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OBSERVATIONS ON "LA RHÉTORIQUE DES DIEUX"<sup>1</sup>

The present article appeared originally in German in "Gitarre & Laute" (2/89, p.17-23; 3/89, p.17-23; 4/89, p.27-32). The translation is oriented as closely as possible on the original text; some sentences might not appear to be quite English. Typing errors in the article, as printed in "Gitarre & Laute", have been corrected tacitly. Particularly, the heading of chapter 5 in part one got his question mark back, four omitted footnotes (in this article footnotes 35, 41, 57 and 62) were re-inserted. For the present version only four short commentaries were added to the original text (footnotes 6, 12, 40 and 61).

The author would like to thank very much anyone who contributed to the translation.

PART ONE: THE ORIGINS

The Berlin Kupferstichkabinett contains, as catalogue number 78.C.12, one of the most precious lute tablatures known today: "La Rhétorique des Dieux". The significance of this lute tablature lies in the conjunction of the various artforms represented there: painting, poetry, goldworking, calligraphy and music. David Buch is of the opinion that "La Rhétorique" represents the earliest known collection of Baroque lute suites devoted to a single composer - Denis Gaultier -, and that it must be, beyond any doubt, the most splendid collection of lute music ever created (203).

<sup>1</sup> The present article is a kind of review of David Joseph Buch, *La Rhétorique des Dieux: A Critical Study of Text, Illustration, and Musical Style*, Diss. Northwestern University 1983 (UMI, Ann Arbor). Parenthesized numbers give the page number of the corresponding passage in Buch's work. The form of this text is occasioned by the most important criticism: Buch poses the most essential open questions concerning the origin of the manuscript, but does not draw, formally or in terms of content, the corresponding conclusions. Furthermore, since Buch provides the reader neither with a person- nor a subject index granting access to the individual (in part, very widely scattered) bits of information, the first part of this review contains a summary of Buch's remarks about the origin of the manuscript. These are complemented by this writer's research and placed - perhaps not in Buch's sense - in a larger context. This writer is of the opinion that the interpretation of a manuscript requires a codicological and paleographical investigation as its basis.

The present writer has occupied himself for some time with "La Rhétorique". On the basis of codicological and musical observations, the opinion now generally accepted that Denis Gaultier personally supervised the edition of the codex seems doubtful to him<sup>2</sup>.

In the present article this writer would like to reopen the discussion of the manuscript's origins by offering a description contrasting with the now rarely challenged notions thereof; a second part will concern the repertory of lute pieces in "La Rhétorique" and the style of 17th century French lute music in general. To provide the reader with an idea of the codex, a brief description of the most important features of the codicological structure follows here<sup>3</sup>.

#### 1 Description of the manuscript:

"La Rhétorique" measures approximately 18 x 23 cm in height and width, resp., and - proceeding from front to back - can be divided according to content into three sections (omitting the goldwork binding from consideration):

1. endpapers; preface; picture with crowned lute; "table" (table of contents with page-numbers); picture with portraits of the daughter of the codex' commissioner, Anne de Chambré, and of Denis Gaultier; two sonnets and the picture "La Rhétorique des Dieux",

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<sup>2</sup> For example: **Arthur J.Ness**, "Sources of lute music, 8: France, 1600-99", in: The New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians, p.748: "Berlin, Staatliche Museen (Kupferstich Kabinett), Hamilton 142 (olim 78.C.12): [Denis Gaultier]: La rhétorique des dieux (c1652) ...", or **Johannes Klier**, *Denis Gaultier. Ausgewählte Lautenstücke, für Gitarre bearbeitet* (Selected Lute pieces, arranged for Guitar), p.2: "Die editorische Tätigkeit Denis Gaultiers begann erst gegen Ende seines Lebens: «La Rhétorique des Dieux» (um 1652) und «Pièces de Luth» (um 1670). Das «Livre de Tablature» erschien erst nach seinem Tod, 1672." (The editorial activity of Denis Gaultier didn't begin until near the end of his life: «La Rhétorique des Dieux» (c.1652) and «Pièces de Luth» (c.1670). The «Livre de Tablature» didn't appear until after his death in 1672.)

<sup>3</sup> The pictures and texts have been published in the two works cited below; a facsimile edition is planned by Minkoff, Geneva.

**Oskar Fleischer**, *Denis Gaultier*, in: VfMw 1886, p.1ff (This article is out of date, nevertheless it includes facsimiles of the pictures and a transcript of the texts.)

**André Tessier**, *La Rhétorique des Dieux et autres pièces de luth de Denis Gaultier*, in two volumes: (I) commentary, Paris (Droz) 1932, and (II) music, Paris (Droz) 1932-33 (Unless otherwise specified, references allude to the commentary. The commentary includes an art-historical introduction by **Jean Cordey** as well as facsimiles of the preface, the sonnets, the sketch of Le Sueur and its execution by Bosse, the "table" and the final monogram. It contains also the picture from the Louvre portraying, according to prevailing opinion, Denis Gaultier.)

2. allegorical pictures of the twelve modes (dorian, hypodorian, phrygian etc. including ionic and aeolian) each followed by an "Accord" in tablature and pages ruled with tablature staves partly filled with pieces notated in French lute tablature, some of which, in turn are followed by commentaries, and

3. a picture with Anne de Chambré's coat of arms; a large monogram and endpapers.

The preface contains the "program" of the manuscript, which describes the parts of the codex and names those who took part in its production except for the author of the preface itself and the texts under the pieces as well as the tablature copyists (hereafter called notators and abbreviated as NA and NB). Furthermore, the preface emphasizes the connection of arts represented in the codex. According to the preface, Anne de Chambré, the probable commissioner of the project, wanted a collection of the most beautiful pieces by the famous lutenist Denis Gaultier. In order to place Gaultier's art in the proper setting, he gave the codex its unusual form. The preface continues by saying that all pieces which (by virtue of their rhetorical power of expression) perfectly portray the nature of the passions and can lift the most deeply fallen souls to the most exalted virtues are furnished with a commentary for listeners possessing inadequate knowledge of music.

Various statements of this program are not redeemed in the present state of "La Rhétorique":

Firstly, the page, mentioned in the preface and "table", with the portraits of Anne de Chambré and his wife as well as the picture of the hypomixolydien mode, are missing.

Secondly, according to the preface, the "table" ought to be located at the end of the book: nevertheless it stands today in place of the now missing picture with the portraits of Anne de Chambré and his wife.

Thirdly, it is apparent that in this parchment-codex a sheet of paper<sup>4</sup> with the respective "Accord" has been inserted into each "Quinio"<sup>5</sup> containing a picture of a mode and the pages ruled with

<sup>4</sup> The extremely flat angle of lighting made possible the recognition of the "laid wire lines" on the microfilm. Buch made this discovery also (183).

<sup>5</sup> "Quinio" is in quotation marks because no description of the gatherings is possible on account of the below mentioned intervention; thus it can only be supposed that the individual modes were brought together in gatherings of five double sheets / 10 folios / 20 pages each.

tablature staves. These paper sheets were not being accounted for in the pagination found in the "table". Each Quinio contains a *modus* with his picture<sup>6</sup>. The jug, the watermark found in five of the 12 inserted sheets, has not yet been exactly identified. According to Bruce Gustafson, the jug was used mostly by paper-manufacturers in northern and western France who supplied England with paper; in the present case, the paper was used between c.1645 and 1675<sup>7</sup>.

Fourthly, at least parts of the bookblock were cut once on the binding side and then rebound with binding strips ("Falzstreifen").

Fifthly, the activity of the copyists is not clearly described: According to the preface, two writers took part (hereafter called "Writers", their contribution being words and numbers, to distinguish them from the "Notators" responsible for tablature and abbreviated W1, W2). Bellucheau as W1 wrote the "dessins des Chiffres" (designs of the numbers) and the "escripts qui sont en bas de chaque Piece" (inscriptions which are under every piece), Sieur Damoiselet (W2) copied the preface and the "table". No name is given for the one or more notators. That the notion of "chiffre" might include the tablature characters seems very improbable<sup>8</sup>. The "writers" in spite of the standard calligraphy employed, can be clearly distinguished from one another: W1 does not connect the letter "e" with the preceding letter, but rather begins it horizontally, whereas W2 often connects it to the preceding letter - albeit very finely - giving the cross-stroke an approximately 60 degree angle. In writing "s", W1 makes the loops more uniform in size than W2 does, who chooses a narrower radius for the upper loop, and in writing "g" W1 attaches the appended hook further left than W2. The copyist of the two sonnets is not

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<sup>6</sup> The regularity is thrown off by the absence of the picture "Sous-Mixolydien" (specified in the "table"), so that the folios of this mode constitute an incomplete Quinio. (ADDITION BY THE AUTHOR: The picture "Aeolien" is glued on the last ruled side of the section "Sous-Mixolydien". The sign mentioned below is as usual on the back.)

<sup>7</sup> Bruce Gustafson, *French Harpsichord Music of the 17th Century*, Ann Arbor 1977, vol.I, p.181. This writer has sent his watermark photos to the Minkoff-publishing house occupied with the production of a facsimile edition. Hopefully it will be possible to localize the watermark more exactly.

<sup>8</sup> According to the French Ethymological Dictionary (compiled in Basel), vol.19, p.156-158, the notion "chiffre" was used in a musical context exclusively for figured bass.

mentioned in the preface, but on the basis of the handwriting characterisation above, can be identified with certainty as W2. Likewise, the copyist of the titles of 30 pieces may have been, for practical reasons concerning the progress of work, W2.

Sixthly, two notators (NA and NB) copied altogether only 62 pieces ("Doubles" being counted as independent pieces) into the codex, the pages of which, however, are prepared with staves for 108 pieces. Here it is apparent that NA, who copied 48 pieces, gives no time signatures and notates the 11th course with an "a" beneath 4 legerlines, whereas NB, who copied 14 pieces, often gives time signatures and uses a "4" to notate the 11th course, the more modern method. The various habits of the notators will be discussed in the section concerning style.

Seventhly, among the 62 pieces entered in the manuscript, only 30 are provided with titles, and fewer still, 27, with commentary - although the "program" explicitly states that all pieces are provided with commentary.

Such diverse contradictions to the "program" of the codex beg the question why the program obviously was not or could not be carried out. It is possible that this question can be cleared up at least partially by the content of the manuscript. Therefore, the general art-historical context as described by Buch will be sketched out in the following section. Thereafter follows, as section three, "La Rhétorique"'s particular place in the history of ideas. By building upon Buch's and his own research the author would like to attempt to reconstruct the origin of the manuscript in section four, which in turn leads back to the larger historical context in section five.

## 2 General art-historical context:

Buch states that the tendency to larger form and integration of the arts was typical of the 17th century, and explains the transformation of music with the consideration that, in the eyes of composers, the direct appeal to the senses demanded by aesthetics could be achieved via music with greater emphasis on rhetorical effects rather than on mathematical and reasoned strict polyphony as exemplified by the *prima pratica* of composers such as Palestrina or Lasso etc. (218). While poetry contemporary with "La Rhétorique" can help clear up several characteristics of the

codex, nevertheless the literary as well as the musical part point to relationship with the "Ballet de Cour"<sup>9</sup> (95). This is recognizable through the combination of the arts in the Ballet de Cour as well as in "La Rhétorique", whereby "La Rhétorique" is perhaps the first example of instrumental music which is bound to a certain program. This is not any less so even when the music does not correspond directly to this program (88).

### 3 "La Rhétorique" in its particular art-historical context

The preface, the sonnets, the pictures, and the texts beneath the pieces appear to share a common ground which brought together personalities from all participating artforms: the world of the Parisian salons.

It is not known at present which salon Anne de Chambré frequented. There is a picture in the Louvre showing Anne de Chambré in his circle of friends including, among others, the painter who took part in the codex - Le Sueur. According to Cordey, the lutenist portrayed is Denis Gaultier<sup>10</sup>. Nevertheless, this claim, adopted by Buch (125), is not tenable since it depends upon Gaultier's direct participation in this codex, participation which can be conjectured but not proved. On the contrary much more apparent is the rather great physiological difference between the lutenist in the picture and the portrait in "La Rhétorique"; perhaps, but only perhaps it is possible that in Paris at that time other excellent lutenists with mustaches and goatees were active. Were the then already famous Denis Gaultier really portrayed, it is likely that he would have been named in the description of the picture by Guillet de Saint Georges.

Buch's motivation for placing "La Rhétorique" in the context of the Parisian salons appears more important. First of all, the literary style of the inscriptions points in that direction. Buch points out stylistic similarities between texts of the poet Vincent Voiture who frequented the Hôtel de Rambouillet (the most famous salon) and the two sonnets (93). Likewise the language of

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<sup>9</sup> French court ballet, between 1580 and 1660 a magnificently produced ballet with vocal and instrumental music, cultivated especially at the French royal court, based on mythology with allegorical character and pantomime, in which "enchantment" played a major role. (Excerpt from "Ballet de Cour", *Riemann Musiklexikon, Sachteil*, Mainz 1967, p.76)

<sup>10</sup> Jean Cordey, in Tessier, above, p.8

the commentary beneath the pieces corresponds to the environment of the Parisian salons with, however, a characteristic accentuation of the Virtues and heroism. The theme "love", also represented in the salons, and "femininity" appear to have been kept out of the text (124). Buch traces the concept of heroism back to Corneille and connects it in turn with a male-dominated salon. These men would have worked together on the production of "La Rhétorique" (125). The remark in the preface, that "La Rhétorique" is also meant for people who don't understand so much about music, offers Buch a possible clue as to the target audience which frequented the salons (86). Buch regards the manuscript "Guirlande de Julie", likewise a parchment-codex with text and painting, or "Le Cabinet de M.de Scudéry", containing descriptions in prose and verse of an imaginary gallery, as models for "La Rhétorique des Dieux" (94f).

Buch points out that the second sonnet is based on Malherbe's famous "Beaux et grands bastimens d'éternelle structure" (118f). The poet of the first sonnet handles Malherbe's model more freely (121). The sonnet by Malherbe appears also in a manuscript now in the Musée Condé in Chantilly (121). The attribution of the second sonnet (Gauquelin) could be a deliberate falsification of the name "Vauquelin" (81). Vauquelin was a famous poet who died outside of Paris in 1649 (83) and of whom it is known that he based at least one sonnet upon an already existing sonnet (82) and who is also represented in the above mentioned codex in the Musée Condé (121). Concerning the texts beneath the pieces, Buch is of the opinion that these commentaries relate to the two sonnets as well as to the preface, whereas he sees less relationship between them and the music (123).

