

**Selected Vocal Repertoire from the Dallis and Ballet Lute
Manuscripts: A Singer's Perspective**

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Declaration

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List of Abbreviations

Add. 2764(2)	Cambridge University Library, MS Add. 2764(2)
Add. 31392	British Library, MS Add. 31392
Add. 38539	British Library, MS Add. 38539
Dd. 2.11	Cambridge University Library, MS Add. 2.11
Dd. 4.22	Cambridge University Library, MS Add. 4.22
Dd. 5.78.3	Cambridge University Library, MS Add. 5.78.3
Dd. 9.33	Cambridge University Library MS Add. 9.33

Abstract

The Dallis and Ballet Lute Books housed at Trinity College Dublin are two of the finest examples of music collections from sixteenth-century England. The lute books were compiled during the reign of Queen Elizabeth I. The Dallis Lute Book, which was bound together with the Dublin Virginal manuscript in the late seventeenth century, contains English and European pavans, galliards, psalm settings and lute songs from the 1560s to the 1580s. The Ballet Lute Book comprises two manuscripts: one that was associated with William Ballet and a second unrelated manuscript. Both contain settings of many popular late-sixteenth-century dance and broadside ballad tunes.

Research in relation to these manuscripts was undertaken by John M. Ward in the 1960s, including a detailed account of the contents and physical description. In 1996, Christopher Goodwin transcribed and edited nineteen songs from the Dallis Lute Book. In 1840, William Chappell edited some songs from the Ballet Lute Book in *A Collection of English National Airs* and Claude Simpson writes about ballads from the same book in *The British Broadside Ballad and its Music* (1966). Previous work has been focused on presenting songs in modern editions but without any performance exploration of the vocal repertoire from a modern singer's viewpoint. Much has been written about historically informed performance from this period, including writings by Robert Toft on the role the text plays in influencing the interpretation and performance of the lute song.

This thesis addresses the lack of scholarship on vocal performance considerations for selected songs from the Dallis and Ballet manuscripts and the approach a modern singer might take in implementing the teachings of sixteenth-century writers regarding text interpretation. The thesis places the manuscripts in the social, political and musical background of sixteenth-century England. It describes the roles that music and the lute played during the Elizabethan period and the varying song genres that are present in the manuscripts. It illustrates how the text was the primary driver for interpretation and how singers from the period approached this concept. An examination of the original manuscripts is undertaken in relation to the selected songs and are then compared to modern editions. An original interpretation of the text for each song is outlined, and the result of this process is recorded for voice and lute.

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Introduction

Rationale

I was first introduced to the Dallis¹ and Ballet² lute manuscripts, housed at Trinity College Dublin, in 2016. After years of singing a wide variety of baroque vocal music, I became fascinated by the breadth of differing vocal repertoire within both manuscripts and the Elizabethan period from which they came. Although a modern lutenist might be able to read most of the tablature in the books, from the point of view of the modern singer, I was not sure what exactly I was looking at. The range of secular and sacred vocal genres in both manuscripts include the madrigal, the psalm, the sacred motet, the consort song, the ballad and the Neapolitan: a broad range of repertoire that was composed across Europe over the course of the sixteenth century. There is approximately a twenty-year gap between the compilation of the Dallis manuscript (c1583) and the second volume of the Ballet manuscript, which contains most of the vocal repertoire c1603.³ As these songs were included in the manuscripts, they were presumably in circulation in the latter part of the sixteenth century in England and were possibly well known throughout the lute-playing community: they could be considered the ‘hits from the eighties, nineties and noughties’. A singer from the upper-class circles in London might have come across or performed songs from these manuscripts: at the very least, they might have known about them.

In trying to connect the ‘then’ with the ‘now’, I had to consider the following in relation to performing selected songs from the manuscripts: firstly, investigating what to look for in the manuscript to get the music off the page; secondly, exploring how a singer at the turn of the

¹ Dublin, Trinity College Library, University of Dublin, IRL-Dtc, Dallis MS 410
<<https://digitalcollections.tcd.ie/concern/works/w6634787b?locale=es>> [accessed 21 November 2020].

² Dublin, Trinity College Library, University of Dublin, IRL-Dtc, Ballet MS 408
<<https://digitalcollections.tcd.ie/concern/works/gf06g725x>> [accessed 21 November 2020].

³ John M. Ward, ‘The Lute Books of Trinity College Dublin: II: MS D.r.21: The so-called Ballet Lute Book’, *The Lute Society Journal*, 10 (1968), 18.

sixteenth century in England would have approached these songs in relation to interpretation; and thirdly, with all the different styles of song available to the modern classically-trained singer to listen to, from opera to jazz, rock, pop and folk music, I had to evaluate what a singer could take from these varying styles of song interpretation which might be more in a similar vein to that of the sixteenth-century song interpretation approach.

The classically-trained modern singer is trained to adhere to strict directional parameters throughout standard vocal repertoire from the classical period to the present. Vocal interpretation of the text does happen, but on a subtle level, and not with the musical freedom and flexibility that the Renaissance singer had to individually change the speed, dynamics and colouring of the words based on his or her individual interpretation of the text. A modern style of song interpretation closer to the Renaissance singer's approach and not as strict as that of the operatic, song and oratorio repertoire is that of the modern ballad singer. Like the Renaissance singer, the modern ballad singer is usually only provided with the words, the melody line or just chords: it is up to the individual ballad singer to interpret the song in his or her own individual way. It is not unusual to hear several different performances of the same song in this genre, with differing speeds, word emphasis and dynamics. This thesis explores how the modern classically-trained singer can adopt the flexibility and freedom available to the modern ballad singer while also applying the teachings on text interpretation outlined by scholars from the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries to selected vocal repertoire from the Dallis and Ballet manuscripts, resulting in an original interpretation of the text. This proposed approach could be used on a broader performance basis for differing repertoire from this period.

The seven songs chosen for performance consideration include the Italian madrigal 'O Passi Sparsi', Psalm 128, the sacred motet 'Cur mundus militat' from the Dallis manuscript and the three ballads 'Greensleeves', 'Calen O Custure Me', 'Fortune my Foe' and the sacred carol

‘Sweet was the Sounge the Vergin Sange’ from the Ballet manuscript, all representing a cross section of vocal repertoire that was heard in Elizabethan England. ‘O Passi Sparsi’ is one of the only madrigals present in both manuscripts and represents the European musical influence from the period. Psalm 128 and the sacred motet ‘Cur mundus militat’ best represent the religious element of songs present in the Dallis manuscript. The vocal repertoire in the Ballet manuscript contains mostly popular broadside ballads from the sixteenth century. ‘Greensleeves’ and ‘Fortune my Foe’ are chosen as they are two of the most famous broadside ballads from the manuscript. ‘Calen o Custure Me’ is chosen for its Irish connection (that and the Ballet manuscript has lived in Ireland for over two hundred years). And finally, ‘Sweet was the Sounge the Vergin Sange’ best represents a song from the manuscript that was close to the lute song tradition popular at the time.

Aims

Much has been written on the content of the Dallis and Ballet lute manuscripts and previous work has focused on presenting songs in modern editions but without scholarship on performance considerations for the vocal repertoire present. This thesis examines Elizabethan political and social history during the time the Dallis and Ballet manuscripts were compiled. It discusses the important role that music played throughout all social classes of Elizabethan England, starting with Queen Elizabeth I. It explains the significance of singing (both sacred and secular) and the lute during this period. The thesis outlines the valued connection between oration and singing and how the direction of rhetorical writers was observed and implemented. It gives a detailed breakdown of the solo lute and vocal repertoire and the history of the Dallis and Ballet books. This thesis examines seven songs of differing styles from the manuscripts. Each is approached in a similar way, giving a comprehensive account of what a singer from sixteenth-century England may have encountered, and what knowledge and experience they may have brought to bear. Going back to the original source to make a deeper connection with

the music, it looks at each song from the original manuscript in relation to key signatures, clefs and text underlay and compares it to modern editions. It explores the text of each song and the original sources of the poetry. It examines the text of each song in relation to sixteenth-century conventions on *elocutio* and *pronunciatio* and how, based on this examination, an original interpretation can result. The outcome of this process is then recorded for voice and lute, using for the most part modern editions. Finally, an autoethnographic account will be given describing the outcome of the recording process.

Literature Review

Much has been written about Elizabethan history during the time that the Dallis and Ballet manuscripts were created. Both David Englander's *Culture and belief in Europe, 1450-1600: an Anthology of Sources*⁴ and Susan Doran's *England and Europe in the Sixteenth Century*⁵ detail England's political and cultural position and the country's place in Europe. The life of Elizabeth I has been extensively written about, dealing with both her private and public life and the importance of music during her reign. Katherine Butler has written on her political life with works including "By Instruments her Powers Appear": Music and Authority in the Reign of Queen Elizabeth I,⁶ *Music in Elizabethan Court Politics and Music*⁷ and *Myth and Story in Medieval and Early Modern Culture*.⁸ David Scott has documented Elizabeth I's life in detail in 'Elizabeth I, Queen of England'.⁹ In relation to the musical life and interactions at the English Court, Peter Holman gives an account of the history of the violin from 1540 to 1690 in *Four*

⁴ David Englander et. al., *Culture and belief in Europe, 1450-1600: an Anthology of Sources* (Oxford: Blackwell Publishing, 1990).

⁵ Susan Doran, *England and Europe in the Sixteenth Century* (New York: Macmillan Press Ltd, 1999).

⁶ Katherine Butler, "By Instruments her Powers Appear": Music and Authority in the Reign of Queen Elizabeth I, *Renaissance Quarterly*, 65 (2012), 353-384.

⁷ Katherine Butler, *Music in Elizabethan Court Politics* (Woodbridge: The Boydell Press, 2015).

⁸ Katherine Butler, 'Origins, Myths, Genealogies and Inventors: Defining the Nature of Music in Early Modern England', in Katherine Butler and Samantha Bassler (eds.), *Music, Myth and Story in Medieval and Early Modern Culture* (New York: The Boydell Press, 2019), 124-140.

⁹ David Scott, 'Elizabeth I, Queen of England' in *Grove Music Online. Oxford Music Online* (Oxford University Press), < <https://doi.org/10.1093/gmo/9781561592630.article.08717> > [accessed 28 March 2023].

and *Twenty Fiddlers: The Violin at the English Court, 1540-1690*.¹⁰ Cultural history in relation to music during this period has been well documented by Suzanne Lord in *Music from the Age of Shakespeare: A Cultural History*¹¹ and Christopher Marsh in *Music and Society in Early Modern England*.¹² *The Blackwell History of Music in Britain. II: The Sixteenth Century*¹³ edited by Roger Bray, bridges the period from 1485 to 1625 of music in Britain from a historical and musicological viewpoint, looking at musical topics such as composition, performance, and both sacred and church music from this period in British music history. The lute played a significant role in Elizabethan music and Matthew Spring writes about its history and usage in *The Lute in Britain: A History of The Instrument and Its Music*,¹⁴ while John M. Ward and David Lumsden have written extensively on the instrument and its musical conventions in *Music for Elizabethan Lutes*¹⁵ and ‘The Sources of English Lute Music (1540-1620)’.¹⁶

In relation to Elizabethan song, Edward Doughtie has written about the differing styles and background to the English renaissance song in *English Renaissance Song*.¹⁷ Elise Bickford Jorgens considers the English song in relation to changing poetic styles from the late Elizabethan era to the Jacobean and Caroline period in *The Well’Tun’d Word: Musical Interpretations of English Poetry, 1597-1651*.¹⁸ On the types of songs present in both the Dallis and Ballet manuscripts, Nicholas Temperley has written about psalms in “All skillful Praises

¹⁰ Peter Holman, *Four and Twenty Fiddlers: The Violin at the English Court, 1540-1690* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1993).

¹¹ Suzanne Lord, *Music from the Age of Shakespeare: A Cultural History* (Westport, CT: Greenwood Press, 2003).

¹² Christopher Marsh, *Music and Society in Early Modern England* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2010).

¹³ Roger Bray (ed.), *The Blackwell History of Music in Britain. II: The Sixteenth Century* (Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1995).

¹⁴ Matthew Spring, *The Lute in Britain: A History of The Instrument and Its Music* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2001).

¹⁵ John, M. Ward, *Music for Elizabethan Lutes* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1992).

¹⁶ David Lumsden, ‘The Sources of English Lute Music (1540-1620)’, *The Galpin Society Journal*, 6 (1953), 14-22.

¹⁷ Edward Doughtie, *English Renaissance Song* (Boston: Twayne Publishers, 1986).

¹⁸ Elise Bickford Jorgens, *The Well’Tun’d Word: Musical Interpretations of English Poetry, 1597-1651* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1982).

Sing’: How Congregations Sang the Psalms in Early Modern England’¹⁹ and ‘The Old Way of Singing: It’s Origins and Developments’.²⁰ Margaret Bent and Paul R. Otte have individually discussed the sacred motet in England in ‘The Late-Medieval Motet’²¹ and ‘The English Anthem’.²² Joseph Kerman have written about the madrigal in ‘English Madrigal’²³ and Claude Simpson’s *The British Broadside Ballad and its Music*²⁴ gives a detailed description of many sixteenth- and seventeenth-century broadside ballads. In relation to sixteenth-century vocal performance, Robert Toft has written comprehensively on this subject in *With Passionate Voice: Re-Creative Singing in Sixteenth-century England and Italy*²⁵ and *Tune Thy Musicke to Thy Hart: The Art of Eloquent Singing in England 1597-1622*.²⁶ Toft investigates sixteenth-century vocal music in England and Italy, positioning it against the backdrop of late Renaissance rhetoric and performance practices. Both books draw extensively on period treatises and early modern sources from England and Italy, encompassing both technical singing manuals and writings on rhetoric and musical expression. In his analysis, Toft explores John Dowland’s lute songs ‘Sorrow, Stay’ and ‘In Darknesse Let Me Dwell’. Investigating the text in both songs, Toft outlines examples of *elocutio* and makes suggestions in relation to *pronunciatio* on how the singer might deliver the songs. He writes ‘knowledge of these devices helps singers deliver these poems effectively, both as dramatic readings and as songs.’²⁷ He also outlines the principles of Giulio Caccini’s *Le Nuove Musiche* (1602) and the singing style Caccini described as ‘affetto cantando’ or passionate singing.²⁸ He examines Caccini’s ‘Deh dove son fuggiti’ and

¹⁹ Nicholas Temperley, ‘All skillful Praises Sing’: How Congregations Sang the Psalms in Early Modern England’, *Renaissance Studies*, 29 (2015), 531-553.

²⁰ Nicholas Temperley ‘The Old Way of Singing: Its Origins and Developments’, *Journal of the American Musicological Society*, 34 (1981), 511-544.

²¹ Margaret Bent, ‘The Late-Medieval Motet’ in Tess Knighton and David Fallows (eds.), *Companion to Medieval & Renaissance Music* (Berkeley, California: University of California Press, 1992), 114-119.

²² Paul R. Otte, ‘The English Anthem’, *The Choral Journal*, 18 (1978), 16-24, 26-28.

²³ Joseph Kerman, ‘English Madrigal’, in *Grove Music Online. Oxford Music Online* (Oxford University Press), <<https://doi.org/10.1093/omo/9781561592630.013.90000382132>> [accessed 4 April 2025].

²⁴ Claude M. Simpson, *The British Broadside Ballad and its Music* (New Brunswick, New Jersey: Rutgers University Press, 1966).

²⁵ Robert Toft, *With Passionate Voice: Re-Creative Singing in Sixteenth-century England and Italy* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2014).

²⁶ Toft, *Tune thy Musicke to thy Hart: The Art of Eloquent Singing in England 1597-1622*.

²⁷ *Ibid.*, 206.

²⁸ *Ibid.*, 227.

pairs it with Monteverdi's 'Baci soave e cari', showing how Caccini's singing style could be applied to Monteverdi's polyphonic madrigal. In relation to the use of rhetoric in instrumental music, Christopher Field has written on the use of rhetoric in John Caprario and William Lawes's fantasia suites in 'Formality and Rhetoric in English Fantasia-Suites' in Andrew Ashbee (ed.), *William Lawes: Essays on his Life, Times and Work*²⁹ and in Judy Tarling's *Weapons of Rhetoric*,³⁰ she writes on the relationship between instrumental music and rhetoric and gives performance guidelines for repertoire from the Renaissance and Baroque periods.

Other writers who have illustrated sixteenth-century historical performance style include Anthony Dooley in *Practical Matters of Vocal Performance*,³¹ Martha Elliott in *Singing in Style: A Guide to Vocal Performance Practices*,³² Sarah Iovan in 'Performing Voices in the English Lute Song',³³ Elizabeth Kenny in 'The Uses of Lute Song: Texts, Contexts and Pretexts for 'Historically Informed' Performance',³⁴ Howard Mayer Brown in *Embellishing 16th-Century Music*³⁵ and Nicholas Kenyon in *Authenticity and Early Music: A Symposium*.³⁶ Anne Smith provides modern performers practical guidance to the performance of music from the sixteenth century in her book *The Performance of 16th-Century Music: Learning from the Theorists*.³⁷ In 'The Performance of English Song 1610-1670',³⁸ Edward Jones Huws investigates how English lute and continuo songs were performed from the early to the middle of the seventeenth century.

²⁹ Christopher D. S. Field, 'Formality and Rhetoric in English Fantasia-Suites' in Andrew Ashbee (ed.), *William Lawes: Essays on his Life, Times and Work* (Aldershot, Hants, England: Ashgate, 1998).

³⁰ Judy Tarling, *The Weapons of Rhetoric: A Guide for Musicians and Audiences* (St. Albans: Corda Music Publications, 2004).

³¹ Anthony Dooley, *Practical Matters of Vocal Performance* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2007).

³² Martha Elliott, *Singing in Style: A Guide to Vocal Performance Practices* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2006).

³³ Sarah Iovan, 'Performing Voices in the English Lute Song', *The English Renaissance*, 50 (2010), 63-81.

³⁴ Elizabeth Kenny, 'The Uses of Lute Song: Texts, Contexts and Pretexts for 'Historically Informed' Performance', *Early Music*, 36 (2008), 285-299.

³⁵ Howard Mayer Brown, *Embellishing 16th-Century Music* (London: Oxford University Press, 1976).

³⁶ Nicholas Kenyon, 'Authenticity and Early Music: Some Issues and Questions', in Nicholas Kenyon (ed.), *Authenticity and Early Music: A Symposium* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1988), 1-18.

³⁷ Anne Smith, *The Performance of 16th-Century Music: Learning from the Theorists* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2011).

³⁸ Edward Huws Jones, 'The Performance of English Song 1610-1670' (PhD dissertation, University of York, 1978).

An overview of the history and content of the Dallis and Ballet manuscripts has been written about by John M. Ward who comprehensively examines both manuscripts, giving a detailed description of their contents in ‘The Lute Books of Trinity College Dublin: I: MS D.3.30/I: The so-called Dallis Lute Book’³⁹ and ‘The Lute Books of Trinity College Dublin: II: MS D.r.21: The so-called Ballet Lute Book’.⁴⁰ Arthur Byler has also written about both the Dallis and Ballet manuscripts giving a detailed account in ‘Italian currents in the popular music of England in the sixteenth century’.⁴¹ Julia Craig-McFeely developed a study of English lute manuscripts from the Elizabethan ‘Golden Age’ in ‘English Lute Manuscripts and Scribes 1530-1630’.⁴² In her examination of the lute’s role in English society during the 1500s and 1600s, she looks at both the Dallis and Ballet manuscripts along with contemporaneous manuscripts and their role during this time. Editions of songs used in this thesis are by Christopher Goodwin in *The English Lute Song Before Dowland 1. Songs From the Dallis Manuscript*,⁴³ Wilfred Foxe in ‘Sweet was the soung the veregin sange’⁴⁴ and Siobhán Armstrong in ‘Calen o Custure Me’.⁴⁵

Methodology

In addition to reviewing the literature related to the Dallis and Ballet manuscripts and sixteenth-century vocal performance, the practical methodology for this thesis involved a physical examination of both manuscripts at Trinity College Dublin and referring to the manuscripts on

³⁹ John M. Ward, ‘The Lute Books of Trinity College Dublin: II: MS D.r.21: The so-called Ballet Lute Book’, *The Lute Society Journal*, 10 (1968), 15-32.

⁴⁰ John M. Ward et. al., ‘I: MS D.3.30/I: The so-called Dallis Lute Book’, *The Lute Society Journal*, 9 (1967), 19-40.

⁴¹ Arthur Byler, ‘Italian currents in the popular music of England in the sixteenth century’ (PhD dissertation, University of Chicago, 1952).

⁴² Julia Craig-McFeely, ‘English Lute Manuscripts and Scribes 1530-1630’ (PhD thesis, University of Oxford, 1993).

⁴³ Christopher Goodwin, *The English Lute Song Before Dowland 1. Songs From the Dallis Manuscript* (London: The Lute Society, 1996).

⁴⁴ Wilfred Foxe (ed.), Anon., ‘Sweet was the soung the veregin sange’ (Durham: Wilfred Foxe, 2020).

⁴⁵ Siobhán Armstrong (ed.), Anon., ‘Calen o Custure Me’ (Kilkenny: Siobhán Armstrong, 2013, revised 2025).

TCD's Digital Online Collection.⁴⁶ The assembling and examining of modern editions was an important part of this performance-led research. An examination of treatises referenced in this thesis was also undertaken. Recordings of early-music singers John Elwes⁴⁷ and Tom Kines,⁴⁸ early-music ensembles including The Baltimore Consort⁴⁹ and pop singer Sting's album *Songs from the Labyrinth*⁵⁰ were examined. In relation to the interpretation of the songs, decisions were made about speed, dynamics and vocal expression that were all influenced by the text. The exploration of ornamentation was also an important part of the musical process: this thesis specifically examined the ornamentation of Diego Ortiz (1510-1576). Ortiz' ornamentation was one of numerous types of ornamentation used by singers and instrumentalists during the sixteenth century.⁵¹ His style of ornamentation was chosen for its suitability to the wide-ranging repertoire performed and how it could succinctly be used to decorate or colour an important word in the text. Also, there is the possibility that singers at this time were aware of these embellishments along with those of other European composers. In relation to punctuation, many of the songs in the manuscripts are lacking punctuation marks and are restored in the modern editions. Time was taken to examine the location of the punctuation marks both in the modern editions and in the original poetry collections and miscellanies from which the original poetry came. Another important part of the performance element included meeting regularly with lutenist Eamon Sweeney to examine the seven selected songs. Discussions on ensemble and interpretative challenges took place during rehearsals. The process of recording the songs was the outcome of performance discussions and interpretative explorations outlined in this

⁴⁶ Roy Stanley, 'Research Collections at Trinity Lute Books Online', <<https://www.tcd.ie/library/manuscripts/blog/2014/10/lute-books-online/>> [accessed 7 April 2023]. There are high-quality facsimiles of both manuscripts available on TCD's Digital Online Collection.

⁴⁷ *Music, Ireland and the Sixteenth Century*. The Irish Consort, Siobhán Armstrong. 2018. Compact disc. Destino Classics. DC1801.

⁴⁸ *Songs from Shakespeare's Plays and Popular Songs of Shakespeare's Time*. Tom Kines and various artists. 1961. Compact disc. Folkway Records. FW 8767.

⁴⁹ *The Food of Love: Songs, Dances and Fancies for Shakespeare*. The Baltimore Consort. 2019. Compact disc. Sono Luminus.

⁵⁰ *Songs from the Labyrinth*. Sting and Edin Karamazov. Compact disc. 2006. Deutsche Grammophon.

⁵¹ Toft, *With Passionate Voice: Re-Creative Singing in Sixteenth-century England and Italy*, 125.

thesis. An autoethnographic account of the recording included revising a video recording of the discussion had between both musicians during the rehearsal and the recording.

Chapter One:

Music in Sixteenth-century England

1.1 Introduction

Music played an important role in Elizabethan England. This chapter outlines the political and social events that gave music its prevalence in a period when the Dallis and Ballet lute manuscripts were compiled. It describes the historical and political backdrop to queen Elizabeth's accession in 1558, her role as both a monarch and passionate advocator of the arts, and how this passion trickled down through Elizabethan society. It looks at musical thought in Elizabethan society and the different social classes that took part in musical activities. It also looks at the role of the lute and its popularity in England from the middle to the end of the sixteenth century. Finally, this chapter summarises the sacred and secular song genres that are explored in this thesis: the psalm, the sacred motet, the madrigal and the ballad, and how these song types were viewed and performed in the second half of sixteenth-century Elizabethan England.

1.2 Queen Elizabeth I and Music

The critical elements of politics and religion played a major and influential role in the formation of queen Elizabeth I's reign as monarch. The sixteenth century was an important time for exploration in Europe, with countries such as Spain and Portugal expanding and discovering new continents and subsequent colonies.¹ In the fields of industry, banking and finance, the European cities of Venice and Antwerp held a 'pivotal position in the world economy of the sixteenth century.'² When Elizabeth I became ruler of England in 1558, historians believe that she continued and contributed significantly to the 'Britannic idea',³ following on from her father

¹ David Englander et. al., *Culture and Belief in Europe, 1450-1600: An Anthology of Sources* (Oxford: Blackwell Publishing, 1990), 271.

² Ibid., 121.

³ The 'Britannic idea' was the term used for the union of England, Scotland and Ireland.

Henry VIII.⁴ She believed that sea-power should be at the forefront of English foreign policy, both for protecting England and fighting Spain, the main enemy at the time. England was successful in 1588 with victory over the Spanish Armada but, for all the success, such naval advances came at a social cost. 1590s England, according to John Guy, was a time of political unrest with high food prices, unemployment and heavy taxation, including Elizabeth's resistance to naming her royal successor.⁵

Early modern European society was for the most part religious, where secular and political issues were seen in terms of religion.⁶ The connection between politics and religion was a recurring theme throughout sixteenth-century England. On her accession to the throne, Elizabeth believed, as did many Englishmen and women, that it was almost impossible to divide religious and political interests and that the Reformation held a major influence over foreign policy.⁷ E. I. Kouri writes that the king's reaction to the Reformation originated from political and not religious issues and that Elizabeth subsequently believed that 'territorial and dynastic considerations were of greater importance than religion in the determination of policy.'⁸

Culturally, politics and the arts were not as detached in the Elizabethan courts as they are in modern political parliaments throughout the world. Where modern governments support artists and musicians through funding and awards, Elizabethan musicians (including lutenists) 'had to

⁴ J. R. Seeley, *The Growth of British Policy: An Historical Essay* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1895), 121; quoted in Susan Doran, *England and Europe in the Sixteenth Century* (New York: Macmillan Press Ltd, 1999), 2.

⁵ John Guy, 'The 1590s: The Second Reign of Elizabeth I?' in John Guy (ed.), *The Reign of Elizabeth I: Court and Culture in the Last Decade* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995), 5; quoted in Katherine Butler, "'By Instruments her Powers Appear": Music and Authority in the Reign of Queen Elizabeth I', *Renaissance Quarterly*, 65 (2012), 371.

⁶ Englander, *Culture and belief in Europe, 1450-1600: an Anthology of Sources*, 3.

⁷ Susan Doran, *England and Europe in the Sixteenth Century* (New York: Macmillan Press Ltd, 1999), 10.

⁸ E. I. Kouri, 'England and the Attempts to Form a Protestant Alliance in the Late 1560s: A Case-study in European Diplomacy' in *The American Historical Review*, 87 (1982), 195; quoted in Doran, *England and Europe in the Sixteenth Century*, 9.

rely on the patronage of the nobility and gentry.⁹ Musical court posts were usually administered in three ways. Firstly, an applicant might petition a King. Secondly, a musician might be endorsed by a courtier and thirdly, he would be hired directly by the Lord Chamberlain, on the guidance of serving musicians.¹⁰ Lillian Ruff and Arnold Wilson write that over three centuries of ‘cultivating an analytical and specialist habit of mind’ has led to a separation of art and literature, science and politics and that in the Elizabethan period these systems were far more connected and compatible.¹¹ After the Spanish Armada of 1588, a sense of unity and national pride came over the English nation and continued until the end of the sixteenth century. This in turn led to a blossoming of the English language led by famous poets and dramatists.¹² The impact of the Protestant Reformation and the success of the Spanish Armada on culture in sixteenth-century England was vast and visible in the works of the great Elizabethan writers such as William Shakespeare, John Spenser and Christopher Marlowe.¹³ The ‘Golden Age’ was the highest point of the English Renaissance, with a flourishing development in the arts, including theatre, literature and music. Shakespeare dominated the world of literature, while composers William Byrd, John Dowland, Thomas Campion and Robert Johnson pioneered the English Renaissance musical style.

Adoration of the arts, in particular music, throughout the Elizabethan courts came directly from Queen Elizabeth herself. As a child, she received the equivalent education of a Renaissance prince, including the languages Latin and Greek.¹⁴ All of Henry VIII’s children received lute tuition: the young Elizabeth possibly received lessons from Giles Duwes (a luter to the king

⁹ Julia Craig-McFeely, ‘English Lute Manuscripts and Scribes 1530-1630’ (PhD thesis, University of Oxford, 1993), 22.

¹⁰ Peter Holman, *Four and Twenty Fiddlers: The Violin at the English Court, 1540-1690* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1993), 38.

¹¹ Lillian M. Ruff and Arnold Wilson, ‘The Madrigal, the Lute Song and Elizabethan Politics’, *Past and Present*, 44 (1969), 3.

¹² *Ibid.*, 4.

¹³ Englander, *Culture and belief in Europe, 1450-1600: an Anthology of Sources*, 441.

¹⁴ David Scott, ‘Elizabeth I, Queen of England’ in *Grove Music Online. Oxford Music Online* (Oxford University Press), < <https://doi.org/10.1093/gmo/9781561592630.article.08717> > [accessed 28 March 2023].

who served the princess in 1525-1526) and certainly received lessons from Flemish lutenist Philip van Wilder.¹⁵ The courtier John Clapham wrote shortly after Elizabeth's death that 'in matters of recreation, as singing, dancing and playing upon instruments, she was not ignorant nor excellent'.¹⁶ This popular poem from the time alludes to Elizabeth's interest in the arts:

The Queen, the glory of our age and isle
With royal favor bids this science smile;
Nor hears she only others' labor'd lays,
But, artist-like herself both sings and plays.¹⁷

The queen also loved to play stringed instruments which were popular at the time. Sir James Melville, an ambassador from Mary Queen of Scots, wrote of an occasion in October 1564 when 'after dinner my Lord of Hunsdean drew me up to a quiet gallery ... where I might hear the Queen play on the Virginals. I entered within the Chamber, and stood a pretty space hearing her play excellently well, but she left off immediately, so soon as she turned her about and saw me.'¹⁸ Other accounts exist of the queen playing instruments: John Playford writes that 'she did often recreate herself upon an excellent Instrument called the Polyphant, not much unlike a Lute but strung with Wire'.¹⁹ A miniature painting by Nicholas Hilliard (c1580) portrays Elizabeth holding a lute and it was noted that in 1565 Lord Berkeley bought the queen a lute for which she offered 100 marks²⁰ (Illustration 1).

¹⁵ Frederic Madden, *The Privy Purse Expenses of the Princess Mary* (London, 1831), fol. I; quoted in Matthew Spring, *The Lute in Britain: A History of The Instrument and Its Music* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2001), 54.

¹⁶ Scott, 'Elizabeth I, Queen of England'.

