of tune distorts the scale, an analogy with the disruptions of social order with its hierarchical scale or 'ladder'. And, for the second explanation, music is ordered by the temporal relationships of notes as indicated in the rhythmic mode, 'degree', or time-signature. In Medieval and Renaissance music, before the advent of the metrical bar-line and numerical time signature, the interpretation of tempo and rhythm was implicit in the hierarchical relationship of the longest and shortest notes.

Much of Shakespeare's musical imagery, then, owes its effect and meaning to an understanding of symbolic opposites. The concepts of concord and discord, high and low, and of modulation, are the most important governing the integration of speculative and practical musics, the imitation of heavenly music in Human Music. This is embodied in the neo-Platonic philosophy, *Harmonia est discordia concors,* the agreement of disparate elements reconciled by the art of music, of a world built on integrated contrasts. This is Ulysses' proposition, 'the unity and married calm of states'. Take 'degree' away and the proportions and harmonies of world musics become discordant and untuned. The individual man would also be sick if his soul was jarred and untuned. Because music echoed the concord of heaven, it could restore 'accord' and 'mutual concent'. When Lorenzo speaks of the 'sweet power of music' in *The Merchant of Venice* (V.i), he is referring both to the 'heavenly harmony in immortal souls' and that harmony which should be in mortal souls. King Lear appeals to 'sweet heaven' to keep him 'in temper' (I.v.50). Man should attune himself to heavenly harmony. A harmonious meeting and well-ordered commonwealth in Elizabethan philosophy illustrated the Human Music as it echoed the concord of heaven. Harsh music of human discord jarred these harmonies with din and wrangling, hollowness and hellishness. It was the motions of these harmonies in a character's soul which revealed to the Shakespearean audience whether there was 'concord of sweet sounds' or that his 'affections [were] dark as Erebus'.

'Peruersa iudicia' from Geoffrey Whitney, *A Choice of Emblemes, and Other Devises* (Leyden, 1586), p. 218, from the original in the Pierpont Library.

This article first appeared in *Lute News* 48 (December 1999), q.v. for scholarly footnotes.

IN BRIEF . . .

Here are the contents of recent issues of early music periodicals, with brief summaries of the contents of some articles with particular bearing on perfomance practice issues.

Bolletino della Societa Italiana del Liuto 23 (September 1997)
Sandro Pasqual, 'Luca Maler (part 2)'
Andrea Parisini, 'La chitarra spagnola a Bologna'

Chelys, The Journal of the Viola da Gamba Society 25 (1996/7)
Michael Fleming, 'Paintings of viols in England c1580–1660'
Dominic Gwynne, 'The sound of the seventeenth-century English chamber organ'
Annette Otterstedt, 'The compatibility of the viol consort with the organ in the early seventeenth century'
Andrew Ashbee, 'The late fantasias of John Jenkins'
Matthew Spring, 'The English lute 'fantasia-style' and the music of Cuthbert Hely'
Cathie Miserandino-Gaherty, 'The codicology and rastrology of GB-Ob Mus Sch. MSS c.64–9: manuscripts in support of transmission theory'
Robert Thompson, 'The sources of Purcell's fantasias'
Peter Holman, 'Henry Purcell and Joseph Gibbs: A new source of three-part fantasias' Z732 and Z734
David Pinto, 'Purcell's In nomines: A tale of two manuscripts (perhaps three)'
Graham Nelson, 'A case for the early provenance of the Cartwright lyra-viol manuscript'
BOOK REVIEWS OF:
John Jenkins and his Time: Studies in English Consort Music, ed. P. Holman, A. Ashbee (Clarendon, 1996)
David Pinto, *For the Violls. The Consort and dance Music of William Lawes* (Fretwork, 1995)
Henry Purcell, *Fantazias and In Nomines*, ed. George Hunter (Northwood Music, Illinois, 1995)

The Consort 54 (Summer 1998)
Peter Walls, 'Iconography and Early Violin Technique'
Stuart Cheney, 'Observations on French Instrumental Variation Practices in the Seventeenth Century'
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Richard Turbet, 'Early Music in Scotland'
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Andrew Ashbee, 'Lutes and viols at the Tudor and Stuart Courts'
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Lute Society of America Quarterly XXXIII/3 (August 1998)
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[Reports: LSA Summer Seminar / Paris Lute Colloquium]