Now let us take a look at the portrayal of the modes in the pictures by Abraham Bosse. Bosse portrays the modes in the form of ordinary notes, written onto the open pages of a book. Buch observes that the depicted modes agree with Zarlino's order of the modes (181) and that this older order in turn appears in Mersenne's *Harmonie Universelle* (III, p.183ff) (29). He investigate the relationship between the contemporary concepts of the modes and their reflection in the portrayals by Bosse, and arrives at the conclusion that the famous painter Nicolas Poussin (1593 - 1665) may have influenced the generation of the illustrations with his letter of 1647 (91f). Poussin's

commentaries on the effects of the modes on men's souls were also copied from Zarlino (159)<sup>11</sup>. Roland Fréart de Chambray, who maintained contact with Poussin, is supposed to have charted the relationship between character and the various architectural styles as early as c.1650 (92).

Buch mentions that the modes in the pictures are not identical with the tonalities of the respective lute pieces which follow and draws that conclusion that this is the expression of the conflict between contemporary theory and practice (191). Thus he examines the use of the word "mode" in the Burwell Lute-tutor, an instructional manuscript with commentary written c.1660-1672 in England probably by John Rogers, and quotes that knowledge of the "key (or mode or tone, for all signify the same thing)" is the most necessary and helpful knowledge for the musician (192). Decisive here is the equivalence of "key" with "mode" and "tone"<sup>12</sup>. Buch's opinion, that Gaultier's use of the term "modes nouveaux" in his "Livre de tablature de luth" of c.1670 points to the "nouveaux tons" ("new tunings") and the keys made possible thereby (194), appears implausible from chronological and terminological points of view, especially considering that the d-minor tuning had been in use as "Accord nouveau" at the latest since 1638<sup>13</sup> and at least in France had gained general acceptance for solo literature latest around 1650.

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<sup>11</sup> Complementary to Buch's portrayal is: Ursula Mildner-Flesch, *Das Decorum. Herkunft, Wesen und Wirkung des Sujetstils am Beispiel Nicolas Poussins* (= Kölner Forschungen zu Kunst und Altertum, Bd.5), Sankt Augustin (H.Richarz) 1983, p.121-144. In the middle of a concentrated portrayal of the place of Poussin's letter in the history of ideas is found a German translation of the doctrine of ethos of the modes (p.122).

<sup>12</sup> The author does not have at his disposal carefully assembled data on the use of this word in 17th century England; thus an interpretation does not seem advisable. (REMARK: In the German article the terms were translated.)

<sup>13</sup> Compositions by Dubut in d-minor tuning were published in Pierre Ballard (ed.), *Tablature de luth de differents auteurs sur les accords nouveaux*, Paris 1638, p.54-60.

#### 4 Origin and dating of the manuscript<sup>14</sup>:

Buch gives, at various points, indications as to the dating of the individual stages of work on the codex: the direct assignation, proposed by him as possible, of those participating in the codex to the mythological and historical figures of the texts, supported by several literary parallels, leads him to suppose that the manuscript (here, in its entirety ) must date before 1648 (98-101). This date precedes the Fronde in which the Condé and thus also Anne de Chambré were involved (see below). Thence it may be possible that Paris, not yet shaken by the Fronde, praised the acts of the Grand Condé in the ingenious and lively wordplay of the precious style (101). Buch stresses more than once that the codex originated in several stages and cites the following considerations: the difference between Bosse's modes and the keys of the pieces entered (including "Accords", A.S.) suggest the independent origin of the music and the artwork (in this case probably the pictures and texts, A.S.)(187). The difference between the characteristics of the modes in picture, music and the text points also to a fine division of labor (201) which is rendered even finer in an entirely different respect: The author of the preface must not have had any direct contact with the artists (presumably Le Sueur, Nanteuil and Bosse, A.S.)(108). Thus the dating, too, of the individual stages of work would have to be considered singly - which Buch doesn't do. In the following an attempt is undertaken to portray these phases of work and their causality.

Planning of the codex: Buch suggests, by means of the plausible connection with the salons and their way of thinking, that the idea of "La Rhétorique", as introduced briefly in the description of the manuscript, achieved maturity on the basis of publications of 1645-50 and of other salon manuscripts (Poussin's letter of 1647, the connection with architecture based thereon by Roland Fréart de Chambray and received by Bosse (91f), the connection of the language of the texts with the language of Vincent Voiture, the leading poet of the Hôtel de Rambouillet who died in 1648 (93)). It appears evident, based on the costly concept and therein

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<sup>14</sup> The prevailing dating 1652 has been taken from Mariette's remark in the article "Le Sueur" in his work *Abecedario* of 1749 referring exclusively to the greatest creative power of the painter. Therefore this dating appears suspect and is best not adopted for the entire codex.

implicit pretension of the codex, that contact with Denis Gaultier existed for the planning of the arrangement and dimensions of the tablature portion. Hence prototypes for the pieces scheduled for inclusion must have existed. Whether these came directly from Gaultier and whether they were written in tablature is unknown. Theoretically, a list of the incipits of the pieces scheduled for inclusions arranged according to key would have sufficed.

**Painting:** Buch names the year 1647, when Nanteuil came to Paris and, according to Nanteuil's biographer Bouvy, in due course received the commission for the portrait<sup>15</sup>, as the earliest possible date for the production of "La Rhétorique" whereby he takes the possibility of a preceding planning-phase, too, fully into consideration.

The question, why Le Sueur didn't carry out himself his sketches for the picture (completed by Nanteuil) with the portraits of Chambré's daughter and Gaultier as well as for the picture "la Rhétorique des Dieux" (completed by Bosse), is not considered. This question could lead to a late dating of the pictures: Le Sueur died in 1655. It is fully possible therefore, that, because of his bad health and subsequent death, the sketches had to be handed on to Bosse and Nanteuil, who carried them out around 1655. This proposition, however, is at the moment just as incapable of evaluation as the occurrence of the remarkable sign on the reverse side of all pictures. This sign occurs also in the Kremsmünster Lute-Tablature, Benediktinerstift, L 81, the single other source known as yet to bear it<sup>16</sup>. Rudolf Flotzinger interpreted this sign as an "a" in his thematic catalog of the Kremsmünster tablatures<sup>17</sup>. His reasons for doing so cannot be discovered at the moment<sup>18</sup>.

**Texts:** all texts copied by W1 and W2 are here taken together. The year 1647 as date of origin for the second sonnet, brought into

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<sup>15</sup> Eugène Bouvy, *Nanteuil*, Paris (Le Goupy) 1924, p.13, cited after Buch, p.17

<sup>16</sup> Andreas Schlegel, *Die Lautentabulatur L 81 des Benediktinerstiftes Kremsmünster, genannt «Das Lautenbuch des Johann Sebastian von Hallwyl»: Eine Einführung in die Probleme der Handschrift*, in: *Heimatkunde aus dem Seetal*, 61.Jg. (1988), p.40

<sup>17</sup> Rudolf Flotzinger, *Die Lautentabulaturen des Stiftes Kremsmünster, Thematischer Katalog*, Wien 1965 (= *Tabulae Musicae Austriacae II*), titles of the pieces given in Schlegel, above, footnote 16 in thematic catalog p.72-93

<sup>18</sup> According to his most recent letter to this writer, Rudolf Flotzinger is travelling for half a year. (February 1989)

connection with Nanteuil is complemented and narrowed down by the death of the suspected poet Vauquelin in 1649. Vauquelin died outside of Paris. A further date is the death of Lenclos, to whom a tombeau, recorded in the "table" and also indeed written out in tablature (in the Milleran ms. it is attributed to Ennemond Gaultier) and two other pieces are dedicated, whereby the Tombeau with text and all three pieces are copied two pages beyond the point indicated in the "table" (83f). According to the most recent information, Lenclos died in 1649<sup>19</sup>. Thus the earliest possible years for the execution of the idea may be considered to be 1649/50.

Furthermore it is unknown who wrote the preface and the texts beneath the pieces<sup>20</sup>. Buch raises indirectly the possibility that the members of the salon might have written the text together (125).

W1 and Bosse: Buch interprets Anne de Chambré's coat of arms, inscribed at various points in the manuscript and in certain instances important for the dating, mythologically as emblem of the permanence of love (145), although Brenet's surmise, that the anchor appears in his coat of arms because of his activity in the colonies (1664-69)<sup>21</sup>, has as yet neither been able to be confirmed nor disproved. Certain alone is that in July 1697 Anne-François de Chambré, probably a son of Anne de Chambré, had the coat of arms "d'azur à deux ancores d'argent passées en sautoir, accompagnées de quatre étoiles de même" registered by the genealogist d'Hozier<sup>22</sup>. One notices that the monogram at the end of the preface, probably drawn by W1, in contrast to the monogram at the end of the book and not mentioned in the "table", exhibits no anchor; nevertheless a monogram does not necessarily have to be provided with elements of the family coat of arms.

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<sup>19</sup> Buch mentions an uncertainty concerning the death date, 1650 being still under consideration. Publications more recent than those cited by Buch however employ uniform the date 1649.

<sup>20</sup> Tessier (above, p.29) claims that Anne de Chambré is the author without, however, offering any evidence in support thereof. His claim derives from a likewise unsubstantiated remark of Cordey's (*La Rhétorique des Dieux et ses Illustrations...*, in: *Gazette des Beaux-Arts*, VI/1 (1929), p.35-45, cited after Buch p.13)

<sup>21</sup> Michel Brenet, *Notes sur l'histoire du luth en France*, Turin 1899 (Reprint Genf 1973), p.71

<sup>22</sup> Cordey, in Tessier, above, p.8. Unfortunately the source is not given.

Copying of the tablature and W2: it is necessary to distinguish four notators. Based on the preface, probably one notator was foreseen for the copying of all 108 works; perhaps the anticipated notator was Denis Gaultier himself. The nature of the codex, however, would rather suggest that an unknown calligrapher had been foreseen as notator. Two notators (NA and NB) copied in the tablature, a fourth copied the "Accords" onto the inserted paper-sheets. An attribution of the "Accords" to one of the two notators NA or NB is rendered impossible by the scarcity of entries by the tuning instruction notator, the color of whose ink differentiate him from the writer of the heading "Accord". The style of the first phase of tuning instruction copying - the title "Accord" and individually drawn-out lines - seems to correspond rather to the careful work of the two writers (W1 and W2) than to the work of the two notators (NA and NB). The second round of writing was the entry of the tablature figures, whereby the ink-color suggests that neither NA nor NB participated. The "r" is close to NB, the "e", on the other hand, can hardly fall within the bounds of NB. Whether NA, NB, or even the notator of the "Accords" is identical with the foreseen notator cannot be said.

The point in time of the activity of W2 has thus far remained open in this reconstruction of the stages of work. It probably fell in the phase during which W1 was also active. An indication thereof is the care and the meshing of the work of both writers in the "table". Since W1 entered only those pieces in the "table" for which W2 had written at least the title, it seems logical that W1 undertook to enter them respectively in the "table" after hearing from W2<sup>23</sup>. The interruption of the work becomes especially clear when one considers that W2 wrote only 27 out of a total of 96 sheets intended for text (108 foreseen pieces minus 12 pages prepared for preludes which left no room for text). The text placed by W2 under the pieces begins in 19 cases directly under the tablature-lines without disturbing them, six times a greater separation is allowed and only twice does the text, begun too close to the tablature-lines, touch the bottom-line: once under a piece copied by NA (p.49: La Coquette Virtuosa) and once in an entry by NB (p.260: La Gaillarde), whereby in neither case must a

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<sup>23</sup> It seems logical to the author that the codex wasn't bound until all the completed individual elements had been assembled. Only the copying of the tablature requires not necessarily unbound sheets, whereas calligraphers (= text writers) strongly preferred copying on such sheets.

bass be written on the bottom-line. Because no really clear accommodation or botching-up is evident, it unfortunately cannot be unequivocally determined whether W2 knew of the length of the pieces and the corresponding room needed or not. Nevertheless, on account of the variously placed highest line of text, it seems likely that consultation took place between W2 and the notator anticipated in the planning of the codex. This in turn argues for the proposition that prototypes for the tablature entries were available for the phases of work undertaken by W1 and W2 and perhaps also for the entries of the notator. Since all of the above arguments point toward the separation of the phases of work, the tablature entries of NA and NB, and of the notator of the "Accords" must have been undertaken after the entries by W2.

The question now up in the air concerns the point in time at which the tablature signs were added to the "Accords".

On this point, Buch thinks that the key of e, entered in the "Accords" before the empty "lydian" section, derives from the "e" mode in Bosse's picture because the open book there demonstrates an e formula (188). He supposes, therefore, that the notator of the "Accords" always looked at the first piece and took the key used there as foundation for the "Accord". Naturally, this works only where pieces have been copied in. However the lydian mode doesn't contain a single copied-in piece so that the notator of the "Accords" transferred the information in Bosse's picture to the "Accord". This conjecture implies that no piece intended for the lydian mode was available to the notator of the "Accords" as he copied in the e-mode. Gaultier however included 10 pieces in e minor in his two publications (*Pieces de Luth de Denis Gaultier*, Paris, c.1670, including eight e minor pieces and *Livre de Tablature des Pieces de Luth. De Mr. Gaultier Sr. de Neüe Et de Mr. Gaultier son cousin*, Paris, no date c.1672, including two e minor pieces), and it is striking that one of the three pieces for which Gaultier himself provided a name - the gigue "Toxin" from the *Livre*, p.86 - is in e minor. Thus material for the e-mode was probably already present in the planning phase and much speaks in favor of the supposition that the pieces to be copied had been at least in part already collected and were available as the codex was being planned.

Further Buch's hypothesis, that each "Accord" in turn was derived from the previously entered piece, would imply that the pieces had been already copied in before the notation of the "Accords". The

even more far-reaching supposition that the "Accords" represent the latest phase in the origin of the codex makes sense at first sight based on the material. However, this overlooks two things: the type of binding with the binding strips ("Falzstreifen") occurs not with the inserted "Accords", so that it is entirely clear that not just the "Accords" were inserted after the fact into the existing and constant remaining binding. In addition, other structural deviations from the program of the manuscript point to a very dense network of relationships involved in its origin, so that, in this writer's opinion, complex contexts for the various interventions are to be sought.

There is an indication contrary to Buch's hypothesis that the "Accords" possibly had been entered already before the copying of the pieces, were provided with writing and notation, and thus had been foreseen, although not from the beginning, in the manuscript's program. As pointed out earlier, an "Accord" stands, too, before the empty lydian section pointing to the work in the first phase of the manuscript's formulation by one of the careful writers (W1 or W2). The tablature-signs entered during the second phase of work indicate an e tonality. Whether the "Accords" mean respectively major or minor can no more be determined than the tuning of the bass courses, for which purpose the so called "Accords" were usually used. The absence, evident therein, of consideration of questions of playing technique seems to be typical for the program of "La Rhétorique". One can suppose that idea and execution of the inserted "Accords" proceeded from persons familiar with the basic ideas of the manuscript's program without, however, having any very direct relationship to the practical needs of luteplayers.