¹⁷ Frederick Keel, *Music in the Time of Queen Elizabeth* (London: published by John Lane, 1914), 23-24; quoted in Suzanne Lord, *Music from the Age of Shakespeare: A Cultural History* (Westport: Greenwood Press, 2003), 153.

¹⁸ Scott, 'Elizabeth I, Queen of England'.

¹⁹ John Playford, 'An Introduction to The Skill of Musick'; quoted in Scott, 'Elizabeth I, Queen of England'.

²⁰ Ibid.

Illustration 1: Elizabeth I with a Lute, miniature by Nicholas Hilliard, c1580 (private collection), Berkeley Castle



Music making was expected among royalty, especially women. Katherine Butler writes that ‘a princess’s musical education was intended not only to make her a performer but also to prepare her for a role as a patroness of musicians, by giving her the knowledge by which to judge the performances of others’.²¹ Lute playing for Queen Elizabeth at this time was ‘intended to show off her accomplishments as a future wife’.²² In 1559 Baron Philip Breuner (emissary of the Archduke Charles) heard Elizabeth play while on a boat in the River Thames. He wrote ‘she

²¹ Katherine Butler, “‘By Instruments her Powers Appeare’”: Music and Authority in the Reign of Queen Elizabeth I’, *Renaissance Quarterly*, 65 (2012), 355.

²² Spring, *The Lute in Britain: A History of The Instrument and Its Music*, 56.

spoke a long while with me and invited me to leave my boat and take a seat in that of the Treasurer's. She then had her boat laid alongside and played upon the lute'.²³

The role that music played for Elizabeth, both on a private and public level, was significant and enhanced prosperity and stability throughout the country.²⁴ Suzanne Lord writes 'the stability of her government, relative religious tolerance, and encouragement of music publishing helped all levels of English citizenry become prosperous enough to partake in more musical activities than ever before'.²⁵ In a proclamation made in 1559, Elizabeth writes, in relation to music in worship that there must be 'a modest distinct songue, so used in all partes of the common prayers in the Church ... it may be permitted that in the beginning, or in the ende of common prayers ... that there may be song an Hymne, or such like songue, to the praise of almightie god'.²⁶ David Scott writes that during royal state occasions 'music arranged by host courtiers or civic bodies on her progresses was an integral part of their entertainment'.²⁷ Elizabeth was a strong supporter of the arts, including dance and both sacred and secular music which in turn exposed her court to these pursuits.²⁸

As well as for her personal enjoyment, Elizabeth used music as a tool to assert her regal authority as a queen. In addition to beauty and sensuality (elements associated with women who engaged in music), it was also associated with authority, rationality and order, and society was 'inspired by music's status as a mathematical art and a belief in universal harmony'.²⁹ Katherine Butler writes that Elizabeth I and her courtiers used music to resolve her 'female sex' with her gendered masculine status of political control.³⁰ Courtiers were consultants to the

²³ Baron Philip Breuner, *Queen Elizabeth and some Foreigners* (London: John Lane the Bodley Head Ltd, 1928), 96; quoted in Spring, *The Lute in Britain: A History of The Instrument and Its Music*, 55.

²⁴ Lord, *Music from the Age of Shakespeare: A Cultural History*, 4.

²⁵ *Ibid.*, xxii.

²⁶ Queen Elizabeth I, proclamation, 1559, Injunction 49; quoted in Scott, 'Elizabeth I, Queen of England'.

²⁷ Scott, 'Elizabeth I, Queen of England'.

²⁸ Lord, *Music from the Age of Shakespeare: A Cultural History*, xxii.

²⁹ Butler, "'By Instruments her Powers Appeare": Music and Authority in the Reign of Queen Elizabeth I', 362.

³⁰ *Ibid.*, 354.

queen and they included literary scholars and experts in the fields of mathematics, science, astronomy, astrology, navigation and the arts. They were the ‘cremè de la cremè’ when it came to Elizabethan nobility and were closest to the crown.³¹ Knowledge in music, led by the queen’s example, was advantageous for courtiers and other nobles and if they could not sing or play themselves, they became patrons to professional musicians and composers.³² Courtier poets were also important figures in the government of the time: interests of the queen were expected to be adopted by her subjects. These poets attended personally on their sovereign and were ranked higher than the basic servants of the court.³³ It was common to have singers and keyboard players as part of her Privy Chamber staff, where they would give private performances.³⁴ After Henry VIII’s dissolution of the Catholic Church, church musicians were unemployed and the nobility hired many of these musicians for their private courts as performers, teachers and composers.³⁵

1.3 Musical Thought and Society

Music played an important role in the broad social and intellectual culture of the period. Musical ideas appeared in works of theology, mathematics, magic, medicine, philosophy, drama, poetry and education. Music was also discussed at length, from the professional to the amateur musician.³⁶ Elizabethan scholars looked to ancient Greece and their belief that music was a science.³⁷ They studied the teachings of Plato, Aristotle, Cicero and Boethius who believed that music promoted social and political accord, ‘reflecting in microcosm the harmony which governed the motions of the celestial spheres.’³⁸ The metaphorical idea that harmonious

³¹ Lord, *Music from the Age of Shakespeare: A Cultural History*, 2.

³² *Ibid.*, 4.

³³ Kirsten Gibson, ‘John Dowland and The Elizabethan Courtier Poets’, *Early Music*, 41 (2013), 239-240.

³⁴ Butler, “‘By Instruments her Powers Appear’: Music and Authority in the Reign of Queen Elizabeth I”, 360.

³⁵ Lord, *Music from the Age of Shakespeare: A Cultural History*, 4.

³⁶ Katherine Butler, Review: ‘Both from the Ears and Mind: Thinking about Music in Early Modern England’ by Linda Phyllis Austern, *Music & Letters*, 102 (2021), 362.

³⁷ Lord, *Music from the Age of Shakespeare: A Cultural History*, 7.

³⁸ Katherine Butler, *Music in Elizabethan Court Politics* (Woodbridge: The Boydell Press, 2015),

agreement found in music should be reflected in a harmonious society and political system was encouraged as a concept: sixteenth-century writer Sir Thomas Elyot, for instance, recommended that musical knowledge was essential for political understanding.³⁹ The traditions of music being associated with authority and rationality and that music was a mathematical art written about in detail by classical authors were a common way of thinking about music during this period and one that Elizabeth used in projecting her image as monarch.⁴⁰ In Boethius's *De Institutione Musica* (from the sixth century), three different types of musical harmony were believed to have existed: *musica mundana* (universal music: heavenly harmony made from the movement of planetary spheres), *musica humana* (human music: the harmony of the human soul) and *musica instrumentalis* (instrumental music: the music of day-to-day life produced by instruments and voices).⁴¹ Roger Bray writes 'while *musica mundana* and *musica humana* are to do with the power of music, Boethius's third class of music is *music instrumentalis*, actual composed and performed music.'⁴²

Elizabethan society was broken into three main social divisions: the upper class (or the nobility), the middle class and the lower class: all classes saw the important role that music played in their lives. Suzanne Lord writes that 'Elizabethans generally tended to distrust people who did not like music. It was felt that a person who had no feeling for music was less than a human – and thus, not a person to be trusted.'⁴³ This reflects the general thought about music in this period and how music was held in such high esteem.

In the upper-class circles, music played an important role in their overall education. Elizabethan nobility obtained their status through serving the crown, being rewarded with land, titles and

³⁹ Ibid., 9.

⁴⁰ Butler, "'By Instruments her Powers Appeare": Music and Authority in the Reign of Queen Elizabeth I', 362.

⁴¹ Ibid., 362.

⁴² Roger Bray(ed.), *The Blackwell History of Music in Britain. II: The Sixteenth Century* (Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1995), 19.

⁴³ Lord, *Music from the Age of Shakespeare: A Cultural History*, 56.

privileges.⁴⁴ Children born into nobility were educated at home. Music teachers were hired to teach instruments such as the lute, viol, bandora, cithern and flute.⁴⁵ Law was also seen as a noble and important profession among the upper class: the Inns of Court was regarded as a way of obtaining a ‘polished’, all round education, where musical proficiency played an important role.⁴⁶ From the 1560s to the 1580s, the culture of learning non-secular moralistic songs was popular: many of these songs were printed in the form of broadside ballads or miscellanies such as *The Paradise of Dainty Devises* or *A Hive Full of Hunnies*.⁴⁷ The Elizabethan middle class, which ‘fueled the English Renaissance’, were hard working, conservative and well-educated businesspeople who were devoted to church and state, and music was important. The lower class in Elizabethan England were regarded as the peasant or servant class. Lack of education and lack of money for instruments was a common theme: singing was seen as a light relief to a tough existence.⁴⁸

1.4 The Lute

The lute was the most prominent instrument throughout Elizabeth’s reign. It was used as both a solo instrument and as an accompaniment to the voice. David Lumsden writes that ‘the special characteristics which made the lute the most popular instrument of its day - portability, responsiveness to dynamic nuances, versatility in supporting voice or instruments - are naturally reflected in the types of music written for it.’⁴⁹ The lute became the new instrument of choice in Henry VIII’s court, replacing the harp.⁵⁰ Henry VIII imported a number of distinguished families of foreign musicians (who were mostly Italian) whose household function was to be music teachers, performers and composers.⁵¹ Foreign musicians received higher salaries than

⁴⁴ Ibid., 2.

⁴⁵ Ibid., 5.

⁴⁶ Ibid., 6-7.

⁴⁷ Ibid., 197.

⁴⁸ Ibid., 45.

⁴⁹ David Lumsden, ‘The Sources of English Lute Music (1540-1620)’, *The Galpin Society Journal*, 6 (1953), 14.

⁵⁰ Spring, *The Lute in Britain: A History of The Instrument and Its Music*, 52.

⁵¹ Ibid., 56.

their English counterparts and their music was primarily drawn from northern Italian cities, where fresh Renaissance musical ideas and playing techniques had originated.⁵² The tradition of the lute being the primary instrument at court carried over into Elizabeth's court. Spring writes that from the appointment of John Johnson as a lutenist to Queen Elizabeth in 1579 to the death of his son Robert Johnson in 1633, these years corresponded with 'the high point of the lute's popularity, not only in England but throughout Europe, and the period from which by far the most English source material survives.'⁵³ Matthew Spring compiled a list of professional lutenists in the Queen's Royal Household from 1578 to 1603. Richard Robinson writes that 'hints also occur through printed songs that can be connected to known contemporary singers and musicians. Two songs are linked to Robert Hales (*fl.*1583-1616), a 'Groome of her Maiesties Priuie Chamber' whose singing was admired by several contemporaries including Elizabeth herself.'⁵⁴ According to Spring, Robert Hales worked as lutenist and singer at the court from 1582 to 1616 (Table 1).

⁵² Ibid., 57.

⁵³ Ibid., 97-98.

⁵⁴ Diana Poulton, 'The Favourite Singer of Queen Elizabeth I', *The Consort*, 14 (1957), 24-27; quoted in Richard Robinson, 'With Sound of Lute and Pleasing Words': The Lute Song and Voice Types in Late Sixteenth- and Early Seventeenth-Century England', *Royal Musical Association Research Chronicle*, 52 (2021), 22.

Table 1: Matthew Spring, Professional Lutenists in the Royal Household 1578-1603, 103⁵⁵

Lutenist	Dates	Instruments and position	Salary
Mathias/Mathathias Mason	1578–1610	Lute; musician for the three lutes; musician of the Privy Chamber	£20 p.a. raised to £40 p.a. in 1589
John Johnson	1579–94	lute; musician for the three lutes	£20 p.a.
Francis Fiavet	1582?	lute	
Robert Hales	1582–1616	lute and voice; Groom of the Privy Chamber to Queen Anne of Denmark	£40 p.a.
Walter Pierce	1588–1604	lute; musician for the three lutes	£20 p.a.
Edward Collard	1598–9	lute	£20 p.a.
<i>also:</i>			
Thomas Cardell	1578–1621	dancing-master and lute; Groom of the Privy Chamber to Anne of Denmark	£20 p.a.; £40 p.a. from 1593; £100 p.a. from 1604; £140 p.a. from 1605
Francis Cardell	1604–5 ⁴		

Music learning among nobles and educated people rose significantly during the sixteenth century and by the 1570s and 1580s ‘musical literacy and instrumental and vocal proficiency were certainly increasing’.⁵⁶ The culture since the medieval period of young men learning the lute at university or the Inns of Court carried on into the Renaissance era.⁵⁷ Spring points out that the rise in technical standards in playing the lute, both professionally and on an amateur level, led to a surge in the amount of music composed for the instrument and he references eighteen major sources that survive from the late Elizabethan period, highlighting the importance of the lute at the time.⁵⁸

⁵⁵ Spring, *The Lute in Britain: A History of The Instrument and Its Music*, 103.

⁵⁶ *Ibid.*, 65.

⁵⁷ *Ibid.*, 66.

⁵⁸ *Ibid.*, 102.

The growth in the number of popular lute manuscripts by the end of Elizabeth's reign is, according to John Ward, down to an 'increase in the importance of music in the education of the children of gentry and noble men in the last half of the century'.⁵⁹ Spring has compiled a list of well-known English lute manuscripts from 1580 to 1625. The Dallis manuscript was compiled between 1583 and 1585, while the second Ballet manuscript was compiled between 1600 and 1603. A prominent lute manuscript that was assembled between 1583 and 1603 and was a contemporary of the Dallis and Ballet manuscripts, was the Brogyntyn manuscript (1595-1600) from Wales. The Brogyntyn MS I.27, like the Ballet manuscript, was probably a selection of personal family favourites for the lute. It is a highly ornate manuscript, perfectly copied and contains ascriptions in a private alphabet.⁶⁰ The National Library of Wales, where the manuscript is located, describes the manuscript as 'part of the collection of manuscripts from the Brogyntyn Library near Oswestry deposited at the library in 1934. It contains music for the lute copied about 1595, and transcripts of poems, elegies and legal miscellanea by the lawyer-poet Thomas Tanat (1603-69) of Broxton, Cheshire, added between about 1621 and 1629'⁶¹ (Table 2).

⁵⁹ John M. Ward, *Music for Elizabethan Lutes* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1992), 65.

⁶⁰ Craig-McFeely, 'English Lute Manuscripts and Scribes 1530-1630', 99.

⁶¹ Aberystwyth, National Library of Wales GB-Aber, Brogyntyn MS I. 27. There is a facsimile of the manuscript at the National Library of Wales, <Brogyntyn manuscripts - National Library of Wales Archives and Manuscripts> [accessed 20 January 2025].

Table 2: Matthew Spring, English Sources of Lute Music 1580-1625, 109⁶²

Source	Date	Courses	Comments
A. MAJOR MANUSCRIPT SOURCES			
Add. 2764(2)	c.1585-90	6	25 solo fragmentary items
Add. 31392	c.1600-5	6	31 solos. 1 t&g. Some pieces for bandora
Add. 38539	c.1615-20	10	83 solos. 4 t. Also variously known as the 'Sturt' or 'ML' lute book
Berlin 40641 (now in Kraków)	c.1615	10	27 solos. Also associated with John Sturt
Berlin 40143	c.1600	7	72 items, only a small number of which are solos by English composers. A Continental MS probably compiled by the Englishman D. Richard
Ballet (408/1)	c.1595	6	24 lute items (3 duets; 1 consort part; 17 solos; 3 fragments)
Ballet (408/2)	c.1600-03	6	64 lute items, all but 2 of which are solos
Board	c.1620-5	10	100 solos, 4 t&g, 1 consort treble
Brogynntyn	c.1595-1600	6	9 solos; 1 trio (incomplete); 24 consort song lute parts
Cosens	c.1606-10	7	70 lute solos
Dallis	c.1583-5	6	228 items. 198 solos; 19 songs with words; 8 bandora items; 1 cittern; 1 for 5 lutes
Dd.2.11	c.1590-95	6	264 solos; 54 bandora; 4 consort/duet items
Dd.4.22	c.1615	6-8	24 solos and 1 duet part
Dd.5.78.3	c.1595-1600	7 ^a	159 solos
Dd.9.33	c.1600-5	7	156 solos; 6 bandora pieces
Euing	c.1605-10	6 ^b	72 solos
Folger	c.1590-5	6/7	41 solos; 4 t&g; 2 consort parts

David Lumsden writes that the popularity of the piano today and its flexibility in assisting with the different arrangements of vocal repertoire is the closest resemblance to the popularity of the lute and its flexibility during the sixteenth century.⁶³ Christopher Goodwin notes that many of the lute songs that survive before the Golden Age and the age of the 'English ayre' at the end of the century, are 'arrangements of unaccompanied vocal polyphony or of viol consort songs'.⁶⁴ He writes that if the sources of early lute song (including the Dallis MS, the Brogynntyn MS, the Turpyn book, the Giles commomplace book, the Braye lute book and the Paston MS)

⁶² Spring, *The Lute in Britain: A History of The Instrument and Its Music*, 109.

⁶³ Lumsden, 'The Sources of English Lute Music (1540-1620)', 14.

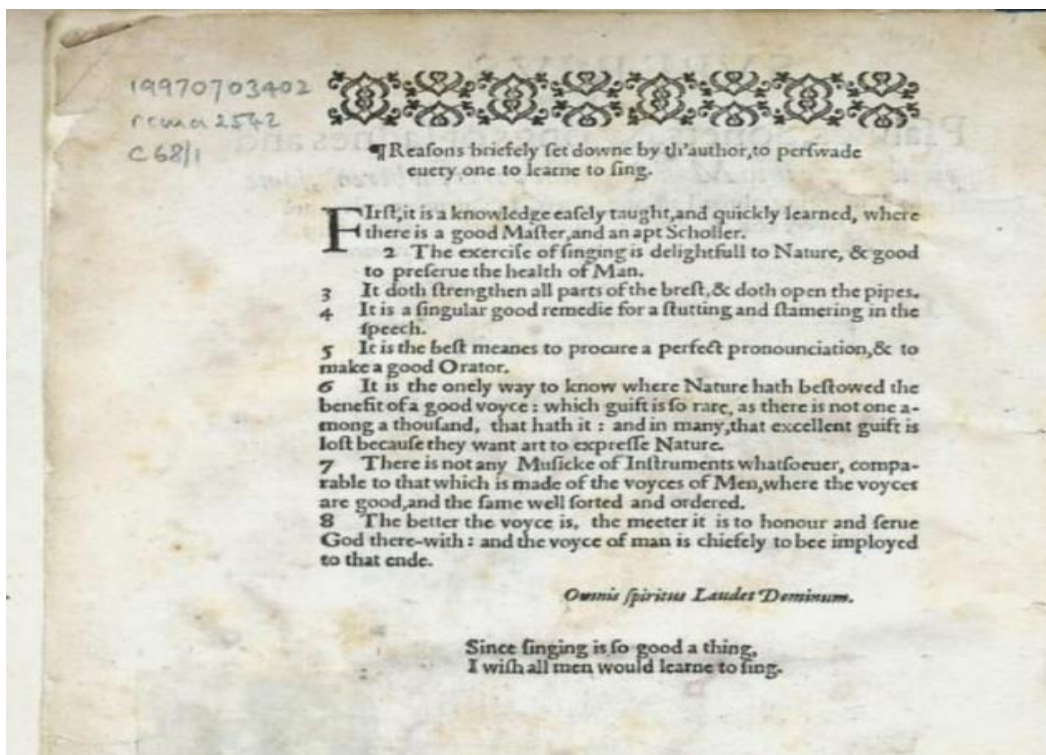
⁶⁴ Christopher Goodwin, *The English Lute Song Before Dowland 1. Songs From the Dallis Manuscript* (London: The Lute Society, 1996), 2.

were to be examined, most of the songs would be intabulations.⁶⁵ They would differ from the English ayre lute accompaniment style which was composed specifically for voice and lute.

1.5 Singing in Elizabethan England

In William Byrd's preface to his *Superius. Psalmes, Sonets & Songs of Sadness and Pietie*, he gives a clear outline containing eight points why people should sing (Illustration 2).

Illustration 2: William Byrd, *Superius. Psalmes, Sonets & Songs* (1588), i



A modern edition was published in 2004 by Jeremy Smith in the *Byrd Edition* series.⁶⁶ Byrd claimed that singing was good for a person's health, for strengthening all parts of the breath and opening the pipes, for improving stuttering and stammering, for improved pronunciation, for becoming a good orator, but most importantly, it was the best way to serve God.⁶⁷ Singing

⁶⁵ Ibid., 2.

⁶⁶ William Byrd, *Psalmes, Sonets and Songs* (1588), edited by Jeremy Smith and Philip Brett in *The Byrd Edition*, Vol.12 (London: Stainer & Bell, 2004).

⁶⁷ William Byrd, *Psalmes, Sonets & Songs of Sadness and Pietie* (London: Thomas Este, 1588), 1.

entered all strands of Elizabethan life on a regular basis. Suzanne Lord writes about vocal music in Elizabethan England:

Always an essential part of England's church life, vocal music was also an integral part of the fabric of everyday Elizabethan life. Whether in the home or as entertainment, all classes of Elizabethan society indulged in a love of song making. The cross-pollination between composers of secular vocal works and a public eager to buy and sing them propelled the Elizabethan into a golden age of secular song.⁶⁸

Richard Robinson writes that 'singing was a social phenomenon that transversed all strata of English society, and evidence of lute accompaniment occurs quite frequently within this web of singing practices, both in amateur and professional music-making.'⁶⁹

Queen Elizabeth, her father Henry VIII and her mother Anne Boleyn all sang.⁷⁰ Suzanne Lord also writes 'all classes of Elizabethan citizens enjoyed singing. The lower class had its catches, the middle class its broadsheet ballads and the upper classes their part-songs and ballades.'⁷¹ Part-song singing was at the centre of Elizabethan vocal music and was performed by upper, middle and lower societal classes.⁷² They had more than one vocal part: they can also be called canzonets, ballades, sonets, balletts, or madrigals, and lute songs were also known as airs or ayres.⁷³

Sacred Singing: Psalms and Sacred Motets

A favorite pastime at home for the middle-class was devotional singing⁷⁴ and metrical psalms played a major role in household music practice.⁷⁵ They believed the Old Testament Book of Psalms was meant to be sung, also psalms were translated from Latin into English in rhymed,

⁶⁸ Lord, *Music from the Age of Shakespeare: A Cultural History*, 182.

⁶⁹ Richard Robinson, 'With Sound of Lute and Pleasing Words': The Lute Song and Voice Types in Late Sixteenth- and Early Seventeenth-Century England', *Royal Musical Association Research Chronicle*, 2.

⁷⁰ Lord, *Music from the Age of Shakespeare: A Cultural History*, 153.

⁷¹ *Ibid.*, 14.

⁷² *Ibid.*, 153.

⁷³ *Ibid.*, 154.

⁷⁴ *Ibid.*, 39.

⁷⁵ Tim Carter, 'Secular Vocal Music', in Roger Bray (ed.), *The Blackwell History of Music in Britain. II: The Sixteenth Century*, 169.

metered verses.⁷⁶ When Thomas Sternhold's *Whole Book of Psalms* was published in the mid-1500s it was primarily for private use but Nicholas Temperley writes that the songs 'would become the foundation of congregational singing in England.'⁷⁷ He writes that these songs became permanent and carried on through musical, political and social fluctuations since when they were first heard.⁷⁸ On the arrival of congregational psalm tunes to London parish churches in 1559, they were 'immediately taken up by thousands and spread like wildfire through the churches'.⁷⁹

In relation to the connection between folk music and psalms, Nicholas Temperley writes 'the English, like the Germans and the French before them, began their psalmody by making use of folk tunes already well known to people. Edward Doughtie writes 'sometime in the 1540s, some dances or dance songs, repeated over and over as tunes or when they are played for dancing, may have infected the ear of Sternhold, who transferred the rhythm to his psalms.'⁸⁰ It is said that Thomas Sternhold himself had sung his psalm versions to the tune of 'Chevy Chase'⁸¹ and the metrical psalms were given the nickname 'Geneva Jigs', possibly by Queen Elizabeth and certainly by others.⁸²

The sacred motet, or anthem, was a popular form of song in Elizabethan England. Margaret Bent describes the motet as 'a piece of music in several parts with words', describing the motet

⁷⁶ Lord, *Music from the Age of Shakespeare: A Cultural History*, 39.

⁷⁷ Nicholas Temperley, 'All skillful Praises Sing': How Congregations Sang the Psalms in Early Modern England', *Renaissance Studies*, 29 (2015), 531.

⁷⁸ *Ibid.*, 531.

⁷⁹ Hastings Robinson (ed.), *Original Letters of the Reformation* (Cambridge: Parker Society Publications, 1846-47), ii, 40-41; quoted in Nicholas Temperley, 'The Old Way of Singing: Its Origins and Developments', 516.

⁸⁰ Edward Doughtie, *English Renaissance Song* (Boston: Twayne Publishers, 1986), 38.

⁸¹ G. Gregory Smith (ed.), *Elizabethan Critical Essays*, (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1904), i, 178; quoted in Temperley, 'The Old Way of Singing: Its Origins and Developments', 516.

⁸² Nicholas Temperley, *The Music of the English Parish Church*, (Cambridge, New York: Cambridge University Press, 1979), i, 67; quoted in Nicholas Temperley, 'The Old Way of Singing: Its Origins and Developments', 516.

from the thirteenth century up to the late sixteenth century.⁸³ Willi Apel refers to the motet as ‘an unaccompanied choral composition, based on a Latin sacred text, and designed to be performed in the Catholic service, chiefly at Vespers.’⁸⁴ As Latin was slowly being replaced by English, the motet came more to be known as the anthem. Percy M. Young writes about Henry VIII attending mass in 1526: ‘the master with six children, and six gentlemen shall give their continual attendance in the King’s Court and daily to hear a mass of our Lady before noon ... and an anthem in the afternoon.’⁸⁵ Under queen Elizabeth, she issued instructions for the clergy with regard to morning and evening prayers in 1559, referring to the anthem as ‘an hymn or such like song ... to the praise of Almighty God in the best sort of melody and music that may be conveniently devised.’⁸⁶ The anthems in Elizabethan England were numerous because writers enjoyed setting lyrics in the English language, unlike writing for the older Latin texts which had been set for centuries.⁸⁷

Secular Singing: Madrigals and Ballads

Renaissance madrigals originated in Italy where ‘the music fitted itself to the form of the poetry.’⁸⁸ The Italian madrigal usually spoke about themes of unrequited love or the loss of a lover: a high volume of Italian madrigals was set to the poetry of Petrarch.⁸⁹ Italian madrigals were most likely heard in Elizabeth’s court: she had Italian musicians in her court, including Alfonso Ferrabosco I whose own music was performed with Italian lyrics.⁹⁰ Tim Carter writes ‘the queen’s favorite musician, at least for a time, was the Italian Alfonso Ferrabosco, who was

⁸³ Margaret Bent, ‘The Late-Medieval Motet’; quoted in Tess Knighton and David Fallows, *Companion to Medieval & Renaissance Music* (Berkeley, California: University of California Press, 1998), 114.

⁸⁴ Willi Apel, *Harvard Dictionary of Music* (Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Press, 1974), 541; quoted in Paul, R. Otte, ‘The English Anthem’, *The Choral Journal*, 18 (1978), 18.

⁸⁵ Percy M. Young, *A History of British Music* (New York: W. W. Norton and Company Inc, 1967), 82; quoted in Otte, ‘The English Anthem’, 18.

⁸⁶ ‘Anthem’ in *Musik in Geschichte und Gegenwart*, (Kassel: Barenreiter, 1949) i, 514; quoted in Otte, ‘The English Anthem’, 19.

⁸⁷ Otte, ‘The English Anthem’, 23.

⁸⁸ Lord, *Music from the Age of Shakespeare: A Cultural History*, 167.

⁸⁹ *Ibid.*, 168.

⁹⁰ *Ibid.*, 170.

in her service from 1562-78.⁹¹ In the 1570s, English poets such as Edmund Spenser and Philip Sidney ‘undertook a comprehensive form of native poetry along Italian lines.’⁹² In 1588 the collection *Musica Transalpina* was compiled in which Nicholas Younge, an amateur singer, and his friends translated Italian poetry from Italian madrigals into English.⁹³ It was the first and largest Elizabethan anthology of Italian madrigals and led to the flourishing of the English madrigal from 1588 to 1627.

Ballad singing was a popular and accessible form of singing style in the Elizabethan era. Ballads were usually printed on the broadside: a single sheet of inexpensive paper printed on one side with a ballad, a rhyme or news and sometimes with wood cut illustrations. Broadside ballads were usually sung or recited in public places or sold on the streets of England. Suzanne Lord writes that ‘if a sheet had words printed on both sides of the paper, it was known as a “broadsheet”.’⁹⁴ Broadsides would usually contain more than one ballad, and verses were written out and at times were sung to older, familiar tunes.⁹⁵ According to Christopher Marsh ‘ballads were everywhere ... ballads were a potent political tool: they helped to make a hero of the Earl of Essex, executed for high treason in 1601; they humiliated the Duke of Wellington during the mid-1620.’⁹⁶ An example of the immense popularity of the ballad is given in account by Marsh, writing that ‘broadside ballads were already an established feature of cultural life in early sixteenth-century England. Between January and December 1520 ... a bookseller in Oxford sold a total of 201 ballads at a standard rate of a halfpenny per sheet.’⁹⁷ Matthew Lillo argues that surviving ballads from the early Tudor years during the reign of Henry VIII showed

⁹¹ Tim Carter, ‘Secular Vocal Music’, in Bray (ed.), *The Blackwell History of Music in Britain. II: The Sixteenth Century*, 167.

⁹² Joseph Kerman, ‘English Madrigal’, in *Grove Music Online. Oxford Music Online* (Oxford University Press), <<https://doi.org/10.1093/omo/9781561592630.013.90000382132>> [accessed 4 April 2025].

⁹³ Lord, *Music from the Age of Shakespeare: A Cultural History*, 172.

⁹⁴ *Ibid.*, 47.

⁹⁵ *Ibid.*, 47.

⁹⁶ Christopher Marsh, *Music and Society in Early Modern England* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2010), 225.

⁹⁷ *Ibid.*, 225.

connections with English court engagements, thus contradicting the idea that ballads originated solely from folk and oral traditions.⁹⁸

The practice of intabulating melodies associated with popular poetry as accompaniments or solos for the lute became popular during Elizabeth's sovereignty and it was extended to broadside ballad tunes. Broadside ballads were growing in popularity, and their tunes were widely known and used.⁹⁹ Matthew Spring writes 'the practice of harmonizing these tunes as lute solos, coupled with the English variation technique ... became England's most original contribution to the corpus of lute music'.¹⁰⁰

Ballads existed in all classes: upper-class ballads contained 'more refined' poems, picked by the nobility and set to music.¹⁰¹ Courtly poetry by poets such as Christopher Marlowe, Sir Walter Raleigh and Sir Edward Dyer among others was regularly used and set to common tunes.¹⁰² Christopher Marsh gives accounts of the nobility 'from the houses of the great personages' collecting and enjoying the songs from the genre, including Esquire Bartholomew Cokes and Thomas Hale of Walthamstow who composed their own ballads.¹⁰³ Ballad tunes were also used as instrumental consort music with each vocal part being played by an instrument.¹⁰⁴ In general, however, the upper classes in Elizabethan England were suspicious of ballads and the regulation of the ballad content was a regular occurrence.¹⁰⁵ Ballads were under censorship laws and were licensed by the Stationer's Hall: printers that published lyrics

⁹⁸ Matthew Lillo, 'John Rastell's Dramatic Ballad and the Early Tudor Court: Toward a Revised Understanding of Ballad History', *Studies in Philology*, 117 (2020), 684-685.