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Stuart Cheney, in 'Observations on French instrumental variation practices in the seventeenth century' (in Volume 34 (1998) of *The Consort*) observes that the Renaissance practice of setting variations in the form of internal repeats (A,A', then B, B') gave way, in mid 17th century France, to the practice of having variations as a separate movement or *double,* giving the form AB, then A'B'. The transitional period appears to have been 1630-1670; there arose also the practice of one composer writing a *double* to another's *simple* version. Were these written-down *doubles* intended as polished compositions, or as written out improvisations? Probably something between the two: a sort of idealised improvisation. Obviously, spontaneous improvisation over a subject (rather than making variations on one's own composition, or improvising over a well-known ground, such as the 'Folies d' Espagne') is very difficult, and in 1687 Jean Rousseau wrote in his *Traité de la viole* that few could now improvise on a subject as the famous Maugars once had done. There are no theoretical treatises on all this, though helpfully Mersenne in his *Harmonie Universelle* gives worked examples of ornamented passages; he also distinguishes between styles of playing, one depending on very fast subdivisions of the note, making 'sounds so loud that they are compared to lightning and thunder', and the newer, more melodic and subtly ornamented style of Chambonnières. Cheney assesses David Ledbetter's suggestion that this is the distinction between *jeu brillant* and *jeu coulant* (respectively) referred to by Jean le Gallois in 1680, and the likelihood that the former style went out of fashion as the century progressed.

In the same volume Colette Henshaw, in 'Music, Figure and Affection in Baroque Performance' gives a fascinating account of rhetorical figures in the Baroque. The figures of speech and gestures speakers use to persuade and express were analysed, named and listed by Classical writers; via the writings of Qunitilian (author of *Institutio Oratoria*), Cicero, Aristotle et al their ideas passed into rhetorical theory from the 16th to the 19th centuries, in works such as Kempe, *The Education of Children* (1588), Descartes, *De Passionibus Animae* (1649), Mattheson, *Der Volkommene Capellmeister* (1739), T.A.M. Knox, *Hints to Public Speakers* (1797), and Gilbert Austin, *Chironomia* (1806). Within this tradition certain writers specifically considered the relationship between rhetorical and musical figures, such as Burmeister (1606), Charles Butler, *The Principles of Music* (1636), Kircher (1650) and Lamy (1696). Drawing on such authors, Henshaw draws up a splendid table, with the Greek names for rhetorical figures, and the correspondences between speech, gesture and musical figure in each case. The million dollar question of course is, was this just a way of talking 'post hoc' about things composers and performers did instinctively, or, did the theory actually 'feed back' and influence musicians in their music making? Probably the latter, to some extent. Evidence cited is: (1) the contemporary idea that the use of systematised rhetoric in the arts 'helped to restore the decays that happened to human nature by the Fall, by restoring order' (John Dennis, 1704); (2) numerous composer/theorists such as Morley, Marpung, C.P.E. Bach, Byrd, Rousseau, Quantz and Gibbons discuss the use of musical figures in moving the listener (Donnington, 1963), (3) contemporary theorists advised the singers to employ physical gestures, 'in particular [the singer] should understand the words well . . . and accompany them with gestures and movements, not only of the hand but of other gestures that are efficacious aids in moving the affections' (Emilio de' Cavalieri, 1600). Henshaw concludes with a practical example, from Purcell's 'Mad Bess'. A reference to Jove corresponds to 'hyperbole' (= overdoing it a bit; this is a mad-song), and the word 'Jove' falls on a high F, which according to Burmeister (1606) is the musical equivalent of hyperbole: 'the crossing of a melody above its highest boundary'. This would probably have been accompanied by an upward flourish of the hand in performance.

And finally . . . from *Lute News* 49 here is a fascinating quotation, sent in by Dr Edward Hutson, from Richard Ligon, *A True and Exact History of the Ifland of Barbadoes,* (London, 1673; facsimile edition, Frank Cass, 1976) p. 12: '. . . in comes an old fellow, whofe complexion was raifed out of the red sac, for near that colour it was: his head and beard milk white, his countenance bold and cheerful, a lute in his hand, and played for us a novelty, the "Paffamesares" galiard, a tune of great efteem, in Harry the fourth's days, for when Sir John Falstaff makes his amours to Mistress Doll Tearsheet, Sneake and his company, the admired fiddlers of that age, play this tune, which put a thought into my head, that if time and tune be the compofites of mufic, what a long time this tune had in sailing from England to this place. But we being satisfied with this kind of harmony, defired a song; which he performed in as antique a manner; both favouring much of antiquity; no graces, double relifhes, trillos, gropos or pianofortes, but plain as a packftaff; his lute too, was but of ten strings, and that was in the fafhion of King David's day; so that the rarity of this antique piece pleafed me beyond meafure.'