Buch mentions that the formula of the lydian "Accords" indicates that this mode obviously was intended to contain music (183). This appears plausible. Because in this writer's opinion, however, it would have made sense to fill in the "Accords" only when pieces were indeed to be copied in, the notator here must have been familiar with the "Accords" of the key in which the pieces would be. The material - as observed above - was probably there. If the material of the empty lydian section also was available to the notator of the "Accords", this means that the sheets of paper, filled in and inserted prior to the copying of the pieces into the book, were present and already written upon, and thus that the copying of the tablature was undertaken independently of the

copying by the notator of the "Accords". This implies that there were at least two different prototypes, of which the notators, NA and NB, had another version for their entries at their disposal than W1 for the "table" and W2 for the titles and texts beneath the pieces and the notator of the "Accords" for his entry; and, secondly, this sequence implies that the original arrangement of the codex, as given in the "table" and Preface (W1), was disturbed by the rebinding of "La Rhétorique" already before the entry of the pieces. Thus the insertion of the paper "Accords" sheets would not have been the sole cause of the rebinding but rather an associated cause, as is demonstrated by further rearrangements in the codex. Hence follows that "La Rhétorique" originated in 3 phases:

1. Planning of the codex in a male dominated Parisian salon, entry of the texts by W1, of the sonnets by W2, origin of the sketches by Le Sueur and the pictures by Bosse and Nanteuil, origin of the goldwork by Baslin, ruling of the pages destined for notation, entry of the titles and texts beneath the pieces, not yet copied in but readily available in prototype, by W2, corresponded with W1, who in turn transferred the titles to the "table".

Obviously this work-procedure was interrupted and the as yet unbound manuscript with all its components (including tablature prototypes) fell unfinished into other hands. Phase two was carried out by unknown persons largely in the spirit of the program:

2. Addition of the "Accords", removal of the portraits of Anne de Chambré and his wife, rearrangement of the "table", binding in its present form (which had to be made extraordinarily tight on account of both the latches, prefabricated to accommodate the originally planned thickness of the codex, and the size of the bookblock, made thicker because of the binding strips ("Falzstreifen") and the 12 inserted paper sheets).

Once again there occurred a caesura. Apparently the tablature prototypes are lost. Two notators 'complete' the codex, till then without music, in the next phase:

3. Entry of the tablature

Proceeding from the assumption that the "Accords" were notated after the entry of the tablature, the working procedure here appears the same as that of the first phase. An interruption of the work-process took place without doubt here, too, but with the

important difference that the codex did not necessarily end up in circles close to the salons, but rather in the possession of persons for whom above all the fact that the tablature was missing was unacceptable. Whether these persons acquired all the materials associated with the project - including tablatures - seems doubtful. It seems rather unlikely that NA and NB were in contact with the anticipated notator. Therefore, in the case that the tablature-prototypes were not constantly with the codex, it seems very unlikely that these, too, changed hands.

2. Entry of the tablature: here, at the latest, is the codex bound in its planned form.

Now someone wants to put "Accords" into the book. That NA or NB wanted the form of the "Accords" as they occur today would seem from the point of view of the practitioner rather unlikely; thus the most logical consequence would have been a renewed change of owner.

3. Insertion, lettering and notation of the "Accords" sheets, removal of the portraits of Anne de Chambré and his wife, rearrangement of the "table", binding in its present form (which had to be made extraordinarily tight on account of both the latches, prefabricated to accommodate the originally planned thickness of the codex, and the size of the bookblock, made thicker because of the binding strips ("Falzstreifen") and the 12 inserted paper sheets).

This writer finds both variations of the origin of "La Rhétorique" plausible, whereby the first concept, seen from the point of view of the style of the work after the first phase, would seem clearly to be the more likely of the two. However, the question of Denis Gaultier's participation in the codex must be newly posed on account of the interruption, stressed in both hypotheses, between the first phase and the entry of the tablature.

Firstly: The view, first held by Brenet then widely accepted, that Anne de Chambré's daughter was a pupil of Gaultier, is based on lines 10-14 of the first sonnet. This interpretation supplied, for example, the foundation for the equivalence of the goateed and mustachioed lutenist in the Louvre picture with Denis Gaultier and is of elementary significance for the derivation of the connection between "la Rhétorique des Dieux" and Denis Gaultier. While Brenet's interpretation is possible, it is not, however, compelling, and may not, therefore, be taken for fact. That Denis Gaultier took part in the planning of the codex seems self-

evident based on the pretensions of the manuscript. How far, however, his participation went in the planning and execution of the first stage, cannot be said.

Since, secondly, a closer relationship exists between the titles of the pieces and the depictions of the modes than between the titles and the music, and since, thirdly, the entry of the tablature was probably an intervention carried out by persons largely unassociated with the circle of those responsible for the first stage of work, Denis Gaultier had probably just about as much or little influence on the copying of his pieces in "La Rhétorique" as he had on the copying of his pieces in the versions appearing in Ms. Paris, BN, Vm<sup>7</sup> 6214 (to give an example of a manuscript which too was probably compiled in Paris between ca 1650-1670) in so far as NA and NB didn't copy material supplied directly by Gaultier himself. Likewise it is unknown whether he approved of the segregation of his pieces according to mode with the accompanying implication of affect, or whether he thought that this segregation made any sense whatsoever.

Thus we are confronted with the question whether the manner of tablature entry by NA and NB makes plausible the supposition that Denis Gaultier was identical with NA or NB or, if not, whether at least the tablature prototypes used by NA and NB can be connected with Gaultier. No Denis Gaultier autograph is now known, so that in order to answer this question, the content of the copied pieces rather than their notation must be examined. In order to avoid anticipating the second part of the article, only a few points for each notator will be introduced here.

Notator A, in general a very conscientious scribe, remains in "Phaeton foudroyé" ("Rhétorique" p.27, in the "Livre" as "Allemande", p.44), in contrast to the published form, one measure too long in duple meter where the meter changes from 2 to 3 and secondly, again in contrast to the "Livre", indicates neither the change of meter effected in the following measure nor the return to duple meter in m.16. Thus results, instead of a group of 4 x 3 beats = 12 beats = 3 duple measures, as in the published version, a musically stumbling grouping of 3 x 3 beats = 9 beats = 2 duple measures with a remainder of .25. That Gaultier himself might have missed this meter-change while copying and not have discovered and corrected this shift would seem nearby impossible, especially considering that such meter-changes in dances (here in an allemande) occur extremely rarely. That NA might have copied from

an original embodying this meter-change as it occurs in the "Livre" seems likewise doubtful: the generally careful scribe NA would thus have overlooked too much at one time.

By all appearances, NB can neither have been Gaultier himself nor have used material originating directly from Gaultier. This becomes clear, for example, in the Courante with "Double", untitled in "La Rhétorique" (p.127-130, in "Pièces" likewise with "Double" on p.16-19). Firstly, NB attaches a second strain differing entirely from the printed version thereof to a first strain identical to its printed counterpart. Secondly, the "Double" copied in by NB is much more similar stylistically to the kind of "Double" to be found in Ballard's collections printed in 1611 and 1614 than to midcentury "Doubles" in general and Gaultier's in particular. Thirdly, Gaultier himself published a completely differently conceived "Double" in the "Pièces". Fourthly, in "Pièces" the "Doubles" by Gaultier follow strain by strain the sections which they vary, so that the form A A' B B' ensues<sup>24</sup>. NB's copy, on the other hand, demonstrates the form A B A' B'.

These observations make clear that in all probability 1) Denis Gaultier can be neither NA or NB, and 2) the prototypes used by NA and NB could hardly have originated from Gaultier or from his vicinity.

##### 5 The solution of the puzzle?

While other reasons might be seen to have led to the difference between program and execution of "La Rhétorique", it is possible that the external circumstances of the Fronde might have played a role, too. It would seem reasonable at this point to combine a short sketch of the most important events of that turbulent time with both the origins of "La Rhétorique" and the biography of its commissioner: Anne de Chambré.

In 1643 Louis XIII died. Anna von Österreich made Louis XIV, just 14 years old at the time, King, and the Italian Mazarin her most important adviser. The princes descended from Louis de Condé - the later "Grand Condé" - and Conti protested strongly against this choice and unleashed, by a conflict of interest between the hereditary and nonhereditary nobility, the turbulences which

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<sup>24</sup> The "Livre" contains no "Doubles".

lasted from 1648 to 1653: the first and second Fronde. Pursuing the information available till now about Anne de Chambré, one finds his name before the Fronde on February 28th, 1647 in File Z<sup>13</sup> 266 of the Parisian "Archives Nationales". The entry concerns an estimate of the rent of a house, on the "Rue de Cléry" in Paris, belonging to Anne de Chambré and rented to M.le Picart. Michèle Bimbenet-Privat states in the register that Anne de Chambré was royal adviser and paymaster of the French gendarmerie<sup>25</sup>. This information may stem from the same document. Decisive for the origin of "La Rhétorique" could have been, above all, the second Fronde, because Paris became an important arena for these disorders: on January 18th, 1650, Mazarin arrested the leaders of the Fronde - Condé and his brother Conti as well as their direct adherents - in order to bring the confusion under control. At an as yet not determined point in time, Anne de Chambré changed from the royal camp to that of the Grand Condé, according to Mariette, and became his military treasurer<sup>26</sup>. Whether he was among the adherents of the Grand Condé arrested in January 1650 or whether he, as did most of the Condé's followers, enjoyed the general amnesty of October 22, 1652, is still unknown<sup>27</sup>. We do not know whether Anne de Chambré belonged to the inner circle of the Prince's followers, thus accompanying him continually outside Paris, or if he stayed in Paris. Nor do we yet know where in Paris he lived at that time: Did he possess several houses on the Rue de Cléry or does Mariette's notice indicate that he occupied the formerly rented house after the rent-conflict? It

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<sup>25</sup> Michèle Bimbenet-Privat, *Greffiers des Bâtiments de Paris, Procès-Verbaux d'Expertises, Règne de Louis XIV, Z13 261 à 269: années 1643 - 1649*, Paris (Archives Nationales) 1987, p.51: "Estimation du loyer d'une maison, rue de Cléry, appartenant à Anne de Chambré et louée à M.Le Picart, 28 février 1647 Z<sup>13</sup> 266", p.267: "Chambré (Anne de), conseiller du roi et payeur de la Gendarmerie de France."

<sup>26</sup> Cordey, in Tessier, above, p.8

<sup>27</sup> Jean-Paul Charmeil, *Les trésoriers de France à l'époque de la Fronde*, Paris (Picard) 1964, p.30, footnote 52 reports that Jean Perrault, "président à la Chambre des comptes de Paris", follower of and secretary to the prince de Condé arrested in January 1650, was not included in the general amnesty as a rare exception. Anne de Chambré is not mentioned in this book. Neither the *Mémoires sur la Fronde de 1650 à 1653* of Jacques de Saulx, comte de Tavannes, ed.by Moreau, Paris 1883 count at Colbert, *Lettres, instructions et mémoires*, ed.by Pierre Clément, Paris 1861, Tome I, p.7, footnote 4 nor Turenne, *Mémoires*, ed.by the Société de l'Histoire de France, Paris 1909-1914 have been evaluated.

was evidently fashionable in Paris not to reside in ones own house. One rented it in order to pay rent elsewhere oneself<sup>28</sup>.

On the 13th of February 1651 Mazarin personally released his prisoners and escaped on April 6th to Brühl near Cologne. Paris became important once again in 1652: The Condé became ruler of the city on July 2nd 1652. The Parisians, however, preferred in the end royal autocracy to Condé's government, so that the royal family - at first without Mazarin - could enter Paris peacefully on October 21st 1652, Louis XVI being greeted with the cry "Vive le Roy!" by the very people who had been so often "converted" during the disorders. The Grand Condé left Paris with his followers already on the 13th of October and sought refuge among the Spanish troops at whose side he fought hopelessly until 1659<sup>29</sup>. Not till considerably later is something known about the activity of Anne de Chambré: He appears as "Intendant général de la Compagnie des Indes Occidentales" from 1664-1669 and participated there in the conquest and colonisation of the island Martinique<sup>30</sup>.

Apart from the biography of Anne de Chambré, two things can be connected with the Fronde, however they may be interpreted: A date with the remark "bien conservé depuis..." (well preserved since<sup>31</sup>) as well as the lack of a picture. Firstly, regarding the date:

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<sup>28</sup> Annik Pardailhé-Galabrun, *La naissance de l'intime, 3000 foyers parisiens, XVII<sup>e</sup>-XVIII<sup>e</sup> siècles*, Paris (Presses Universitaires de France) 1988, p.17.

<sup>29</sup> This recounting of the Fronde is based on: Theodor Schieder (editor), *Handbuch der europäischen Geschichte*, Stuttgart 1971, Vol.III, p.827-833 as well as Will und Ariel Durant, *Kulturgeschichte der Menschheit*, Bd.12: *Europa im Zeitalter der Könige*, Frankfurt/M etc. 1982, p.16-23; Hubert Méthivier, *La Fronde* (= l'Historien 49), Paris (Presses Universitaires de France) 1984; Helmut Köting, *Die Ormée (1651-1653), gestaltende Kräfte und Personenverbindungen der Bordelaiser Fronde*, (= Schriftenreihe der Vereinigung zur Erforschung der neueren Geschichte 14), Münster 1983; Jean Jacquart, *La Fronde des Princes dans la région parisienne et ses conséquences matérielles*, in: *Revue d'histoire moderne et contemporaine* VII (1960), p.257-290; Hubert Carrier (Hersg.), *La Fronde, contestation démocratique et misère paysanne, 52 Mazarinades*, Paris (EDHIS) 1982, Vol.II, p.XXV-XXX

<sup>30</sup> Michel Brenet, above, p.71. The following literature not available to this writer may lead further in this question: *Dictionnaire biographique de la Martinique, 1635-1848*, Fort-de-France (Société d'Histoire de la Martinique) 1984, Tome 1, Fasc.I

<sup>31</sup> In *lexis. Dictionnaire de la langue française*, Paris 1975, p.389, a passage from a text by Corneille is quoted, in which the word "conserver" assumes the meaning "sauver" = "save". In connection with the time reference "depuis" = "since" the meaning "saved since" seems more appropriate than the description of state of preservation usually intended by the word "conservé".

A Parisien notice of sale for "La Rhétorique des Dieux" from the 5th of August 1751 in the "Annonces, affiches et avis divers" contains the following text: "Recueil en manuscrit bien conservé depuis 1652, contenant un grand nombre des meilleures pièces de luth de Denys Gaultier, orné de très beaux dessins, lavés à l'encre de Chine, dont une partie est d'Eustache Le Sueur et l'autre d'Abraham Bosse, et les portraits de Nanteuil; le tout relié en chagrin avec des ornements d'argent surdoré. S'adresser à M.Thiboust, impr., Place Cambray."<sup>32</sup> (Manuscript, well preserved since 1652, containing a large number of the best pieces by Denis Gaultier, decorated with very fine drawings colored with chinese ink, of which some are by Eustache Le Sueur, the others by Abraham Bosse, and with portraits by Nanteuil; the whole is bound in chagrin with goldplated silver ornaments. Apply to Mr.Thiboust, printer, Place Cambray.) If we interpret the specified date to mean that the codex has been in its present state since 1652, then all three stages of its execution would fall in the time period of the fronde. If however one relates this remark only to the first two stages of the first reconstruction - which would make a lot of sense for a bibliophile observer of that time, because what makes the codex special is the collaboration of picture and text, not the tablature - then the codex would have been "completed" during the following years by the copying of the tablature.