⁹⁹ Spring, *The Lute in Britain: A History of The Instrument and Its Music*, 77.

¹⁰⁰ *Ibid.*, 77.

¹⁰¹ Lord, *Music from the Age of Shakespeare: A Cultural History*, 15.

¹⁰² Marsh, *Music and Society in Early Modern England*, 231.

¹⁰³ *Ibid.*, 261.

¹⁰⁴ Lord, *Music from the Age of Shakespeare: A Cultural History*, 15.

¹⁰⁵ *Ibid.*, 57.

that were treasonous were prosecuted and heavily fined, while in extreme cases some were even executed for treason.¹⁰⁶

The middle-class passion for reading was connected to the ballad which told an interesting story about politics, history, travel, adventure, crime, love or the latest popular event, and contained many verses.¹⁰⁷ H. E. Wooldridge writes in relation to ballad singing in middle-class society:

Tinkers sang catches; milkmaids sang ballads; carters whistled; each trade, and even the beggars, had their special songs; the bass-viol hung in the drawing room for the amusement of waiting visitors; and the lute, cittern, and virginals, for the amusements of waiting customers, were the necessary furniture of the barber's shop. They had music at dinner; music at supper; music at weddings; music at funerals; music at night; music at dawn; music at work; and music at play.¹⁰⁸

Broadside ballads were a major crucial form of written literature for the lower class. Few houses of the lower classes contained instruments and the main form of entertainment was singing: part-singing was the most common style where friends and family would gather to sing in groups.¹⁰⁹ Servants from the lower classes were completely owned by their master: they used singing as a form of entertainment while doing their work.¹¹⁰ Lord writes that although masters preferred their servants to sing devotional songs, 'the servants were more likely to be at least thinking the words from the newest broadside as they hummed a supposedly innocent tune.'¹¹¹

Claude Simpson writes that it was fashionable for sixteenth-century composers such as Byrd, Gibbons, Morley and others to write their instrumental divisions 'upon popular song and dance

¹⁰⁶ Ibid., 57. William Carter was executed for treason in 1584 after printing a book that supposedly contained a passage inciting the Queen's death.

¹⁰⁷ Ibid., 31.

¹⁰⁸ H. E. Wooldridge, *Old English Popular Music* (New York: Jack Brussel, 1961), 59, quoted in Lord, *Music from the Age of Shakespeare: A Cultural History*, 43.

¹⁰⁹ Ibid., 52.

¹¹⁰ Ibid., 57.

¹¹¹ Ibid., 57.

tunes'¹¹² He also writes that 'lute tablatures, most of them in manuscript, also contain many pieces by John Dowland, John Johnson, Anthony Holborne, Francis Cutting, and others based on broadside tunes.'¹¹³ The presence of ballad tunes in lute tablature are evident in both the Dallis and Ballet manuscripts and were tunes that were more than likely heard in the courts and houses of the nobility during Elizabeth's reign.

1.6 Conclusion

The importance of music during Elizabeth I's reign was evident throughout all aspects of English society, from the highest position in nobility to the lowest level of the lower class. It played an important role in political and social life in Elizabethan England. It was used as a tool for administrative governing and propaganda. It was also used to impress and succeed in society. Most Elizabethans employed music as a tool to live a good life, serving God and crown. But most importantly and consistently, music making was an accessible and acceptable way to enjoy oneself: the lute and the voice were fundamental in making this process take place.

¹¹² Claude M. Simpson, *The British Broadside Ballad and its Music* (New Brunswick, New Jersey: Rutgers University Press, 1966), xii.

¹¹³ *Ibid.*, xii.

Chapter Two:

Sixteenth-century Vocal Performance Style

2.1 Introduction

It is visible throughout Renaissance and Baroque manuscripts that musical direction was not provided for in the score. The modern singer is accustomed to observing tempo, dynamic and expression markings, all of which must be adhered to precisely to deliver an accurate performance of the music. In observing Baroque scores, Martha Elliott states that ‘an early Baroque score offers only the bare bones of the music, needing the experience and judgement of the performers, combined with their inspiration and spontaneity, to bring it to life.’¹ To gain experience and judgement, it is essential to understand the approach and style in which Renaissance singers performed. The only documents on which the modern singer can rely are treatises and similar documents which give direction on the principles of performing.² This chapter examines the writings from some of these treatises discussed in Robert Toft’s *With Passionate Voice: Re-Creative Singing in Sixteenth-century England and Italy*³, outlining the strong connection between the art of oration and singing and how they were far more connected in their delivery during the sixteenth century than they are today. It outlines elements of *pronunciatio* that could be used for selected vocal repertoire from the Dallis and Ballet manuscripts.

2.2 Robert Toft’s Description of *Elocutio* and *Pronunciatio*: An Outline

In Robert Toft’s *With Passionate Voice: Re-Creative Singing in Sixteenth-century England and Italy*, he describes in detail the principles of performance that singers used in England and Italy

¹ Martha Elliott, *Singing in Style: A Guide to Vocal Performance Practices* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2006), 7.

² Robert Toft, *With Passionate Voice: Re-Creative Singing in Sixteenth-century England and Italy* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2014), 2.

³ *Ibid.*, 2.

between c1500 and c1620 in relation to secular music.⁴ He contends that ‘vocalists saw their role more as one of re-creation than of simple interpretation.’⁵ Toft references several sixteenth- and seventeenth-century writers who detailed rhetorical concepts and terminology, of which contemporary orators and singers would have been familiar. He outlines from the literature of Italian writers Gioseffo Zarlino (1517-1590) and Nicola Vicentino (1511-c1576) how the art of oratory and singing were closely linked and how singers were advised to ‘use the orator as a model for persuading listeners.’⁶

The writings on the art of rhetoric were divided into five parts: *inventio* (finding the subject matter), *disposito* (arranging material to suit the orator’s purpose), *elocutio* (amplifying and decorating the discourse with fine words and sentences), *memoria* (speaking from memory) and finally *pronunciatio* (techniques of delivery to move the passions of the listeners).⁷ This thesis examines the components *elocutio* and *pronunciatio* for the purpose of interpreting the text of selected songs from the Dallis and Ballet lute manuscripts as they are the most suitable elements with a view to recording. English and Italian writers are examined up to the end of the sixteenth century: both the Dallis and Ballet manuscripts were compiled in the latter part of the sixteenth century, and it is possible that singers would have been familiar with these writings at the time of the manuscript compilations.

2.3 Elocutio

In *elocutio*, figures of rhetoric were considered important mechanisms for exciting the listener’s mind. These figures of rhetoric, according to Thomas Wilson, were applied through ‘apte

⁴ Ibid., 1.

⁵ Ibid., 1.

⁶ Ibid., 5.

⁷ Ibid., 7.

wordes and picked sentences.’⁸ Figures of adorning were used to make the text appealing to the ear. These included *zeugma* (where one word modifies or governs two or more words) and *sensable* (words that stirred the mind). *Sententious* figures were those that delighted the ear while also stirring the mind.⁹ These figures are mostly found through repetition. Christopher Field writes ‘an important group of rhetorical figures to which treatises devote much space involves repetition of one kind or another.’¹⁰ Examples of repetition figures include *symploche* or *complexio* (one form of word repetition to give the text emphasis), *epizeuxis* or *subjunctio* (the immediate reiteration of a word for greater effect),¹¹ *anadiplosis* (the repetition of the last word or words of one phrase at the beginning of the next),¹² *epanalepsis* (where the sentence begins and ends with the same word),¹³ *auxesis* (a series of steps in the text where each new word is stronger than the last),¹⁴ *synathroismos* (the piling up of words)¹⁵ and *palilogia* (the repetition of a melodic fragment at the same pitch).¹⁶

2.4 *Pronunciatio*

Sixteenth-century performers used two styles of delivery to excite their audience: singing eloquently and acting aptly.¹⁷ These styles guaranteed a persuasive delivery on the part of both

⁸ Thomas Wilson, *The Arte of Rhetorique* (London: Richardus Graftonus, 1553. Ed. Thomas J. Derrick, New York: Garland, 1982); quoted in Toft, *With Passionate Voice: Re-Creative Singing in Sixteenth-century England and Italy*, 7.

⁹ Toft, *With Passionate Voice: Re-Creative Singing in Sixteenth-century England and Italy*, 47.

¹⁰ Christopher D. S. Field, ‘Formality and Rhetoric in English Fantasia-Suites’ in Andrew Ashbee (ed.), *William Lawes: Essays on his Life, Times and Work* (Aldershot, Hants, England: Ashgate, 1998), 222.

¹¹ Henry Peacham the Elder, *The Garden of Eloquence* (London: H Jackson. Facs., 1577. Menston: Scolar Press, 1971); quoted in Toft, *With Passionate Voice: Re-Creative Singing in Sixteenth-century England and Italy*, 48.

¹² *Ibid.*, 50.

¹³ Henry Peacham the Elder, 1593, *The Garden of Eloquence* (London: H. Jackson. Facs., Gainesville, Fla.: Scholars’ Fascimiles & Reprints, 1954), 46; quoted in Toft, *With Passionate Voice: Re-Creative Singing in Sixteenth-century England and Italy*, 51.

¹⁴ *Ibid.*, 52.

¹⁵ *Ibid.*, 54.

¹⁶ Dietrich Bartel, *Musica poetica: Musical-Rhetorical Figures in German Baroque Music* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1997), 342-344; quoted in Toft, *With Passionate Voice: Re-Creative Singing in Sixteenth-century England and Italy*, 55.

¹⁷ Thomas Wright, *The Passions of the Minde in Generall* (London: Valentine Simmes. Facs., of the 1630 ed., Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1971), 172; quoted in Toft, *With Passionate Voice: Re-Creative Singing in Sixteenth-century England and Italy*, 81.

the spoken and musical performer.¹⁸ Also, pretending to inhabit the character that is being described and learning the music by memory were effective ways of delivering a convincing performance.¹⁹ This thesis outlines aspects of *elocutio* and *pronunciatio* from Robert Toft's *With Passionate Voice: Re-Creative Singing in Sixteenth-century England and Italy* that can be applied to songs throughout the Dallis and Ballet manuscripts. Aspects of performance examination throughout the song repertoire are punctuation, cadences, accent and emphasis, pronouncing distinctly, and figures and passionate ornaments.

Punctuation

An important technique of delivery included the observance of punctuation, which was vital to create effect, for both orator and singer. Johannes Galliculus states:

Since in constructing a discourse, it is necessary to make certain silent distinctions (pauses), in order for the listener to comprehend the diverse closes, and likewise he who speaks, takes breath, greatly sharpening his delivery, it is also necessary to do the same in singing.²⁰

Toft reiterates the necessity for singers to observe punctuation stating that 'according to Johann Vogelsang ... the "artistic omission of sound" had been "invented both for the rest and breathing of singers and for the sweetness of song"'.²¹ Punctuation is often scarce in many modern sources, especially in music manuscripts. Punctuation symbols included the comma (,), the shortest rest in reading, and lasted about the same time of a crotchet.²² The comma implied that the sentence was unfinished.²³ The colon (:), a longer pause than the comma, was compared in musical terms to the length of a minim.²⁴ A full stop (or period) would equate to an even longer

¹⁸ Ibid., 81.

¹⁹ Ibid., 84.

²⁰ Johannes Galliculus, *Libellus de compositione cantus* (Wittenberg: Georg Rhau, 1538), fol. Bviii; quoted in Toft, *With Passionate Voice: Re-Creative Singing in Sixteenth-century England and Italy*, 85.

²¹ Johann Vogelsang, *Musicae rudimenta* (Augsburg: Valentin Otthmar, 1542), fol. Ev; quoted in Toft, *With Passionate Voice: Re-Creative Singing in Sixteenth-century England and Italy*, 86.

²² John Hart, 'The Opening of the Unreasonable Writing of our English Toung', (British Library, Royal MS 17.C.VII, 1551). Ed. in Bror Danielsson, John Hart's Works of English Orthnography and Pronunciation, Stockholm Studies in English 5 (Stockholm: Almqvist and Wiksell, 1955), 157; quoted in Toft, *With Passionate Voice: Re-Creative Singing in Sixteenth-century England and Italy*, 86-87.

²³ Ibid., 86.

²⁴ Ibid., 87.

rest. In addition, Toft summarises the writings of Nicola Vicentino, stating ‘singers regularly divided breves, semibreves and minims in half for the purposes of respiration and frequently took breath on the dots and dotted notes, unless these notes occurred at the start of the composition or directly after a rest.’²⁵

Cadences

Anne Smith quotes Gioseffo Zarlino’s definition of the cadence in *Le Institutioni Harmoniche*, saying ‘a cadence is a certain simultaneous progression of all the voices in a composition accompanying a repose in the harmony or the completion of a meaningful segment of the text.’²⁶

Outlining the writings of Charles Butler, Toft discusses the connection between music cadences and punctuation. He summarises that the perfect cadence should align with parts of the poem, including within it and at the end. The secondary perfect cadence (possibly plagal) should correspond to colons or interrogations and imperfect cadences align with commas and semi-colons.²⁷ On the whole, Toft suggests as much as possible to ‘insert pauses of varying length into the musical fabric to correspond to the points in the text.’²⁸ One of Butler’s earliest works on rhetoric was *Rameae Rhetoricae Libro Duo*.²⁹

Accent and Emphasis

Properly accenting syllables within words was an important performance aspect for sixteenth-century singers. Also, drawing awareness to important words and thoughts by emphasising

²⁵ Nicola Vicentino, *L’antica musica ridotta alla moderna prattica* (Rome: Antonio Barre. 1555, Facs., Kassel: Bärenreiter, 1959), II, 3, Fol. 28v; IV, 13, Fol. 7; quoted in Toft, *With Passionate Voice: Re-Creative Singing in Sixteenth-century England and Italy*, 88.

²⁶ Gioseffo Zarlino, *Le Istitutioni Harmoniche* (Venice, 1558: Fascimile New York: Broude Brothers, 1956), 221; quoted in Anne Smith, *The Performance of 16th-Century Music: Learning from the Theorists* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2011), 85.

²⁷ Charles Butler, *The Principles of Musik* (London: Hohn Haviland, 1636. Fasc., Amsterdam: Theatrum Orbis Terrarum, 1970) 88-89; quoted in Toft, *With Passionate Voice: Re-Creative Singing in Sixteenth-century England and Italy*, 88-89.

²⁸ Toft, *With Passionate Voice: Re-Creative Singing in Sixteenth-century England and Italy*, 89.

²⁹ Christopher D. S. Field, ‘Formality and Rhetoric in English Fantasia-Suites’ in Ashbee (ed.), *William Lawes: Essays on his Life, Times and Work*, 197.

them added to the emotional theme of the poem.³⁰ Anne Smith quotes Vincenzo Calmeta as far back as 1504, writing that singers ‘exercised excellent judgement who, when singing put all their energy into expressing the words well when they are of substance; and they make the music accompany them in such a way they are the masters accompanied by the servants in order to appear more honorable.’³¹

Pronouncing Distinctly

Pronouncing the text clearly depended on both punctuation and clear diction.³² This has always been advice given to singers and it is vital to execute this as the singer is, after all, telling the story.

Figures and Passionate Ornaments

To persuade the listener, both orators and singers used their voices in varying ways. In relation to overall volume, Hermann Finck writes ‘when any voice rises higher, it should adopt a softer and sweeter sound, when descending lower, its sound should be fuller.’³³ On further examining the vocal delivery of varying emotions, the idea of adjusting the tone and quality of the voice to suit the emotions was also an important feature in Renaissance singing.³⁴ Marcus Fabius Quintilian³⁵ lists three main areas that create variety for the listener: firstly, to avoid monotony, the speaker should raise or lower the voice, secondly, increase or decrease the speed, and finally

³⁰ Toft, *With Passionate Voice: Re-Creative Singing in Sixteenth-century England and Italy*, 100.

³¹ Vincenzo Calmeta, *Prose e lettere edite e inedite*, 1504 (Edited by Francesco Flamini, Florence: Le Manner, 1892), 75; quoted in Smith, *The Performance of 16th-Century Music: Learning from the Theorists*, 116.

³² Quintilian, *The Institutio Oratoria of Quintilian*, ed. and trans. H. E. Butler (Cambridge, MA.: Harvard University Press, 1920-1922), 260-261; quoted in Toft, *With Passionate Voice: Re-Creative Singing in Sixteenth-century England and Italy*, 109.

³³ Hermann Finck, *Practica Musica* (Wittenberg: Georg Rhau, 1556, Facs., Bologna: Forni, 1969), V, fol. Ssiii; quoted in Toft, *With Passionate Voice: Re-Creative Singing in Sixteenth-century England and Italy*, 115.

³⁴ Thomas Wright, *The Passions of the Minde in Generall* (London: Valentine Simmes. Facs., of the 1630 ed., Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1971), 179-81; quoted in Toft, *With Passionate Voice: Re-Creative Singing in Sixteenth-century England and Italy*, 110.

³⁵ The ancient Roman educator and rhetorician, widely referred to in medieval schools of rhetoric and in Renaissance writing.

speak with greater or lesser energy according to the poem.³⁶ Giangiorgio Trissino (1478-1550) recounts the performance of the Italian singer and cultural figure Isabella d'Este (1478-1550):

But when, then, this woman turns to sing a few [songs], especially to the lute, ... [she] diligently preserves the harmony, in a manner that in not one way oversteps the boundaries of rhythmic propriety, but moderates the song with elevation and suppression of the tempo, and maintains concordance with the lute, and at once accords her language, the one and the other hand [in playing the lute], with the inflection of the song ...³⁷

Toft also refers to Italian writer Nicola Vicentino who indicates a similar style of performance in relation to consort singing. She states:

Sometimes (singers) use a certain method of proceeding in compositions that cannot be written down, such as uttering softly and loudly or quickly and slowly, and following the natural course of the words, to move the measure (that is, change the tempo), to demonstrate the effects of the passions of the words and harmony.³⁸

Toft presents a table of three writers, Abraham Fraunce, Thomas Wright and La Faucheur, giving direction on the tone of the voice in relation to different emotions. Abraham Fraunce suggested vocal recommendations, taken from 'The Lawiers Logike' (1588)³⁹, are used in this thesis when considering the emotion and vocal quality for selected repertoire from the Dallis and Ballet manuscripts (Table 3).

³⁶ Quintilian, *The Institutio Oratoria of Quintilian*, ed. and trans. H.E. Butler (Cambridge, MA.: Harvard University Press, 1920-1922), I, 146-147; XI, 266-267; quoted in Toft, *With Passionate Voice: Re-Creative Singing in Sixteenth-century England and Italy*, 110.

³⁷ Giangiorgio Trissino, *I Ritratti* (Rome: Arrighi, 1524), fols. C3r-v; quoted in Toft, *With Passionate Voice: Re-Creative Singing in Sixteenth-century England and Italy*, 111.

³⁸ Nicola Vicentino, *L'antica musica ridotta alla moderna prattica* (Rome: Antonio Barre, 1555, Facs., Kassel: Bärenreiter, 1959), IV, 42, Fol.94v; quoted in Toft, *With Passionate Voice: Re-Creative Singing in Sixteenth-century England and Italy*, 110.

³⁹ Abraham Fraunce, *The Arcadian Rhetorike* (London: Thomas Orwin, 1588); quoted in Toft, *With Passionate Voice: Re-Creative Singing in Sixteenth-century England and Italy*, 116-117.

Table 3: Abraham Fraunce, Passions and Tonal Vocal Quality (1588)⁴⁰

Pity and lamentation	Full, sobbing, flexible, interrupted
Anger	Shrill, sharp, quick, short
Fear	Contracted, stammering, trembling
Bashfulness	Contracted, stammering, trembling
Anguish	A hollow voice fetcht from the bottom of the throat, groaning
Grief	A hollow voice fetcht from the bottom of the throat, groaning
Joy	Tender, mild, sweetly flowing
Gladness and pleasure	Tender, mild, sweetly flowing
Desiring	Smoothing and submissive
Soothing, flattering	Smoothing and submissive

2.5 Embellishments

Another important characteristic of performance delivery for the sixteenth-century singer was the addition of ornamentation to embellish the melody and the text. Adrian Petit Coclico recommended that young boys who wanted to sing with style should look for a teacher “who can make music beautiful by ornamenting the phrases”.⁴¹ While Hermann Finck advised that ‘all the voices [in part song] could and should be sprinkled with embellishments’.⁴² The amount of embellishment used depended on the performance venue: for example, more were requested at the theatre or at court. Ornamentation was used by both singers and instrumentalists, and

⁴⁰ Ibid., 116-117.

⁴¹ Adrian Petit Coclico, *Compendium Musices* (Nürnberg: Johann Berg & Ulrich Neuber, 1552, Fasc., Kassel: Bärenreiter, 1954), fol. Hiiiiv; quoted in Toft, *With Passionate Voice: Re-Creative Singing in Sixteenth-century England and Italy*, 124.

⁴² Hermann Finck, *Practica Musica* (Wittenberg: Georg Rhau, 1556, Facs., Bologna: Forni, 1969), fol. Ssiv; quoted in Toft, *With Passionate Voice: Re-Creative Singing in Sixteenth-century England and Italy*, 124.

according to Howard Mayer Brown, ‘the same kinds of ornaments were added by singers as by players of whatever instrument’.⁴³ However, sources would indicate that where all instrumentalists were expected to ornament parts, only some singers did so.⁴⁴

The two main forms of embellishment included graces and divisions. Graces were no more than a couple of notes that ornamented the single note of the individual melody,⁴⁵ while divisions were, as described by Toft ‘longer figural patterns of two or more notes of the original melody, and this form of embellishment divided longer notes into shorter ones.’⁴⁶ This thesis looks primarily at the use divisions in relation to the selected Ballet and Dallis repertoire.

Divisions

Sixteenth-century composers including Giulio Caccini, Silvestro Ganassi, Petit Coclico, Giovanni Camillo Maffei, Girolamo dalla Casa, Giovanni Bassano, Ricardo Rogniono and Giovanni Luca Conforto composed figural patterns that both singers and instrumentalists used to stylistically expand a melody.⁴⁷ In relation to solo songs, the division embellishments by Spanish writer Diego Ortiz were, according to Toft, popular throughout much of the sixteenth century.⁴⁸ In Toft’s summary of divisions by these composers, he outlines embellishment suggestions for connecting two semibreves moving by a second, three semibreves moving by a second, two semibreves moving by a third, two semibreves moving by a fourth and two semibreves moving by a fifth. He also outlines embellishment suggestions for connecting minims moving by a second, third, fourth and fifth. And finally, he writes out embellishments scale passages by Ortiz, Rognoni, and cadences by Ganassi and Maffei.⁴⁹ This thesis looks

⁴³ Howard Mayer Brown, *Embellishing 16th-Century Music* (London: Oxford University Press, 1976), 61.

⁴⁴ *Ibid.*, 64.

⁴⁵ Toft, *With Passionate Voice: Re-Creative Singing in Sixteenth-century England and Italy*, 124.

⁴⁶ *Ibid.*, 124.

⁴⁷ *Ibid.*, 125.

⁴⁸ *Ibid.*, 125.

⁴⁹ *Ibid.*, 126-148.

specifically at embellishments by Diego Ortiz for their concise and decorative use in embellishing important words in the text and how the varying figural patterns could be adapted for performing selected Ballet and Dallis vocal repertoire.

2.6 Conclusion

The overall summary of *elocutio* and *pronunciatio* outlined in Robert Toft's *With Passionate Voice: Re-Creative Singing in Sixteenth-century England and Italy* gives the modern-day singer an insight into how a trained singer from the sixteenth century approached songs from this period. Observing the text in relation to punctuation, accent and emphasis, figures and passionate ornaments and embellishments outlined in this chapter, selected vocal repertoire from the Dallis and Ballet manuscripts can be approached in the interpretative style of the sixteenth-century singer.

Chapter Three:

The Dallis and Ballet Lute Manuscripts: An Overview

3.1 Introduction

The Dallis and Ballet Lute manuscripts housed at Trinity College Dublin are two of the finest examples of music collections from sixteenth-century England. Compiled during the reign of Queen Elizabeth I, both manuscripts contain a cross section of well-known music for solo lute and voice and lute from England and across Europe. This chapter gives a detailed account of the Dallis and Ballet Lute manuscripts and their history, describing their physical formation and their musical contents, both vocal and instrumental.

3.2 The Dallis Manuscript (TCD 410/1)

The manuscript catalogued as TCD MS 410 at Trinity College Dublin is a volume consisting of two well-known, unrelated Elizabethan manuscripts: the so-called 'Dallis Lute Book' and the 'Dublin Virginal Manuscript' which were bound together in the late-seventeenth or early-eighteenth century.¹ The Dallis Lute Book (TCD MS 410/1) can be described as a selection of some of the most popular works from the 1560s to the 1580s.² It begins with instructions in Latin on how to hold the lute followed by some simple pieces. After this introduction, the volume contains a selection of English and European music for lute, including pavans, galliards, popular lute songs and psalm settings. English composers include William Byrd, Thomas Dallis, John Farmer, John Johnson, William Parsons, Peter Philips, Thomas Robinson and Thomas Wudd. French, Italian and Dutch composers include Emanuel Andriansen, Jacques Arcedelt, Giulio Cesare Baretta, Pierre Cadeac, Thomas Crequillon, Sebastiano Festa, Francesco di Milano, Giacomo de Gorzanis, Josquin des Prez, Orlando di Lasso, Didier Lupi

¹ Dublin, Trinity College Library, University of Dublin, IRL-Dtc, Dallis MS 410.

² John M. Ward, 'The Lute Books of Trinity College Dublin: Preface', *Lute Society Journal*, 9 (1967), 22.

Secondo, Pierre Sandrin, Claudin de Sermisy, Francesco Spinacino, Philip van Wilder and Pierre de Villiers.³

The name of the book is taken from an inscription on page 12: ‘Incepi Nonis Augusti praeceptore M[agist]ro. Thoma Dallis. Cantabrigia Anno 1583’⁴ (‘I began on the Nones of August [5 August] with Master Thomas Dallis as my teacher, Cambridge, 1583’). The book was compiled by a student of Dallis, a music teacher at Cambridge University. Lute teaching at the time involved the teacher visiting the student’s house to give the lesson. They left a lesson or study which the pupil would copy by hand into his or her book before the next class. Julia Craig-McFeely describes the manuscript as a pedagogical book, ‘written by students of the lute, almost always under the direction of the tutor.’⁵ This practice meant that many lute books of the period were compiled by the student under the direction of the teacher: in this case, Thomas Dallis.⁶ Dallis was an English musician, composer and a teacher at Trinity College, Cambridge, in the 1580s. His name is mentioned in Thomas Whythorne’s autobiography, on a piece of paper known as the ‘musical scrap’ from around 1592. On this document, both Dallis and composer John Bull are named as doctors of ‘lat[e] tym’, with Dallis being described as ‘of Trinite kollej in Cambrij.’⁷ In 1594 Edward Johnson requested both Dallis and Bull to be his examiners for his MusB degree from Gonville and Caius College.⁸

Exact details of how the Dallis Lute Book made its way to Trinity College Dublin from Cambridge are unknown.⁹ According to John M. Ward, the first account of the lute books at

³ John M. Ward, et. al., ‘I: MS D.3.30/I: The so-called Dallis Lute Book’, *Lute Society Journal*, 9 (1967), 37.

⁴ IRL-Dtc, Dallis MS 410, 12.

⁵ Julia Craig-McFeely, ‘English Lute Manuscripts and Scribes 1530-1630’ (PhD thesis, University of Oxford, 1993), 87.

⁶ Matthew Spring, *The Lute in Britain: A History of The Instrument and Its Music* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2001), 112.

⁷ Diana Poulton, ‘Dallis, Thomas’ in *Grove Music Online. Oxford Music Online* (Oxford University Press), <<https://doi.org/10.1093/gmo/9781561592630.article.07094>> [accessed 28 March 2023].

⁸ Ibid.

⁹ The Dublin Virginal manuscript, which is bound to the Dallis manuscript, came from the private collection of Archbishop James Ussher (1581-1656) and there was no direct evidence the Dallis manuscript belonged to

Trinity College occurred in the catalogue of 1688.¹⁰ Three lute books are listed under the shelf marks ‘A.56’, ‘B.32’ and ‘I.65’. The shelf mark ‘B.32’ appears on the title page of *The Ballet Lute Book*. Ward believes that the third manuscript, the so-called ‘Dallis’ Lute Book bears the shelf mark ‘A.56’, although this marking no longer appears on the manuscript.¹¹ Ward and ‘Music 200’ (a group of eight first-year graduate students who prepared an edition of the manuscript for a musicology course led by John Ward in 1966), give a detailed description of the manuscript and its contents.¹² Ward breaks down the 228 musical pieces of the book into the following sections: 198 for lute, twenty for lute and voice, eight for bandora, one for cittern and one for two voices. Page 113 contains a work for five lutes and works on pages 82-83, 93-94, 238-240 and 244-245 can be played as lute duets.¹³

Physical Description

The cover of the book is re-bound in old calf leather in the shape of an oblong quarto (5.5” x 7.4”). There are 270 pages in the book. The inside of the front cover carries the former Trinity shelf mark ‘Ms. D. 3.30’. The first page is entitled (in print) ‘Dallis Lessons for the Lute 1583’ and this is followed by three blank pages.¹⁴ Pages 1-264 (excluding pages 6, 8-11, 243, 256-257 and 260-261, which are all blank) contain the lute music transcriptions, while pages 265-270 are stubs with no content at the end of the book. Music is written on French tablature notation on 254 pages for a six-course lute and nearly all pages have at least four six-line staves.¹⁵

Ussher. Roy Stanley, ‘Research Collections at Trinity Lute Books Online’, <<https://www.tcd.ie/library/manuscripts/blog/2014/10/lute-books-online/>> [accessed 7 April 2023].

¹⁰ Ms. D. 1.6 is a good copy of the catalogue.

¹¹ John M. Ward, ‘The Lute Books of Trinity College Dublin: II: MS D.r.21: The so-called Ballet Lute Book’, *The Lute Society Journal*, 10 (1968), 15-16.

¹² *Ibid.*, 17-18.

¹³ Ward, ‘The Lute Books of Trinity College Dublin: Preface’, 20.

¹⁴ IRL-Dtc, MS 410, 1.

¹⁵ Ward, ‘The Lute Books of Trinity College Dublin: Preface’, 20.