The second point: Significantly, the picture of Condé's military treasurer Anne de Chambré and his wife, mentioned in the preface, is missing. This could indicate that the codex changed parties as well as hands, resulting in the removal of the portrait of the political opponent.

These remarks, as well as the fact that two mutually exclusive attempts of reconstruction are conceivable, go to show how many possibilities of interpretation the presently known facts of the codex' origin leave open. It seems important to this writer that the present view, although contrary to the traditional way of looking at the origin of "La Rhétorique"<sup>33</sup>, not provoke new

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<sup>32</sup> Cordey, in Tessier, above, p.7

<sup>33</sup> Buch's repeated observation that "La Rhétorique" originated in several more or less independent phases as well as his indication adopted from previous writings that Anne de Chambré was Condé's military treasurer are his only approaches to the above outlined external circumstances of the origin of the codex. The hypothesis that the Fronde could have had a direct influence on the creation of

"credos" - but rather continued research. The path to new perceptions has been sketched out clearly enough.

The observation which will probably elicit the most emotion is the hypothesis that Denis Gaultier did not participate directly in the drafting and copying of his pieces. This remark will provoke emotions because it has been generally supposed previously that Gaultier was directly occupied with the pieces as copied there. Buch himself doubts that a work made in honor of Gaultier alone by someone in touch with him and containing his portrait would have been made without Gaultier's participation and approval (204). Buch, however, does not separate the different phases of the codex' creation sharply enough: naturally it is likely that Gaultier would have been involved in some way in the planning and execution stages - how is still open - nevertheless, the tablature entries were made by unknown hands at an unknown point in time from one or more unknown prototypes probably no longer in the spirit of the initiators of the codex. How the virtually unornamented style of these entries, contrasting sharply with Gaultier's printed collection, and the writing habits of both notators are to be evaluated will be discussed in the next issue of "Gitarre & Laute".

The following, however, is important: the primary significance of "La Rhétorique des Dieux" lay always in the encounter of the different art forms. Buch writes very rightly in the epilogue of his work: "In its own right the "Rhétorique des Dieux" is perhaps the outstanding document of French culture in the first half of the 17th century. Like its music, art work, and literary text, the unifying aesthetic sense of the "Rhétorique" has been neglected and misunderstood by modern scholars. It is to be hoped that in the near future this will be redressed." (284) This is not changed by the hypothesis of the later, no longer as-planned entry of the lute pieces: at most the practical "worth" alone of the transmission of these pieces could suffer in the eyes of lutenists. Nevertheless they do contain specific and therefore valuable information, and it is the task of the second part to work this out.

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"La Rhétorique" are conclusions of the author based on Buch's evidence and the writer's own research.

PART 2: THE TABLATURE ENTRIES IN THE STYLISTIC CONTEXT OF 17TH CENTURY FRENCH LUTE MUSIC

1 General observations on the description of manuscripts

The first part of this work, which appeared in G&L 2/89 p.17 - 23, concerned the preconditions for the interpretation of the content of "La Rhétorique", namely the description of the manuscript and conclusions to be drawn therefrom. In this writer's opinion, a description not only of "La Rhétorique", but of every source should be available, taking into consideration the following points for every segment represented in the manuscript:

- Origin of the writing material (watermarks, whereby it is wellknown that the watermark catalogs, however, give not the place of origin of the paper but rather its present location. The place of origin of a paper can be derived at best from its geographical dissemination and knowledge of the place of origin of the books composed of that paper).
- "Ex libris" entries, whereby one must clarify whether the "ex libris" entry was really written in the same hand and at the same time as the content.
- Intention of the notator (private collection, "édition de luxe", instruction-manual)
- Repertory context and dating, based on concordances and writing-habits.

From these observations can be derived, at best, a quite precise picture of the creation of the relevant segment of a manuscript.

The notation of a "segment" in a manuscript is significant, insofar as most manuscripts - even when they appear to have been written all at once - were compiled from various manuscripts or prints. Consequently, works collected under differing conditions in likewise differing versions were brought together in a new book - the manuscript in question. This new book must be considered on the one hand as an organic whole, on the other hand, however, as a vessel in which various elements have been collected. Thus, of interest is not this vessel as such, but rather the individual segment and the coincidence of these individual segments. The following questions must be posed: how did the collecting take place, from what sources was the material obtained, and how exactly was it copied?

From this differentiated method of observing the individual segments it is possible to ascertain in favorable cases a network of dependencies which permits the evaluation of the individual habits of copying and collecting. Building upon these individual investigations, we can dare to attempt to portray the history of the dissemination of the lute music of those times.

2 Observations on several preconditions for research on the style of 17th century French lute music

From this base of exact manuscript description and employing a differentiated view of style, a comprehensive portrayal of French lute music becomes possible.

The foundation of this discussion is formed mostly by modern editions, which contain a "best version" of a piece derived from several sources and presented in tablature and transcription. Precisely for this music, however, the principle would seem to apply that there is no such thing as an "Urtext" because even the prints and manuscripts containing the fingerings and performance instructions of the composer must necessarily contain only one among all possible formulations of a given piece. Insofar as every copy of a given piece transmits a version differing from all others but remaining within the possibilities inherent in that piece, the contemporary search for a single "best version" is a search for a phantom, because it excludes the factor of the "formulational latitude".

Notation and musical interpretation merge in tablature to the extent that the same musical phenomenon - for example a broken chord - can be written in various ways. The first question seems to be, "according to which criteria should the technical execution take place?" Essential, however, is not the question of how the chord was broken technically, but rather what musical intention stands behind this breaking. Only when the sense behind the "formulational latitude" has been seen can a meaningful editorial-technique be found which takes into account "transmissional latitude".

An essential point which has had and continues to have a strongly prejudicial effect on the understanding of lute music is the way in which tablature is transcribed. Seen historically the criteria of tablature transcription were developed on lute music which hardly offered any compositional problems: the music of the

Renaissance. It is normally based upon a compositional type oriented to the style of vocal polyphony. Thus, really difficult interpretational problems of voiceleading and duration of tone are rarely encountered. The case is principally different with 17th century French lute music, however: here transcriptions were undertaken before the broad discussion about style had begun<sup>34</sup>. Every transcription, however, into contemporary notation is necessarily an act of interpretation. André Souris says in his 1965 edition of Dufaut's works that transcription complements tablature in three respects, namely "la distribution des parties, les valeurs de durée et l'articulation métrique"<sup>35</sup>. Thus he imputes to this music a kind of voice leading - a characteristic, that is, which perhaps was never intended by the composers of that time. This writer is of the opinion that interpretational transcriptions are a very useful means for recognizing the musical thinking of the transcriber with respect to the music transcribed; nevertheless, for the discussion of the style of that music, they are, on the contrary, an obstacle, especially since they do not force the reader to seek the sense behind the individual notes. Therefore, this writer has employed since 1984 a system of transcription which fundamentally calculates the pitch only onto a compressed grand staff. The rhythm signs of the tablature, which give only the ictus, are placed over the grand staff where they fulfill the same function<sup>36</sup>. Thus the reader him or herself is forced to seek the voice-leading and durations. The future of research on 17th century French lute music depends to a great extent on whether it succeeds in laying open the presently discussed stylistic criteria and analytical procedures (which are supposed to lead to understanding of the object and thus are also

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<sup>34</sup> This discussion got going above all through the first legendary recordings of French lute music by Michael Schäffer and especially Hopkinson Smith. In 1972 the dissertation cited in footnote 59 by Wallace John Rave appeared, in 1983 the dissertation discussed in the first part of this article by David Buch, in 1984 the article cited in footnote 54 by Jean-Michel Vaccaro and 1987 the books cited in footnote 38 and 37 respectively by David Ledbetter and Clemens Goldberg which all attempt to work out certain aspects of the style of the 17th century French lute music.

<sup>35</sup> André Souris, *Note pour l'exécution*, in: *Oeuvres de Dufaut*, Paris (Éditions du CNRS) 1965 (Corpus des Luthistes Français), p.XXIII

<sup>36</sup> The author has used this method in all his writings since 1984 and presented it in its refined version in the lute masterclass of the Schola Cantorum Basiliensis on June 4th 1985. Recently, the then-schola student Vladimir Ivanoff has employed a very similar system in his investigation of the Pesaro Ms.

of decisive importance for tablature-transcription) in their historical limitations, and in adapting to the continually new circumstances. On this point Clemens Goldberg makes the following observation: "The transcription [of tablature] compensates by no means for a deficiency inherent in tablature, but rather for a deficiency of knowledge. Therefore every transcription reveals the transcriber's understanding of the pieces, every piece requires its own transcriptional approach, rules for transcription neither can or should exist."<sup>37</sup>

One of the goals of the second part of this article about "La Rhétorique des Dieux" is to demonstrate a few possible points of departure for analysis and thus to point out to the researcher and performer possible means of access to this fascinating music. Whether these points can be meaningful in dealing with 17th century French lute music on a daily basis will be evident from the ensuing discussion.

### 3 Clarification of a few features of style through examples

Even if lutebooks from the final decades of the 17th century contain pieces from the time between c.1640 and the date of compilation, this repertory may not be conceived of as being stylistically uniform. It is simply unthinkable for an artistic genre which enjoyed such respect among contemporaries that it should not have experienced any development with respect to, firstly, aesthetic demands and, secondly, the attempts to resolve those demands. The repertory in "La Rhétorique" stems from the first two decades following the introduction of the d minor tuning. Denis Gaultier's music, while it represents undoubtedly the high point of the 17th century French lute repertory, is based largely upon compositional means cultivated step by step in the course of the first half of the 17th century. In the following pages, therefore, pieces from the various stages of development of French lute music in the first half of the 17th century will be discussed. Here it will be less a matter of entering into the particulars of any given example than of describing tendencies which can be found in many pieces of the epoch in question.

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<sup>37</sup> Clemens Goldberg, *Stilisierung als kunstvermittelnder Prozess: Die französischen Tombeau-Stücke im 17. Jahrhundert*, Laaber (Laaber) 1987 (= Neue Heidelberger Studien zur Musikwissenschaft Bd.14), p.121

3.1 A. Francisque, Le Tresor d'Orphée, Paris 1600: Pavane d'Angle[terre], fol.10-10v (example 1)

This example has already been cited by David Ledbetter<sup>38</sup>. The following points are significant for the lute music of its time:

1. Dances come to the fore as proving ground for new musical ideas. This is not surprising when one considers that the Fantasia, important earlier, was not based on structural repeats. Precisely the possibility of repetition, however, offers the opportunity of placing ingenious and artful "varietas" in the foreground. The precept of "varietas" comes from classical rhetoric, a tradition regarded as self-evident in the musical production of that time<sup>39</sup>. As soon as this "varietas" is firmly fixed in the musical style the mostly homophonic prototype<sup>40</sup> disappears, and there remains only the "Double" as independent piece which builds artfully upon a merely "thought" prototype and which can, in turn, be yet further stylised by another "Double". This process was consummated in the first third of the 17th century: whereas Francisque's prototypes still follow to a large extent the rules of vocal polyphony, in Robert Ballard's music the prototype is already very much adapted to the specific possibilities offered by the lute, so that the prototype itself comprises a kind of "Double" to the vocal or instrumental original. In the prints of 1631 and 1638 one finds only rarely

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<sup>38</sup> David Ledbetter, *Harpichord and Lute Music in 17th-century France*, London (Macmillan) 1987, p.34 f. The first five measures of the second strain as well as the corresponding measures of the "Double", as published there, contain the following copying errors: tablature of the "Double", meas.2, 7th and eight note: 2nd course 2nd fret and first course open instead of 2nd course open and first course 2nd fret. The transcription is theoretical in nature and only with great difficulty and disregard of fingering conventions playable in meas.1 (e' has been omitted in favor of a'), meas.5 (b'flat is lifted up on account of the change in fingering, so that the suspension is "heard" musically, but in fact disappears. The same phenomenon occurs with the following a') as well as in the "Double" in meas.4 (a' and e' are not normally held) and meas.5 (b'flat and f' are normally not held).

<sup>39</sup> The connection between music and rhetoric is one of the most important features of the developing of music in the 17th century. One recalls the notions of the "seconda pratica" and "opera".

<sup>40</sup> TRANSLATOR'S NOTE: The usage here of "prototype" meaning the unvariated, unornamented version of a strain as generally played "the first time through" in dances is to be distinguished from its usage in part one of this article. There the sense is the copy, whether composer's autograph or not, of a piece from which a further copy of that piece is made, in that case into "La Rhétorique".

varied repeats - the style tested in the "Double" had acquired its independence.

2. The prototype is in general cleanly executed and varies between 3 and 4 voices. *Airs de cour* or Ballet excerpts often provide the prototype.

3. The emancipation from virtuosic scalar diminutions takes place in France. To be sure such runs can still be found but only as one of several kinds of ornamentation and mostly before clearcut cadences which can also lie within a strain. The rhythmic opulence of different fast runs is given up in favor of a regular eighth note movement.

What is the meaning of this change? Concurrently with rapid ornamentation it is usually only possible to play a rudimentary bassline. The regular eight note movement typical of 17th century French lute music, however, allows the prototype to be realized more completely than is possible concurrently with runs in the English manner (for example, John Dowland's). Thus it is possible to extend the principle of "varietas" to the middle voices as well. In the "Double", for example, leading tones in inner voices are generally not played till the last possible moment, as final eighth note. With the leading tone inserted as final eighth note, the "tipping" of the harmony is underlined, especially since the listener can have heard the chord functionally differently prior to the sounding of the leading tone.

The following cases of the transformation of chords or the clarification of harmony occur in our example:

- "Tipping" by means of the major sixth following the fifth: "Double" of A section, m.3, 6, 9 (always on the last eighth)
- Clarification via passing octave - minor 7: "Double" B, m.2, 5, "Double" C m.7, via passing third - fourth: "Double" A m.8; via descending parallel 6: "Double" C m.2; major 6 - fifth "Double" B m.4.

In six of these nine cases the relevant note occurs also in the prototype. In the prototype the note in question sounds on the latest quarter value. The stylistic peculiarity of the "Double" is, in these cases, that the relevant note be struck as late as possible in order to maintain tension (which way will the musical flow turn?) as long as possible. Thus the composer plays with the aural conventions and expectations of the player as well as of the listener. This type of "varietas" in relation to the prototype requires, however, that the unadorned prototype relatively simple, harmonically, as is predominantly the case in dance music. Thus arises the tension, typical for the French concept of music,

between the simple and natural (=the harmonic model) and the audacious and extraordinary (=varietas). Clemens Goldberg cites a passage from the sonnet by De La Hyre to Du Carroy's "Pièces Ecclestaticae" of 1609 in this context<sup>41</sup> and concludes: "Especially typical for the French artistic ideal is also that it is not enough to be "naturel" and arrange everything as simple and clearly as possible, no, the complexity of the world, the varied imponderability and the unexpected, original events of life must be present in music. Harmony of the soul and body arises only from one picture described as "rare" and "hardi". The hidden order of the world does not reveal itself in the common place, only in the unexpected and extraordinary".<sup>42</sup>

4. Significant for the style is, as a further point, the associated ever more intensive binding of the individual tone to a very specific function. As in the abovementioned case, one takes care that in the treatment also of the bass and the upper voice a tension, an attitude of expectation, arise.

The lower voice often leads in ascending or descending eighth notes to the next harmonic goal ("Doubles" A m.1: B m.1; C m.1, 5, 6), and can often be thought of as getting the next phrase going ("Doubles" A m.1; B m.1; C m.1).

Probably the most striking change compared with the prototype is the breaking of chords. Normally the chord members are stroked in the sequence bass, upper voice, middle voice whereby a tone which leads onward is often set as the next eighth note. (A m.1 to 1, A 2 to 3, A 6 to 3, B 1 to 1, B 3 to 1, B 4 to 1, B 4 to 3, B 9 to 3, B 10 to 3, C 2 to 1, C 3 to 1). This groundrule is broken, however, in several cases where the by far most frequent deviation from the groundrule is explained by the continuation of a line (A 2 to 1 e f g a, A 3 to 3 b flat a g, A 4 to 3 f' e' d' c', A 8 to 3 b flat a g, A 9 to 3 c'' b' flat a', B 1 to 3 g' a' b' flat c'', B 2 to 1 a b flat c d, B 2 to 3 g a, B 3 to 3 f' g' a', B 9 to 1 g'-G, C 2 to 3 b' flat a', C 4 to 3 c'' b' flat a' g', C 5 to 3 b flat a g f, C 6 to 3 g' f' e' d'). Here it must be observed that the line in question can be found in the upper, lower or middle voice. Furthermore the groundrule can be broken when turns of phrase typical for the piece are brought into the broken chord, for example typical leaps (C 5 to 1 b' flat f' und C 7 to 1 f' c') or gestures right at the beginning of a phrase (A 1 to 3 the leading back to the fifth). More rarely are refined dispositions of structural tones, which must be heard, undertaken (C 3 to 3: all eight tones of the prototype can be accommodated in this way).

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<sup>41</sup> Goldberg is mistaken in his assumption that the following quotation comes from an anonymous author. The quoted passage in Herbert Schneider, *Die französische Kompositionslehre in der ersten Hälfte des 17. Jahrhunderts*, Tutzing (Schneider) 1972 (= Mainzer Studien zur Musikwissenschaft, Bd.3), p.197 cites De La Hyre as the author of the quoted sonnet.

<sup>42</sup> Clemens Goldberg, above, p.105

Naturally several of these functions can overlap. Thus one might employ the simultaneous attack of upper and lower voice in which case the entire chord often sounds (A 4 to 1 und 2, 5 to 2, 6 to 3 (voiceleading!), 7 to 1, 9 to 1, B 10 to 1, C 6 to 1 und 3).

5. These observations clearly show that the composition of "Doubles" is not conceived in relation to the upper voice; rather that it is required of player and listener to retain the prototype in his or her aural memory in order to understand the sense and refinement of the "Double".

Thus the role of the player and listener is that of one who thinks and sings along, in any case that of one who takes an active part in the musical process. The possibility of giving up the regular beat of a melody in favor of the rhythmically vaguer "ductus" of the "style brisé" proceeds from this active participation. This doesn't mean, however, that the often syncopated melodies are weak. They demand that the listener think along, the strength of the melodies being not in the melodies themselves, but rather of necessity in the inherent prototype in the listener's inner ear. If the listener already hears the expected tone in his or her inner ear, (s)he won't perceive the melody as syncopated, the delayed appearance either confirming this expectation or already leading the line elsewhere. Interestingly enough, no contemporary Frenchmen spoke of "style brisé": the term is a modern creation. François Couperin alone uses a similar expression "les choses lutées". Couperin distinguishes this usage with the following notion - "les choses lutées, et sincopées" - by this explicit mention from what is meant today by "style brisé"<sup>43</sup>.

6. On the contrary, the principle of "tactus" or beat continues to be important, no longer, however, in relation to the upper voice alone. Rather, the beat is related now to the individual segments of the "Double" determined by the harmonic progression and its points of emphasis. Since the chord progression of the prototype is based on the beat, the beginning of each broken chord in the "Double" coincides with the beat. Thus arise temporal "rooms" or "segments" within the beat, within which the breakings or runs can move. The play with the balance between resting and driving "rooms", between relaxation and movement, between meditation and action is perhaps the most typical element of French lute music

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<sup>43</sup> François Couperin, *L'art de toucher le Clavecin*, Paris 1716, ed. by Anna Linde, Wiesbaden (Breitkopf & Härtel) 1933, p.33

and was employed in the course of the 17th century, and especially around midcentury, with great subtlety.

The lute music from after 1600 is based on the principles demonstrated in the example by Francisque. However, several new levels are added to this puzzling game with the musical conventions of the participants - hearer and player. The devices present in Francisque's music are refined, defined as semantic symbols, and employed even more consciously.

3.2 Robert Ballard: [Diverses pièces mises sur le luth], Paris 1611: Cinquiesme Courante de la Reyne (example 2)

Apart from the lutebooks cited in the CNRS edition, this Courante appears in the Kremsmünster Manuscript (Benedictine L 81<sup>44</sup>). Comparison of the two versions in L 81 and Ballard's print should demonstrate what was meant at the outset by the various segments of a manuscript.

Originally the codex consisted of c.240 leaves of which 154 are still preserved today. Among them exactly 77 have tablature. Since it is probable that blank leaves alone were cut out or drawn on by children, it is possible to divide L 81 into five parts according to content, all five of which are separated by removed or drawn on blank leaves.

The first part of L 81 contains music notated in French lute tablature based for the most part on "Accods nouveaux". It is striking that the bass courses in several pieces are notated in the Italian manner, that is with the numerals 8, 9 and X. In this first part of L 81 are to be found no less than 15 concordances with the print "Les Oeuvres de Pierre Gaultier...", published in 1638 in Rome. Four other pieces may be by Pierre Gaultier<sup>45</sup>.

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<sup>44</sup> The author devoted an article to L 81: *Die Lautentabulatur L 81 des Benediktinerstifts Kremsmünster, genannt: «Das Lautenbuch des Johann Sebastian von Hallwyl»: Eine Einführung in die Probleme der Handschrift*, in: *Heimatkunde aus dem Seetal* 61.Jg. (1988), p.32-50, available from the Seetaler Druckerei, CH-5707 Seengen.

Further concordances with Ballard's Courante will be communicated by Robert Spencer in the facsimile edition of his Werl-ms (cf.footnote 46).

<sup>45</sup> The author was informed by François-Pierre Goy of an error in the above mentioned article about L 81: The concordance cited on p.42 of piece No.1 with piece 61 of the Pierre Gaultier edition of CNRS is incorrect. This piece, however, is likewise attributed to a certain "Gontier" as is the incomplete piece no.3 where the name is spelled "Goutier". Judging by their style, pieces 2 and 11 could also be by Gaultier.

Gaultier himself uses the normal way of writing basses in his print. The only print known to use the Italian manner of writing basses is Michelangelo Galilei's "Primo Libro d'Intavolatura di Liuto", printed in Munich in 1620<sup>46</sup>.

The second part, too, of L 81 contains music notated in French tablature. The source for this part may have originated in Germany as Mezangeau and Bocquet are represented therein and the compiler of L 81 was a German speaker. The Allemande by Mezangeau is found also in the manuscripts "Ms.CNRS" and "Dalhousie 5"; there, however, the chanterelle is tuned a half step lower (an "accord nouveau" like in L 81) than in the tuning in which this piece was copied into L 81. In both the "Ms.CNRS" and "Dalhousie 5" the notation of the chanterelle was corrected the first time it comes into use: the tablature letter "a" (open string) was made into a "b" (first fret). This could be an indication that Mezangeau composed the piece first in the tuning found in L 81 but then, when he copied the piece personally into the two other manuscripts, "thought" out of habit in the old tuning and, therefore, made an error the first time he had to notate the (now half tone lower) chanterelle. Since Mezangeau's entries in the two manuscripts "Ms.CNRS" and "Dalhousie 5" were undertaken in c.1631/32, the version which ended up in L 81 must have originated prior to 1631. Since the supposed source of precisely this part points to Germany, the older version of this Allemande may have been transmitted in several stages until it found its way from Paris to Germany and from there to Rome - the probable place of origin of L 81.

The third part contains simple mundane music ("Gebrauchsmusik") in Italian tablature, additionally, however, several Toccatas. One of these Toccatas is also to be found in Germany in the "album of Johann Stobaeus"<sup>47</sup>. Filled in between 1638 and 1640, the album

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<sup>46</sup> Minkoff issued recently a facsimile rendering legible (in the renowned quality of the Genevan publisher) the pieces notated by the former owner of the London copy - Albertus Werl. Claude Chauvel wrote a very noteworthy commentary. The surviving remainder of the Werl-Ms., which originally contained the print plus 91 leaves in the same format, will be published in facsimile in the near future by its present owner Robert Spencer.

<sup>47</sup> London, British Library, Ms.Sloane 1021, fol.5r (according to the foliation by **Donna May Arnold**, *The Lute Music and Related Writings in the Stammbuch of Johann Stobaeus*, Denton, Texas (UMI Ann Arbor) 1981 on folio 4r) corresponds - apart from larger deviations at the end - to piece no.95 in L 81 (according to

stems from Königsberg poetic circle<sup>48</sup>. Whether and insofar Johann Stobaeus was collector only or notator also of this codex and whether he possessed the codex and entered his name on the last leaf to show possession has not yet been sufficiently investigated.

Concordances of mundane music ("Gebrauchsmusik") often offer a special problem: since this music consists to a large extent of the simplest tone combinations combined in turn with stereotypical ornamental formulae, turns of phrase conferring unmistakable identity upon a piece are rare. Even if, however, such a turn of phrase should occur in a source available to a copyist, there is no guarantee that the copyist in turn would copy this exactly into his own book. On the contrary, while keeping within certain conventional limits, one copied music for one's own personal use, which included adaptation to one's own taste, ability, and musical understanding.

The fifth part contains Italian guitar music. It is here that the name "Sebastian de Halwyl" appears, which promoted Rudolf Flotzinger to attribute the whole book to Johann Sebastian von Hallwyl<sup>49</sup>. This writer is of the opinion that L 81 did not originate with Johann Sebastian von Hallwyl but rather from a copyist who perhaps made himself known with the initials "NB" but whose identity has not been able to be established<sup>50</sup>.

The fourth part, in which our Courante has been transmitted as piece no. 117 on fol.210r<sup>51</sup>, contains once again French repertory, now notated in normal French tablature and requiring the "vieil ton". What was said above concerning the difficulty of establishing concordances in Italian mundane music ("Gebrauchsmusik") goes for the Courante in question, too: the notator of L 81 copied music for his personal use which included

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Flotzinger's foliation fol.133v, according to Schlegel fol.190v, see footnotes 49 and 51).

<sup>48</sup> Donna May Arnold, above, p.69-75

<sup>49</sup> Rudolf Flotzinger, *Die Lautentabulaturen des Stiftes Kremsmünster, Thematischer Katalog*, Wien 1965 (= *Tabulae Musicae Austriacae II*), p.28 f.

<sup>50</sup> Andreas Schlegel, above, p.39-41

<sup>51</sup> According to Flotzinger, above, p.89, this piece is on fol.151r; according to this writer's count, which includes the missing leaves, this courant would have been copied on fol.210r.

adaptation to his own taste, ability, and musical understanding. This becomes clear in the following points:

- Firstly, the varied "Double" is missing which, in the print, follows the prototype without visible caesura<sup>52</sup>.
- Secondly, the entire page is vertically traced with continuous barlines. By means of this kind of layout the notator of L 81 minimized the need for rhythm signs: indeed only seven rhythm signs were set. The player must therefore figure out the rhythmical shape of each measure himself. This works, however, only if conventions exist which provide the player with criteria for the shaping of the rhythm. Several conventions are evident in this piece:

(1) When the last three notes of a measure form a scale which reaches its goal in the next measure, these three notes are played as eighth notes.

(2) When two notes appear apart in an upper voice at the end of a measure, and reach their goal in the first note of the upper voice in the next measure, they are played as sixteenth notes.

(3) The phrases generally consist of measure pairs; either in 2 x 3 quarters or in 3 x 2 quarters whereby hemiolas occur often before cadences and very often elsewhere, too.

(4) The bass note is usually anticipated at those moments in which something important happens in the upper voice on a strong beat accompanied by a full chord and where otherwise a "hole" in the rhythmic flow of quarter and eighth notes would be felt.

(5) The bass is played behind the beat when the unaccompanied upper voice can come on the first beat.

(6) The rhythmic flow often doesn't begin till the second measure, but once it has begun, is maintained at least at the quarter note level. Exceptions to this convention are furnished at the most by strong caesuras.

Therefore, if one reconstructs the rhythm signs according to the above conventions, the bass anticipation before measure 1 and 2 arises in accordance with convention 4. Convention 1 occurs in measure 2, measure 3 must begin with b natural because of convention, the bass is behind the beat according to convention 5, so that the g by the notator of L 81 must be read according to convention 4. The print, however, has a simple chord broken over 2 measures, which ascends from the target note b natural above the

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<sup>52</sup> The microfilm of this source being unavailable, this statement is based on: Robert Ballard, *Premier livre (1611)*, Edition et transcription par André Souris et Sylvie Spycket, Introduction historique et étude des concordances par Monique Rollin, Paris<sup>2</sup> (Editions du CNRS) 1976 (=Corpus des Luthistes Français), p.47-49

bass once again to the target note. In measure 5 the upper appoggiatura c'' is ornamental, not structural. Thus, dotting renders the lightness of this tone better than continuous quarters. Measure 6 contains a scribal error (e and b' natural instead of d and a'), which, apart from the resulting unusual melodic progression, indicates that the notator of L 81 perhaps did not conceive the hemiola (clarified in the print by the anticipation of the bass according to convention 4 and by the chord being struck behind the beat according to convention 5) as such. Measures 8 and 9 are played according to convention 1, measure 10 according to convention 2, measure 11 in turn according to convention 1. Measure 12 is interesting insofar as the notator of L 81 writes the third eighth note (convention 1) already in the next measure. He probably does so for reasons of space. The E flat in measure 13 is anticipated according to convention 4 since here the upper voice begins the expected cadential hemiola. The last two notes of measure 14 are played according to convention 2.