Songs in The Dallis Lute Manuscript

Christopher Goodwin writes that ‘the songs in the manuscript represent in a formal sense most of the varieties of lute song heard in England before 1597; in respect of their lyrics too they are typical of their day’.¹⁶ English pedagogical sources typically contained very old-fashioned repertoire: the Dallis manuscript is a good example.¹⁷ The songs are from the period before the creation of the English ayre, which is seen by many to begin with the publication of John Dowland’s *First Booke of Songes or Ayres* (1597).¹⁸ Goodwin made a modern edition of the songs which was published in 1996.¹⁹ A fashion for sung ballads increased dramatically during the Elizabethan era and the lute was the most popular instrument for accompanying ballad singing. Famous anthologies containing collections of ballads from the period include *A Handful of Pleasant Delights* (1584)²⁰ and *The Paradyse of Daynty Devises* (1576).²¹ Lyrics from the *The Paradyse of Daynty Devises* appear in songs for lute in the Dallis manuscript.²² A selection of nineteen vocal pieces appear interspersed throughout the Dallis lute book, including popular lute songs, psalm settings and several textless songs. There are seven songs that have accompanying text to the melody. ‘In Youthfull Yares’ is written with text on pages 204-207 in the Dallis manuscript and the lyrics are from *The Paradyse of Daynty Devises*. ‘Fortune is Now my Foe’ on pages 49-50 of the manuscript is a poem from the *Osborn Commonplace Book* (also known as *The Braye Lute Book*).²³ The text is not written in the manuscript, but the title of the song is on page 50. ‘My Little Sweet Darling’ or ‘My Sweet Babi’ on pages 172-173 of the manuscript is found in the *Dow Books* (a collection of five partbooks compiled by Robert Dow in Oxford in 1581-1588) and the *Wigthorpe Books* as a

¹⁶ Christopher Goodwin, *The English Lute Song Before Dowland 1. Songs From the Dallis Manuscript* (London: The Lute Society, 1996), 3.

¹⁷ Craig-McFeely, ‘English Lute Manuscripts and Scribes 1530-1630’, 90.

¹⁸ Goodwin, *The English Lute Song Before Dowland 1. Songs From the Dallis Manuscript*, 2.

¹⁹ *Ibid.*, 2.

²⁰ Hyder Edward Rollins (ed.), *A Handful of Pleasant Delights* (Cambridge, New York: Harvard University Press, 1924).

²¹ Hyder Edward Rollins (ed.), *The Paradise of Dainty Devices* (Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Press, 1927).

²² Matthew Spring, *The Lute in Britain: A History of The Instrument and Its Music*, 256.

²³ Goodwin, *The English Lute Song Before Dowland 1. Songs From the Dallis Manuscript*, 15.

consort song.²⁴ The song ‘But This and Then No More’ is on pages 185-186 of the manuscript. The correspondence of the text and song is identifiable via a textless but titled version of the song for voice and bandora in Barley’s *A New Booke of Tabliture* from 1596.²⁵ ‘O Heavenly God’ is on pages 202-203 with text completed in the vocal line. It is also on page 212 but with illegible words.²⁶ Taken from *The Paradyse of Daynty Devises*, this poem is accredited to Walter Devereux, Earl of Essex, supposedly sung the night before his death in 1576.²⁷ The song ‘Fortune is Fickle’ on page 209 has the full text written in the manuscript.²⁸ ‘Cur mundus militat’ on page 210 has the first stanza of the text written while a folia variant continues onto page 211 (the text is written out separately on page 234).²⁹ Christopher Goodwin discovered that the text of ‘Fortune is now my foe’ in the *Braye Lute Book* fits perfectly with a song with the same incipit on pages 49-50 of the Dallis lute book.³⁰

Throughout the Dallis lute book there are several textless songs. On page 35 of the manuscript there is a dance tune while on pages 178-179 only a voice part is written out. Pages 180-181 and 182-183 also contain two textless songs, with only the voice part written out. Page 184 contains a short vocal line, and the last textless song is on pages 186-187. For some of these songs Goodwin has given suggested texts whose metre might fit the rhythm of the melody.³¹

Matthew Spring writes that ‘lutes were also used to accompany psalms and other religious texts used for domestic purposes.’³² Of the psalm settings in the Dallis manuscript, the tune to ‘Where Righteousness Doth Say’ is recorded on page 52. The voice part with text ‘The

²⁴ Ibid., 19.

²⁵ John M. Ward, ‘Barley’s Songs Without Word’, *The Lute Society Journal*, 12 (1970), 6-7.

²⁶ John M. Ward et. al., ‘I: MS D.3.30/I: The so-called Dallis Lute Book’, *The Lute Society Journal*, 33.

²⁷ Goodwin, *The English Lute Song Before Dowland 1. Songs From the Dallis Manuscript*, 35.

²⁸ IRL-Dtc, Dallis MS 410, 209.

²⁹ Ibid., 210-211.

³⁰ Christopher Goodwin, ‘Some Recent Discoveries in Elizabethan Song’, *The Journal of The Lute Society*, 40 (2000), 34.

³¹ Goodwin, *The English Lute Song Before Dowland 1. Songs From the Dallis Manuscript*, 25-31.

³² Spring, *The Lute in Britain: A History of The Instrument and Its Music*, 256.

Complaint of a Sinner' was set by Farmer in 1591 in Este's book of psalms (1592).³³ 'Psalmus Anglicus 128' and 'Blessed &c.' are written on page 177 of the manuscript. Goodwin provides the text from a Day/Sternhold psalter of 1583.³⁴ 'The Man is Blest', with accompanying text, is on page 208 of the manuscript. Other psalm tune settings include the following: page 2 of the manuscript has two fragmentary settings, pages 120-121 contain Psalm 4, page 156 contains Psalm 23, page 157 has Psalm 27, pages 158-159 contains Psalm 15, page 160 contains Psalm 5 (with words 'aux paroles que ie veux dire' in the top lefthand corner), page 164 has Psalm 42 ('als een Lert bred' in the top lefthand corner), page 165 has psalm eighty-one (with text 'singt den heere bly' in the lefthand corner), page 166-167 contains Psalm 103 (with 'belg. bef languir me fais' in the lefthand corner), page 214 has Psalm 73 ('waerom wilt ghy ons verlaten' written on page). Page 215 comprises Psalms 5 and 6 and finally, page 217 has Psalm 81.³⁵

The influence of European music is also evident with several songs in Italian. 'O passi Sparsi' from pages 32-34 is a four-voice madrigal (with a simplified intabulation of the lower voices) by the Italian Sebastiano Festa in *Canzoni frottole et capitoli ... Libro primo de la Croce*, Rome (1526).³⁶ The second song, 'Chi in Donna' is an intabulation of a three-part napolitana (the voice part labelled 'superius') from Giacomo de Gorzanis' *Secondo Libro delle Napolitana a tre voce*.³⁷ Finally, on page 216 of the manuscript, is 'Vola Vola vola pensier', which is, according to Goodwin, 'an exact transcription of a song, subtitled 'Aeria a la Italiana' copied from Emmanuel Adriaensen's *Pratum Musicum* of 1584.'³⁸

³³ Goodwin, *The English Lute Song Before Dowland I. Songs From the Dallis Manuscript*, 17.

³⁴ *Ibid.*, 23.

³⁵ Ward et. al., 'I: MS D.3.30/I: The so-called Dallis Lute Book', 24-35.

³⁶ Goodwin, *The English Lute Song Before Dowland I. Songs From the Dallis Manuscript*, 11.

³⁷ *Ibid.*, 21.

³⁸ *Ibid.*, 41.

Instrumental Music in The Dallis Manuscript

The selection of instrumental music in the Dallis manuscript is reflective of both English and Continental musical influences from the 1550s, 'akin to almost all the pre-1580 English lute manuscripts.'³⁹ The galliard, a lively, triple-metre court dance from the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, is the most popular dance found in the manuscript.⁴⁰ Over twenty-nine separate pages in the Dallis manuscript contain galliards, with different names and titles including 'Wugorns Gayliarde' (page 20), the 'Schothe Gayliarde' (pages 41 and 44-45), the 'Milanezo Gailiarde' (page 74-75), the 'Earle of Oxfordes Gailiard' (page 89), 'The Division of the French Gayliarde' (page 40-41) amongst others.⁴¹ The galliard 'All a Greane Willowe' on page 26 is an arrangement of a part-song.⁴² The passamezzo dance follows the galliard in popularity throughout the manuscript. A passamezzo is an Italian dance in duple metre, popular in the sixteenth century. The meaning of the term more than likely refers to the step pattern of the dance: 'passo e mezzo', translating into 'a step and a half'.⁴³ Ward and 'Music 200' reference four 'passamezzo moderno' dances, approximately thirteen 'passamezzo antico' and ten 'passamezzo David' dances. Several passamezzi are composed by Giacomo di Gorzanis.⁴⁴ Arthur Byler writes that the presence of the passamezzo antico, the passamezzo moderno and the romansca indicate the 'definite evidence of the prominent place these musical patterns ... occupied in the popular repertory of English lutenists, both amateur and professional.'⁴⁵

³⁹ Spring, *The Lute in Britain: A History of The Instrument and Its Music*, 124.

⁴⁰ Alan Brown, 'Galliard' in *Grove Music Online. Oxford Music Online* (Oxford University Press), <<https://doi.org/10.1093/gmo/9781561592630>> [accessed 6 April 2023].

⁴¹ Ward et. al., 'I: MS D.3.30/I: The so-called Dallis Lute Book', 24-36.

⁴² John M. Ward., 'Apropos "The British Broadside Ballad and Its Music"', *American Musicological Society*, 20 (1967), 85.

⁴³ Giuseppe Gerbino and Alexander Silbiger, 'Passamezzo' in *Grove Music Online. Oxford Music Online* (Oxford University Press), <<https://doi.org/10.1093/gmo/9781561592630.article.21027>> [accessed 6 April 2023].

⁴⁴ Ward et. al., 'I: MS D.3.30/I: The so-called Dallis Lute Book', 30-31.

⁴⁵ Arthur Byler, 'Italian currents in the popular music of England in the sixteenth century' (PhD dissertation, University of Chicago, 1952), 91.

The pavan was also a popular court dance of Italian origin from the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries and many consort, keyboard and lute music sources contain some of the most creative compositions of the late Renaissance period.⁴⁶ There are approximately twenty-nine pavans of various descriptions throughout the Dallis manuscript including popular versions of the ‘Quadro Pavan, Le Passe Meze de Pavana’ (page 18), ‘Pavan de la Bataille’ (pages 68-69) and a ‘Flat Pavan’ by John Johnson on page 264. Three fantasia compositions (or ‘fansye’ in the manuscript) are on pages 27, 99 and 107.⁴⁷ The allemande, one of the most popular Baroque instrumental dances from the mid-sixteenth century, appears with the names the ‘Prince’ and the ‘Queen’s’ allemande.⁴⁸ The dump, a type of instrumental piece common in England between 1540 and 1640, is seen in the Dallis Lute Book on page 192 with the title ‘Queen Mary’s Dump’. Also, a branle, which is a sideways step dance and originated in France, is seen on four separate occasions throughout the book.⁴⁹

3.3 The Ballet Manuscript (TCD MS 408)

According to the Library’s Digital Repository records at Trinity College Dublin, the manuscript TCD MS 408,⁵⁰ the so-called ‘Ballet Lute Book’ is the second most viewed item after the Book of Kells.⁵¹ John M. Ward writes ‘the ‘Ballet’ book is probably the best-known source of Elizabethan lute music, not because it contains the finest, the oldest, the largest nor even the most representative collection of English lute music, but because it contains settings of a great many late 16th century dance and broadside ballad tunes.’⁵² Julia Craig-McFeely describes the

⁴⁶ Alan Brown, ‘Pavan’, in *Grove Music Online. Oxford Music Online* (Oxford University Press), <<https://doi.org/10.1093/gmo/9781561592630.article.21120>> [accessed 6 April 2023].

⁴⁷ Ward et. al., ‘I: MS D.3.30/I: The so-called Dallis Lute Book’, 37.

⁴⁸ *Ibid.*, 36.

⁴⁹ *Ibid.*, 36.

⁵⁰ Dublin, Trinity College Library, University of Dublin, IRL-Dtc, Ballet MS 408.

⁵¹ Roy Stanley, ‘Research Collections at Trinity Lute Books Online’, <<https://www.tcd.ie/library/manuscripts/blog/2014/10/lute-books-online/>> [accessed 7 April 2023].

⁵² Ward, ‘The Lute Books of Trinity College Dublin: II: MS D.r.21: The so-called Ballet Lute Book’, 15.

manuscript as one of many such books from the time which contained ‘the professional collection of amateurs who played the instrument as a pastime.’⁵³

The volume consists of two unrelated manuscripts from the late-sixteenth or early-seventeenth centuries which were bound together sometime in the eighteenth century. The music from the first manuscript dates from approximately 1590,⁵⁴ while the second manuscript, according to John Ward, was probably being completed up to c1603.⁵⁵ English composers include Daniell Batcheler, John Dowland, Thomas Ford, Anthony Holborne, John Johnson, Thomas Paye, Edward Perse, Thomas Robinson, Joseph Sherlye and a Mr Tayler. The Italian composer Alfonso Ferrabosco I is also included. The first manuscript, which takes its name from the English lutenist William Ballet, contains popular dance pieces and duets for lute and viol and lyra-viol, while the second manuscript contains popular broadside ballads and tunes from the late Elizabethan period.⁵⁶

Description of the Ballet Lute Manuscript

The Ballet Lute book, which has been re-bound in calf, is undated, with an estimated date of 1594. It is a quarto, measuring 11” x 7.5”.⁵⁷ The music in both manuscripts is written in French tablature for a six-course instrument and eight six-line staves are printed directly throughout both manuscripts.⁵⁸ The first manuscript contains pages one to seventy-four, and the quality of paper is better than that of the second manuscript. On the title page is written ‘William ballet, his book, witness William vince’, under which is written ‘Jo. Jones, B.32’.⁵⁹ Pages 3-19 are pieces for two lute duets and, from page 50 onwards, the music is mainly written for viol. There is different handwriting throughout the manuscript which indicates that several people

⁵³ Craig-McFeely, ‘English Lute Manuscripts and Scribes 1530-1630’, 97.

⁵⁴ *Ibid.*, 17.

⁵⁵ *Ibid.*, 18.

⁵⁶ Stanley, ‘Research Collections at Trinity Lute Books Online’.

⁵⁷ H. Macaulay Fitzgibbon, ‘The Lute Books of Ballet and Dallis’, *Music & Letters*, 11 (1930), 71.

⁵⁸ Ward, ‘The Lute Books of Trinity College Dublin: II: MS D.r.21: The so-called Ballet Lute Book’, 19.

⁵⁹ IRL-Dtc, Ballet MS 408, 1.

contributed. John Ward points out that there are a few different hands: the first hand he assumes is Ballet's which is neat and tidy, the second is perhaps a child, the third hand provides three pieces and a part of a scale for lute, while the fourth hand is large and bold, and is responsible for most of the viol pieces.⁶⁰ The first manuscript also gives directions in appropriate tuning methods adopted for different pieces. These include the 'for the Violl way', the 'Lute way', the 'Leero way' (referring to the lyra-viol), and some pieces are marked the 'Alfonsoe way'.⁶¹ The second manuscript (pages 75-116) was also completed by different people: the first hand is evident on pages 76-77, the second hand from pages 83-110 and the third hand pages 111-113.⁶²

Music in the First Ballet Manuscript

The first manuscript of the Ballet Lute Book contains a broad selection of galliards, pavans, gigs, dumps, corantos (a fast-paced dance of French origin) and music for two lutes which was popular during the late Elizabethan period. Music by John Dowland appears several times. The words 'lagrime by mr dowland in eyghte' appears on page 43, while 'fortune my foe to the consort' on page 14 is also by Dowland.⁶³ In addition, there are arrangements of several of Dowland's pieces throughout the manuscript. Titles to a few pieces are written in the manuscript, usually at the end of the piece. For example, 'pegaramsey' and 'Robin Reddocke' are on page 26,⁶⁴ while the well-known tune 'Bonny Sweet Robin' is on page 27.⁶⁵ There are two pieces that have text added to the vocal melody: firstly, 'Thou sent'st to me a hart was Crown'd' on page 44 is written out with accompanying cantus and bass parts and the text can be attributed to either Sir Robert Ayton or Sir Walter Raleigh.⁶⁶ Secondly, 'For a Lovinge Constant harte' is written out to two texted cantus phrases in staff notation.⁶⁷

⁶⁰John M. Ward, 'The Lute Books of Trinity College Dublin: II: MS D.r.21: The so-called Ballet Lute Book', 17.

⁶¹H. Macaulay Fitzgibbon, 'The Lute Books of Ballet and Dallis', 71. Alfonso Ferrabosco was a well-known lutenist who lived in England.

⁶²Ward, 'The Lute Books of Trinity College Dublin: II: MS D.r.21: The so-called Ballet Lute Book', 18.

⁶³IRL-Dtc, Ballet MS 408, 43 and 14.

⁶⁴Ibid., 26.

⁶⁵Ibid., 27.

⁶⁶Ward, 'The Lute Books of Trinity College Dublin: II: MS D.r.21: The so-called Ballet Lute Book', 22.

⁶⁷Ibid., 23.

Like the Dallis Lute Book, this manuscript contains many galliards and pavans. Titles for approximately seven galliards include ‘Master Mathias his Galiard’ (page 6), ‘Squires Galliard’ (page 15) and ‘My Ladie richis galliard’ (page 37). Seven pavans also appear in the manuscript, with the quadran pavan being the most popular. There are approximately thirteen corantos included, with the instruction ‘allfonsoe’ on most pages, in reference to the performing style. The dump ‘Queene Mariees Dump’ appears on pages 4 and 5, while three jigs appear on pages 26, 62 and 83 within the manuscript.

Music in the Second Ballet Manuscript

The second manuscript, from pages 75-116, contains some of the most popular songs from the Elizabethan era. The nativity song ‘sweet was the soung the vergin sange’ appears on pages 76-77, with texted cantus in staff notation. Several songs from the manuscript have texts that are referenced in plays by William Shakespeare. The popular Irish tune ‘Calleno’ is on page 85. ‘Lighttie love ladyes’ is written on page 103 and this is referred to as ‘Light o’ Love’ in *Much Ado About Nothing* where Margaret urges Beatrice to change her ‘sick tune’ into ‘light o’ love, that goes without a burden’.⁶⁸ ‘Bonny Sweet Robin’, on page 27 of the first Ballet manuscript, is sung by Ophelia in Shakespeare’s *Hamlet*.⁶⁹ The song from the manuscript, which is probably most widely known today, and which may indeed have been most popular at the time, is ‘Greensleeves’, which appears on page 104. Other songs such as ‘The Shaking of the Sheets’ (page 84) and ‘Robin Reddocke’ (from the first manuscript) are referenced throughout various late-sixteenth-century Elizabethan plays.⁷⁰

⁶⁸ H. Macaulay Fitzgibbon, ‘The Lute Books of Ballet and Dallis’, 74.

⁶⁹ *Ibid.*, 76.

⁷⁰ *Ibid.*, 76.

The instrumental music in the second manuscript also contains a high number of galliards and pavans. There are over twelve galliards with titles including ‘e lume alta’ (page 97), ‘omnino galliard’ (page 90), ‘Mary Thornyes Galliard’ (page 101), ‘Wigmore’s galiard’ (page 112), galliards called ‘musquam’ (page 106) and ‘phillida’ (page 108). The manuscript includes over eight pavans with titles such as ‘The Spanish Pavin’ (page 112), ‘the quadran’ (page 88) and a ‘scotis gig’ (page 83). Further tunes in the manuscript include ‘Orlando sleepth’ (page 53), ‘The Voice of the Earthe’ (page 113), ‘Robin hood is to the greenwood gone’ (page 113), ‘trike my whele’ (page 104), ‘Turkeylony’ (page 91), ‘qui passa’ (page 86) and ‘the hunt is up’ (page 84).

3.4 Conclusion

The Dallis and Ballet lute manuscripts at Trinity College Dublin are two of several sixteenth-century lute manuscripts that demonstrate instrumental and vocal lute music heard throughout Elizabethan England. The wide variety of English and Continental lute music present in the books give an indication of the popularity of foreign music in England at the time. The vocal music from both books demonstrates the popularity of both sacred and secular songs that were heard across all social classes.

Chapter Four:

Performance Considerations for Selected Songs from the Dallis Manuscript

4.1 Introduction

This chapter looks at three specific vocal pieces from the Dallis manuscript: the Italian madrigal ‘O Passi Sparsi’, Psalm 128 and the sacred motet ‘Cur mundus militat’, all of which represent both the secular and sacred vocal repertoire present in the manuscript. The chapter examines the three songs in the manuscript and looks at where the text originated. It compares the Dallis manuscript version to modern editions and proposes an approach a singer from the sixteenth century might take when performing these pieces with a lute by applying aspects of *elocutio* and *pronunciatio* outlined in this thesis.¹

4.2 ‘O Passi Sparsi’

‘O Passi Sparsi’ is a four-part secular madrigal by Italian composer Sebastiano Festa (c1490-1524) and was first published in *Canzoni frottola et capitoli ... Libro primo de la Croce*, Rome (1526).² The text is sonnet 161 by the poet Francesco Petrarca (1304-1374). The Dallis manuscript contains an intabulation of the madrigal, simplifying the lower parts and the soprano line is written out in staff notation. Christopher Goodwin transcribed the Dallis copy in his modern edition, *The English Lute Song Before Dowland 1. Songs From the Dallis Manuscript*.³

The madrigal in the Dallis manuscript begins on page 32 and ends on page 34. The lute tablature is written on a six-line staff.⁴ Regarding the vocal line, the melody is also transcribed across a six-line staff. The vocal melody begins on E and the first line is not used (Example 1).

¹ See chapter 2 ‘Sixteenth-Century Vocal Performance Style’, 32.

² Christopher Goodwin, *The English Lute Song Before Dowland 1. Songs From the Dallis Manuscript* (London: The Lute Society, 1996), 11.

³ See Appendix A, 137.

⁴ All the lute music from both the Ballet and Dallis manuscripts is written in French tablature.

Example 2: Sebastiano Festa, ‘O Passi Sparsi’, *Libro Primo de la Croce*, Austrian National Library, Vienna, SA. 78. C. 30, 6⁶



The Dallis manuscript underlay is not as legible as that of the 1526 edition and quite a bit of the underlay is too spread out in relation to the melody line. It would be impossible to give a clear performance of the original underlay from the Dallis manuscript for this reason.

The Petrarchan Sonnet (a form that Petrarch refined into the structure known today), divides the fourteen-line poem into two sections: an eight-line stanza (octave) and a six-line stanza (sestet).⁷ The text of ‘O Passi Sparsi’ describes how every aspect of affection for the protagonist towards his lover is a torture for him. William F. Prizer states that the frottola verse was usually ‘concerned with love, particularly with its melancholy aspects – love unrequited, betrayed, or

⁶ Vienna, Austrian National Library, SA. 78. C. 30, 6. <<https://viewer.onb.ac.at/1321B700/8>> [accessed 20 January 2025], 6.

⁷ Anon., Sonnet, Glossary of Poetic Terms, *Poetry*

Foundation <<https://www.poetryfoundation.org/education/glossary/sonnet>> [accessed 5 February 2025].

occasionally mixed with the pain of parting.’⁸ Sarah Iovan writes that ‘like many Petrarchan lyrics, the lover accuses his mistress of inconstancy and expresses his self-righteous disappointment at her fickleness while assuming that the audience will sympathise with him.’⁹

Petrarch’s sonnet 161 deals with the pain caused by lack of love from his lover. He pleads to the spirits to ‘pause and see the nature of my ills’ (deh! restate a veder quale é’l mio male) in the final line. The sonnet is broken into four sections or verses. Musically, verse two is a repeat of the melody accompanying verse one, which is in a minor key. In verse three, Festa introduces a new melody in the relative major key and even though verse four begins in the major key, the piece ends in the key of G minor (Table 4).

Table 4: Francesco Petrarch, ‘O Passi Sparsi’, Sonnet 161

<i>O passi sparsi, o pensier' vaghi et pronti, o tenace memoria, o fero ardore, o possente desire, o debil core, o ochi mei, ochi non già, ma fonti;</i>	O wandering steps, O swift and errant thoughts, O fixed memory, O wild ardour, O powerful desire, O weakened heart, O eyes of mine, not eyes now, but fountains!
<i>O fronde, honor de le famose fronti, o sola insegna al gemino valore; O faticosa vita, o dolce errore, che mi fat' ir cercando piagge et monti;</i>	O leaves, that honour famous brows, O one sole emblem of double worth! O weary life, O sweet error, that makes me go searching plains and hills!
<i>O bel viso ove amore insieme pose li sproni e'l freno, ond'el mi ponge et volve come a lui piace, et calcitrar non vale;</i>	O lovely face where love has set together the reins and spurs that make me twist and turn at pleasure: and no use to kick against them!
<i>O anime gentili et amorose, s'alcuna ha'l mondo et vui nude ombre et polve, deh! restate a veder qual è'l mio male.¹⁰</i>	O gentle loving spirits, if there are any in this world, and you, naked dust and shadows, pause and see the nature of my ills. ¹¹

⁸ William F. Prizer (ed.), *Canzoni, Frottole et Capitoli, Libro Primo de la Croce* (Madison A-R editions, Collegium Musicum, Yale University, Second Series: Volume VIII, 1978), viii.

⁹ Sarah Iovan, ‘Singers and Lutes, Lutes and Singers: Musical Performance and Poetic Discourse in Early Modern Songs’, *The Sixteenth Century Journal*, 47 (2016), 542.

¹⁰ This Italian text is taken from Goodwin’s modern edition where he references the unusual Italian spelling that is in the 1526 edition of Festa’s ‘O Passi Sparsi’. The punctuation in Goodwin’s score is slightly different from that of the original sonnet. See Appendix A, 137.

¹¹ Translation by Anthony S. Kline.

Elocutio

Examining the text in relation to *elocutio*, there are several examples of repetition figures. Each sentence opens with ‘o’, replicating a cry or a sigh, and the repetition of this re-enforces the pain and suffering of the protagonist. This is an example of *anaphora*, the same word re-iterated at the beginning of successive sentences. The phrase at the end of the sonnet ‘deh! restate a veder quale è 'l mio male’ is repeated up to three times. The use of *epizeuxis* (the immediate restatement of a word or two for greater vehemence)¹² was expanded in the seventeenth-century to include not just one or two words but longer phrases.¹³ This phrase is an example of the longer version of *epizeuxis*.

Pronunciatio

Putting *pronunciatio* into practice, the first important element for the modern singer to consider is the old Italian spelling. Goodwin points out that the unusual Italian spelling in his edition is from the 1526 manuscript.¹⁴ Examples of the older Italian spelling include ‘et’ instead of ‘e’ (meaning and), ‘ochi mei’ which is ‘occhi miei’ in modern Italian (my eyes), ‘vui’ for ‘voi’ (meaning you), and ‘ove’ in verse three is ‘dove’ in modern Italian (meaning where).

Punctuation

Verse one

The first four sentences in verse one begins with the word ‘o’ and end with a comma. Following Robert Toft’s recommendations, this would imply a singer gives the value of a crotchet rest at the end of each comma. The main challenge here in finding an audible break between the sentences is in bars 2 (where ‘sparsi’ flows straight into ‘o pensier’ which begins the next

¹² Henry Peacham the Elder, *The Garden of Eloquence*, (London: H Jackson, 1577. Facs. Menston: Scolar Press, 1971), fol. J3r: quoted in Robert Toft, *With Passionate Voice: Re-Creative Singing in Sixteenth-century England and Italy*, (New York: Oxford University Press, 2014), 48.

¹³ Toft, *With Passionate Voice: Re-Creative Singing in Sixteenth-century England and Italy*, 49.

¹⁴ Goodwin, *The English Lute Song Before Dowland 1. Songs From the Dallis Manuscript*, 8.

sentence), bar 7 (where ‘ria o fier ar’ each gets the value of a minim) and bar 13 (where ‘mei o-chi non’ also all receive the value of a minim). In the above cases, alternative performance options would include the following:

Goodwin’s edition, bar 2:



Pas--si spar--si O

Alternative bar 2 notation:



Pas-- si spar--si, O

Goodwin’s edition, bar 7:



ria o fier ar

Alternative bar 7 notation:



ria, o fier ar

Goodwin’s edition, bar 13:



mei, o-----chi non

Alternative bar 13 notation:



mei, o---chi non

At the end of the last sentence there is semicolon, requiring the value dotted crotchet rest.

Verse 2

There are fewer places in the second verse where the punctuation affects the melodic rhythm. In bar 2, the challenge is to break at the comma after ‘fronde’ and take enough of a breath to reach the end of the following phrase ‘onor delle famose fronti’.

Goodwin’s edition, bar 2:



fron--de,o--nor del-

Alternative bar 2 notation:



fron-de, o----nor del

The flow of the sentences is different in this verse, where the second and fourth lines are unbroken and longer than that of the first and third line.

Verse 3

In bar 17 of Goodwin’s score, there is a comma after ‘viso’ which is not in the original sonnet so in this case a vocalist can sing through the phrase. Ideally it would be appropriate to sing ‘O bel viso ove amore insieme pose li sproni e'l freno’ straight through in one breath. In bar 26 there is a comma after ‘piace’: a singer should break this phrase and not sing through it, possibly shortening the semibreve to a crotchet. The bar would be as follows:



pia---ce, et

In bar 28, there is a semicolon at the end of the sentence ‘et calcitrar non vale’: in this case the word is followed by a minim rest in the vocal line. This is the end of the third verse and the use of a rest here adds to the sense of ending in verse three.

Verse 4

Bar 36 opens with the exclamation ‘Deh!’. John Hart indicates that such exclamations should begin sharply and there should be a short pause after it.¹⁵ Bars 40 and 44 contain the repeated words ‘Deh!’ There is both a comma and exclamation mark here, which requires two pauses in the delivery of the music.

Accent and Emphasis

In examining the stresses of the Italian words in verses one and two (underlined in Table 4) and their alignment with the strong beats of the bar, the text in verse one mostly aligns, with the exception of bar 3 (‘pensier’), bars 10-11 (where ‘debil’ is on the weak beat of the bar), and bar 13 (where ‘ochi’ is also on the weak beat of the bar). In the second verse, there is only one example of stressed syllables not matching up with the strong beats of the bar which is in bar 3 (‘le famose’). The accents in the words of verses three and four in general fit well with the strong beats of the bar and help with the natural flow of the vocal line.

Examining word emphasis in verse one, the variations of adjectives are prominent and allow the singer to vocally express the emotion of the verse. These include ‘vaghi’ and ‘pronti’ (swift and errant), ‘fero’ (wild), ‘possente’ (powerful) and ‘debil’ (weak). In verse two, there is striking contrast in the adjectives used in the sentence ‘o faticosa vita’, ‘o dolce errore’ (o weary life, o sweet error). The adjectives ‘faticosa’ and ‘dolce’ suggest a contrasting vocal delivery of tone. Verse three opens in a major key of B flat major, and the text describes the beauty of the protagonist’s face. Festa begins the opening sentence on a high note (D in Goodwin’s edition) and the melody descends an octave. As recommended by Hermann Finck, who suggested that ‘when the voice rises higher, it should adopt a softer and sweeter sound; when

¹⁵ John Hart, ‘The Opening of the Unreasonable Writing of our English Toung’, (British Library, Royal MS 17.C.VII, 1551); quoted in Toft, *With Passionate Voice: Re-Creative Singing in Sixteenth-century England and Italy*, 87.

descending lower, its sound should be fuller',¹⁶ this phrase is a good example of beginning quietly and sweetly in volume, especially on the words 'o bel viso' (o lovely face) and increasing the volume as the scale descends. The verbs 'punge and volve' sound forceful and a singer should have movement in his or her voice in describing the actions of twisting and turning. The final verse begins with 'o anime gentile et amorose' (o gentle and loving spirits) and these words suggest a soft and gentle volume. There is a feeling of pleading with the repeated notes here. The phrase 'deh! restate a veder qual è'l mio male' (see the nature of my ills) reinforces the beseeching of the protagonist to recognise how sorrowful and depressed he is. This phrase is repeated up to three times and the challenge is to find variety in the repetition of the text. The first 'Deh!' is on a B flat (bar 36), the second 'Deh!' is on a G (bar 40) and the melody of this second phrase is much lower than the first, falling to a low B-flat. The third phrase begins on a high D (bar 45). Vocal variety found between these three repeated phrases could include opening with a sharp tone¹⁷ at a medium volume, the second 'deh!' (at bar 40) could begin with a sharp tone in a loud volume (at that phrase could continue loudly towards the low B-flat), and the final 'deh!' in bar 45 could begin sharp in tone with an immediate decrescendo for effect and overall variety. 'Qual é'l mio male' is repeated (from bars 48 to 52) to finish the madrigal. A varying dynamic range from *p* to *pp* would be effective and the voice could fade away on the last 'male'.

Figures and Passionate Ornaments

Verse 1

The overall feeling of the opening verse is one of uncertainty. The opening word 'o' begins on the note value of a breve accompanied by a tonic G minor chord in the lute. The contrasts

¹⁶ Hermann Finck, *Practica Musica* (Wittenberg: Georg Rhau. Facs., 1556, Bologna: Forni, 1969), V, fol. Ssiii; quoted in Toft, *With Passionate Voice: Re-Creative Singing in Sixteenth-century England and Italy*, 115.

¹⁷ John Hart, 'The Opening of the Unreasonable Writing of our English Toung', (British Library, Royal MS 17.C.VII, 1551). (Ed) Bror Danielsson, *John Hart's Works of English Orthnography and Pronunciation*, Stockholm Studies in English 5. Stockholm: Almquist and Wiksell, 1955; quoted in Toft, *With Passionate Voice: Re-Creative Singing in Sixteenth-century England and Italy*, 87.

between ‘wandering’ (sparsi) and ‘swift’ (vaghi), ‘fixed’ (tenace) and ‘wild’ (fero), ‘powerful’ (powerful) and ‘weakened’ (debil) and ‘o eyes of mine, not eyes now, but fountains’ (o ochi mei, ochi non già, ma fonti) is stark. The volume for this verse to replicate the uncertainty would be *mp* to *mf*. In bar 3, the word vaghi (swift) is matched in the vocal line with three rising crotchets which give the feeling of movement in the vocal line, which is followed by a V-I cadence in G minor in the lute. There could be a quickening change of tempo on the adjectives ‘swift’, ‘wild’ and ‘powerful’ and a slight rise in the voice. This would contrast with a lowering of volume and a change in the voice quality to that of anguish. Abraham Fraunce suggests a ‘hollow voyce fetcht from the bottome of the throate, groaning’ for this emotion.¹⁸

Verse 2

The protagonist refers to a ‘sweet error’ that ‘makes me go searching plains and hills’: the sweet error could imply falling in love with someone who does not reciprocate his love and his search of the countryside to find her. In the phrase ‘o weary life, o sweet error’ there could be a contrast in the voice quality to express the differing emotions. In the sentence ‘che mi fat’ ir cercando piagge et monti’ (that makes me go searching plains and hills) there could be a sense of movement by slightly increasing the speed. The vocal line on the word ‘piagge’ is sung on two rising crotchets and a V-I cadence in the lute part accompanies the words piagge e monti’ in bars 14 and 15.

Verse 3

The overall feeling of this verse is one of inevitability: the recalling of his lover’s beautiful face and the unbreaking certainty of his love. The verse opens in the major key of B-flat major in

¹⁸ Abraham Fraunce, *The Arcadian Rhetorike* (London: Thomas Orwin, 1588); quoted in Toft, *With Passionate Voice: Re-Creative Singing in Sixteenth-century England and Italy*, 116.

bar 16. Here the protagonist openly describes his lover's beauty with the words 'o bel viso' (o lovely face) and this phrase should open with a sweet, soft tone. He claims love has 'set together the reins and spurs that make me twist and turn at pleasure' and there is no point going against it. The verbs 'punge' (twist), 'volve' (turn) and 'calcitrar' (kick) should be sung with more energy to vocally describe the movements. The verse ends in bar 28 on a B-flat major chord in the lute.

Verse 4

Verse 4 also opens on an F-major chord with the gentle words 'O anime gentili et amorose' (o gentle loving spirits) and is followed by the plea to 'pause and see the nature of my ills'. This verse is full of pity and lamentation, and for this emotion, a singer could use a voice that is 'full, sobbing, flexible, interrupted'¹⁹ (see Table 3, page 39). The overall dynamic here could be within the range of *mp* to *p*. The verse finishes in the tonic key of G minor.

Embellishments

The following are examples of adapted ornamentation from the list of Diego Ortiz embellishments in Robert Toft's *With Passionate Voice: Re-Creative Singing in Sixteenth-century England and Italy* section on embellishments.²⁰ Each example starts with a chosen interval followed by an Ortiz embellishment. The adapted embellishment example is the same embellishment pattern but adopting the rhythm and time signature of 'O Passi Sparsi' in Goodwin's modern edition.²¹

¹⁹ Abraham Fraunce, *The Arcadian Rhetorike* (London: Thomas Orwin, 1588); quoted in Toft, *With Passionate Voice: Re-Creative Singing in Sixteenth-century England and Italy*, 116.

²⁰ See Chapter 2, 32.

²¹ See Appendix A, 137.

The words ‘o fatiosa vita’ (o weary life) in bars 8-9 of Christopher Goodwin’s modern edition (page 10) are representative of the pain and sorrow portrayed by the protagonist. The interval from ‘o’ to ‘fatiosa’ is a perfect fourth and a suggested embellishment is given (Example 3).

Interval 4th/Ortiz Embellishment:



Example 3:



‘o-----fa.....(tiosa)’

In contrast to ‘o weary life’ and in the same sentence is ‘o dolce errore’ (bar 11, Goodwin, page 10). There is an interval of a falling second on the word ‘dolce’. An adapted Ortiz embellishment is given (Example 4).

Interval 2nd/Ortiz Embellishment:



Example 4:



‘do.....ce

The words ‘o bel viso’ (o lovely face) describes the beauty of his lover (bars 16-17). There is an interval of a second from the word ‘bel’ to ‘viso’ and a suggested embellishment is given (Example 5).

Interval 2nd/Ortiz Embellishment:



Example 5:



‘be.....l vi(so)

²² Toft, *With Passionate Voice: Re-Creative Singing in Sixteenth-century England and Italy*, 140.

²³ *Ibid.*, 138.

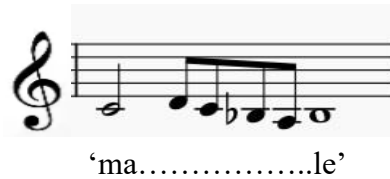
²⁴ *Ibid.*, 137.

Festa's madrigal repeats the words 'mio male' four times: in Goodwin's edition there is an interval of a second between the two notes on the word 'male' (bar 44). A suggested embellishment is given (Example 6).

Interval 2nd/Ortiz Embellishment:



Example 6:

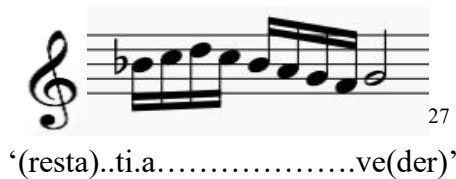


Finally, the words 'restati a' (pause) in bar 46, page 11 of Goodwin's edition, could be ornamented as follows on the interval of a minor third (Example 7).

Interval m.3rd/Ortiz E.:



Example 7:



4.3 Psalm 128

Psalm 128 from the Dallis manuscript is an example of the sacred repertoire present in the manuscript. The text from Psalm 128 is taken from *The Whole Booke of Psalmes*.²⁸ The front cover of the book contains the following instructions on when and where to sing the psalms:

²⁵ Ibid., 137.

²⁶ Ibid., 139.

²⁷ A recording of 'O Passi Sparsi' applying these performance considerations for lute and voice is on the accompanying CD, Track 1 (Appendix E, 147).

²⁸ Thomas Sternhold and John Hopkins (et. al), *The Whole Booke of Psalmes* (London: Imprinted by John Day, 1583), 124. *The Whole Booke of Psalmes* is a compendium of psalms, collected into English metre by Thomas Sternhold and other authors.

Set forth and allowed to be sung in all churches, of all the people together, before and after morning and evening prayer; and also before and after sermons; and moreover in private houses for godly solace and comfort: laying apart all ungodly songs and ballads; which tend only to the nourishing of vice, and corrupting of youth.²⁹

The psalm opens with the description ‘He descrybeth the prosperous estate of them that be married in the feare of God, ioyning withall the promise of God’s blessings, to all them that live in this honourable estate, according to his commandments.’³⁰ The overall message of the psalm is those that fear God and follow his teachings will live in prosperity (Illustration 3).

²⁹ Ibid., front cover.

³⁰ Ibid., 124.

Illustration 3: Psalm 128, Sternhold and Hopkins, *The Whole Booke of Psalmes*, 124

psalme Cxxviii. cxxix. cxxx. 124

for when in peril he shalbe
Such one shal neuer shake nor shiver.
 when that he pleabeth before the iudge:
 against his foes that beare him grudge.

Beati omnes. psal. cxxviii. T.S.
*He describeth the prosperous estate of them that
 be married in the feare of God, joyning withall
 the promises of Gods blessings, to all them that
 live in this honourable estate, according to his
 commandment.*

Sing this as the 68. Psalme.

Blessed art thou that fearest God,
 and walkest in his way:
 For of thy laboz thou shalt eate,
 happy art thou if say.
 Like fruitful vines on thy house side,
 so doth thy wise spyzing out:
 Thy children stand like Olive plants
 thy table round about.

Thus art thou blest that fearest God
 and he shal let thee see:
 Thy promised Jerusalem,
 and his felicitie.
 Thou shalt thy childrens children see,
 to their great ioyes encrease:
 And likewise grace on Israel
 prosperitv and peace.

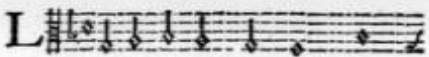
Sape expugnauerunt. Psal. Cxxix. N.
*He admonisheth the Church to reioice, though
 it have bene afflicted in al ages for Gods wilde-
 liner it, and the enimies (for all their glorious
 shewe) shal sodenly be destroyed.*

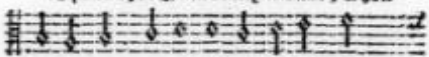
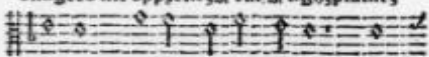
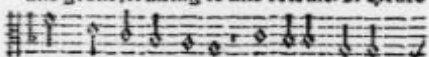
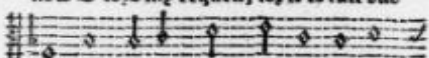
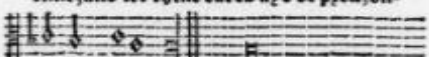
Sing this as the 88. psalme.

Oft they now Israel may say,
 me from my pouch assailed:
 Dit they assailed me from my youth,
 yet neuer they prevailed.
 3 Upon my back the towers plowed,
 and furrowes long did cast:
 4 The righteous lord hath cut the cords,

of wicked foes at last.
 5 They that hate him shalbe shamed,
 and turned back also:
 6 And made as grasse vpon the house,
 that withereth ere it growe.
 7 Whereof the mower cannot finde,
 enough to fill his hand:
 Nor he can fill his say that goeth
 to glean vpon the land.
 8 Nor passers by pray God on them
 to let his mercy fall:
 Nor say we blisse you in the name,
 of God the Lord at all.

De profundis. Psal. Cxxx. W.W.
*An effectuous prayer of him that for his sins had
 sustained great afflictions, and notwithstanding
 he fully trusteth and assureth him selfe to ob-
 taine mercy and forgiveness of his sin, and at
 length deliuerance from all euils.*

L 

Lord to thee I make my moane, when

 dangers me oppresse, I cal I sigh, plaine,

 and grone, trusting to find release. 2. Heare

 now O lord my request, for it is full due

 time, and let thine eares aye be prest, vn-

 to this praier mine.

3 O Lord our God if thou wey
 R 4 our

Appearing on page 177 of the Dallis manuscript, the key of Psalm 128 is D minor and the opening note in the vocal line is D. The transcription of the vocal line is clear to the end. The last stave of the page includes the faint words 'Psalmus Anglicus 128' (Example 8).

Example 8: Psalm 128, Dallis Manuscript, Trinity College Dublin, 1773³¹



Christopher Goodwin has transposed the Dallis transcription up a fourth for a lute tuned in G. He says that the tune is not standard and that he cannot identify the tenor line as a psalm tune³² (Example 9).

³¹ IRL-Dtc, Dallis MS 410, 177.

³² Goodwin, *The English Lute Song Before Dowland 1. Songs From the Dallis Manuscript*, 23.

Example 9: Psalm 128, Christopher Goodwin, *The English Lute Song Before Dowland 1.*

Songs From the Dallis Manuscript, 23

p.177 8. PSALM 128

Blessed art thou that fearest God and dwellest in his
 tabernacles. For of thy labour thou shalt eat, happy art thou I

Blessed &c.

say.

PSALMUS ANGLICUS 128.

Like fruteful vines on the house sides,
 So doth thy wife spring out.
 Thy children stand like olyve plants
 Thy table round about.

Thus art thou blest that fearest God
 And He shall let thee see
 Thy promised Jerusalem
 And his felicitie.

Thou shalt thy children's children see
 To their great joes encrease,
 And likewise grace on Israel
 Prosperity and peace.

Pronunciatio

Punctuation

In relation to the punctuation marks in the Sternhold and Hopkins' *The Whole Booke of Psalmes* all verses (except verse 3) have a comma at the end of the first sentence and a colon at the end of each second sentence. Only verses 1 and 3 have commas at the end of the third sentence and all verses end with a full stop. Appropriate rests should be taken in relation to the different

punctuation marks. The four verses in this thesis for examination contain punctuation directly from the *Whole Booke of Psalmes*, 1583.

Accent and Emphasis/ornaments

Verse 1

Blessed art thou that fearest God,

and walkest in his way:

For of thy labour thou shalt eate,

happy art thou I say.

In the first two sentences the words ‘blessed’, ‘fearest’, ‘walkest’ and ‘wayes’ all align with the strong beats of each corresponding bar and the singer should emphasise these important words which express the overall message of the psalm. In the third sentence there is a comma after ‘eate’ so there should be a slight pause here. In the fourth sentence, the word ‘happy’ is split between the end of bar 6 (of the Goodwin edition) and bar 7 with ‘ha’ of ‘happy’ being on the weak beat of the bar.

Verse 2

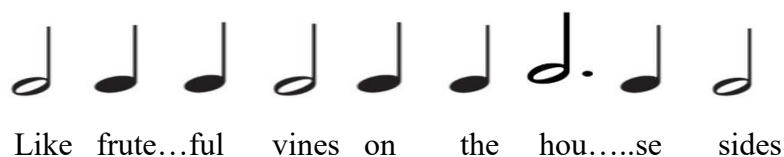
Like fruteful vines on the house sides,

So doth thy wife spring out:

Thy children stand like olive plants

Thy table round about.

In relation to strophic form and fitting the text around the melody, the rhythm of the first sentence could be sung as follows:



Important words that correspond to the strong beats of the bar include ‘vines’, ‘wife’, ‘children’ and ‘table’ and should be given more emphasis when sung.

Verse 3

Thus art thou blest that fearest God

And he shall let thee see:

Thy promised Jerusalem,

And his felicitie.

The layout of the text in relation to the repeated melody with sentences ‘thus art thou blest that fearest God’ and ‘thy promised Jerusalem’ could be sung as follows:



Thus art thou blest that fear...est God



Thy pro...mised Je...ru.....sa... lem

Words that correspond with strong beats for emphasis include ‘blest’, ‘fearest’ and ‘promised’.

The strong stress in the word ‘Jerusalem’ matches with the first beat of the bar as does the strong stress in the word ‘felicitie’ and should be given more emphasis when singing. For variety in dynamics, this verse could be sung *piano*.

Verse 4

Thou shalt thy children's children see,

To their great joys increase:

And likewise grace on Isreal

Prosperity and peace.

The words of verse 4 match perfectly with the melodic rhythm. Important words for emphasis include 'children', 'joies', 'Isreal' and 'peace'. As this is the final verse and ends the psalm with a positive message, it should be sung *forte* to the end.³³

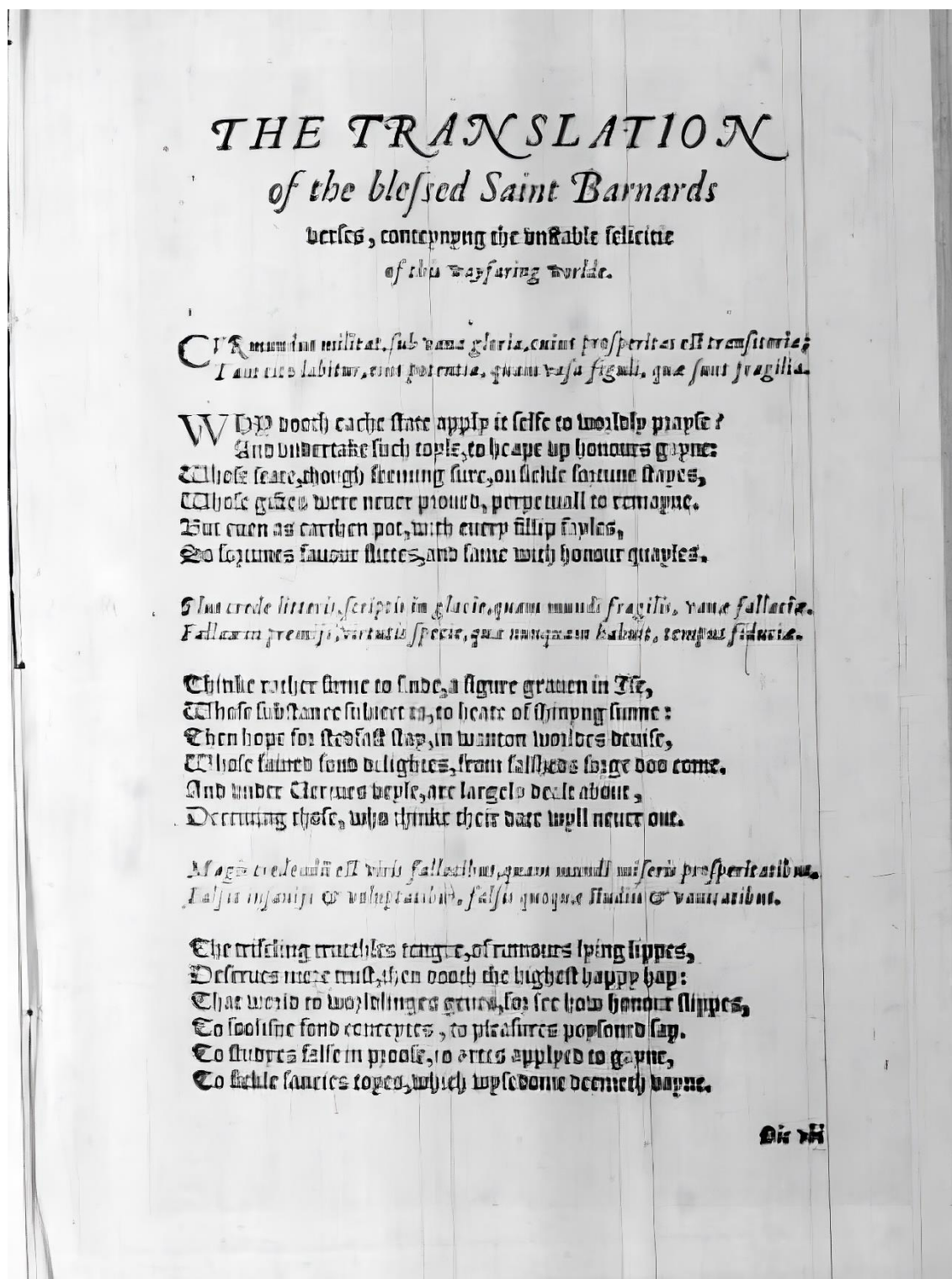
4.4 'Cur mundus militat'

'Cur mundus militat' from the Dallis manuscript is a sacred motet in Latin. The English translation is found in *The Paradise of Dainty Devices*. This was a collection of works by minor poets from the 1560s and 1570s, compiled by Richard Edwards and published in 1576. In describing the seven verses, the book contains the following description: 'containing the vnstable felicitie of this wayfaring world'.³⁴ Hyder Edward Rollins writes 'the authorship of the original Latin poem has been attributed to Walter Map (or Mapes), to Jacobus de Benedictis, and to various others, as well as to St. Bernard of Clairvaux'³⁵ (Illustration 4).

³³ A recording with the above performance considerations for Psalm 128 can be found on accompanying CD, Track 2 (Appendix E, 147).

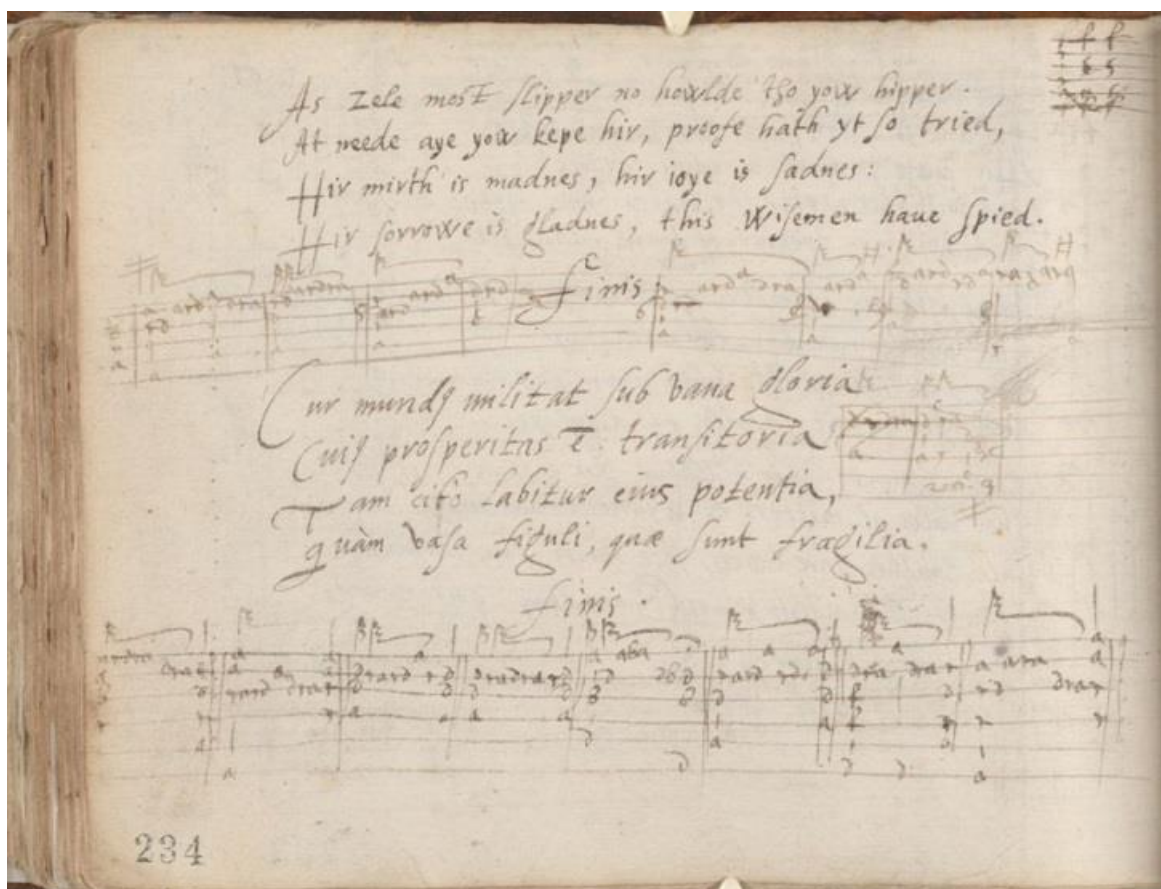
³⁴ Hyder Edward Rollins (ed.), *The Paradise of Dainty Devices* (Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Press, 1927), 5.

³⁵ *Ibid.*, 181.



The first verse of 'Cur mundus militat' is written out on page 234 of the Dallis manuscript. The words on the top of this page are the final verse in the secular song 'Fortune is Fickle' from page 209 of the manuscript (Illustration 5).

Illustration 5: Anonymous, 'Cur mundus militat', verse 1, Dallis manuscript, Trinity College Dublin, 234³⁶



On page 210 of the Dallis manuscript the first note of the vocal melody is D, and the motet is in G-Dorian mode. In relation to the underlay of the Dallis manuscript, the layout of the text does not always match the flow of the melodic phrase: in some cases, the scribe ends a musical phrase with the first word from the next sentence. Examples of this include 'transitoria tam', where 'tam' ends the musical phrase in the second system (bar 3), but the word 'tam' is the beginning of the next sentence. Comparing this to Goodwin's modern edition, Goodwin finished the musical phrase (bar 12) with the word 'transitoria' and begins the next phrase with 'tam cito'. This would result in differing performances of the verse. Another example of this includes the word 'quam' (bar 8, second system of Dallis manuscript). The scribe ends this

³⁶ IRL-Dtc, Dallis MS 410, 234.

Christopher Goodwin's modern edition of 'Cur mundus militat' is on pages 38 to 39 (Example 11).

Example 11: Anonymous, 'Cur mundus militat', Christopher Goodwin, *The English Lute Song Before Dowland 1. Songs From the Dallis Manuscript, 38-39*

18. CUR MUNDUS MILITAT

p. 210

Cur mun-dus mi-li-fat
sub va-na glo-ri-a Cu-ius pros-per-i-fas
est tran-si-to-ri-a tam ci-to La-bi-tur
ri-us po-ten-ti-a, quam va-sa fi-gu-li
quae sunt fra-gi-li-a.

Cur mundus militat

The image shows a musical score for the piece 'Cur mundus militat'. It consists of five systems of music. Each system has a vocal line on a treble clef staff and a lute accompaniment on a six-line staff. The key signature has one flat (B-flat) and the time signature is 3/2. The lyrics are written below the vocal line. The first system starts with a double bar line and a 'p. 210' marking. The piece ends with a double bar line and the text 'Cur mundus militat' written below the lute staff.

There is a two-bar lute introduction with the vocal line beginning on the third bar for each verse. The vocal line sits quite high in the register, rising to a G in the fourth-last bar. The motet is in 3/2 time and there is a natural flow to the rhythm and the rhythm of the lute tablature follows the vocal line accordingly. The full eight verses from Goodwin's edition with the important stress of the syllables underlined in the Latin text is used in relation to the recording in this thesis (Table 5).

Table 5: 'Cur mundus militat' Latin text, Christopher Goodwin, *The English Lute Song Before Dowland 1. Songs From the Dallis Manuscript*, 39³⁸

Verse 1

*Cur mundus militat, sub vana gloria, cuius prosperitas est transitoria;
Tam cito labitur, eius potentia, quam vasa figuli, que sunt fragilia.*

Why does the world struggle for empty glory, though its good times never last?
Its power passes away as quickly as a potter's wares, which are breakable.

Verse 2

*Plus crede litteris, scriptis in glacie, quam mundi fragilis, vanae fallaciae.
Fallax in premiis, vertutis specie, que nunquam habuit, tempus fiduciae.*

Trust more in letters written in ice than in the empty disappointments of this fragile world.
It never delivers on its time of promise; virtue it has never had.

Verse 3

*Magis credendum est viris fallacibus, quam mundi miseris prosperitatibus.
Falsis insaniis et voluptatibus, falsis quoque studiis et vanitatibus.*

Better to trust deceitful men than the wretched happinesses of the world.
Its pleasures and follies both are false; false too its pursuits and vanities.

Verse 4

*Dic ubi Salomon, olim tam nobilis? vel ubi Samson est, dux invincibilis?
Vel dulcis Jonathas, multum amabilis? vel pulcher Absolon, vultu mirabilis?*

Say, where is Solomon, once so famed? Or where is Samson, that unconquerable leader?
Or where is sweet Jonathan, loved by many? Or handsome Absalom, wondrously fair?

Verse 5

*Quo Caesar abiit? celsus imperio, vel dives splendidus, totus in prandio.
Dic ubi Tullius, clarus eloquio, vel Aristoteles, summus ingenio.*

Where has Caesar gone, once high and mighty? Or the rich man at his banquet?
Say where is Cicero, famed for eloquence, or Aristotle, best of minds?

³⁸ English translation by Charlie Kerrigan, Department of Classics, Trinity College Dublin.

Verse 6

*O esca vermium, ò massa pulueris, ò ros, ò vanitas, cur sic extolleris?
*Ignoras penitus vtrum cras vixeris, fac bonum omnibus, quam diu poteris.**

O food for worms, O speck of dust, O rose, O vanity, why are you praised like this?
 You don't really know whether you'll be here tomorrow: do good to all as long as you can.

Verse 7

*Quam breve festum est, haec mundi gloria, ut umbra hominum, sic eius gaudia.
*Que semper subtrahit aeterna praemia, et ducunt hominum, ad dura devia.**

How short the festivities, this glory of the world; as people's ghosts are its passing joys.
 It takes away always its eternal rewards and leads men into trouble.

Verse 8

*Haec mundi gloria, quae magni penditur, sacris in litteris, flos faeni dicitur.
*Ut leve folium, quod vento rapitur; sic vita hominum, haec vita tollitur.**

This glory of the world, so highly valued, in the Bible is called but a wisp of hay.
 As a light leaf taken by the wind, so human life is taken from this world.

Pronunciatio**Punctuation**

The punctuation in the Latin text is taken from the *Paradise of Dainty Devices*.³⁹ Verses 2, 4, 5 and 8 contain the pattern of four sections divided by punctuation in the first sentence and four sections divided up by punctuation in the second sentence. The punctuation marks used include one semicolon (in verse 1), commas, question marks and full stops.

Accent, Emphasis and Passionate Ornaments

This motet would have been performed in church in the sixteenth century. Sacred Renaissance motets were usually polyphonic. Peter Phillips writes that the singing style of church polyphony by composers such as Palestrina and Tallis was more connected to that of chanting. He suggests modern singers should educate themselves by sitting through an entire twenty-four-hour cycle of the monastic feast days. On the style of chant singing, he writes:

³⁹ Rollins (ed.), *The Paradise of Dainty Devices*, 5.

Good chant singing will therefore depend on singing through the lines with a sense of direction towards the next natural break ... the words should never be pronounced in an explosive way: the vowel-sounds unified and made clean, the consonants smoothed in a way to help the legato flow, except to say that the natural accents of the words should be made clear since these will give the melodies extra shape.⁴⁰

In adapting this advice to the performance of ‘Cur mundus militat’, the Latin would be ecclesiastical and the text would flow naturally with a clear, understated accentuation of the stressed syllables (see Table 5, 78).⁴¹

4.5 An Autoethnographic Account of the Dallis Recording

I recorded the madrigal ‘O Passi Sparsi’, Psalm 128 and the sacred motet ‘Cur mundus militat’ from the Dallis lute manuscript in June 2025 with lutenist Eamon Sweeney. He played the lute tuned to G. Christopher Goodwin’s modern edition of the songs in *The English Lute Song Before Dowland 1. Songs From the Dallis Manuscript* was used in the rehearsal and recording.⁴² The rehearsal opened with a discussion about how the compiler of the manuscript possibly either played the lute pieces or accompanied themselves and how the overall sound and projection that we were producing as two individual musicians might be different to someone accompanying themselves with the same repertoire. We then discussed the elements *elocutio* and *pronunciatio* used in the sixteenth century by orators and singers and, if implemented, how these aspects of performance would influence a vocal interpretation of the pieces. The first important aspect of *pronunciatio* to be discussed was punctuation. The idea of pausing slightly at certain punctuation marks⁴³ would, in general, affect the overall flow of the line and the rhythm so as an ensemble we both had to know where the punctuation marks lay. Secondly, I had to explain the reasoning behind my decisions on the overall dynamic variation of each piece and why I was emphasising certain words to vocally create effect. Thirdly, embellishments

⁴⁰ Peter Phillips, ‘Singing Polyphony’, *The Musical Times*, 155 (2014), 11.