Bearing these conventions in mind, it is easy enough to play the piece from L 81 correctly. Thus arises the question whether the notator of L 81 was so intelligent that he could afford to omit the rhythm signs, or simply careless. Probably he was both: his copies often exhibit lacunae, and scribal errors such as must have been noticed during the first playthrough and should have been then corrected, are frequent. In spite of all, he had one thing going for him: a feeling for this kind of music based on the mastery of the above mentioned conventions. Therefore it is not surprising that this notator omitted the considerably more complexly formed "Double" in each case.

The next question, of course, is how was the "Double" intensified? The most important characteristic is that the rhythmic grouping within the individual measures is schematized: usually the first three eighth values are employed for chord breaking and the following three for the run-up to a target note (measures 1, 4, 7, 8, 11, 12, 13, 17, 18, 19, 21, 23 and 24). This is nothing new - the run-up to a target note corresponds to convention 1 above. New, however, is the increased prominence of rhythmic and linear concentration on the first beat as well as the relaxation in the broken chords which result. Thus would arise, regarded from the standpoint of the functional importance of every tone, a continual rocking back and forth between tension and relaxation were "varietas" not to promote a continual tension as to in which sequence and with which function the broken chord takes place, and whether and how the next goal will be set up. The art of the "Double" consists, therefore, in mediating continually between expectation and "varietas". No tone is accidental, each has its special function.

This can be a filler note giving importance to a chord (measure 14 on 1: c') as target note (measure 1 on 1: e'flat), as leading tone (measure 20 on 3+: d'), as connecting note between two chord members (measure 21 on 1+: a'flat), as passing note in a goal-oriented movement (measure 4 on 2+ until the end; measure 1 on 3: a flat) or as a cadential preparation (measure 6 on 3: a g a). Chord-breaking (measures 1, 4, 5, 7, 8, 9, 11, 12, 13, 15, 17, 18, 19, 20, 23, 24, 25, 27) takes place there in the sequence upper voice, bass, middle voice (or upper voice) where the upper voice is the goal of a movement (measures 1, 4, 5, 7, 8, 9, 11, 15, 23, 27) with the exception of measure 19. The bass is struck likewise on the first beat when it is goal or point of departure for a movement (measures 18, 20). In the first five measures of the second part the bass is consistently brought on the first beat in the interest of "varietas". In measures 12 and 24 the triple rhythm before the following hemiola (measures 13-14 resp. 25-26) is clarified once again by means of the falling bass.

The intensification from the lutenistic prototype to the "Double" is achieved through a concentration of musical means assigning a function to every note. Since the composition is not strictly linearly through composed but rather is based on a merely "thought" voice leading, the possibility arises of employing a line - in whatever voice - or a tone from a middle voice only where this musical information is of elementary significance for a turn of phrase or for the general flow of the composition.

### 3.3 Pierre Dubut le père: Pieces in d minor, Entrée (example 3)

In 1638 the printer Pierre Ballard of Paris published the "Tablature de luth de differens autheurs, sur les accords nouveaux", which already employed the later widely adopted d-minor tuning (the six highest pitched courses: f' d' aa ff dd aA). In the print, however, the new tuning is only used by Pierre Dubut le père. The Entrée introduces a kind of Suite in d minor, being followed by an Allemande, a Courante, and a Sarabande. The Entrée is of great interest because the genre of the unmeasured Prelude emerged in the third decade of the 17th century and made an essential contribution to the further refinement of the style.

What prompted the composers to abandon the notationally accommodated metrical hierarchy of the dances in favor of the notationally fully open form of the unmeasured preludes? If one wishes to draw a direct line, the formulae - in our case the goal-oriented lines - might have played an essential role. The entire Entrée is one big collection of ascending and descending three and four-note movements. Additionally a possibility not yet discussed

in research on the subject occurs several times in this piece: the participation of the octave strings in the upper voices. When Dubut - furthermore in somewhat weakened form in the entire suite - makes the dynamism of an ascending or descending movement the theme of the composition, it is fully possible to speak of a kind of "soggetto". Thus, a compositional technique is used which was long known in polyphonic music. This polyphonic technique is used here in a manner of composition, however, which renounces all explicit voice leading as long as the voice does not have any function to fill in the imaginary (contrapuntal/harmonic) prototype containing it.

#### 3.4 Pierre Dubut le père: Courante CNRS 38, first strain (example 4)<sup>53</sup>

The Courante in question has been used once already as an example in an article by Jean-Michel Vaccaro. Vaccaro was concerned there above all with the comparison and characterisation of the 25 versions in which this piece has been transmitted<sup>54</sup>. In order to be better able to work out the nature of a given version he reduced the Courante to a common basis, "une sorte de charpente mélodico-harmonique". This procedure gives on one hand the opportunity to evaluate the individual formulations from a common basis. There exists a danger, on the other hand, in the exclusion of two factors: (1) the rhythmic movement and, correspondingly, the rhythmic pulse is lost to an extent through the reduction to quarter notes, and (2) a two voiced framework cannot reflect the density of the composition.

Vaccaro chose the Saizenay I Ms. as the definitive source for his edition of Dubut's works. For reasons of space we too will use this version as point of departure for our discussion.

The Courante begins, as already often observed, with a full chord, followed in the functionally important second half of the measure, as has also been pointed out, by a goal-oriented three note group. The descending movement - in unornamented form a g f - is picked

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<sup>53</sup> Numbering according to Monique Rollin und Jean-Michel Vaccaro, *Oeuvres des Dubut*, Paris (Editions du CNRS) 1982 (=Corpus des Luthistes Français)

<sup>54</sup> Jean-Michel Vaccaro, *Une courante célèbre du Dubut le Père: une étude de concordances*, in: *Le luth et sa musique II*, Paris (Editions du CNRS) 1984, p.229 - 252

up immediately by the ascending contrary motion which rather brakes the energy of the beginning and lets the movement in the following dominant swing out. The descending motion in turn is taken up in meas.4 and leads in a continuous line from d' to f. This line is clarified by the uniform rhythm and variously shaped by the (in those days) usual ornaments (subsumptio praepositiva or Cercar della nota in meas.4, Accentus or Superjectio in meas.5<sup>55</sup>, cadential formula in meas.6). Naturally, the cadential bass note is struck after the beat because the entire movement is concentrated on the upper voice. Thence follows another linear ascent from c' via c#' (signalling modulation) to e' which, thanks to the bass c#, is intensely strained and thus furnishes energy for the descent back to a.

In this example it is possible to observe many compositional procedures which had already been developed at the beginning of the century. The upper voice in this example is very linear, one can speak by all means of a kind of monody transcribed for lute. The gestures are clearly distinguished from one another, the periods consist of 4 measures. The narrow ambitus, the relatively slow but directionally clear movement can be felt as a very strong line. There even exists a version for voice and continuo of this Courante<sup>56</sup>.

### 3.5 François Dufaut: Tombeau de Blancrocher (example 5)

Two compositional devices, previously observed but not employed in Dubut's Courante - the participation of octave strings in the upper voice leading and the use of a "soggetto" - can be observed in the next example: Dufaut's famous Tombeau de Blancrocher. Already the "soggetto" itself indicates the fundamentally different concept of this piece: from the very beginning it is varied, one interpretation of the material being replaced by another.

Whereas the descending fourth and the plagal close on half note level are decisive in the first two measures - ornamented by two

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<sup>55</sup> Both terms are taken from Christoph Bernhard's, *Ausführlicher Bericht vom Gebrauche der Con- und Dissonantien* (Joseph Müller-Blattau, *Die Kompositionslehre Heinrich Schützens in der Fassung seines Schülers Christoph Bernhard*, Kassel etc. 1963, p.148).

<sup>56</sup> Printed in: Adam Krieger, *Neue Arien*, 2., vermehrte Auflage, Dresden 1676 (posthumous), "Das fünfte Zehn, Aria 1.: «So ist es denn geschehn...»"

eight notes f' and g' as well as the quarter note f' - the bass in meas.2 takes up the livelier movement in filling out the third d-f. The closing d sounds first as octave string in meas.3,1, but is simultaneously the point of departure to the next form of the "soggetto", the reason for its being struck again afterwards in clarification. In this next form a further fundamentally different reading is prepared: whereas in the beginning the leap of the fourth with the plagal close was essential, here the descending fourth becomes its own "soggetto". This reading is also introduced on half note level in meas.3 where the ornamentation picks up the descending fourth once more. In meas.4 this descending fourth begins with the expressive e'flat, proceeds through the middle voices (d' e'flat b'flat d') to the c' on the fifth quarter and arrives at b flat on the seventh quarter sounding as octave string. More obvious is the descending fourth in measures 6 (d c B flat A), 7 (g f e d e d, the last tone being on the octave string) and 8 (d' c' b flat a). A similar development of the "soggetto" can be observed in the second strain of this tombeau: whereas in meas.9 and 10 the first form of the "soggetto" is repeated, in meas.11 and 12 the theme reduces itself to the diminished fourth b flat f sharp, the effect of which is strengthened by the well known ornament, resolving both times into g. In meas.13 and 14 the return - no longer plagal - after the e to d is turned to ascend to f and f sharp, respectively, which is taken up in the middle voice of meas.13 on the seventh quarter value. In meas.14 the important turning point in the descent appears latest on the fifth quarter value. One could very well see the c' as final note of the "soggetto" in the upper voice, which would contradict the above interpretation. In any case this tone is point of departure for the next - or first - stage in the "relay-race" descent with the help of the "soggetto" which begins in meas.14 either on the first beat or on the fifth quarter value, depending on one's interpretation, and reaches the next point of departure for the further descant on the octave string of the D on the first beat of meas.15. Here the closing descent of a fifth from d to G appears for the first time. It is repeated beginning on the same note and lightly varied as the unifying "soggetto" in meas.15, seventh quarter value (octave string d)<sup>57</sup>.

#### 4 The style of the tablature entries in "La Rhétorique des Dieux"

We have now reached midcentury; to be precise, the tombeau on the death of the lutenist Blancrocher brings us to the year 1652<sup>58</sup>. This date has been regarded previously as being the date of origin of "La Rhétorique des Dieux" which, at least for the tablature entries, is questionable. In the following section it will be a matter of investigating whether notator A or notator B or at least their tablature prototypes ("prototype" here in the sense of the copy used by the notator) can be connected with Denis Gaultier.

<sup>57</sup> Compare this analysis of compositional technique with the extensive interpretation of Clemens Goldberg, above, p.155-162.

<sup>58</sup> Clemens Goldberg, above, p.156

The codicological and paleographical findings already reached would seem to make such a connection with either notator very unlikely. Hence several examples by both scribes should be discussed from a stylistic point of view. Should the style and quality of the entries also speak against a connection with Denis Gaultier, this would coincide with the finding of the first part of this essay. Thus, a considerable degree of certainty would be attained that the tablature entries can have had nothing to do with Denis Gaultier.

#### 4.1 Observations on the fidelity of the transmission of French lute music

In order first of all to gain perspective on the scope of the transmission of Denis Gaultier's works, the randomly chosen Courante "La Champré" and its "Double" (in "La Rhétorique" untitles on p.232-235 in the hand of notator B) will be discussed here (example 6). There are 16 concordances of this piece; a very late source (Göttweig 1) attributes it to Ennemond Gaultier<sup>59</sup>.

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- <sup>59</sup> 1. A-Göttweig, Benediktinerstift, Musikarchiv, Ms.Lautentabulatur 1, Fol.79'-80, "Courante du vieux Gautier" (without "Double") (previous dating of the manuscript (the dating regarded as most likely by this writer is underlined): RISM: Beginning of the second third of the 18th.c.; datings 1735-1738; RollinG: Beginning of the 18th.c.; RollinP: 1735-1738)
2. A-Wien, Bibl. der Gesellschaft der Musikfreunde, Ms.7763/92 (Ms.Schwanberg), Fol.47'-48, "Courante de Gautier" (without "Double") (RISM: c.1680; RollinG: 2nd half 17th.c.; RollinP: toward 1680; Rave: c.1700-1710)
3. A-Wien, Oesterr.Nationalbibl., Musiksammlung, Ms.Mus.17706, Fol.10'-11, "Courante d.g.la champré" (without "Double") (RISM: beginning of the 18th.c.; RollinG: begun in France, continued in Austria toward 1700; RollinP: begun in France c.1680, continued in Austria toward 1700; Rave: c.1690-1700)
4. CS-Prag, Statní knihovna, Ms.II.Kk 77, p.80-81, "Courante" (without "Double", for Baroque guitar (RISM: 1st quarter of the 18th.c.)
5. CS-Prag, Statní knihovna, Ms.II.Kk 77, p.160-161, "Courente" (without "Double", for Baroque guitar)
6. CS-Prag, Statní knihovna, Ms.II.Kk 84 (Blovin), p.12-15, "Courante" (with following "Double") (RISM: Beginning of the 18th.c., parts c.1676 (dated); RollinG and RollinP: "Julien Blovin à Rome 1676"; Rave: c.1676-1680)
7. F-Besançon, Bibl.mun., Ms.279152 Rés.musique (Saizenay I), p.38, "La Champré courante de Mr.Gautier" (with following "Double") (RISM: c.1700. dated 1699; RollinG and RollinP: end of the 17th.c.; Rave: c.1700-1720)
8. F-Besançon, Bibl.mun., Ms.279153 Rés.musique (Saizenay II), p.16-17, "La Champré courante de M.G.J." (without "Double") (RISM: c.1700. Datierung 1699; RollinG und RollinP: "commencé le 4 août 1699"; Rave: c.1700-1710)
9. F-Paris (?) Ms.Tessier (verschollen), P.36-37, "Courante Gautier" (without "Double")
10. F-Paris, Bibl.Nationale, Dép.de la musique, Ms.Fonds Cons. Rés. 823 (Milleran), Fol.89'-91, "La Champré courante de Gautier" (with following "Double") (RISM: 1690

The sources can be classified chronologically and geographically as follows; dating and place of origin, however, need to be investigated more closely<sup>60</sup>:

until the beginning of the 18th.c.; RollinG and RollinP: toward 1690; Rave: c.1682-1687)

11. F-Paris, Bibl.Nationale, Dép.de la musique, Ms.Rés. Vmb ms.7 (Barbe), p.30-31, "La Champré de Gautier" (with following "Double") (RISM: beginning of the 18th.c.; RollinG and RollinP: end of the 17th.c.; Rave: c.1685-1695)

12. F-Paris, Bibl.Nationale, Dép.de la musique, Ms.Rés. Vm<sup>7</sup> 370 (Brossard), Fol.23'-24, "Courante de Gautier" ("Double" Fol.26'-27) (RISM: c.1672-1673, addenda c.1680 possible; RollinG: "Pièces de luth/ recueillies et écrites/ à Caen et autres lieux/es années 1672 : 73... Par S. de Brossard"; Rave: c.1672-1682)

13. F-Paris, Bibl.Nationale, Dép.de la musique, Ms. Vm<sup>7</sup> 6212 (Monin), Fol.67'-68 (with integrated "Double") (RISM: c.1664-1680. dated 1664; RollinG and RollinP: begun in 1664; Rave: c.1664-1680. The activity of Notator C, who copied in the Courante, can be dated c.1669-1674.)

14. F-Paris, Bibl.Nationale, Dép.de la musique, Ms. Vm<sup>7</sup> 6214, Fol.50'-51, "Courante de G." ("Double" 56'-57) (RISM: end of the 17th.c.; RollinG: edited after 1650 in a credit book [printed] by Robert Ballard; RollinP: edited in a ..., 2nd half of the 17th.c.; Rave: c.1680)

15. GB-Oxford, Bodleian Library, Ms.mus. Sch.G.617, p.36-39, "La Champré courante de Gautier de P." (with following "Double") (RISM: c.1660-1680; RollinG and RollinP: end of the 17th.c.; Rave: c.1690-1700)

16. PL-Krakow, Biblioteka Jagiellonska, Mus.ms.40593 (formerly Berlin), p.36-37, "Courante du Gautier" (without "Double") (RISM: c.1700; RollinG: toward 1700)

These citations were drawn from the following sources:

RISM = RISM B VII: **Wolfgang Boetticher**, *Handschriftlich überlieferte Lauten- und Gitarrentabulaturen des 15. bis 18.Jahrhunderts*, München (Henle) 1978

RollinG = **Monique Rollin**, *Etude de concordances*, in: *Oeuvres du vieux Gautier*, Paris (Editions du CNRS) 1966 (=Corpus des Luthistes Français),

RollinP = **Monique Rollin and Jean-Michel Vaccaro**, *Oeuvres de Pinel*, Paris (Editions du CNRS) 1982 (=Corpus des Luthistes Français),

Rave = **Wallace John Rave**, *Some Manuscripts of French Lute Music 1630-1700: An Introductory Study*, Diss.Urbana, Illinois 1972 (UMI Ann Arbor)

The author owes the exact details on the concordances to the book by Rave, a list of concordances which David Buch kindly made available to him, as well as to these writer's correspondence with François-Pierre Goy. François-Pierre Goy is preparing a list of concordances for the facsimile edition of "La Rhétorique" scheduled for publication in the near future by Minkoff in Geneva.

<sup>60</sup> A catalog of sources of lute music modelled after **Bruce Gustafson**, *French Harpsichord Music of the 17th.Century: A Thematic Catalog of the Sources with Commentary*, Ann Arbor (UMI) 1977 (= Studies in Musicology No.11) with exact codicological details such as make-up of the gatherings, watermarks, palaeographical observations, inventory, and summary of concordances is still lacking in the lute area. To be sure, Rave went quite far in this direction; nevertheless his manuscript descriptions and the reasons for his dating are in general neither adequately detailed nor broadly enough supported.

Time	France	Elsewhere
c.1669-1674	13 Monin	
c.1676-1680		6 Prag Blovin (at Roma)
c.1672-1682	12 Brossard (à Caen)	
c.1680	14 Paris 6214	
c.1680	3 Wien 17706	
c.1682-1687	10 Milleran	
c.1685-1695	11 Barbe	
c.1690-1700	15 Oxford 617	
	16 Krakow 40593	
c.1700-1710	8 Saizenay II (Paris)	2 Wien, Schwanberg
c.1700-1720	7 Saizenay I (Paris)	
c.1720		4, 5 Prag 77
c.1735-38		1 Göttweig 1

The sources specified cover a period of nearly 60 years during which the piece could only be transmitted from manuscript to manuscript. In contrast to many other pieces from "La Rhétorique des Dieux" this Courante appears in no print of Gaultier's, so no authorized version exists. For the period from c.1652 till 1669 no concordance has yet been found which could indicate that the piece was composed relatively late - that is, after the first phase of work on "La Rhétorique" in 1652. On the other hand, it must be pointed out that several sources from precisely this period have recently come to light which, in part, have not yet been able to be worked over, including for example the Robarts Lute Book (c.1654-68), the Werl Ms. (c.1625-55), the Viée Ms. (Paris, BN, Mus.Rés. Vmf.ms 51, c.1653), the Houghton Ms. (Cambridge Mass., Harvard University, Houghton Library, Ms.Mus.174, c.1650), the Keller Ms. (Paris, BN, Mus.Rés. Vmd ms.48, c.1663) among others. For the evaluation of the version of the Courante "La Champré" in "La Rhétorique", the "transmissional latitude"<sup>61</sup> of all sources besides the "Rhétorique" is to be observed and whether or not the version in "La Rhétorique" falls within this range<sup>62</sup>.

<sup>61</sup> ADDITION BY THE AUTHOR: Since this article was written (April 1989), the author has worked out a further study on the problem of the transmission of lute music and the help it can provide the modern player who can learn many things from the different versions of a given piece. Thus, in all further studies the terms "transmissional latitude" will mean all the different versions of a piece, while the term "formulational latitude" will mean those deviations which don't change the musical sense of the piece - for ex. the different possibilities of writing a chord. Of course, the point of further discussion has to be, which deviation changes which musical fact.

<sup>62</sup> The author had access only to sources 3-8, 10, 11, 13-16.

In the musical example, the version from the probably second oldest manuscript (after "La Rhétorique": manuscript Monin) is at the bottom, while the respective deviations from the other manuscripts are notated with place of origin on the upper system. By "deviation" is to be understood only tones differing from the other versions. If one compares the various manuscripts and prints from the period c.1640 - 1700, it is striking that in the entire "Rhétorique" ornament signs occur very sporadically, technical indications and "Séparés" (symbols for chordbreaking) hardly at all. While this contrasts sharply with the other surviving manuscripts containing the same repertory, the difference is especially great between the versions in Gaultier's prints and those in "La Rhétorique". David Buch explains the differences between "La Rhétorique" and the Gaultier prints with the 20 year span lying, in his opinion, between the writing out of "La Rhétorique" and the printing of "Pièces de luth de Denis Gaultier" (Paris, c.1669) and "Livre de Tablature" (Paris, c.1672)<sup>63</sup>. That this writer is not aware of a single manuscript from this period that exhibits so few supplementary markings would contradict this explanation. On the contrary, these signs are used extensively in all of the manuscripts from the period c.1640-1700 known to this writer - except in "La Rhétorique". Buch cites a passage from the "Burwell Lute Tutor" complaining of the misuse of the "shake" (trill or "pull-off") and claiming that Gaultier did not want any trills at all<sup>64</sup>. Even if one accepts this argument, which, however, is qualified by the continual use of the "shake" in Gaultier's prints, the question remains for all other sort of additional marking. It would seem rather to be case, therefore, that the manner of copying devoid of additional signs is unique and that it cannot be considered to indicate an especially good source.

The "formulational latitude" unique to the French lute music transmission concerns above all the rhythmic notation of chords. There are four possible ways of writing chords:

- as vertically aligned chord members without "Séparés" (=A)
- as vertically aligned chord members with "Séparés" (=S)
- as a broken or arpeggiated chord (=B)

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<sup>63</sup> David Buch, above, p.239f

<sup>64</sup> Thurston Dart, *Miss Mary Burwell's Instruction Book for the Lute*, Galpin Society Journal VI (1958), p.34, quoted according to Buch, above, p.240

A three-voiced chord can be transformed into a two voiced chord whose bass is played after the beat (measure 25, chord Nr.28: the sources 14, 3, 11, 8 and 7 bring the tones a and c' as "Séparés" and give the bass note on the second beat).

One must bear in mind when speaking of the "Séparés" that different notators obviously have different writing habits: Blovin (source 6) for example sets, even in three-voiced chords, only one diagonal line from bottom left to top right, namely there where the most room is. The question, thus, is whether the breaking is to take place in two or three stages. Here, as well as in the question of the ornament signs (cf. the unidentified cross in Monin, source 13), only studies of the writing habits of the individual scribes can yield fruitful clues.

The "formulational latitude" concerning the manner of writing and playing a chord is taken advantage of by the individual notators especially in measures which contain a moment of rest which, in turn, is usually in the first half of the measure. In passages supposed to convey a strong rhythmic pulse no broken chords are used.

See for ex. meas.3, nr.3 as conclusion of the conventional beginning and accentuation of the basic pulse in two measure groups, meas.9, nr.10 as beginning of the hemiola whereby the common attack on the second half note in nr.14 is broken through only by Saizenay, and no.15, with regard to rhythmic function, is transmitted (B or S) only in weakened form. Likewise the shared and simultaneous attack in meas.13, no.17 can be derived from its central location between two hemiola groups. Meas.17, no.20 is the opening chord of the second part.

Motivic fixed points, too, are often sounded together.

Meas.23, no.24: conclusion of the phrase, which is subsequently transposed and then repeated with the typical tone repetition and the gradually proceeding bass; these repetitions, however, only in "La Rhétorique" are transmitted not as chords to be played together. The typical descending line, too, of this motive in the upper voice is understood similarly in all sources except no.3 (Vienna). It is striking that Vienna is the only source to employ "Séparés" on eighth note level.

The "transmissional latitude" observed in the various ways of writing chords contradicts Goldberg's distinction between those arpeggios written out and those indicated with a symbol, and leads to fundamental conceptual levels of this music<sup>65</sup>.

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<sup>65</sup> Clemens Goldberg, above, especially p.122-123. This distinction supports in contrast to Goldberg's outstanding intellectual achievement the rather middling preliminary work to his otherwise magnificent and provocative book, a book which will undoubtedly show the way for further artistic discussion of 17th.c. French lute

The following table gives an overview of this aspect of "transmissional latitude" (RdD = "Rhétorique", Guitar sources not considered):

Source-no.	chord-no. (Deviation=*, no.after "type"=no.of voices)																		
	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19
RdD	A2	B3	A2	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	A3	A2	A2	A3	*	A2	B2	A3
13	S2	A3	A2	B2	B2	S2	A3	S3	S2	A2	B2	B3	S3	A3	B2	S3	A2	A2	A3
6	S2	A3	A2	B2	B2	S2	S3	S3	S2	A2	B2	B3	S2	A3	B2	B3	A2	B2	B3
14	A2	A3	A2	B2	B2	B2	B3	B3	B2	A2	B2	B3	A3	A3	B2	B3	A2	B2	S3
3	A2	S3	A2	S2	B2	S2	S3	S3	S2	A2	B2	S3	S3	A3	S2	S3	A2	S2	S3
10	S2	A3	A2	S2	B2	S2	S3	S3	B2	A2	B2	S3	S2	A3	S2	B3	A2	B2	S3
11	A2	A3	A2	S2	B2	S2	S3	S3	S2	A2	B2	S3	A3	A3	B2	S3	A2	S2	S3
15	A2	S3	A2	B2	B2	B2	B3	S3	B2	A2	B2	B3	A2	A3	A2	B3	A2	B2	B3
16	A2	A3	A2	B2	B2	B2	B3	A3	S2	A2	B2	B3	A3	A3	B2	A3	A2	B2	A3
8	A2	A3	A2	S2	A2	S2	S3	S3	S2	A2	B2	S3	S3	S3	B2	S3	A2	B2	S3
7	A2	A3	A2	S2	B2	S2	S3	S3	S2	A2	B2	S3	S3	S3	S2	S3	A2	B2	S3
	*	*		*	*	*	*	*	*			*	**	*	**	*		*	*

Source-no.	chord-no. (Deviation=*, no.after "type"=no.of voices)																		
	20	21	22	23	24	25	26	27	28	29	30	31	32	33	34	35	36	37	
RdD	A3	A3	*A2	A2	A2	A2	A2	A2	A3	*	A2								
13	A4	S3	A3	S2	A2	A2	A2	A2	B3	A2	S2	A2							
6	A4	B3	A3	S2	A2	A2	S2	A2	B3	A2	S2	A2	A2	A2	A2	A2	B2	*A2	
14	*A4	B3	B3	A2	A2	A2	S2	A2	SB3	A2	S2	A2	S2	A2	S2	A2	B2	A2	
3	A4	S3	S3	S2	A2	A2	S2	S2	SB3	A2	S2	A2	S2	A2	S2	A2	S2	*A2	
10	A4	B3	S3	S2	A2	A2	A2	A2	B3	A2	S2	A2	S2	A2	S2	A2	B2	A2	
11	A4	S3	A3	S2	A2	A2	S2	A2	SB3	A2	S2	A2	A2	A2	A2	A2	S2	A2	
15	A4	B3	B3	B2	A2	A2	A2	A2	B3	A2	S2	A2	S2	A2	S2	A2	S2	A2	
16	A4	B3	A3	A2	A2	A2	A2	A2	S2	A2	B2	A2							
8	A4	B3	S3	S2	A2	A2	S2	A2	SB3	A2	S2	A2	A2	A2	S2	A2	S2	A2	
7	A4	B3	S3	S2	A2	A2	S2	A2	SB3	A2	S2	A2	A2	A2	S2	A2	S2	A2	
	*	*	**	*			*	*	*		*		*		*		*		

A further element of "transmissional latitudes" is the notation of eighth notes. One notator will write dotted rhythms in the "inégalité" style, the other equal eighth notes.

"Transmissional latitude" includes also the notation of ornaments. One finds often an immediate relationship between the setting of an ornament sign and the rhythmic interpretation of a chord: ornament signs are rarer in conjunction with chords notated as broken than with chords notated as being simultaneously attacked, the breaking being likewise considered to be kind of ornament filling out a period of relaxation. Ornament signs deviating from the normal "transmissional latitude" are not indicated as such in the example.

music. For the study of this book it must be mentioned that Goldberg mistakenly assumes that "La Rhétorique" is a printed publication prepared by Gaultier (p.240) and that the author does not take into consideration the "transmissional latitude" placed in the foreground in this essay. Even if in many places his analyses therefore must be contradicted, his train of thought opens up many previously little or unconsidered but very valuable avenues of interpretation.

In comparing the 13 manuscript versions of the Courante, it is evident that, among the eleven lute versions, only that in "La Rhétorique" exceeds the latitude afforded by the "transmissional latitude" (meas.2-10, 25). All the deviations in the other ten manuscripts can be explained either as simple copying errors or as insignificant interventions (for ex., the filling out of a chord in meas.4, 11-12, 32 or the setting an octave higher of the bass in meas.17 and 30). The relatively late guitar version naturally requires a bit more freedom, the guitar being tuned differently; however on the whole it follows the lute version rather faithfully.