⁴¹ A recording with the above performance considerations for ‘Cur mundus militat’ can be found on the accompanying CD, Track 3 (Appendix E, 147).

⁴² Goodwin, *The English Lute Song Before Dowland 1. Songs From the Dallis Manuscript*.

⁴³ See Chapter 4, 54.

(when used) were discussed and rehearsed: an important aspect of the rehearsal process here was to see how the embellishments I had chosen would accurately fit with the lute accompaniment and if they were appropriate.

In the rehearsal for the madrigal ‘O Passi Sparsi’ after discussing the text, dynamic variation, word emphasis and embellishment decisions, we began with a full run through of the madrigal. We rehearsed the dynamic variations including the *piano* entry on the words ‘O bel viso’⁴⁴ and the *pianissimo* entry to verse three ‘o anime gentile et amorose’.⁴⁵ We took out the different parts where there were commas and rehearsed them independently for ensemble purposes. The word ‘Deh!’ appears three times⁴⁶ and we rehearsed the dynamic variation from *sf* to a sudden *decrescendo* and then pausing after the exclamation mark on each occasion. Most of the ornaments worked well rhythmically against Sweeney’s lute part. For the ornament on the words ‘faticosa’⁴⁷ the lute part is rhythmically active, so we had to make sure the chosen embellishment fit rhythmically with the active lute accompaniment which it did (Appendix A, bar 9). A difficult embellishment to fully fit with the lute accompaniment was on the word ‘restati’.⁴⁸ Sweeney decided instead of playing the four separate chords in the lute accompaniment that he would play the first three chords but then give me time to apply the embellishment. He would then add an upbeat note at the end of the bar to indicate the beginning of the next bar (see Appendix A, bars 46 and 47). A full rehearsal run through took place before a final recording of the madrigal.⁴⁹

Psalm 128 was rehearsed several times for ensemble purposes. The presence of commas and full stops and how they should be observed was discussed. Two bars were examined as there

⁴⁴ See ‘O Passi Sparsi’, bar 16, Appendix A, 137.

⁴⁵ *Ibid.*, bar 29.

⁴⁶ *Ibid.*, bars 36, 40 and 45.

⁴⁷ See Example 3, Chapter 4, 65.

⁴⁸ See Example 8, Chapter 4, 69.

⁴⁹ CD, Track 1 (Appendix E, 147).

seemed to be a chordal clash between the vocal line and the lute accompaniment. In bars 3 and 5 the vocal melody began on a D, while the lute accompaniment was on a C minor chord.⁵⁰ We checked the original Dallis score (page 177) which was the same as Goodwin's edition in the lute part.⁵¹

The first verse of the sacred motet 'Cur mundus militat' was rehearsed several times for both of us to get a sense of the flow of the music. The first two bars of the motet are for solo lute with the voice entering on the third bar. The vocal line sits quite high in the Goodwin edition and the main challenge was to have clear diction while also stressing the important syllables in each word of the Latin text. Punctuation throughout the eight verses was then discussed and how it varied in each verse. A recording then took place: the challenge here was to sing as freely as possible while also supporting correctly over the course of eight verses.⁵²

4.6 Conclusion

The three songs selected for this chapter are of differing styles and language, representing both the sacred and secular aspects of the Dallis manuscript. The overall view of *pronunciatio* from this period including the observance of punctuation, cadences, accent and emphasis, pronunciation, figures and passionate ornaments from the sixteenth century can be adapted in the preparation of the performance of these pieces for voice and lute.

⁵⁰ See Psalm 128, Example 10, Chapter 4, 76.

⁵¹ CD, Track 2 (Appendix E, 147).

⁵² CD, Track 3 (Appendix E, 147).

Chapter Five:

Performance Considerations for Selected Songs from the Ballet Manuscript

5.1 Introduction

This chapter looks at three of the more famous ballads from the Ballet manuscript, ‘Greensleeves’, ‘Calen o Custure Me’ and ‘Fortune my Foe’ which were well known during this period as broadside ballads and solo lute intabulations. The sacred carol ‘Sweet was the Soung the Vergin Sange’ is also examined. The interpretation presented in this chapter is from the point of view of the singer in the courts and familiar with lute intabulations.

5.2 ‘Greensleeves’

The melody ‘Greensleeves’ is one of the rare broadside tunes that is still heard today. Ralph Vaughan Williams used this tune in his opera *Sir John in Love* and the nineteenth-century carol text ‘What Child is This’ also incorporates this melody.¹ Claude Simpson writes ‘through the centuries the tune has persisted in several forms under a variety of names, but its distinctive harmonic pattern may help to explain why its identity has been so well preserved.’² John M. Ward states that musical sources show ‘Greensleeves’ as being not just one tune, but a type of tune that ‘took a more or less different form each time it was written down.’³ The lute arrangement of the popular ballad contains the passamezzo antico harmonic scheme.⁴ The earliest reference to ‘Greensleeves’ is in the Stationers’ Register on 3 September 1580, where Richard Jones was licenced to print ‘A newe northen Dittye of ye Ladye Greene Sleves.’⁵ The

¹ Claude M. Simpson, *The British Broadside Ballad and its Music* (New Brunswick, New Jersey: Rutgers University Press, 1966), 268.

² *Ibid.*, 269.

³ John M. Ward, ‘Apropos “The British Broadside Ballad and Its Music”’, *American Musicological Society*, 20 (1967), 44.

⁴ Arthur Byler, ‘Italian currents in the popular music of England in the sixteenth century’ (PhD dissertation, University of Chicago, 1952), 105.

⁵ Simpson, *The British Broadside Ballad and its Music*, 269.

broadside print of this ballad no longer exists but the words are in *A Handful of Pleasant Delights*, 1584 (Illustration 6).

Illustration 6: Anonymous, 'Greensleeves', verses one and two, *A Handfull of Pleasant Delites* (1584), Clement Robinson, 19⁶

A new Courtly Sonet, of the Lady Green
sleeues. To the new tune of Greensleeues.

Greensleeues was all my ioy,
Greensleeues was my delight :
Greensleeues was my hart of gold,
And who but Ladie Greensleeues.

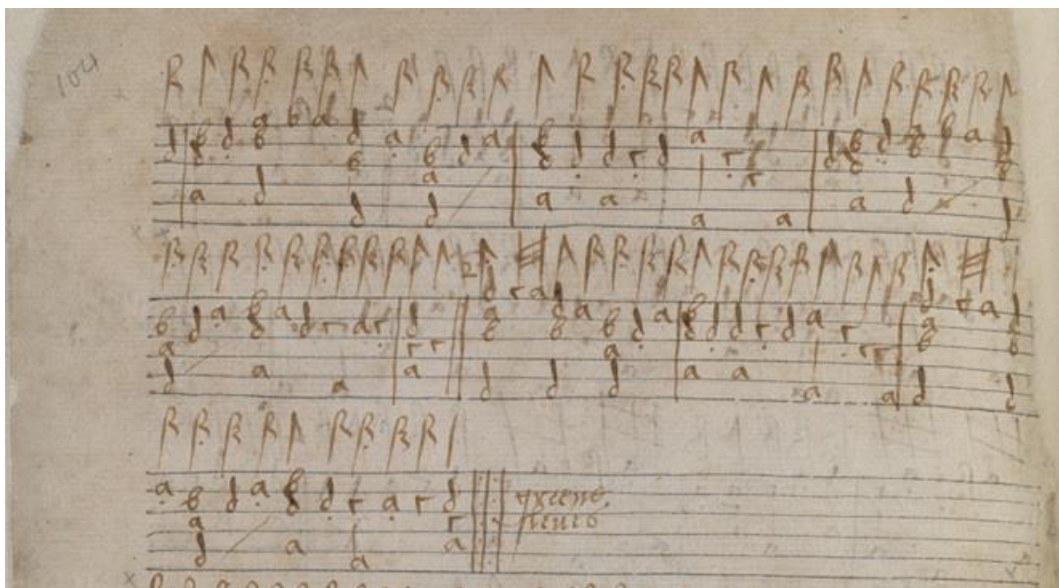
A Las my loue, ye do me wrong,
to cast me off discourteously :
And I haue loued you so long,
Delighting in your companie.
Greensleeues was all my ioy,
Greensleeues was my delight :
Greensleeues was my heart of gold,
And who but Ladie Greensleeues.
I haue been readie at your hand,
to grant what euer you would craue.
I haue both waged life and land,
your loue and good will for to haue.
Greensleeues was all my ioy, &c.
I bought thee kerchers to thy head,
that were wrought fine and gallantly :
B ii

John M. Ward affirms that the tune recorded in the Ballet manuscript on page 104 is the best known of the early settings⁷ (Example 12).

⁶ Hyder Edward Rollins (ed.), *A Handful of Pleasant Delights* (Cambridge, New York: Harvard University Press, 1924), 19.

⁷ John M. Ward, 'Apropos "The British Broadside Ballad and Its Music"', *American Musicological Society*, 45.

Example 12: Anonymous, 'Greensleeves', Ballet Manuscript, Trinity College Dublin, 104⁸



Simpson transcribed this version in modern staff notation a fifth higher than the original notation. This lute setting is slightly different to the one that is known today. At the end of the refrain, the melody drops down a fourth (from G to D in Simpsons' modern edition): in the tune that is known today, the tonic note is held for the full bar (Example 13).

Example 13: Anonymous, 'Greensleeves', *The British Broadside Ballad and its Music*, modern edition by Claude Simpson, 271⁹



⁸ Dublin, Trinity College Library, University of Dublin, IRL-Dtc, Ballet MS 408, 104.

⁹ Simpson, *The British Broadside Ballad and its Music*, 271. Claude Simpson writes that the original key in the Ballet manuscript is a fifth lower than his staff notation.

Shakespeare refers to the tune twice in *The Merry Wives of Windsor*, firstly where Mrs Ford, commenting on Falstaff’s contradicting personality and words, states ‘they do not adhere and keep place together than the hundredth psalm to the tune of ‘Greensleeves’¹⁰, and later Falstaff remarks, while hugging Mrs Ford, says ‘let the sky rain potatoes; let it thunder to the tune of Greensleeves’.¹¹ Throughout the sixteenth century and into the seventeenth century the character ‘Greensleeves’ was thought to be a ‘handsomely dressed woman or more usually a courtesan.’¹² The eighteen verses of the ballad describe the heartbreak of unrequited love. The six selected verses for this thesis best describe the love the protagonist has for his lady, the sacrifices he has made for her, the beautiful things he has bought for her, the men he has employed to wait on her and, yet, after all of this, she still rejects him (Table 6).

Table 6: Anonymous, ‘Greensleeves’, selected verses from *A Handful of Pleasant Delights* (1584), Hyder Edward Rollins (ed.), 19-20¹³

<p>1 Alas my loue, ye do me wrong, to cast me off discourteously: And I haue loued you so long, Delighting in your companie.</p>	<p>4 Thy girdle of gold so red, with pearles bedecked sumptuously: The like no other lasses had, and yet thou wouldst not loue me, <i>Greensleeves</i>...</p>
<p><i>Chorus:</i> <i>Greensleeues was all my ioy,</i> <i>Greensleeues was my delight:</i> <i>Greensleeues was my heart of gold,</i> <i>And who but my Ladie Greensleeues.</i></p>	<p>5 My men were clothed all in green, And they did euer wait on thee: Al this was gallant to be seen, and yet thou wouldst not loue me. <i>Greensleeues</i>...</p>

¹⁰ Claude M. Simpson, *The British Broadside Ballad and its Music*, 271.

¹¹ *Ibid.*, 271.

¹² *Ibid.*, 271.

¹³ Rollins (ed.), *A Handful of Pleasant Delights*, 19-20.

<p>2 I haue been readie at your hand, to grant what euer you would craue. I haue both waged life and land, your loue and good will for to haue. <i>Greensleeves...</i></p>	<p>6 Greensleeues now farewell adue, God I pray to prosper thee: For I am stil thy louer true, come once againe and loue me. <i>Greensleeves...</i></p>
<p>3 I bought thee peticotes of the best, the cloth so fine as might be: I gaue thee iewels for thy chest, and all this cost I spent on thee. <i>Greensleeves...</i></p>	

Elocutio

The repetition of ‘Greensleeves’ in the chorus reinforces the emphasis on the character Ladie Greensleeves throughout the ballad. *Sensable* figures (words that stir the mind) include ‘cast me off discourteously’ and ‘delighting’ (verse 1), ‘cloth so fine’ and ‘jewels for thy chest’ (verse 3), ‘girdle of gold’ and ‘pearls bedecked sumptuously’ (verse 4), and ‘farewel adue’ and ‘still thy louer’ (verse 6). Many of these words are descriptive and have strong consonants that the singer can highlight to bring emphasis to the words.

Pronunciatio

Punctuation

The punctuation of each of the selected verses and repeated chorus is reasonably clear and repetitive. The chorus contains commas, colons and a full stop and should all be adhered to in relation to the recommended rest values. Each of the verses are broken into four sentences, all ending with a particular punctuation mark.¹⁴ All the sentences (apart from the first one in verse 1 ‘Alas my loue, ye do me wrong,’) can be spoken/sung through to the end which helps with the overall flow of each verse.

¹⁴ The rewritten verses in the table above replicate the punctuation in the 1584 edition.

Accent/Emphasis/figures/passionate ornaments

Verse 1 and Chorus

Verse 1 opens with pessimistic language and the protagonist states his discontent from the beginning of the ballad. To be cast off discourteously by Greensleeves, the protagonist is giving a clear picture of a rude, impolite lady who rejected him, from his point of view. He reminds his lady that he has loved her for a long time and this is reiterated in the chorus, describing Greensleeves as all his joy, delight and heart of gold. The verse moves from a minor key into the chorus which is major with the opening word 'Greensleeves' beginning on the highest note in the vocal line. This contrast from minor to major is significant and the singer can use this modal change in relation to the delivery of verse one, the chorus and subsequent verses. There is a sense of melancholy on the part of the protagonist in verse 1. In Abraham Fraunce's *The Arcadian Rhetorike*, he suggested using a 'hollow voyce fetcht from the bottom of the throate, groaning.'¹⁵ Something close to this vocal delivery would match the gloomy text and minor key. In contrast to this, the happiness felt by the protagonist in the chorus and the shift to the major key can be reflected in the vocal delivery: Abraham Fraunce also suggested a tender, mild, sweetly flowing voice while speaking/singing about joy or gladness.¹⁶

Verse 2

This verse describes how the protagonist has always been available for his lady and he has done everything she has requested, asking in return for her love. There is a sense of desperation to this verse which can be reflected in the vocal delivery through use of word emphasis, dynamic variety and change in volume: words to be strongly emphasised would include 'grant', 'crave', and 'love and goodwill' as these are descriptive. Following the brightness of the chorus, this verse be delivered in a straight, direct style.

¹⁵ Abraham Fraunce, *The Arcadian Rhetorike*, (London: Thomas Orwin, 1588); quoted in Robert Toft, *With Passionate Voice: Re-Creative Singing in Sixteenth-century England and Italy* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2014), 116.

¹⁶ *Ibid.*, 117.

Verse 3

This verse describes how the protagonist purchased fine clothes and jewels for his lady. Important words that emphasise and accentuate the purchases include ‘peticotes of the best’, ‘cloth so fine’ and ‘jewels for thy chest’, all portraying extravagance of the highest order. All these transactions point to the protagonist complimenting and enhancing the physical appearance of his lady (to make her happy and in turn reciprocate her love). To portray the emotions of soothing and flattering, Abraham Fraunce suggested using a soothing and submissive tone of voice.¹⁷ This suggested tone would be appropriate for verse 3.

Verse 4

Verse 4 continues with the description of gifts given by the protagonist to his lady, including a beautifully decorated girdle.¹⁸ The vivid detail of the girdle ‘gold so red’ and ‘pearls bedecked sumptuously’ could be vocally emphasised with clear, crisp consonants. The protagonist has gone to great expense to win her love and, yet, she does not reciprocate. Dynamically, the first three sentences could be slightly louder and brighter to reflect the outward beauty of the jewelled girdle. The final sentence ‘and yet thou wouldst not love me’ could be seen as an emotion of pity and lamentation. In this case, a singer could use Fraunce’s recommendation of a full, sobbing, flexible voice to match the emotion.¹⁹

Verse 5

Verse five further describes the lengths the protagonist has gone in winning the love of his lady by providing men to wait on her. There is a sense of chivalry here and a sense of optimism and,

¹⁷ Ibid., 117.

¹⁸ Anna Parker, ‘Women, Bridal Girdles, and the Household in Renaissance Prague’, *The Historical Journal*, 65 (2022), 225-248. In Elizabethan England, clothing was a part of the social order: clothes indicated a person’s social reputation. The girdle was worn by both women and men as a belt. The wedding girdle was given to the bride on entering marriage and was usually very ornate. It was also a sign of a woman entering womanhood and the more ornate the girdle and the more status she had.

¹⁹ Abraham Fraunce, *The Arcadian Rhetorike*, (London: Thomas Orwin, 1588); Orwin in Toft, *With Passionate Voice: Re-Creative Singing in Sixteenth-century England and Italy*, 116.

again, it is taken from him with the words ‘and yet thou wouldst not loue me’. As in verse four, the opening three sentences could be performed with vocal strength and energy, pushing on the tempo slightly. The final sentence is a repeat of that of verse four. For vocal variation, a singer could change the emotion to one of anger: here Fraunce suggests a tone of voice that is shrill, sharp, quick and short to match the emotion of anger.²⁰

Verse 6

The sense of resignation is palpable in final verse of the selected 6 verses, where the protagonist finally admits defeat and says goodbye (‘Greensleeves now farewell adue’). This verse is where the pain of unrequited love comes into sharp focus the most with the words ‘for I am stil thy louer true’. To reflect these words (where there is absolutely no sense of hope throughout) a singer might sing quietly and inwardly while also slowing the tempo down for effect. The final Greensleeves chorus could be delivered in the same manner to emulate both the finality of the possible union and the finality of the overall ballad. This is in stark contrast to the previous repeated choruses between the verses and could keep the audience’s attention to the end.

Embellishments

Adapted ornamentation from the list of Ortiz embellishments in Robert Toft’s *With Passionate Voice: Re-Creative Singing in Sixteenth-century England and Italy* chapter on embellishments is used for this ballad ‘Greensleeves’. The adapted embellishment is the same embellishment pattern but adopting the rhythm and time signature of Claude Simpson’s edition of ‘Greensleeves’ as this is the version used in the recording.²¹

²⁰ Ibid., 116.

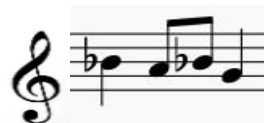
²¹ See Example 13, 85.

In verse 1, the words ‘alas my love, ye do me wrong’, and the first chorus of ‘Greensleeves’ could be sung straight without any embellishment: this would give the clear outline of the melody. In verse 2 there could be an embellishment on the words ‘grant what’: these words are sung to a falling minor 3rd. (Example 14).

Minor 3rd/Ortiz Embellishment:



Example 14:



‘Gra.....nt what(ever)

For the second ‘Greensleeves’ chorus, the words ‘my delight’ spreads over a falling 5th and the following 5th interval ornamentation could be adapted (Example 15).

Interval 5th/Ortiz Embellishment:



Example 15:



‘my de...light’

In verse 3 with the sentence ‘I bought thee peticotes of the best’, the interval of a 5th begins and ends the words ‘of the best’ and could be ornamented (Example 16).

Interval 5th/ Ortiz Embellishment:



Example 16:



‘of the best’

²² Toft, *With Passionate Voice: Re-Creative Singing in Sixteenth-century England and Italy*, 138.

²³ *Ibid.*, 142.

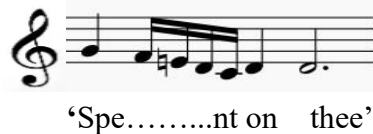
²⁴ *Ibid.*, 142.

Another phrase that could be embellished is ‘spent on thee’ (Simpson, bar 8) on the interval of a falling 4th (Example 17).

Interval 4th/ Ortiz Embellishment:



Example 17:

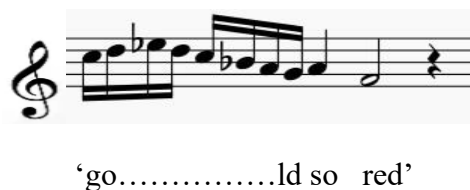


In verse 4, the words ‘gold so red’ (Simpson, bar 2) are descriptive and could be adapted based on a falling 5th interval (Example 18).

Interval 5th/ Ortiz Embellishment:



Example 18:



The words ‘my men’ open verse 5 (upbeat to bar 1, Simpson) with a rising minor third. An adapted embellishment could be used (Example 19).

Interval minor 3rd/ Ortiz Embellishment:



Example 19:



²⁵ Ibid., 140.

²⁶ Ibid., 142.

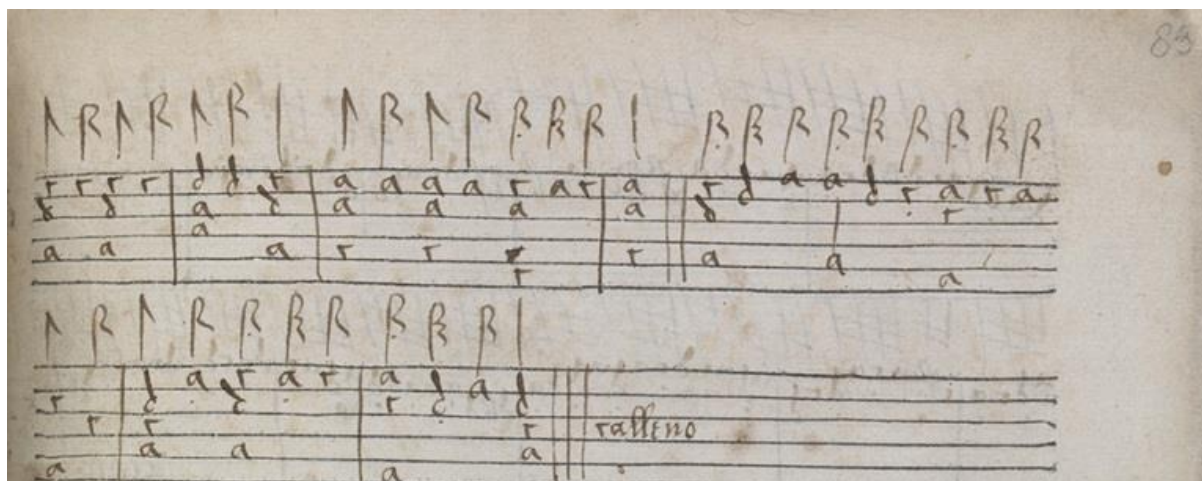
²⁷ Ibid., 139.

²⁸ A recording with the above performance considerations for ‘Greensleeves’ can be found on the accompanying CD, Track 4 (Appendix E, 147).

5.3 ‘Calen O Custure Me’

On page 85 of the Ballet manuscript marked ‘Calleno’, there is no vocal line and only a short lute solo arrangement (Example 20).

Example 20: Anonymous, ‘Calleno’, Ballet Manuscript, Trinity College Dublin, 85²⁹



According to Claude Simpson, many analysts of the title of this popular Irish song believe it is an English interpretation of an Irish phrase.³⁰ There are several different suggestions for the spelling of the Irish title, including W. H. Grattan Flood’s ‘Cailín óg a stiúire me’ (‘my dear little girl’);³¹ H. E. Rollins believes ‘Calen o Custure me’ is a corruption of ‘Cailín óg a stór’ (‘young girl, o treasure’);³² and Gerard Murphy writes that the title is ‘Cailín ó chois tSiúire mé’ (I am a girl from beside the river Suir).³³ ‘Callin o custure me’ was first registered in the Stationers’ Register, 10 March 1582. The Stationer’s Register was a record book maintained by the Stationers’ Company of London.³⁴ This was a trade guild which was given a royal charter in 1557 to regulate the various professions associated with England’s publishing industry,

²⁹ IRL-Dtc, Ballet MS 408, 85.

³⁰ Claude M. Simpson, *The British Broadside Ballad and its Music*, 79.

³¹ W. H. Grattan Flood, *A History of Irish Music* (New York: Praeger Publishers, 1913); quoted in Simpson, *The British Broadside Ballad and its Music*, 79.

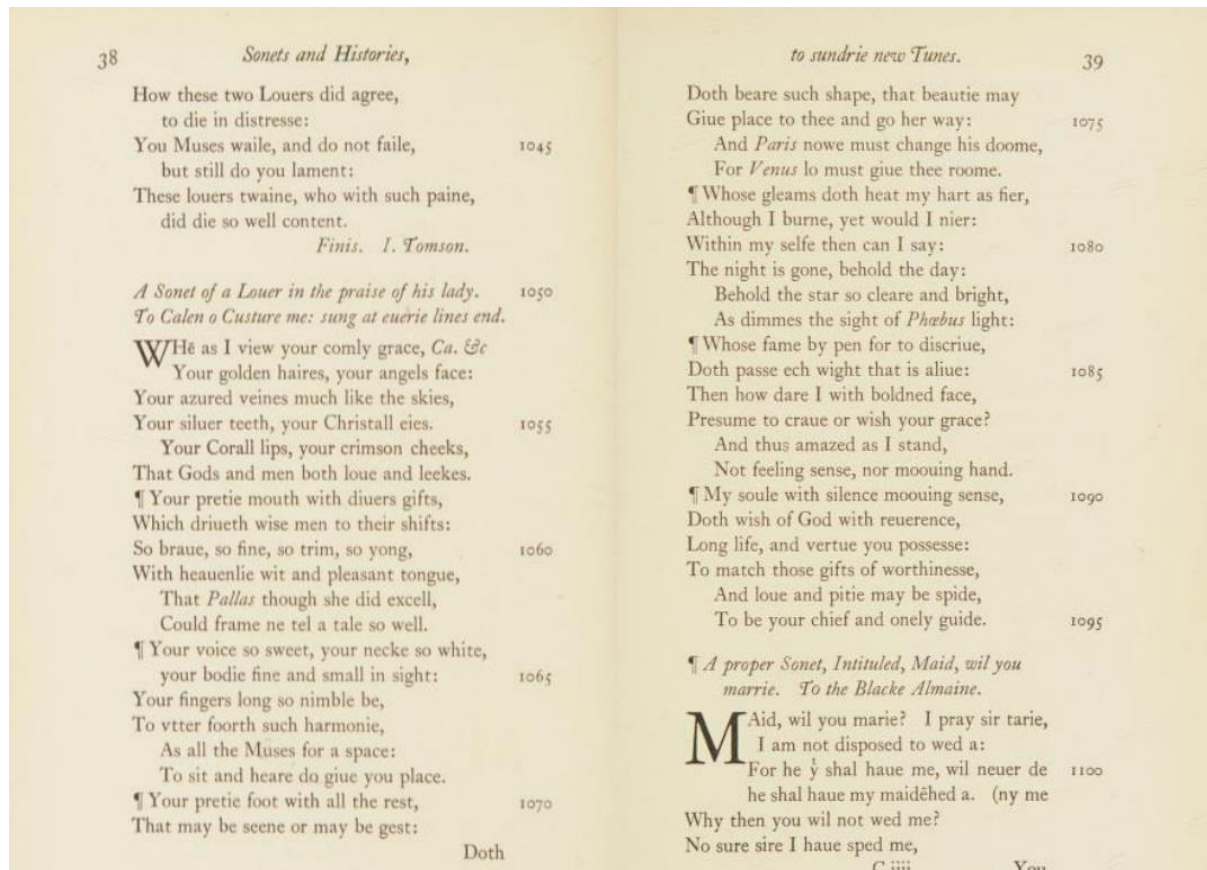
³² Rollins (ed.), *A Handful of Pleasant Delights*, 99.

³³ Gerard Murphy, *Grove’s Dictionary of Music and Musicians*, 5th edition (Macmillan Ltd., 1954); quoted in Simpson, *The British Broadside Ballad and its Music*, 79. The River Suir runs through Co. Tipperary towns including Thurles, Clonmel, Cahir and Carrick-on-Suir before reaching Co. Waterford.

³⁴ Edward Arber, *A Transcript of the Registers of the Company of Stationers of London, 1554–1640 A.D.*, vol. 2 (London: Privately printed, 1875–94).

including printers, bookbinders, booksellers, and publishers. The sonnet is also found in *A Handful of Pleasant Delights*, 1584³⁵ (Illustration 7).

Illustration 7: Anonymous, ‘Calen o Custure me’, *A Handful of Pleasant Delights*, Hyder Edward Rollins, (1584), 38³⁶



The poetry collection’s introduction to the sonnet is as follows: ‘A Sonet of a Louer in the praise of his Lady. To Calen o Custure me: sung at euerie lines end.’³⁷ Shakespeare makes use of the Irish words in *Henry V*, IV, iv, 4, where they are Pistol’s nonsense reply to the French soldier’s words.³⁸ Siobhán Armstrong produced a modern edition of the song in 2013 arranged for voice and harp, complete with selected verses from *A Handful of Pleasant Delights* and modernised text.³⁹ The eight selected verses describe the beauty of the protagonist’s lover, from

³⁵ Simpson, *The British Broadside Ballad and its Music*, 79.

³⁶ Rollins (ed.), *A Handful of Pleasant Delights*, 38.

³⁷ *Ibid.*, 38.

³⁸ Simpson, *The British Broadside Ballad and its Music*, 79.

³⁹ Siobhán Armstrong, (ed.), Anon., ‘Calen o Custure Me’ (Kilkenny: Siobhán Armstrong, 2013, revised 2025).

her pleasing physical appearance to her beautiful voice and fingers that play wonderful music. References are also made to Greek gods such as Pallas, the Titan god, and Phoebus, the god of sun, medicine, music, poetry and sciences (Example 21).

Example 21: Anonymous, ‘Calen o Custure me’, modern edition, Siobhán Armstrong⁴⁰

Calen O Custure Me

After IRL-Dtc MS 408.2, 85 [Ballet Lute Book companion volume, c.1595 - c.1605]
 Lyrics: *A Handful of Pleasant Delights*, London 1584
 This setting: Siobhán Armstrong 2013 rev. 2025 ©

The image shows a musical score for the song 'Calen O Custure Me'. It consists of two systems of music. Each system has a vocal line on a single staff and a piano accompaniment on two staves (treble and bass clef). The key signature is one sharp (F#) and the time signature is 4/4. The lyrics are: 'When as I view your come - ly grace, ca - len o cu - stu - re me, Your gol - den hair, your an - gel's face, ca - len o cu - stu - re me.' The piano accompaniment features a steady bass line and chords in the right hand.

Elocutio

An obvious figure of repetition is *epizeuxis* with the phrase ‘calen o custure me’ at the end of every sentence for emphasis. Examples of *sensable* figures (words that stir the mind) include ‘golden hair’ and ‘angel’s face’ (verse one), ‘azured veins’, ‘silver teeth’ and ‘crystal eyes’ (verse two), ‘nimble’ (verse three) and ‘brave’ (verse four).

⁴⁰ See Appendix C, 143.

Pronunciatio

The rhythm of the first verse and subsequent seven verses in Siobhán Armstrong's modern edition (see Appendix C, 143) fit perfectly with the rhythmic flow of the melodic line, so no challenges arise with trying to fit uneven sentences of verses to the original melody. The main challenge for the singer is to find vocal variety in delivering the same melody eight times.

Punctuation

In Armstrong's edition the ending of the first line of every verse (with the words 'Calen o Custure Me') finishes with a comma and the ending of the second line of every verse with a full stop. In relation to the beginning of the first and second lines of each verse and their structure, verses four, six and eight contain phrases that are the same length and end with a comma, while verses one, two, three, five and seven all have uneven first and second lines which change the overall rhythm of the song. All first and second lines end with a comma. A comma equates to a crotchet rest so in all of places where there is a comma, there should be a brief pause to acknowledge the punctuation mark.

Accent/Emphasis/figures/passionate ornaments

Verse 1

When as I view your comely grace, Calen o ...

Your golden hair, your angel's face, Calen o ...

In the first verse of Siobhán Armstrong's edition, the words that correspond with the strong beats of the bar include 'as', 'comely', 'golden' and 'angel's' which are all significant in setting up the narrative of the song and should be emphasised when singing. Other words for 'comely' include pretty or gorgeous and these descriptive words suggest the beauty of the lady in question. The word 'grace' in the first line suggests elegance and this could be reflected in the speed of the overall song which would be a moderate speed and not too fast. In Abraham

Fraunce's 1588 vocal description in relation to different passions, for the passion 'joy', 'gladness' and 'pleasure' he writes that this passion should be delivered in a tender, mild and sweet flowing voice.⁴¹ This type of delivery would be suitable for opening of the song.

Verse 2

Your azured veins much like the skies, Calen o ...

Your silver teeth, your crystal eyes, Calen o ...

The significant words 'azured' (blue), 'silver' and 'crystal' are sung on the strong beats of the melody and should be emphasised. The sentence 'your azured veins much like the skies' suggests looking upwards. A singer could replicate this action with a lightness and loftiness in the voice. In the sentence 'your silver teeth, your crystal eyes', a singer could create a straight, metallic sound with the word 'silver' and really emphasise the s at the beginning of the word. The word 'crystal' could be imitated with a sparkling, bright sound of the voice with clear diction.

Verse 3

Your voice so sweet, your necke so white, Calen o ...

Your body fine and small in sight, Calen o ...

In the first sentence 'your voice so sweet, your necke so white', there is a strong contrast in the adjectives 'sweet' and 'white'. To vocally deliver the words in a different way, a singer could sing 'sweet' delicately while strongly emphasising the beginning of the word clearly. 'White' could be delivered in a straight, non-vibrato way with a clear t at the end. Overall, this verse could be delivered in a simple, direct manner to replicate the tenderness the protagonist has towards his lady.

⁴¹ Abraham Fraunce, *The Arcadian Rhetorike* (London: Thomas Orwin, 1588); quoted in Toft, *With Passionate Voice: Re-Creative Singing in Sixteenth-century England and Italy*, 117.

Verse 4

Your fingers long so nimble be, Calen o ...

To utter forth such harmony, Calen o ...

In contrast, this verse could be delivered with much more energy than verse 3 to illustrate the contrasting text. 'Your fingers long so nimble be' suggest the idea of playing an instrument so this sentence should be slightly faster in tempo to create the effect of playing music. 'To utter forth such harmony' should be sung in the same faster tempo. This verse should be sung *forte* also for effect.

Verse 5

So brave, so fine, so trim, so young, Calen o ...

With heavenly wit and pleasant tongue, Calen o ...

The description in the first sentence is complimentary to the young lady. There should be a slight pause after each of the commas and an added emphasis on 'brave', 'fine', 'trim' and 'young'. Abraham Fraunce suggested using a smoothing and submissive voice for the passion or feeling of desire.⁴² This type of vocal delivery would be appropriate for this verse. In the second sentence there should be an emphasis on 'heavenly': the melody accompanying this word moves upwards which could imitate the idea of looking upwards towards heaven. Pronouncing the t in 'wit' and in contrast delivering the word 'pleasant' in a more gentle, relaxed way would create variation of sound in this verse.

Verse 6

That Pallas though she did excel, Calen o ...

Could frame nor tell a tale so well, Calen o ...

⁴² Abraham Fraunce, *The Arcadian Rhetorike* (London: Thomas Orwin, 1588); quoted in Toft, *With Passionate Voice: Re-Creative Singing in Sixteenth-century England and Italy*, 117.

The protagonist continues to flatter his lady in verse 6, complimenting her storytelling skills. The words 'frame' and 'tale so well' should be emphasised and sung with clear diction. The tempo and volume of this verse could be moderate and even.

Verse 7

Within myself then can I say, Calen o ...

The night is gone, behold the day, Calen o ...

The dynamic of the opening of this verse could be soft and, for contrast, the tempo could be a little slower, all to reflect the inward reflection of the protagonist. There is a sense of optimism in the beginning of a new day, and this could be performed in contrast to the previous, quieter sentence. 'Behold the day' could be strongly emphasised and sung in a more declamatory fashion for effect.

Verse 8

Behold the star so clear and bright, Calen o ...

As dims the sight of Phoebus' light, Calen o ...

This verse seems to compare the clear and bright star to his lady. The star is so bright it outshines the brightness of the Phoebus' light, the sun God. This is the most declamatory of the eight verses and should be sung in a strong, announced way. The words 'clear' and 'bright' should be strongly emphasised. As it is the last verse, it should end loudly and slightly slower than the previous seven verses.

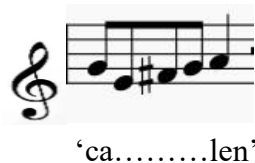
Embellishments

In preparing the recording, this thesis draws on Siobhán Armstrong's modern edition. Every verse of the ballad ends with 'calen o custure me'. The ending of verse 2 on the words 'calen' are sung on a rising 2nd interval and could be embellished (Example 22).

Interval 2nd/ Ortiz Embellishment:



Example 22:

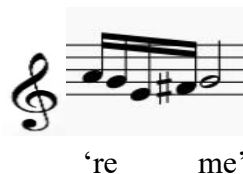


The last two notes of verse 3 end with an interval of a falling 2nd on the words ‘custure me’ (Example 23).

Interval 2nd/ Ortiz Embellishment:



Example 23:



The word ‘nimble’ in verse 4 is on a falling 2nd and is a expressive and is a perfect example for use of ornamentation (Example 24).

Interval 2nd/Ortiz Embellishment:



Example 24:



In verse 6, the word ‘frame’ is sung on a rising 2nd and could be adapted as follows:

Interval 2nd/Ortiz Embellishment:



Example 25:



⁴³ Toft, *With Passionate Voice: Re-Creative Singing in Sixteenth-century England and Italy*, 137.

⁴⁴ *Ibid.*, 137.

⁴⁵ *Ibid.*, 138.

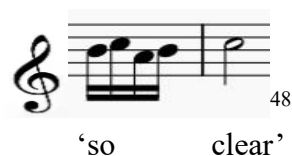
⁴⁶ *Ibid.*, 137.

In the final verse (8), the words ‘so clear’ describes a night star and are sung on a major 2nd and could be embellished (Example 26).

Interval 2nd/Ortiz Embellishment:



Example 26:



5.4 ‘Fortune my Foe’

The ballad ‘Fortune my Foe’ is one of the most famous love songs of the early modern period.⁴⁹ In the *100 Ballads Project*,⁵⁰ Christopher Marsh says that the popular tune ‘Fortune my Foe’ was used for dozens of other ballads and there were many passing references to the song in different forms of literature.⁵¹ Reasons for the ballad’s popularity included the strong interaction of emotions: sadness on behalf of the protagonist and happiness when his lady reassures him of her love. Marsh claims that ‘singers and listeners undertook together a journey through despair and onwards to satisfaction’.⁵²

Claude Simpson writes that the stately air of ‘Fortune my Foe’ is among the most well-known in ballad music during the early modern period and frequently connected with solemn or dismal accounts of murders, natural disasters, warnings of the impious and deathbed confessions. Simpson states the tune takes its name from ‘A sweet Sonnet, wherein the lover exclaimeth

⁴⁷ Ibid., 137.

⁴⁸ A recording with the above performance considerations for ‘Calen o Custure Me’ can be found on the accompanying CD, Track 5 (Appendix E, 147).

⁴⁹ Christopher Marsh, ‘Song History’, ‘A Sweet Sonnet, wherein the Lover exclaimeth against/Fortune for the loss of his Ladies favour’, The Digital Humanities Institute, ‘100 Ballads’, <www.100ballads.org/show/37> [accessed 14 March 2025].

⁵⁰ *The 100 Ballads Project* is an online collection of best-selling songs from seventeenth-century England, including digital images, new recordings and editorial material, <www.100ballads.org/show/37>.

⁵¹ Marsh, ‘Song History’, ‘A Sweet Sonnet, wherein the Lover exclaimeth against/Fortune for the loss of his Ladies favour’.

⁵² Ibid.

against Fortune for the loss of his Ladies favour, almost past hope to get again, and in the end receives a comfortable answer, and attains his desire ...'.⁵³ In 1565/1566, John Cherlewood was granted a licence to print a ballad 'of one complaynyng of ye mutabilite of fortune' which Simpson states may or may not be 'Fortune my Foe'.⁵⁴ However, in 1589, a licence was given to Richard Jones for a ballad 'of the life and deathe of Dr. Ffaustus the great Cunngerer'.⁵⁵ Other sixteenth-century broadsides indicate the popularity of 'Fortune my Foe', including 'a mournfull Dittie on the death of certaine Judges and Justices of the Peace ... to the tune of Fortune' dated 1590 and opening with the words 'recounting griefes and dolors long tyme done'.⁵⁶ Also a lost ballad in 1592 contained the heading 'the lamentation of John Parker whoe for consentinge to the murder of John Bruen was hanged in Smithfield the 28 of June 2 yeres after the fact was committed to the tune of fortune'.⁵⁷ W. H. Grattan Flood writes about the popularity of the tune in Ireland saying that in February 1649/1650 that 'Irish pipers attached to Lord Inchiquin's army drew off from Naas to the march of Fortune my Foe'.⁵⁸

English writer and Tory politician Samuel Pepys (1633-1703) collected medieval manuscripts, early printed books, special collections, prints, ballads, music, maps and calligraphy held in his private library at his premises in Cambridge during the seventeenth century, known today as the Pepys Library. The text of 'Fortune my Foe' can be found in this collection (Illustration 8).

⁵³ Simpson, *The British Broadside Ballad and its Music*, 225.

⁵⁴ *Ibid.*, 225.

⁵⁵ *Ibid.*, 225.


⁵⁶ B. M. Huth, *A Collection of Seventy-Nine Black-Letter Ballads and Broad-sides* (London: J. Lilly, 1867), 197; quoted in Simpson, *The British Broadside Ballad and its Music*, 225.

⁵⁷ *Ibid.*, 225.


⁵⁸ W. H. Grattan Flood, *A History of Irish Music* (Dublin: Brown and Nolan Ltd., 3rd edition, 1913), 172; quoted in Simpson, *The British Broadside Ballad and its Music*, 226.

Illustration 8: Anonymous, 'Fortune my Foe' (A Sweet Sonnet), Pepys, BB II, 961/Pepys 1.5, 12-13⁵⁹

A Sweet Sonnet, wherein the Lover exclaimeth against Fortune for the loss of his Ladies favour, almost past hope to get again, and in the end receives a comfortable answer, and attains his desire, as may here appear. To the Tune of Fortune my Foe.



The Lovers complaint for the loss of his Love.



The Ladies comfortable and pleasant Answer.

Fortune my foe, why dost thou crown on me
 And wilt thy labour never better be?
 What thou I say, for ever breed my pain,
 And wilt thou not restore my joys again?
 Fortune hath wrought my grief & great annoy
 Fortune hath falsly stoin my love away;
 My love and joy, whose sight did make me glad
 Such great misfortunes never young man had.
 Had fortune took my treasure and my store,
 Fortune had never grieved me half so sore,
 But taking her whereon my heart did stay,
 Fortune thereby hath took my life away;
 Far worse then death my life I lead in woe,
 With bitter thoughts still tolled too and fro.
 O cruel chance, thou breeder of my pain,
 Take life, or else restore my love againe.
 In vain I sigh, in vain I wail and weep,
 In vain mine eyes refrain from quiet sleep,
 In vain I shed my tears both night and day,
 In vain my love my sorrows do bewray.
 My love doth not my pittous plaint espy,
 Nor feels my love what griping grief I try;
 Full well I may false fortunes deeds reprove,
 Fortune that so unkindly keeps my love.
 Where shall I seek or search my love to find,
 When fortune fleets and wabers like the wind,
 Sometimes aloft, sometimes again below,
 Thus tottering fortune tottereth too and fro.
 Then will I leave my love in fortunes hands,
 My dearest love in most unconstant hands,
 And onely seeke the sorrows dew to me,
 Sorrows hereafter, thou shalt my Mistis be,
 And onely joy, that sometimes conquers Kings,
 Fortune that rules on earth & earthly things,
 So that alone I live not in this woe,
 For many more hath fortune served so.
 No man alive can fortunes spight withstand,
 No skill or might or mighte strength of hand,

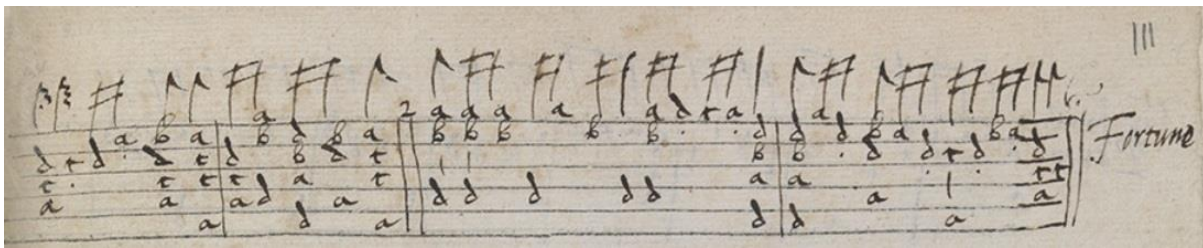
Ah silly soul, art thou so sore afraid?
 Doun not my dear nor be not so dismayd
 Fortune cannot withall her power and skill,
 Enforce my heart to think the any ill,
 Blame not thy chance, nor envy at thy choice,
 No cause thou hast to curle, but to rejoice,
 Fortune shall not thy joy and love deprive,
 If by my love it may remain alive.
 Receive therefore thy life again to thee,
 Thy life and love shall not be lost by me,
 And while thy heart upon thy life do stay,
 Fortune shall never steal the same away.
 Live thou in bliss and banish death to Hell,
 All careful thoughts see thou from thee expel;
 As thou dost wish, thy love agrees to be,
 For proof whereof I come my self to thee.
 In vain therefore do neither wail nor weep,
 In vain therefore break not thy quiet sleep,
 What not in vain thy time in sorrows so,
 For why thy love delights to ease thy woe.
 Full well thy love thy pittous pangs doth see,
 And soon thy love will lend to lucker thee:
 Tho well thou may'st false fortunes deeds re-
 peet cannot fortune keep away thy love. (probe,
 Nor will thy love at fortunes back abide,
 Whose sickle wheel doth often slip aside,
 And never think that fortune beareth sway
 If vertue watch, and will not her obey,
 Pluck up thy heart suppress with bynny tears,
 Torment me not, but take away thy fears;
 Thy Mistis mind brooks no unconstant hands
 Much less to live in tuing fortunes hands.
 Though mighty Kings by fortune get the soyl,
 Lolling thereby their travel and their toyl;
 Though fortune be to me a cruel foe,
 Fortune shall not make me to seeke thee so.
 For fortunes spight thou needst not care a pit,
 For thou thereby shall neither looke nor win,

There are two versions of 'Fortune my Foe, in the Ballet manuscript. The lute instrumental 'Fortune my foe to the consort' is on page 14 and is composed by John Dowland.⁶⁰ Page 111 of the manuscript contains the tune 'Fortune' (Example 27).

⁵⁹ As seen in the *100 Ballads Project*, <www.100ballads.org/show/37> [accessed 14 March 2025].

⁶⁰ IRL-Dtc, Ballet MS 408, 14.

Example 27: Anonymous, 'Fortune', Ballet Manuscript, Trinity College Dublin, 111⁶¹



Standard staff notation of the melody on page 111 shows a melody that is slightly different to the standardised tune widely known today. In the last four bars of page 111 the melody drops lower in pitch (Example 28).

Example 28: Anonymous, 'Fortune', Ballet Manuscript, Trinity College Dublin, 111⁶²



The six verses selected for this thesis are in most instances the verses used in modern recordings of the ballad and as a result are the most familiar. They contain three verses delivered from the male's point of view, complaining about the loss of his love, and three verses delivered by his female lover positively declaring her love and devotion to him. Christopher Marsh writes that the 'ballad juxtaposes male feebleness with female strength'⁶³ (Table 7).

⁶¹ Ibid., 111. Unlike today where there is a standard tune to many of the ballads, there were always slightly varying versions of tunes during the Elizabethan times: 'Fortune' on page 111 is a good example of this.

⁶² Standard staff notation by Roisin O'Grady. The key of this version of 'Fortune' is transposed up a fourth from the original key in the Ballet MS, page 111, for the purpose of suiting the soprano range.

⁶³ Marsh, 'Song History', 'A Sweet Sonnet, wherein the Lover exclaimeth against/Fortune for the loss of his Ladies favour'.

Table 7: Anonymous, ‘Fortune my Foe’, selected verses, Pepys, BB II, 961/Pepys 1.5, 12-13

<i>The Lovers complaint for the loss of his Love:</i>	<i>The Ladies Comfortable and Pleasant Answer</i>
<p>Verse 1</p> <p>Fortune my foe, why dost thou frown on me And will thy favour never better be? Wilt thou I say, for ever breed my pain? And wilt thou not restore my joys again?</p>	<p>Verse 4</p> <p>Ah silly Soul, art thou so sore afraid? Mourn not my dear nor be not so dismayed Fortune cannot with all her power and skill, Enforce my heart to think thee any ill.</p>
<p>Verse 2</p> <p>In vain I sigh, in vain I wail and weep, In vain my eyes refrain from quiet sleep, In vain I shed my tears both night and day, In vain my love my sorrows do bewray.</p>	<p>Verse 5</p> <p>Live thou in bliss and banish death to Hell, All careful thoughts see thou from thee expel: As thou dost wish, thy love agrees to be, For proof whereof I come myself to thee.</p>
<p>Verse 3</p> <p>Then will I leave my love in Fortune's hands, My dearest love in most unconstant bands, And only serve the sorrows due to me, Sorrows hereafter, thou shalt my Mistress be.</p>	<p>Verse 6</p> <p>Die not in fear, not live in discontent, Be thou not slain, where never blood was meant; Revive again, to faint thou hast no need. The less afraid, the better thou shalt speed.</p>

Elocutio

The overall emotion of the male character’s three verses is one of anguish due to rejected love. In verse 1 he asks the question why Fortune, his enemy, frowns on him. He also asks fortune ‘wilt thou, I say, forever breed my pain?’. The idea that the protagonist is in pain due to unrequited love reiterates the emotion portrayed to the listener and is a good example of words that stir the listener’s mind. Other such examples include ‘I shed my tears both night and day’ in verse 2 and ‘only serve the sorrows due to me’ in verse 3. In relation to figures of repetition,

verse 2 has an example of lengthier *epizeuxis* with the repeated words ‘in vain’ at the beginning of each sentence.

In response to the protagonist’s desperation, verses 4, 5 and 6 from his female lover are contrasting with a more positive tone and emotion. Verse 5 declares ‘love thou in bliss and banish death to Hell’. The contrasting words (within the same sentence) ‘bliss’ and ‘banish death’ conjure up strong emotions for the listener. She asks him not to be afraid, requesting him to ‘die not in fear’.

Pronunciatio

Punctuation

The punctuation in the verses (see Table 7, 105) is taken directly from the Pepys’ broadside black-letter edition found in the collection. Each verse contains four sentences of which most have no punctuation mark until the end (mainly in the form of a comma or a question mark). An example of contrasting punctuation marks can be seen in verse 3 and verse 6. The punctuation marks in verse 3 are only at the end, while each sentence in verse 6 has a comma halfway through the sentence and a combination of commas, semicolons and full stops at the end of each sentence.

Accent and Emphasis/figures and passionate ornaments

In performing this ballad, the overall speed of verses 1, 2 and 3 could be slow to reflect the feeling of hopelessness in the lyrics portrayed by the protagonist. To create contrast in the positive message given by the protagonist’s lady, the tempo could increase slightly to create a varying effect for the listener.

Verse 1

The reiteration of the f in 'Fortune my Foe' at the beginning of the ballad is significant and gives the singer the opportunity to set the tone of the first three verses. The word 'fortune' can imply several things: wealth, luck or destiny. It usually implies something positive but, in this case, the writer follows the word directly with 'foe', meaning enemy or betrayer. There is a contrast in emotion from the beginning and the word 'foe' is most significant: fortune has betrayed the protagonist. As the text in this verse is critical and questioning, the song should open in a raised voice and a considerable volume to replicate the anger in questioning format felt by the protagonist. Including the word 'foe', words such as 'frown', 'pain' and 'not restore my joys' should be emphasised by the singer for emotional effect.

Verse 2

This verse also follows the emotional sentiment of verse one with the protagonist reiterating the anguish experienced. The repetition of 'in vain' should be emphasised vocally: this reinforces the overall hopelessness of the protagonist. The actions of sighing, wailing and weeping in the first line should be emphasised and delivered vocally in a style that is copying the action and should be sung loudly. In contrast, the second sentence 'in vain my eyes refrain from quiet sleep' should be quieter in volume to reflect the feeling of sleep. In the last sentence, 'in vain my love my sorrows do bewray', the protagonist declares how the love he feels for his lady also releases pain and sorrow from the absence of affection he receives. This verse could end in a more quiet, despondent tone for emotional emphasis.

Verse 3

Verse 3 reflects the fate that the protagonist feels is decided for him: there is a feeling of inevitability in this verse with the words 'then will I leave my love in Fortune's hands'. To

reflect this sentiment, the singer might consider singing in a direct, almost speechlike fashion with a lower volume than verse 2 for effect.

Verse 4

Verses 4, 5 and 6 contain a change in sentiment and content. The significant sentences in this verse are 'fortune cannot with all her power and skill, enforce my heart to think thee any ill'. She is declaring here that, no matter what Fortune dictates, it will not change how she feels about him. It is a positive message and should be replicated by the singer in a brighter, happier tone than the first three verses. The words 'Ah silly soul' opens the verse and the singer could sing this in a light, easy fashion, knowing the message that is to come later in the verse. The placing of the s in both words should also be accentuated to reflect the words. The overall dynamic of the verse could be moderately loud to create contrast to the previous *piano* verse.

Verse 5

This is the main verse where the lady declares her love and devotion for the protagonist. This is evident in the words 'for proof whereof I come myself to thee'. The opening of the verse is unmistakably declamatory with the words 'live thou in bliss and banish death to Hell' and should be sung in a defiant, forthright manner. The idea of expelling negative thoughts from the protagonist's mind (in this case of unrequited love) and replacing them with positive ones (her undying love for him) is a hopeful alteration. The singer could portray this vocally with a contrast in dynamics from *forte* to *mezzo piano* and with a gentler vocal tone throughout the last two sentences of the verse ('as thou dost wish, thy love agrees to be, for proof whereof I come myself to thee').

Verse 6

This verse is the final verse in the broadside edition. The lady requests the protagonist to not be fearful in life, to be strong and to be happy. Words that can be emphasised by the singer to portray this positive sentiment include ‘revive again’ and ‘die not in fear’. The general optimistic message of the final verse should be reflected with a strong *forte* dynamic right to the final word.

Embellishments

The opening verse of ‘Fortune’ could be sung without ornamentation. The second verse contains the words ‘wail and weep’ which could be emphasised. The words ‘wail and’ are sung on a falling 2nd and could be embellished (Example 29).

Interval 2nd/Ortiz Embellishment:



Example 29:



‘vain I wa..il and weep’

The word ‘bewray’ ends the second verse on the interval of a falling second and could be embellished (Example 30).

Interval 2nd/Ortiz Embellishment:



Example 30:



‘sorrows do be.....wray’

⁶⁴ Toft, *With Passionate Voice: Re-Creative Singing in Sixteenth-century England and Italy*, 137.

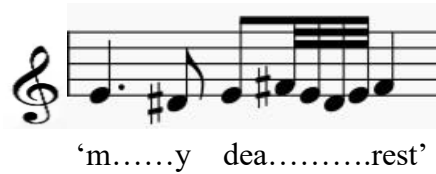
⁶⁵ *Ibid.*, 137.

In verse 3, the protagonist describes his lover as ‘my dearest love’: the word ‘dearest’ on the interval of a 2nd would be a good example for ornamentation (Example 31).

Interval 2nd/Ortiz Embellishment:



Example 31:

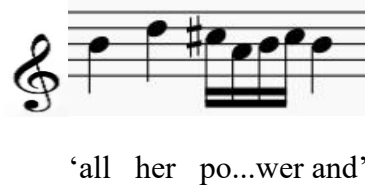


In verse 4, the lady declares that fortune cannot make her fall out of love with the protagonist, even though it is powerful and skilful. The words ‘power and’, on a falling 2nd could be ornamented (Example 32).

Interval 2nd/Ortiz Embellishment:



Example 32:



Words in verse 5 that could be ornamented include ‘love agrees’, on a rising minor 3rd (Example 33).

Interval m. 3rd/Ortiz Embellishment:



Example 33:



⁶⁶ Ibid., 137.

⁶⁷ Ibid., 137.

⁶⁸ Ibid., 139.

Also in verse 5, the word ‘myself’ in the final sentence in on a minor 3rd and could be embellished (Example 34).

Interval m. 3rd/Ortiz Embellishment:



Example 34:



‘come my.....self to’

5.5 ‘Sweet was the Sounge the Vergin Sange’

Sweet was the Sounge the Vergin Sange is in the second of the two manuscripts in the Ballet book. The piece is a sacred carol and the composer is unknown. The vocal line is in staff notation and the bass in lute tablature. Arrangements of the carol are found in Peter Warlock’s *First Book of Elizabethan Songs* (1926), Philip Brett’s edition in *Musica Britannica*, and the cantus which is set by Geoffrey Shaw can be found in *The Oxford Book of Carols*.⁷¹ The Ballet manuscript transcription contains the vocal line fully reproduced with reasonably legible underlay. The usual six-line stave is evident. In relation to the vocal line, the first line can be regarded as the C, thus making the first crotchet on beat two a G. There is a B flat in the key signature, several E-flats and F-sharps throughout, therefore the key of the piece is G minor. The positioning of the bar lines indicates that the piece is in 4/4 time: however, there is a number of places where it is difficult to read the rhythm, especially at the words ‘was delivered’ in the second system, a bar line is missing after the word ‘highe’ at the top of page 76, and a bar line is missing at the end of page 77 with the word ‘sweetly’. Examples of Elizabethan spelling

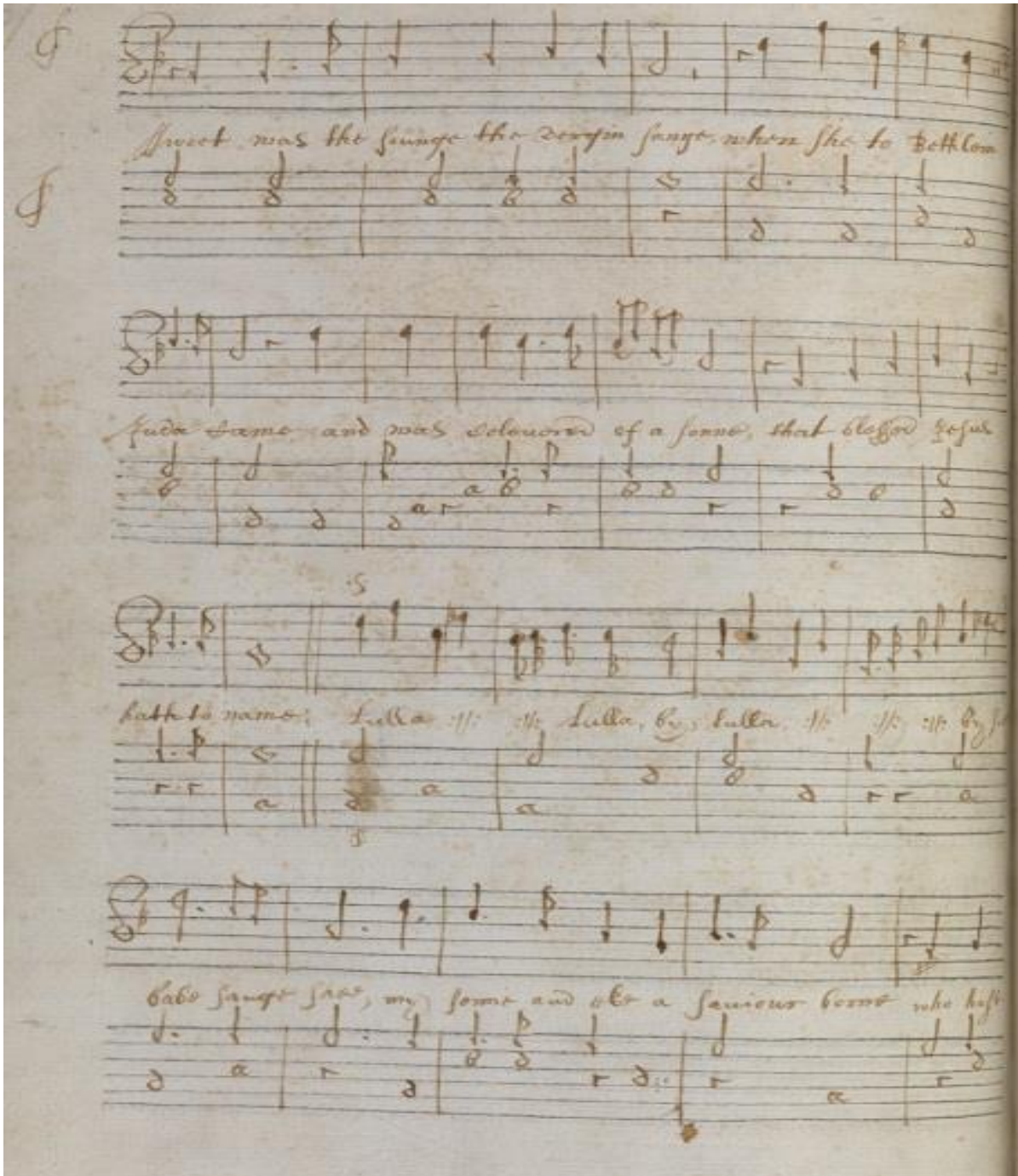
⁶⁹ Ibid., 139.

⁷⁰ A recording with the above performance considerations for ‘Fortune my Foe’ can be found on the accompanying CD, Track 6 (Appendix E, 147).