The special position of "La Rhétorique" is also evident in the "Double" (deviations occur in measures 1-8, 13-14, 22 and 24, extending from completely different composition to the musicaly incorrect connection and supplementation of individual tones). These observations on the Courante "La Champré" make clear that the transmission of this work by Denis Gaultier is extremely consistent within the "transmissional latitude" described above - with the sole exception of the tablature entry by Notator B in "La Rhétorique". Thus, it can be said, furthermore - after more random samples of other pieces have confirmed this perception for Notator A, too - that the versions in "La Rhétorique" are so widely separated from the normal transmission that Buch's claim that Gaultier composed these (as seen above) badly transmitted pieces in exactly this version and later revised them lacks all foundation<sup>66</sup>.

#### 4.2. Several musical examples from "La Rhétorique" in the hand of Notator A

The Courante "Cephale" (p.182, in Pièces de Luth p.78) appears in "La Rhétorique" in g minor, in Gaultier's print, in Prague 84, Paris 6212 (Monin) and 6214 however in a minor (example 7). This is all the more astounding as concordances transposed for the same instrument exist only in very few cases. The following points are revealed by comparing the variant versions of, first of all, Notator A with the print and, secondly, Notator A and the above mentioned manuscripts:

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<sup>66</sup> David Buch, above, p.240

- Notator A sets the density of the chords in many cases exactly reversed (A measure 1 on 1; 2 on 1; 3 on 1; 11 on 1; 13 on 1; 16 on 1; 17 on 1; 19 on 1; 20 on 2; 30 on 2) and places the rhythmically all-important impulse in measures 17 to 21 entirely differently. While the dynamism toward measure 19 is very strongly accented by Notator A by means of the 3 eighth notes in measure 18 and is consequently caught up in the g minor chord, and measure 20 (as resting measure) does not compellingly create the connection to measure 21, Gaultier in the printed version leads the less pronounced movement of measure 18 through the broken chords of measures 19 and 20 with continually growing energy to measure 21. All the concordant manuscripts consulted follow Gaultier's print.

- The following important difference has also to do with movement: notator A passes over the hemiola in measures 11/12 by omitting the harmonic points of emphasis: in the print A major in second inversion, d minor, A major. Significantly notator A omits the leading tone, essential for the understanding of this passage (Gaultier c'sharp, in notator A's version ought to have stood b instead of b flat). Here too all other manuscripts follow the version in "Pièces".

- Notator A anticipates the cadential note in the strong ascending movement in measures 4/5, while Gaultier and all consulted manuscripts, corresponding to the style, bring the leading tone as late as possible and the cadential note on the first beat at the earliest. The opposite is found in measures 13/14 and 14/15. In measures 13/14, however, the direction is not so pronounced in contrast to measures 4/5, so that the difference at this point is less important. However it is significant in phrygian cadences whether or not the cadential note is anticipated: to "fall" into this cadence is only possible when the goal can establish itself first in the expectation of the hearer. Naturally, this expectation is prepared by the conjunctly descending bass; nevertheless, the tranquillity of the cadence isn't guaranteed until the "tipping" takes place at the beginning of the measure. Here too, all manuscripts correspond to the printed version.

These examples should suffice to demonstrate the difference in musical understanding hidden behind these variants of "Cephale". Especially clear is the difference between Notator A's understanding of the tonality and the print when looking at the g minor Courante (p.204, livre p.66) (example 8).

In measures 5 to 7 the bass ascends from G to f reaching a highpoint with the F major chord on the target note. Gaultier sets accordingly the leading tone e while NA foresees an e flat. At the corresponding point in the second part in meas.17 both - Gaultier and NA - use an e. An entire chord is even substituted in meas.9: While in the printed version Gaultier has B flat major in his sights having reached the F-chord and then, with the surprising turn into a g-minor root position, introduces the harmonic return to D-major as dominant of g minor, NA writes a powerfully set B flat major chord instead of the g-minor to conclude the first strain with D major. Notator A lets the piece end in G-major while the printed version prefers g minor.

As perhaps the most extreme example of Notator A's different musical understanding, the Allemande "Phaeton foudroyé" and its meter change, obviously misunderstood by Notator A (as cited in part one), should be mentioned.

Interestingly the same error is found in a manuscript (Bruxelles, Bibliothèque du Conservatoire Royal, Ms.Littera S.No.5616 (or F.A. VI.10), fol.29'-30) which is striking by virtue of its rather careless execution (corrections, frequently missing barlines or rhythm signs). According to Rave, this manuscript contains eight pieces concordant with "La Rhétorique"<sup>67</sup>, whereby all eight shared pieces were copied by Notator A in "La Rhétorique" and some of the eight shared pieces, in contrast to the versions found in other sources, are astonishingly similar. Because of the repertory transmitted, Rave dates this manuscript before the appearance of Gaultier's "Livre" (published c.1672), thus c.1660. The Brussels Conservatory source shows that the variants of Notator A can be found indeed in other manuscripts. Nevertheless it must be born in mind that the transmission of the same pieces in other manuscripts (here Reynaud, Oxford 617 and 618 as well as Barbe) and especially in Gaultier's print offers clearly more logical versions.

In the context of the above portrayal of several stylistic characteristics and of the comparison of the variants with other manuscripts, it may be possible with greatest probability to rule out the equivalence of Notator A with Denis Gaultier. Since Notator A probably copied from prototypes, it also can be concluded that these prototypes most probably cannot have stemmed from Denis Gaultier's immediate circle.

<sup>67</sup> Wallace John Rave, above, p.181-182. The concordance of Bruxelles Cons. Ms.Littera p.No.5616 (or F.A. VI.10), fol.14'-15 with "La Rhétorique" p.64-65 and Ms.Reynaud Fol.110 does not prove to be correct. On the contrary this concordance leads within "La Rhétorique" to p.199, while the Reynaud Ms. doesn't contain this prelude. The page numbers given for the Brussels piece fol.33'-34 concordant with "La Rhétorique" should be p.34-35 instead of p.24-25.

### 4.3 Several examples from "La Rhétorique" in the hand of Notator B

Thus it remains to be asked whether, at the most, Notator B could be identified with Denis Gaultier or whether, at the least, he might have copied prototypes stemming from that immediate circle. That which was suggested in the above discussion of the transmission of the Courante "La Chambré" is certified by other entries: clearly Notator B can be connected neither with Denis Gaultier nor with a prototype from his immediate circle. The following pieces supply the most essential evidence:

- Tombeau de Mons.r de Lenclos (p.250, Pièces p.80)

Substantial deviations in meas.5, 12, 13, which do not occur in any concordances available to this writer - namely Perrine, Wien 17706, Prag 84, Saizenay I, Milleran, Barbe, Suites faciles.

- Resolution (p.254, Pièces p.82)

Only 19 measures correspond approximately; "La Rhétorique" contains 40 measures, Pièces 28 measures, structural changes which were adopted neither in Prag 84 nor in Paris 6214, the two concordant manuscripts available to the author. Paris 6214 omits merely - perhaps for reasons of space - the last part.

- Courante (p.127, Pièces p.16)

Notator B takes several rather substantial liberties in the shaping of the first strain (meas.1 and 4) and the second part of this Courante has absolutely nothing more to do with the variant in Gaultier's print. Furthermore it must be born in mind that the "Double" copied by Notator B does not correspond in any way to the "Double" in the print. On the contrary, Notator B's and Gaultier's compositions are worlds apart in terms of quality. The creative powers of Notator B culminate for example in written out trills - solistic, of course - and bass solos (example 9).

- Sarabande (p.134, Pièces p.32)

Here Notator B exchanges the third strain of Gaultier's composition for one of his own and omits the "petite reprise" at the end.

### 5. Conclusion:

Both the codicological-paleographical investigation and the stylistic and transmissional findings suggest that "La Rhétorique des Dieux", judging by its overall concept and by those segments fashioned and entered in the spirit of the commissioner Anne de Chambré c.1652, belongs to the most instructive sources for the history of art in mid 17th century France; furthermore, however, that this work had to be interrupted at least once for reasons not yet determined, and that it was later continued in a different

circle no longer able to pursue the manuscripts original concept. The tablature entries by Notator A seem to stem from a rather judicious person who, however, certainly cannot be assigned to Denis Gaultier's immediate circle. Notator B appears to have possessed considerably less understanding of Denis Gaultier's art. Thus the importance of "La Rhétorique des Dieux" for the transmission of Denis Gaultier's works is shifted: "La Rhétorique" is now an important and unique witness for the history of the reception of this lutenist's work; however, it is no longer a primary source with especially authorized versions.

Several things, previously regarded as being certain, have been called into question anew by this article. Therefore, the questions most essential for further research on the codex shall be summarized here:

- Who is the author of the texts under the pieces?
- When, how, and by whom was the work continued after each interruption?
- Where did Notators A & B get their material?

Let us hope that these questions will be able to be answered.

Musical examples in the adjoined booklet:

Example 1: A. Francisque, Pavane d'Angleterre: above, prototype: below, "Double"

Example 2: Robert Ballard: Cinquiesme Courante de la Reyne: above, Kremsmünster L 81, below, Ballard basic model and Ballard "Double"

Example 3: Pierre Dubut le père, Suite d-minor: Entrée

Example 4: Pierre Dubut le père, Courante CNRS 38, first part

Example 5: François Dufaut, Tombeau de Blancrocher

Example 6: Courante "La Champré" with "Double": above, deviations with annotated according to sources, below source 13 (Paris 6212, Monin)

Example 7: Courante "Cephale": above "Rhétorique", below Pièces

Example 8: Courante g-minor: above Livre, below "Rhétorique"

Example 9: Courante/"Double" G-major: above "Rhétorique", below Pièces

Beispiel 1: A. Francisque, Pavane d'Angleterre, oben: Grundmodell darunter Double

First system of the musical score, consisting of two staves. The upper staff contains a sequence of notes with stems pointing up, and the lower staff contains notes with stems pointing down. The system is divided into six measures.

Second system of the musical score, consisting of two staves. The upper staff contains notes with stems pointing up, and the lower staff contains notes with stems pointing down. The system is divided into six measures.

Third system of the musical score, consisting of two staves. The upper staff contains notes with stems pointing up, and the lower staff contains notes with stems pointing down. The system is divided into six measures.

Fourth system of the musical score, consisting of two staves. The upper staff contains notes with stems pointing up, and the lower staff contains notes with stems pointing down. The system is divided into six measures.

Fifth system of the musical score, consisting of two staves. The upper staff contains notes with stems pointing up, and the lower staff contains notes with stems pointing down. The system is divided into six measures.

Sixth system of the musical score, consisting of two staves. The upper staff contains notes with stems pointing up, and the lower staff contains notes with stems pointing down. The system is divided into six measures.

Beispiel 2: R. Ballard, Cinquesme Courante de la Reyne, oben: Kremsmünster, darunter Ballard Grundmodell, darunter Double

The first system of the musical score consists of three staves. The top staff is in treble clef with a key signature of one flat and a 3/4 time signature. The middle and bottom staves are in bass clef. Above the notes, there are rhythmic markings: 'j' for quarter notes, 'f' for eighth notes, and 'J' for half notes. The music features a mix of quarter, eighth, and half notes, with some rests.

The second system of the musical score consists of three staves. The top staff is in treble clef with a key signature of one flat and a 3/4 time signature. The middle and bottom staves are in bass clef. This system includes various musical notations such as dynamics (e.g., *f*, *mf*), articulation (accents), and phrasing slurs. The rhythmic structure continues with quarter, eighth, and half notes.

The third system of the musical score consists of three staves. The top staff is in treble clef with a key signature of one flat and a 3/4 time signature. The middle and bottom staves are in bass clef. This system features more complex rhythmic patterns, including sixteenth notes and eighth notes, along with dynamic markings like *f* and *mf*. The notation includes many slurs and accents.

The fourth system of the musical score consists of three staves. The top staff is in treble clef with a key signature of two flats and a 3/4 time signature. The middle and bottom staves are in bass clef. This system shows a change in key signature and time signature compared to the previous systems. The notation includes quarter, eighth, and half notes with various dynamics and articulations.

**Beispiel 3: Pierre Dubut le père, Suite d-Moll, Entrée**

Musical score for Pierre Dubut le père, Suite d-Moll, Entrée. The score consists of four systems of staves. The first system has two staves, the second and third systems have two staves each, and the fourth system has one staff. The music is written in a single system with a treble clef and a key signature of one flat (D minor). The notation includes various rhythmic values, accidentals, and dynamic markings such as *fz* and *fz*.

**Beispiel 4: Pierre Dubut le père, Courante CNRS 38, erster Teil**

Musical score for Pierre Dubut le père, Courante CNRS 38, erster Teil. The score consists of three systems of staves. The first system has two staves, the second system has two staves, and the third system has one staff. The music is written in a single system with a treble clef and a key signature of one flat (D minor). The notation includes various rhythmic values, accidentals, and dynamic markings such as *fz* and *fz*.

**Beispiel 5: François Dufaut, Tombeau de Blancrocher**

Musical score for François Dufaut, Tombeau de Blancrocher. The score consists of five systems of staves. The first system has two staves, the second system has two staves, the third system has two staves, the fourth system has two staves, and the fifth system has one staff. The music is written in a single system with a treble clef and a key signature of one flat (D minor). The notation includes various rhythmic values, accidentals, and dynamic markings such as *fz* and *fz*.

The image shows a handwritten musical score for a piece titled "Courante „La Champré“ und Double". The score is organized into seven systems, each containing a vocal line and a lute line. The systems are numbered 1 through 32. The notation includes various musical symbols such as clefs, notes, rests, and ornaments. The lute line includes fret numbers and rhythmic markings. The vocal line includes lyrics and melodic lines. The systems are labeled with "RAD" and "Double" at various points, indicating different versions or sources of the music.

Beispiel 6: Courante „La Champré“ und Double: oben Abweichungen mit Herkunftsbezeichnungen, darunter Quelle 13 (Paris 6212, Monin)

This musical score consists of three systems of staves. The first system has two staves, the second has three staves, and the third has two staves. The notation includes various rhythmic values, accidentals, and phrasing slurs. The piece is in a minor key, as indicated by the key signature.

Beispiel 7: Courante „Cephale“: oben „Rhétorique“ unten Pièces

This musical score consists of five systems of staves. The first system has two staves, the second has three staves, the third has two staves, and the fourth has two staves. The fifth system is a short fragment with two staves. The notation includes various rhythmic values, accidentals, and phrasing slurs. The piece is in G minor, as indicated by the key signature.

Beispiel 8: Courante g-Moll: oben Livre, unten „Rhétorique“

The image displays a musical score for a piece in G major, divided into three systems. Each system consists of two staves. The top staff of each system is in treble clef, and the bottom staff is in bass clef. The music is written in a style characteristic of the 17th or 18th century, featuring a mix of eighth and sixteenth notes, rests, and bar lines. The first system shows a rhythmic pattern of eighth notes. The second system includes a section marked 'Adagio' and 'Allegro' with a repeat sign. The third system continues the piece with various rhythmic figures and rests.

Beispiel 9: Courante/Double G-Dur: oben „Rhétorique“, unten Pièces