⁷¹ John M. Ward, ‘The Lute Books of Trinity College Dublin: II: MS D.r.21: The so-called Ballet Lute Book’, *The Lute Society Journal*, 10 (1968), 25.

include the words 'sounge' for song, 'sange' for sang, 'sonne' for son, 'shee' for she, 'borne' for born, and 'highe' for high (Example 35).

Example 35: Anonymous, 'Sweet was the Sounge the Vergin Sange', Ballet Manuscript, Trinity College Dublin, 76-77⁷²



⁷² IRL-Dtc, Ballet MS 408, 76-77.

(77)

mouthfast from on high, to visit^{us} that were fallen la lala

la lala la lala by sweet babe f, longe shie of rockt.

now sweetly on low knee

The image shows a page of handwritten musical notation on aged, yellowed paper. It features three systems of music. Each system consists of a vocal line with lyrics and a corresponding bass line with notes and clefs. The lyrics are written in a cursive hand. The first system has lyrics: "mouthfast from on high, to visit^{us} that were fallen la lala". The second system has lyrics: "la lala la lala by sweet babe f, longe shie of rockt.". The third system has lyrics: "now sweetly on low knee". Below the third system, there are several empty musical staves. The paper shows signs of age, including some staining and discoloration.

The text of the sacred carol taken from the Ballet manuscript is on page 76-77 (Table 8).

Table 8: Anonymous, ‘Sweet was the Sounge the Vergin Sange’, text from Ballet Lute Manuscript, Trinity College Dublin, 76-77

Sweet was the sounge the the vergin sange, when she to Bethlem Juda came,
and was delevered of a sonne, that blessed Jesus hath to name:
Lulla, lulla, lulla lulla,by, lulla, lulla, lulla lullaby sweet babe saunge shee,
my sonne and eke a saviour borne who hath vouchsafed from on highe,
to visit us that were forlorn la lula la lula lalulaby sweet babe sange shee
and rockt him sweetly on her knee.

In Wilfred Foxe’s modern edition of the carol⁷³ he spells the carol ‘Sweet was the song the veregin sange’, with the extra e in ‘veregin’,⁷⁴ which is different from John M. Ward’s spelling of the word (‘vergin’).⁷⁵ On further inspection of the original Ballet score, the scribe writes the vowel ‘e’ in an unchanging style and it does look like there is an extra ‘e’ after ‘v’, hence making the spelling ‘veregin’. Suzanne Lord writes that the singing carol was a popular form of at-home entertainment during the Elizabethan period. She points out that carols could be sung about any subject and that many carols were religious in nature.⁷⁶ This gentle, beautiful carol describes the Virgin Mary singing a lullaby to the baby Jesus in Bethlehem and how he was a gift to her given from heaven. She rocks him on her knee as she sings the lullaby.

⁷³ See Appendix D, 144.

⁷⁴ Wilfred Foxe (ed.), Anon., ‘Sweet was the sounge the veregin sange’, (Durham: Wilfred Foxe, 2020), 1.

⁷⁵ Ward, ‘The Lute Books of Trinity College Dublin: II: MS D.r.21: The so-called Ballet Lute Book’, 25.

⁷⁶ Suzanne Lord, *Music from the Age of Shakespeare: A Cultural History* (Westport: Greenwood Press, 2003), 53.

Elocutio

A clear example of *epizeuxis* (the immediate reiteration of a word for greater effect) is on page 76, third system with the word ‘lulla’, which is repeated three times on two separate occasions. Also evident is the immediate repetition of ‘la lulla’ on the first and second system, page 77. All of these are variations of the word lullaby. Examples of *sensable* (words that stir the mind) include ‘sweet’, ‘forlorn’ and ‘Saviour’.

Pronunciatio

The overall sense of this lullaby is one of gentleness and softness, and there is a sense of positivity in the text’s message. The concept of imagining being in the situation of the person that you represent⁷⁷ is useful in this song as the story of the Virgin Mary and Jesus, the saviour of the world, resonates with many people in the religious world. If Mary is singing a lullaby to a newborn sleeping baby, especially one as important as Jesus, it would be delicate and gentle in trying to get the baby to sleep.

Punctuation

In the punctuation of the text, there is a comma after the word ‘sange’ (first system, page 76) although the sentence continues with ‘when she to Bethlem Juda came’. The challenge for the singer here is to acknowledge the comma by taking a pause while also having a sense of the continuing sentence. In this case, a good option would be to shorten the rest value and sing through the word ‘sange’ as much as possible. There is a comma after the word ‘sonne’ (second system, page 76). It is suitable to take a crotchet rest here as the next part of the sentence ‘that blessed Jesus hath to name’ can be broken. A colon is present at the word name (third system, page 76). A colon equates to a minim rest, and it would be appropriate to take one here as it is the end of a descriptive section of the song, preceding Mary singing directly to Jesus. ‘Lulla

⁷⁷ Toft, *With Passionate Voice: Re-Creative Singing in Sixteenth-century England and Italy*, 84.

lulla lulla lulla, by,' (third system, page 76) is where Mary sings directly to the baby Jesus. In the manuscript there are no inverted commas to imply direct speech: however Wilfred FoXe adds inverted commas in his modern edition.⁷⁸ In the Ballet manuscript, the first time this phrase appears there are no commas after the first three lullas but there is a comma after the fourth lulla and this is followed with 'by' (lulla-by) indicating the word 'lullaby' is to be separated. The second time lullaby appears (third system, page 76), it is not separated. The main challenge here is decide if the person transcribing the song made a mistake or if he or she intentionally separated the word lullaby. Vocally, there is no reason to break up the word as it is very much part of a continuing musical phrase. So, this is an example of where a singer would make an independent decision to continue the word in relation to the continuing phrase. At the end of the second 'lulla lulla lulla lullaby' there is no comma and the sentence continues with 'sweet babe saunge shee' (third into fourth system, page 76). This grammatical phrasing would indicate that the singer should continue through the phrase. Comparing the original Ballet manuscript punctuation with that of FoXe's, the following occurs:

Ballet:

Lulla lulla lulla lulla, by,

Lulla lulla lulla lullaby sweet babe sange shee,

FoXe:

'Lulla, lulla, lulla, lullaby,

Lulla, lulla, lulla, lullaby, sweet babe' sange shee,

If both versions were to be sung adhering to sixteenth-century punctuation recommendations, the overall flow of the melody would be different in each case. Where FoXe's commas after each lulla would indicate a slight pause, the lack of commas in the Ballet text would suggest singing directly through the phrase, creating a far more flowing vocal line as a result. The text in the fourth system, page 76 of the Ballet manuscript 'my sonne and eke a Saviour borne who

⁷⁸ FoXe (ed.), Anon., 'Sweet was the soung the veregin sange', 2.

hath vouchsafed from on highe,’ is all one sentence, however, there is a crotchet rest in the vocal line after the word ‘borne’. The challenge for the singer here is to continue the sense of the complete sentence while also acknowledging the crotchet rest. In this case, the word ‘borne’ could be lengthened and no breath taken between the words ‘borne’ and ‘who’. There is a comma after the word ‘highe’ (first system, page 77) and a minim and crotchet rest in the vocal line which helps with the breaking of this sentence. However, there is no comma after the word ‘forlorn’ and the text leads directly into words ‘la lula’.

Cadences

The principal cadences align with the important parts of the text. These include a cadence at ‘Juda came’ (second system, page 76), ‘hath to name’ (third system, page 76), ‘a saviour borne’ (fourth system, page 76), ‘forlorn la lula’ (first system, page 77) and ‘on her knee’ (last system, page 77).

Accent and Emphasis/figures and passionate ornaments

The opening sentence ‘sweet was the soung the Vergin sange’ contains three words beginning with s. This opening sentence also gives a lot of detail about the story, so emphasising/accenting the s at the beginning of each word would create aural impact from the beginning. Also lengthening the word ‘sange’ in relation to the punctuation would create the image of Mary singing. Bethlehem gives the information of the birthplace of Jesus, and this is an important word to emphasise in this sentence. The words ‘blessed Jesus’ should also be emphasised clearly. The introduction of the words ‘lulla lulla ...’ indicates the direct singing of Mary to the baby Jesus and should be sung gently and possibly slightly slower to create maximum effect. In 1588 Abraham Fraunce advised that for passions such as gladness and pleasure, one should

use a tender, mild and sweetly flowing voice.⁷⁹ This type of vocal delivery would be suitable for page 76 of the song. There should be particular emphasis given to the word ‘saviour’ (last system, page 76). The positivity felt by someone saving the world brings feelings of joy and Abraham Fraunce suggests the same vocal style as gladness and pleasure which is tender, mild and sweet flowing.⁸⁰ The sentence ‘who hath vouchsafed from on highe’ (end of page 76 into beginning of 77) is accompanied by a rising scale in the vocal line, ending the highest note on the word ‘highe’. A crescendo through this phrase would replicate a sense of rising upwards, accompanied with an increase of vocal energy. ‘On highe’ would also indicate the idea of heaven and this word should be strongly emphasised vocally. The next phrase begins high and drops down the scale with the text ‘to visit us that were forlorn’, with the word ‘forlorn’ at the end of the phrase. The idea of desolation and loneliness from this word can be replicated in the voice using a low, hollow voice, according to Abraham Fraunce as ‘fetched from the bottome of the throat, groaning’.⁸¹ One could start this phrase quietly on the highest note and crescendo as the phrase moves downwards towards the word ‘forlorn’. There is an immediate change in the text here (end of first system, page 77) with Mary singing to the baby Jesus ‘la lula’ so this would indicate an immediate change in volume and a quieter, sweeter delivery of the voice (and possibly a slightly slower tempo to replicate the feeling of rocking) until the end of the song. The word ‘sweet’ reappears in the second system (page 77) and the adverb ‘sweetly’ can be seen in the last system with the value of a dotted minim. The reappearance of the notion of sweetness is significant as it reiterates the overall message of the song: that Jesus is full of kindness and gentleness and this should be conveyed vocally in a tender, mild and gentle style.

⁷⁹ Abraham Fraunce, *The Arcadian Rhetorike* (London: Thomas Orwin, 1588); quoted in Toft, *With Passionate Voice: Re-Creative Singing in Sixteenth-century England and Italy*, 117.

⁸⁰ *Ibid.*, 116.

⁸¹ *Ibid.*, 116.

Embellishments

In this carol, the repeat section of ‘lulla, lulla’ (bar 12, Ballet MS, page 76) could be ornamented at relevant places to the end of the piece. The second ‘lulla’ (bar 12, Ballet MS, page 76) is on a rising minor 3rd might be embellished (Example 36).

Interval m. 3rd/Ortiz Embellishment:



Example 36:



In bar 14 (page 76), the second ‘lulla’ is also on a rising minor 3rd (Example 37).

Interval m. 3rd/Ortiz Embellishment:



Example 37:



The word ‘saviour’ is sung on a falling 2nd (Ballet MS, bar 19, pg. 76) and is an important word in relation to the story so it would be appropriate to ornament here (Example 38).

Interval 2nd/Ortiz Embellishment:



Example 38:



The rising phrase in bar 21 (Ballet MS, page 77) contain the words ‘from on highe’. The interval of a rising 2nd on ‘from on’ could be embellished (Example 39).

⁸² Ibid., 139.

⁸³ Ibid., 139.

⁸⁴ Ibid., 138.

Interval 2nd/Ortiz Embellishment:



Example 39:

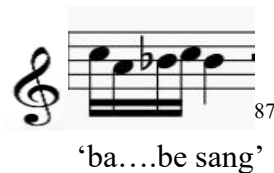


Mary sings to her baby in this carol, so ornamenting the phrase “‘sweet babe’ sang she’ would be appropriate. The words ‘babe sange’ are sung on a falling 2nd (Example 40).

Interval 2nd/Ortiz Embellishment:



Example 40:



5.6 An Autoethnographic Account of the Ballet Recording

In preparing for the recording of the repertoire from the Ballet manuscript, I listened to and compared the vocal delivery of Renaissance songs from classically-trained singers with the delivery of John Dowland’s songs by pop-singer Sting. Tom Kines performs the ballad ‘Caleno Custore Me’ on the album *Songs from Shakespeare’s Plays and Popular Songs of Shakespeare’s Time*⁸⁸ which is examined in this thesis. Kines sings in a trained voice with clear, crisp diction with a beautiful legato line while emphasising and colouring important words in the text with his voice. There is a sense that before each ‘caleno custore me’ phrase (where there is a comma), Kines pauses slightly giving the impression of observing the punctuation and marginally changing the very regular tempo and flow of the ballad. In comparing this with Sting’s vocal

⁸⁵ Ibid., 138.

⁸⁶ Ibid., 137.

⁸⁷ A recording with the above performance considerations for ‘Sweet was the Sounge the Vergin Sange’ can be found on the accompanying CD, Track 7 (Appendix E, 147).

⁸⁸ *Songs from Shakespeare’s Plays and Popular Songs of Shakespeare’s Time*. Tom Kines and various artists.

delivery of repertoire from the same period, his interpretation of Dowland's 'Flow my Tears' on his album *Songs from the Labyrinth*⁸⁹ is particularly expressive. Sting does not change the tone of his voice to suit this style of repertoire: he sings in his own natural voice. He produces a sound which is warm and dark in timbre, replicating the sadness of the melancholic text. He colours particular words of importance beautifully and effectively with his voice and a slight sense of rubato is always present between himself and lutenist Edin Karamazov. Though not a classically trained singer, there is a strong sense in this recording that Sting is led by the text and gives his own unique interpretation of the song, just as a trained singer from the sixteenth century would have done in their own voice. As Kines sings a street ballad in a trained, classic manner and Sting sings an English ayre in a modern voice with a unique delivery, the common connection between the differing voices is letting the text be the leading force for shaping the delivery of the song. Sweeney and myself discussed this aspect of text delivery in relation to the ballads 'Greensleeves', 'Calen O Custure Me' and 'Fortune my Foe' and the sacred carol 'Sweet was the Soung the Vergin Sange' from the Ballet manuscript which were rehearsed and recorded in June 2025. The overall application of *elocutio* and *pronunciatio* in relation to the four songs was discussed and the text and its meaning were explored.

For 'Greensleeves', Sweeney played the melody from the Ballet manuscript page 104 but transposed it from C minor to E minor.⁹⁰ I used Claude Simpson's modern edition from the Ballet manuscript and transposed the melody from G minor to the key of E minor.⁹¹ The reason for the key change to E minor was that C minor was too low to sing and G minor felt a little too high to sing it freely and comfortably. We compared Simpson's edition of the popular melody to the Ballet manuscript. In bar four of Simpson's edition there was a dotted minim underneath the well-known rhythm in the vocal line.⁹² When examining this equivalent bar in the Ballet

⁸⁹ *Songs from the Labyrinth*. Sting and Edin Karamazov. Compact disc. 2006. Deutsche Grammophon.

⁹⁰ IRL-Dtc, Ballet MS 408, 104.

⁹¹ Simpson, *The British Broadside Ballad and its Music*, 271.

⁹² See 'Greensleeves', Claude Simpson modern edition, Example 14, Chapter 5, 91.

manuscript we noticed that both the dotted minim and the crotchet upbeat were present.⁹³ A decision was made to continue with the well-known melody using the minim and crotchet configuration. The choice of dynamic variety and embellishments was discussed. Most embellishments fit comfortably around Sweeney's lute rhythm. One embellishment in the third selected verse caused difficulty. The embellishment on the word 'of' in the sentence 'I bought thee peticotes of the best' had several notes in it and Sweeney agreed to give me some time to place it accurately.⁹⁴ We rehearsed the ballad with the six selected verses a number of times to incorporate the varying dynamic markings and slower tempo on the last verse and chorus and then proceeded to record.⁹⁵

While recording the ballad 'Calen O Custure me',⁹⁶ Sweeney and I talked about how the words originally came from *A Handful of Pleasant Delights*⁹⁷ and how the verses chosen for this recording were the eight selected verses in Armstrong's edition. We discussed the meaning of the words and the sentiment the ballad was trying to portray and the tempi and dynamics chosen for the recording. In verse 4, I used an embellishment on the word 'nimble' in the sentence 'your fingers long so nimble be'. I wanted to imitate the quick movement of the nimble fingers so chose an embellishment with lots of notes. This proved difficult to fit with the lute rhythm and Sweeney had to give me more time in this section to successfully sing all the notes.⁹⁸

The lute instrumental 'Fortune my Foe to the Consort' by John Dowland appears on page 14 of the Ballet manuscript⁹⁹ while a single melody line of the popular tune is on page 111 of the manuscript, entitled 'Fortune'.¹⁰⁰ Sweeney rehearsed the solo lute instrumental and we then

⁹³ See 'Greensleeves' from Ballet manuscript, Example 13, Chapter 5, 85.

⁹⁴ See Example 17, Chapter 5, 92.

⁹⁵ CD, Track 4 (Appendix E, 147).

⁹⁶ See 'Calen O Custure Me' (Appendix C, 143).

⁹⁷ Rollins (ed.), *A Handful of Pleasant Delights*, 38.

⁹⁸ See Example 25, Chapter 5, 100.

⁹⁹ IRL-Dtc, Ballet MS 408, 14.

¹⁰⁰ *Ibid.*, 111.

compared the main melody in both versions. In the 'Fortune' version (which I sing in the recording from page 111 of the manuscript) there is a D sharp in the first bar which is not present in the Dowland instrumental and the melody in the last four bars differs from the melody on page 14: the melody is lower than that of the Dowland version. Sweeney decided to play the Dowland instrumental (page 14), and I sang the 'Fortune' version (page 111) and they fit perfectly for each of the six verses. Sweeney incorporated some of the differing variations from page 14 throughout the verses. I explained how verses 1, 2 and 3 were from the protagonist's perspective and verses 4, 5 and 6 were a response to the protagonist's questions by his lover. We discussed the slightly differing speed from the fourth verse onwards to replicate the positive message of the female character. Chosen embellishments were rehearsed and worked well vocally against the lute accompaniment.¹⁰¹

The sacred carol 'Sweet was the Sounge the Vergin Sange' was the final piece rehearsed and recorded. Out of all the songs chosen from both the Dallis and Ballet manuscripts, the carol had the clearest vocal line for performing, as a result we chose to use the original Ballet transcription for performance instead of a modern edition.¹⁰² We examined Wilfred Foxe's modern edition, comparing both the vocal and lute part to the original manuscript. We discussed the story being told about Mary singing a lullaby to the baby Jesus and agreed that the song should be quiet overall. We rehearsed the chosen embellishments which were all in the repeat of the chorus. The embellishment on the words 'on high' needed ensemble attention as it did not fit smoothly with the lute accompaniment.¹⁰³ Sweeney gave me time in the lute playing to execute the embellishment correctly.¹⁰⁴

¹⁰¹ CD, Track 6 (Appendix E, 147).

¹⁰² IRL-Dtc, Ballet MS 408, 76-77.

¹⁰³ See Example 39, Chapter 5, 120.

¹⁰⁴ CD, Track 7 (Appendix E, 147).

5.7 Conclusion

The songs in the second Ballet manuscript represent much of the broadside ballad singing tradition that was heard in Elizabethan England, some of which was intabulated for solo lute and found in manuscripts like the Ballet manuscript. The songs represent repertoire mainly performed by the street ballad singer, probably from a broadsheet. Therefore, the interpretation of the songs in this thesis do not represent a direct recreation of the songs. Rather, this interpretation is centred more around the singer that performed repertoire from churches and secular songs for voice and lute. The sacred carol ‘Sweet was the Soung the Vergin Sange’ was also a well-known sacred carol from the period and the interpretation in this thesis is probably more in a similar vein to what was originally heard in Elizabethan England.

Conclusion

This thesis has shown how the modern classically-trained singer can apply sixteenth-century instruction on text interpretation to selected vocal repertoire in the Dallis and Ballet lute manuscripts for the purpose of creating an original interpretation of the text. It has shown through examining the scholarship on text interpretation and written records on how singers performed in the sixteenth century, that the freedom and flexibility in interpreting the text and music is closer to the modern ballad singer's way of approaching a song than the modern operatic and oratorio singer.

In setting out a context for this work, this thesis has outlined the political and social backdrop of Elizabethan England during the compilation of the Dallis and Ballet manuscripts. It has examined England's political position in Europe during Queen Elizabeth I's reign and drawn out the recurring theme of connection between politics and religion throughout sixteenth-century England. Research has shown the strong link between politics and the arts and how the blossoming of the arts and literature led to England's 'Golden Age'. Queen Elizabeth I had a keen interest in the arts and was a strong supporter of the arts: this is shown by the important role music played throughout Elizabethan courts and the wider community. The lute was the most prominent instrument during Elizabeth's reign, like the piano today in how it provided flexibility in assisting with different vocal arrangements.

This study reviews academic research outlining the history, contents (both instrumental and vocal) and physical formation of the Dallis and Ballet lute manuscripts. Seven songs, chosen in order to best represent the varying sacred and secular vocal genres throughout the manuscripts, were selected for in-depth exploration including the madrigal 'O Passi Sparsi', Psalm 128, the sacred motet 'Cur mundus militat' from the Dallis manuscript and the popular

broadside ballads ‘Greensleeves’, ‘Calen o Custure Me’ and ‘Fortune my Foe’, and the sacred carol ‘Sweet was the Sounge the Vergin Sange’ from the Ballet manuscript. During this exploration, this thesis has explained what a modern singer is looking at in relation to the clefs, the text underlay and the challenges faced with the six-line stave which was used for lute tablature.

The research has selected and described elements of *elocutio* and *pronunciatio* from sixteenth-century writings and treatises including the observation of punctuation, cadences, accent and emphasis, figures and passionate ornaments and embellishments by Diego Ortiz and have been applied to the texts of seven songs from the Dallis and Ballet manuscripts with the purpose of creating an original interpretation of the text. This original interpretation was then recorded and an autoethnographic account outlined the process and results of the recording.

It has sourced modern editions of the songs and compared them to the original Dallis and Ballet manuscripts. The research has also referenced original collections and miscellanies from the sixteenth century that the poetry from the manuscripts was found in.

The findings in this thesis contribute to and expand on present writings on the position of the Dallis and Ballet manuscripts regarding their musical significance and historical background in Elizabethan England. This performance-led research has contributed valuable knowledge and insight on sixteenth-century text interpretation specific to vocal repertoire in both the Dallis and Ballet manuscripts. The research has connected the ‘then’ with the ‘now’, interpreting and performing the selected songs from the manuscripts from the perspective of a sixteenth-century singer steeped in the knowledge and application of *elocutio* and *pronunciatio* while utilising modern editions for the purpose of performance. The interpretative approach taken in this thesis which includes observing punctuation and cadence points, using Ortiz’ embellishments in

decorating the text and using the voice to colour or express individual words, if applied, would give a singer the opportunity to make the piece completely their own while also adhering to recommendations from treatises from the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. This study has added to the field of early music performance through the process of informing the modern-day classically trained singer in the application of sixteenth-century vocal performance style specific to vocal repertoire from the Dallis and Ballet manuscripts.

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Appendix A:

'O Passi Sparsi', Sebastiano Festa, modern edition by Christopher Goodwin,
The English Lute Song Before Dowland 1. Songs From the Dallis Manuscript,
10-11

pp. 32-4

I. O PASSI SPARSI

O pas - si spar - si O pensier vagh -
O fron - de, o - nor del - le fa - mo -

1. i e pron - ti o te - na - ce me - mo - ria o fier ar -
se fron - ti, O so - la in segn' al ge - mi - no va -

2. do - re o pos - sen - te de - sir o de - bil co - re,
lo - re: O fa - ti - co - sa vi - ta, o dolc - e - ro - re

3. O o - chi mei, o - chi non giu, — ma fon - ti;
Che mi fat' ir cer - can - do pia - sse e mon - ti;

4. 5

O bel vi - so, o ve a - mo - re in - sie - me po -

se li spro - ni e' l fre - no, on - de el mi pon - ge e

10. vol - ve com - e a lui pia - ce, et cal - ci - trat non

11. va - le; o a - ni - me gen - ti - le et a - mo - ro - se, se al -

12.

cum ha' l mon-do et vni nu - de om bre e pol - ve,

deh! re - sta - ti a ve - der qual e' l mio

14. 15.

ma - le, deh! re - sta - ti a ve - der qual e' l mio ma -

le, Deh! re - sta - ti a ve - der

18. 19.

qual e'l mio ma - le, qual e'l mio ma -

le. finis
o passi
sparsi

Appendix B

'Cur mundus militat', Anonymous, C. Goodwin modern edition, *The English Lute Song Before Dowland 1. Songs From the Dallis Manuscript, 38-39*

p. 210

18. CUR MUNDUS MILITAT

The image shows a musical score for the song 'Cur mundus militat'. It consists of four systems of music. Each system has a vocal line on a single staff and a lute line on a six-line staff. The vocal line is in a treble clef with a key signature of one flat (B-flat) and a 3/2 time signature. The lute line is in a bass clef. The lyrics are written below the vocal line. The first system starts with a double bar line and a repeat sign. The lyrics for the first system are 'Cur mun-dus mi-li-tat'. The second system has lyrics 'sub va-na glo-ri-a Cu-ius pros-per-i-tas'. The third system has lyrics 'est tran-si-to-ri-a tam ci-to La-bi-tur'. The fourth system has lyrics 'ei-us po-ten-ti-a, quam va-sa fi-gu-li'. The lute line features a variety of rhythmic patterns and chordal textures, including some complex sixteenth-note passages.

Cur mun-dus mi-li-tat

sub va-na glo-ri-a Cu-ius pros-per-i-tas

est tran-si-to-ri-a tam ci-to La-bi-tur

ei-us po-ten-ti-a, quam va-sa fi-gu-li

quae sunt fra - gi - li - a.

Cur mundus militat

Plus crede litteris, scriptis in glacie, quam mundi fragilis, vanae fallaciae.
Fallax in premiis, virtutis specie, quae nunquam habuit, tempus fiduciae.

Magis credendum est viris fallacibus, quam mundi miseris prosperitatibus.
Falsis insaniis et voluptatibus, falsis quoque studiis et vanitatibus.

Dic ubi Salomon, olim tam nobilis? vel ubi Samson est, dux invincibilis?
Vel dulcis Ionathas, multum amabilis? vel pulcher Absolon, vultu mirabilis?

Quo Caesat abiit, celsus imperio, vel dives splendidus, totus in prandio.
Dic ubi Tullius clarus eloquio, vel Aristoteles, summus ingenio.

O esca vermium, o massa pulveris, o ros, o vanitas, cur sic extolleris?
Ignoras penitus utrum cras vixeris, fac bonum omnibus, quam diu poteris.

Quam breve festum est, haec mundi gloria, ut umbra hominum, sic eius gaudia.
Quae semper subtrahit aeterna praemia, et ducunt hominum, ad dura devia.

Haec mundi gloria, quae magni penditur, sacris in litteris, flos faeni dicitur.
Ut leve folium, quod vento rapitur, sic vita hominem, haec vita tollitur.

Appendix C

'Calen o Custure Me', Anonymous, Siobhán Armstrong, Modern Edition

Calen O Custure Me

After IRL-Dtc MS 408.2, 85 [Ballet Lute Book companion volume, c.1595 - c.1605]

Lyrics: *A Handful of Pleasant Delights*, London 1584

This setting: Siobhán Armstrong 2013 rev. 2025 ©

When as I view your come - ly grace, ca - len o cu - stu - re me, Your

gol - den hair, your an - gel's face, ca - len o cu - stu - re me.

*When as I view your come-ly grace, ca-len o cus-ture me,
Your gol-den hair, your an-gel's face, ca-len o cus-ture me.*

*Your a-zured veins much like the skies, ca-len o cus-ture me,
Your sil-ver teeth, your cry-stal eyes, ca-len o cus-ture me.*

*Your voice so sweet, your necke so white, ca-len o cus-ture me,
Your bo-dy fine and small in sight, ca-len o cus-ture me.*

*Your fin-gers long so nim-ble be, ca-len o cus-ture me,
To ut-ter forth such har-mo-ny, ca-len o cus-ture me.*

*So brave, so fine, so trim, so young, ca-len o cus-ture me,
With hea-ven-ly wit and plea-sant tongue, ca-len o cus-ture me.*

*That Pal-las though she did ex-cel, ca-len o cus-ture me,
Could frame nor tell a tale so well, ca-len o cus-ture me.*

*With-in my self then can I say, ca-len o cus-ture me,
The night is gone, be-hold the day, ca-len o cus-ture me.*

*Be-hold the star so clear and bright, ca-len o cus-ture me,
As dims the sight of Phoe-bus' light, ca-len o cus-ture me.*

[Selected verses; text modernised by Siobhán Armstrong]

Appendix D

‘Sweet was the sounge the Veregin sange’, Anonymous, modern edition by Wilfred Foxe

Sweet was the sounge the Veregin sange

Anon.

The first system of the musical score consists of three staves. The top staff is a treble clef with a key signature of one flat (B-flat) and a common time signature (C). The melody begins with a quarter rest, followed by a quarter note G4, a quarter note A4, and a quarter note B4. The lyrics "Sweet was the sounge the Veregin sange," are written below the notes. The middle staff is a bass clef with the same key signature and time signature, providing a simple harmonic accompaniment. The bottom staff is a lute tablature with a C-clef on the first line, showing fret numbers for the strings: 0, 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7, 8, 9, 10, 11, 12.

The second system of the musical score consists of three staves. The top staff continues the melody from the first system, with lyrics "When she to Beth-lem Ju- da came and was de- le- vered". The middle staff continues the bass line. The bottom staff continues the lute tablature, with fret numbers corresponding to the notes in the melody.

The third system of the musical score consists of three staves. The top staff continues the melody with lyrics "of a sonne, that bles- sed Je- sus hath to name:". The middle staff continues the bass line. The bottom staff continues the lute tablature, with fret numbers corresponding to the notes in the melody.

12

'Lul- la, lul- la, lul- la, lul- la-by, lul- la, lul- la,

Chord symbols: a, b, a, a, b, a, c, a, b, c

15

lul- la, lul- la-by, Sweet babe, sange shee, 'my

Chord symbols: a, c, a, a, g, f, e, b, a, c, a, b, a, b

18

sonne and eke a Sa- viour borne, who hast vouch-

Chord symbols: a, a, a, a, b, c, a, a, b, a, a, b, a, a, b

21

sa- fed from on highe, to vi- sit us that were for-

25

lorn: La lul- la, la lul- la, la lul- la- by Sweet babe, sange

29

shee, and rockt him sweet- ly on her knee.

Appendix E

CD Recording

Soprano Róisín O’Grady & lutenist Eamon Sweeney

Track 1: ‘O Passi Sparsi’, Sebastiano Festa, modern edition by Christopher Goodwin (Appendix A)

Track 2: Psalm 128, Anonymous, modern edition by Christopher Goodwin (Example 9)

Track 3: ‘Cur mundus militat’, Anonymous, modern edition by Christopher Goodwin (Appendix B)

Track 4: ‘Greensleeves’, Anonymous, modern notation by Claude Simpson (Example 14)

Track 5: ‘Calen o Custure Me’, Anonymous, modern edition by Siobhán Armstrong (Appendix C)

Track 6: ‘Fortune my Foe’, Anonymous, modern notation (Example 30)

Track 7: ‘Sweet was the Sounge the Vergin Sange’, Anonymous, Ballet MS, pages 76-77 (Example 38)

Appendix F

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